

**DOCUMENTS OF
THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT
IN INDIA**

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List of Abbreviations Used

CI	:	The Communist International
ECCI	:	The Executive Committee of the Communist International.
CPI	:	Communist Party of India
LM	:	The Labour Monthly, published from London
CPGB	:	Communist Party of Great Britain
CPSU	:	Communist Party of Soviet Union
CPC	:	Communist Party of China
INPRECOR	:	International Press Correspondence of the Communist International
BCI	:	Bulletin of the Communist International
CC	:	Central Committee
PB	:	Political Bureau
INC	:	Indian National Congress
AITUC	:	All India Trade Union Congress
AIWPP	:	All India Workers' & Peasants' Party
INTUC	:	Indian National Trade Union Congress
AIKS	:	All India Kisan Sabha
CKC	:	Central Kisan Council of All India Kisan Sabha
WFTU	:	World Federation of Trade Unions
AISF	:	All India Students' Federation
CSP	:	Congress Socialist Party

Election Manifesto of the Communist Party of India: General Elections, 1962*

I. INDIA AFTER FOURTEEN YEARS OF CONGRESS RULE

The Third General Elections takes place at a crucial moment in the world situation and in our national life. How our people participate in it and exercise their franchise will not only greatly influence the course of events within our country, but will have powerful impact all over the world.

Our people expect that as the result of these elections, the progressive, patriotic and secular forces will grow stronger and the struggle for democratic transformation of our society will gather greater momentum. People all over the world expect that this increased strength of Indian democracy will enable our country of four hundred forty million people, to play an even more important role than hitherto in the battle for world peace, for disarmament, for putting an end to the hated colonial system.

In order to understand how these expectations can be fulfilled, we must examine some of the main features of the economic and political situation as it prevails in India today.

Fourteen years have passed since the attainment of freedom by our country. These have been years of uninterrupted rule of the Congress which has always had a huge majority not only in the Indian Parliament but also in practically all the State Legislatures. Few parties in countries of parliamentary democracy have had such *unchallenged* sway over the Government for such a long period.

* This was actually released in October, 1961

The Congress has, therefore, had ample time and opportunity to carry out its pledges. It has had ample time and opportunity to put its promises into practice and to lay the foundation of a happy, prosperous India. But the Congress has not kept faith with the people.

The situation in the country is far from what it should be. Most of the promises given in the days when we were fighting for freedom remain unfulfilled. Developments are taking place in our economic, political and social life which cannot but cause deep concern to every patriot. All this would be admitted by everyone, including those Congressmen who retain the idealism and fervour of the earlier days.

The nation has witnessed the completion of two Five-Year Plans and the commencement of the Third Plan. We, Communists, have fully supported every step taken by the Government that strengthens national economy and we have always stressed that the Second Five-Year Plan has had a number of positive features. Among these are the growth of the public sector, the building of three steel plants and of machine-building industries, the construction of several irrigation and power projects, the manufacturing of a number of articles which we formerly used to import from outside. A number of other gains also can be cited.

The advance which our economy has registered has been facilitated enormously by the relations of co-operation that have been established between our country on the one hand and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the other. This co-operation which our Party has always advocated in India's national interest, has been a big factor in the building of heavy and basic industries in the state sector.

All this cannot, however, blind one to the reality of the overall economic and political situation that prevails in the country.

Congress leaders and the Government proclaimed that their policies would lead to rapid development of industry and agriculture. But the growth has been extremely uncertain and tardy. The survey carried out by the United Nations

shows that the *rate of growth* of our economy is painfully slow. It lags far behind not only the socialist countries, not only such capitalist countries as Japan and Italy, but even such underdeveloped countries as Iraq, Venezuela and others. Congress leaders rarely mention the fact that even after two Five-Year Plans, India's per capita income remains one of the lowest in the world and that its rate of growth has failed to attain even the low targets.

Further, even this meagre increase is distributed in such a way as to increase the disparity between the rich and the poor. Unemployment figures go on continuously mounting. Prices have risen to giddy heights—enabling profiteers to amass wealth and inflicting colossal misery on the common man. The big monopolists become ever richer, while the working class is denied adequate wage rise even to compensate for the rise in the cost of living.

Discontent mounts in all parts of the country, giving rise to big struggles which the Government strives to suppress with an iron hand. The sense of frustration that inevitably grows is getting more and more utilised by forces of dark reaction and obscurantism which want to disrupt the unity of the nation and destroy all the precious heritages of our national movement.

Our Party is firmly of the view that such a situation could not have arisen but for the policies pursued by the Congress Government. These policies are, in essence, a negation of what our national movement advocated and fought for.

Faced with the tremendous and growing attraction of the ideas of socialism among our people, including their own followers, the Congress leaders proclaim socialism as their objective. But this is only a clever device to distort and cloud the ideas of scientific socialism and keep the masses away from democratic struggles. Capitalism is in such decline and discredit today that even the capitalists and their political representatives shy away from taking its name, especially when they approach the masses.

But our complaint today against the Congress is not that

it is not building socialism. For, how can one expect socialism to be built when state power is in the hands of the capitalist class and not in the hands of the working class and peasantry ? The building of socialism can begin only when the rule of capital is overthrown, only when the state passes into the control of the working people led by the working class and a proletarian, popular statehood comes into existence.

Socialism, of course, remains our goal. For, socialism alone can end exploitation of man by man, unemployment, poverty and hunger.

But in the present stage of India's development, our complaint against the Congress is that it is not using the enormous power and opportunities to resolutely wipe out the legacies of British rule, improve the living conditions of the masses and set the country on the road to rapid national advance.

For two hundred years, the British exploited our wealth and it was, therefore, rightly pledged by the Congress that free India would put an end to this exploitation. But even fourteen years after freedom, British monopolists—now joined by American monopolists, the worst international exploiters—continue to hold dominant position in several vital sectors of our economy. Handsome concessions have been offered to them under the plans and the door has been thrown wide open for fresh economic penetration by these imperialist monopolies.

New investment by foreign monopolies is readily sanctioned, sometimes in violation of the Government's own declared policies. Collaboration between foreign monopolists and Indian big business is encouraged and now there are a big number of joint-concerns. With their tremendous financial power, the foreign monopolists, through such collaboration, take advantage of India's planning and her protected market. They hit the indigenous industry, particularly small and medium ones.

Every year, the foreign exploiters pump out of our country

vast amount of wealth as profits, interest, salaries, commission and various other charges. This goes on at a time when countries like Cuba, Egypt and Indonesia have nationalised many industries of their former foreign exploiters.

The increasing collaboration between Indian big business and foreign monopolists is a disturbing development, fraught with grave danger to the future of our nation. Through this and through the vast amount of so-called economic aid that is coming from imperialists, weapons are being forged to bring economic and political pressure on our country.

The U.S. imperialists in particular take full advantage of India's backwardness, economic dependence and the difficulties that arise from this. By their so-called economic aid, they seek to create levers of economic and political pressure on our country and such pressures are already in evidence.

Where does agriculture on which depend seventy per cent of our people for livelihood stand today ? What is the condition of the mass of peasants after 14 years of Congress rule?

The Congress Government proclaimed that land reforms would be carried out with a view to end the concentration of land in a few hands, give land to the peasants and agricultural workers, ensure social justice in the countryside. In actual practice, whatever land reforms have been effected, tardily and half-heartedly, they have brought little benefit to the mass of peasants. More evictions have taken place during Congress rule than in the previous hundred years. The imposition of ceilings has been turned into a farce by fixing it too high and by allowing fictitious transfers. The usurer retains firm grip on the rural poor, the trading monopolists continue to deny the peasants a fair price for their products, the Government imposes ever new burdens on the peasants in the form of various taxes—all of which together prevent adequate investment in land and a real upsurge in agriculture, the key sector of our economy. The agricultural workers who, together with their families, number 70 million continue to be denied land and a living wage. Belonging

mostly to Scheduled Castes and the backward communities, they suffer from numerous social disabilities. Even when some of them are abolished by law, they remain in practice in most parts of the country.

It is no wonder that the increase in our agricultural production has been meagre compared to our necessities. During ten years of planning, our country has had to import 29 million tons of foodgrains at a cost of over Rs.1,250 crores.

The failure to attain self-sufficiency in foodgrains in all these fourteen years is perhaps the greatest condemnation of the agrarian policy of the Congress.

Increased industrial productivity, it was stated, would lead to increased earnings. But the reality has been just the opposite. Overall industrial production has gone up, as also the productivity per worker. Yet, the level of real wages, far from going up, has actually declined. Increased productivity, rationalisation and speed-up have been used to intensify exploitation, to increase work-load and to retrench workers. The Government's attitude towards its own employees has been callous and heartless, as seen in the way their just struggle about a year ago was suppressed.

The labour policy of the Government is openly pro-capitalist and anti-working class. It is against the interests of the country. Its hostile attitude towards labour is exhibited in constant appeasement of the millionaires, in unmitigated attacks on trade union rights, including refusal to recognise unions commanding workers' support. The Government officially supports and feeds the trade unions of the INTUC and the employers behave likewise. Police repression against the workers is a common occurrence.

In the present stage of our economy, small and medium industries have a very important role to play in meeting the requirement of consumer goods, in quickening the pace of industrialisation and in narrowing regional disparities. But they do not receive the necessary assistance and encouragement from the Government. They are discriminated against, in favour of big business.

In the matter of location of private industries, big business, already entrenched in certain areas, is favoured. Capital in privately owned industries is mostly controlled by those who often use it not for building industries but for speculation, for cornering essential goods, for grabbing shares and building up private industrial empires.

The Government proclaimed that it would reduce the disparity of income. That promise was so cynically violated and gave rise to such criticism even among its own supporters that an assurance was given to institute an enquiry to find out how the increased national income has been distributed. None knows what happened to that enquiry. But then the Third Five-Year Plan sticks to the same policies that have led to the inequitable distribution of the increases in national income and the widening of income disparities.

Facts are glaring enough even without inquiry. Prices have risen almost continuously during the operation of the two Plans, depressing the living standard of the common man, both in towns and in villages. During the last three years, the wholesale prices alone have gone up by about 20 percent, the retail prices of course, much higher.

The proportion of direct taxes in the total tax revenue has declined, while that of indirect taxes, the main burden of which falls on the poor has gone on rising. Under the Second Plan Rs. 900 crores has been raised by additional taxes, as against the target of Rs. 450 crores—here again the common man has had to bear the brunt. Now the Third Plan proposes to raise a much bigger amount through additional taxes. That these taxes will also be mostly gathered from the working people, professional classes and small traders and businessmen, has been left in no doubt.

Unemployment has grown phenomenally. When the Second Plan started the backlog of unemployment was 5.3 million. But at the start of the Third Plan, it stood at 9 million. Besides, there are 15 to 18 million under-employed persons, and the situation will further worsen in the next five years. It is one of the major failures of the Plan that it

is not able to create enough employment opportunities to provide jobs to those who enter the labour market every year. The growth in the number of educated unemployed, including those with technical and scientific education, is yet another distressing feature of the whole situation.

The aggravation of the housing conditions has in no small measure added to the misery of the people. Whether in villages or in towns, the overwhelming majority of our people live in extremely congested and unhygienic dwellings and they fall easy prey to fatal diseases and epidemics. The meagre housing schemes originally provided in the Second Plan were curtailed and then even the lowered targets were not fulfilled. Urban housing is in the grip of greedy landlords who extort impermissibly high rents, coerce their tenants into all manner of illegal payments and indulge in reckless speculation in urban land. In the big cities, millions live in slums that are a living hell or without any roof at all over their heads.

At the same time, the concentration of wealth has proceeded apace. Millionaires have become multimillionaires. A few families like the Tatas, Birlas, Singhanias, Jains and Thapars dominate almost all branches of private sector industry and commerce. They are dominant in banking and in wholesale trade. They own the most widely circulated newspapers which mould public opinion.

This tremendous growth in the wealth and power of big business has become the most marked feature of our economic life. The big monopolists have their trusted men in important positions in the ruling party and in the Government. The bureaucracy and the police are at their beck and call to suppress workers' trade union struggles, to arrest, intimidate and shoot them. Big business donates crores of rupees to the Congress election fund, thus degrading elections and corrupting public life. Simultaneously, some of them help to build up, by financial contribution and otherwise, parties of extreme reaction like the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra with a view to bring pressure on the Government and move

it further to the right. Big business constitutes a grave danger to Indian democracy.

The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few monopolists, the concentration of power in the hands of one political party, and the increasingly closer relation between the two—this is one of the root causes of corruption which has come to pervade our whole economic, political and social life. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to say that nothing creates such disgust in the common citizen today as this prevalence of corruption at all levels and in every sphere.

Having enjoyed political power continuously for over 14 years, the leaders of the Congress have developed an attitude of authoritarianism and intolerance. They disregard the criticism made by the Democratic Opposition. They pay scant attention even to the suggestions made by members of their own party, for it is their votes rather than their views that are wanted. Many democratically-minded Congress legislators feel helpless at this state of affairs but can do nothing to remedy it.

Congress rulers showed how hollow their pretensions of democracy are when they first engineered an unconstitutional and violent movement against the communist-led Ministry of Kerala and then arbitrarily dismissed it. The only crime of that Government was it had refused to act as an instrument of the exploiting classes and follow in the steps of Congress Ministries. Afraid that Kerala would serve as an example to the people of other States and give a powerful impetus to the forces of democracy, the Congress Party and the Central Government did not hesitate to violate the spirit of the Indian Constitution.

Further, they threw overboard all the principles of secularism, when, in the ensuing mid-term elections in Kerala, they joined hand with the Muslim League with the sole objective of securing a majority in the Assembly.

All these revealed to what length the votaries of non-violence, constitutionalism and secularism could go when the question of power is involved.

But Kerala was only an extreme example. The Congress leaders show intolerance and resort to arbitrary methods even in relation to corporations, municipalities and district boards. Conventions are violated and Government power is freely utilised to discriminate against and even supersede elected bodies solely because they are not under Congress control.

Even where there is no such blatant resort to arbitrary methods, democracy remains stunted. The constituent States of the Indian Union are denied power, resources and authority which they should have under a federal set up. Even for trivial matters they have often to wait for approval of New Delhi, Congress Ministries in the States sometimes resent this state of affairs but dare not raise their voice of protest. Under the Congress, the rights and interests of the States are surrendered.

At the same time when the necessity arises for the Centre to act firmly in defence of minorities and in order to ensure proper investigation into the conduct of Ministers against whom grave charges are levelled by responsible persons, the Central Government pleads inability to do anything.

At lower levels, democracy, despite all talks of panchayat raj, remains formal. Thanks to the glaring inequality of income between the rich and the poor and social disabilities, the elected bodies generally get captured by representatives of vested interests. Moreover, they enjoy very little power even in such matters as local planning and development. The real power and authority rest with the officers.

As in the days of British rule, it is the bureaucrats, isolated from the people and profoundly contemptuous of them, that run the administration. The gulf between the people and the administration remains as wide as ever.

Muslims constitute the biggest religious-cultural minority in the country but they suffer—often in silence—from many disabilities and discriminations. Their just grievances are not even looked into, much less redressed. There are also linguistic and minority groups whose rights and interests are not safeguarded and even properly defined. Despite

all pious declarations, the Congress regime has no firm policy for the protection and safeguard of minorities.

The practice of untouchability has not yet been eradicated. Tens of millions of our fellow citizens belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and backward communities live in sheer neglect, humbled and humiliated. The funds that are allocated for their uplift are not only meagre but are misused and sometimes even not spent at all. The miserable conditions in which this downtrodden humanity lives mock at all the rhetorics about social justice.

In the field of education and culture, there is still a wide gap between the urgent needs and actual achievements. Even the constitutional directive to provide free compulsory primary education for all children by 1960 has not been carried out. New schools and colleges have no doubt come up but they are still few compared to our barest requirements. Economic and social conditions shut out the boys and girls from the peasantry, working class and other poor sections of the community from higher education.

Absence of an adequate number of secondary schools and colleges, lack of other physical amenities, high tuition fees and generally high cost of education make higher learning unapproachable even for those who are somewhat better off. Teachers are given miserably low pay and they have often to suffer indignities at the hands of managements. The opportunities for scientific and technical education are very restricted. There is calculated reluctance to change over from English to regional language as the medium of instruction in higher education.

The Indian people are heirs to a glorious and noble tradition of culture—one of the richest in the world. Even during the days of British imperialist domination, when our culture was cruelly suppressed, distorted and looked down upon by the imperialists, the Indian spirit asserted itself and great writers, poets, artists and thinkers in the various fields of learning produced works of outstanding excellence and beauty, imbued with patriotic, humanist and democratic consciousness.

The Indian people expected that with the advent of freedom, fullest possible opportunities would be provided for our cultural development; that the masses of our people, deprived so long of the fruits of culture, would get facilities to create and benefit from the various fields of cultural activities, i.e., literature, drama, music, song and dance, etc.

However, the record of Congress Party rule in the field of culture during the last fourteen years presents a dismal picture. Culture under Congress rule remains a monopoly of the upper and well-to-do classes. Corruption, favouritism and nepotism, in total disregard of merit and ability, have entered even the holy precincts of the three Akademis run by the Central Government—the Lalit Kala Akademi, the Sahitya Akademi and the Sangeet Natak Akademi. Discrimination is practised against many notable writers and artists who refuse to be servile sycophants of the ruling party. Full facilities are given to organisations like the Congress for Cultural Freedom, financed by the USA, to carry on nefarious cold-war imperialist propaganda in our country and many Congress leaders join this body.

Cinema, one of the most powerful vehicles of culture in modern times, is allowed to be dominated by a small group of rich and generally unfettered capitalists who drag it down to the lowest depths. Progressive, patriotic and humanist cine-producers and cine-workers are often reduced to bankruptcy and abject poverty. An unintelligent official Censor Board prevents the free development of healthy and progressive trends in the cinema industry.

In the working of the All India Radio also, the ruling Congress Party pursues a policy of discrimination against progressive artists and writers; of favouritism, of suppression of democratic and scientific ideas and of a blatant use of this national vehicle of culture and education for the propagation and eulogy of the Congress Party and its rule.

Such economic, political and administrative policies could not but encounter opposition from the mass of people and give rise to big struggles. Like the earlier period, the five

years since the last general elections, too, have been marked by many mass actions. The policy of the Government has been, as before, one of attempt to suppress these struggles by means of terror, by resort to lathis and bullets.

Inevitably, a sense of frustration is growing all over the country. There is lack of interest in the plans whose main burden falls on the poor and the main fruits are garnered by the rich. New promises and new assurances, as held out in the Third Plan, fail to rouse any enthusiasm. There is widespread and sullen discontent. Many people are losing faith in the future and effectiveness of democratic institutions.

It is not surprising that in this atmosphere and in the absence of an inspiring national objective, which could unite the nation and take it forward, fissiparous and disruptive tendencies have grown alarmingly. The violent disturbances which took place in Assam, Jubbulpore, Saugor and other places sometime back and the disturbances that have taken place recently in Uttar Pradesh show how deep the poison has gone. Attacks on the minority community on the slightest pretext is becoming a common phenomenon in several areas. Organisations like the Jana Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha, the RSS, the Muslim League, the Jamaat-e-Islami and the Akali Party have become more active than before.

Ever in the forefront of the struggle against communalism, casteism, regionalism and linguistic chauvinism, our Party has repeatedly declared its willingness to join hand with all secular and patriotic forces, including Congress-men, to fight these disruptive tendencies. We have done so in practice too. However, we cannot but stress that these tendencies and the parties which thrive on them could not have attained their present strength but for the grave failures of the Congress itself and the sense of discontent and frustration that its policies have given rise to. Lacking any common outlook, lacking the spirit of dedication that characterised Congressmen of earlier days, intent only to maintain themselves in power by any and every means, many Congress leaders themselves resort to appeals based

on communalism, casteism, regionalism, provincialism and so on. Quite often, factions come to be formed inside the Congress on the basis of caste.

In addition to all this, sometimes the Congress leaders directly strengthen parties of communalism by their opportunistic policies—such as the unholy alliance with the Muslim League in Kerala which gave new impetus to Muslim communalism all over the country, the playing between Sikh and Hindu communalism in Punjab and allying with each by turn, and most serious of all, the attitude of sympathy and concealed support given by many Congress leaders to the Jana Sangh and other communal parties.

The parties of communal reaction, as well as the Swatantra Party, are striving to make use of the popular discontent that prevails today. They utilise all the shortcomings and failures of the Congress Government in order to get a mass base for themselves. They indulge in demagogy against corruption and for a clean administration and sometimes voice some genuine demands of the people. But that cannot conceal their real character. They are parties of dark reaction. They attack precisely those policies of the Government that have a progressive content.

They want our country to abandon the policy of non-alignment and peace. They oppose the development of heavy and basic industries and the strengthening of the public sector. They want all land reforms to be abandoned. They want State-trading to be given up. Some of them even go to the length of opposing the very concept of India as a secular State. Some preach that parliamentary democracy is not suited to India.

The Communist Party's criticism of the Congress and opposition to many of its policies has nothing in common with the attitude of these parties. The Communist Party considers them to be parties of extreme right, parties of dark reaction and obscurantism, whose growth and success would imperil the cause of national freedom, national advance and democracy. The Communist Party, therefore, advocates

determined and sustained struggles against these parties and the ideas they spread.

The leadership of the Praja Socialist Party, blinded by anti-communism, often joins hands with these forces. This is seen in their common opposition to the Government's foreign policy. Also the Praja Socialists have, on a number of occasions, acted as disruptors of mass struggles—as in West Bengal during the great food movement of 1959. The Praja Socialists were the first to enter into open alliance with the Muslim League in Kerala.

Anti-communism has become in our country, as elsewhere, the bankrupt banner of the PSP and right reaction, which want to disrupt the democratic movement, divide the patriotic and democratic forces and keep the masses away from struggles.

In the situation that has grown in our country, patriotic and democratic-minded people are naturally asking: How to solve the problems that have arisen? How to take the country forward?

II. FOR RAPID NATIONAL ADVANCE, FOR A BETTER LIFE FOR OUR PEOPLE

The Communist Party is firmly of the opinion that the fourteen years of unbroken Congress rule have shown that the path of development the Congress has chosen cannot ensure an all-sided national advance or eliminate poverty, hunger and unemployment. We must seek an alternative path.

The crying need of the hour is that the tiller of the soil must be given land, every job seeker a job and the people food, clothes and other essential necessities at cheap prices.

Congress rule holds out no promise whatsoever that our people will ever get them. The alternative policies and proposals we are outlining below will alone answer this need.

End Foreign Exploitation!

The Communist Party stands for elimination of foreign monopolies from our national economy and for securing

economic independence. As an immediate step, our Party demands drastic curbs on the profits of foreign concern and on their remittance abroad. Resources lying with them must be taxed by the State in a greater measure and our foreign trade which they control should be taken over by the State Trading Corporation. All new private investments by foreign monopolists must be banned. Unjust concessions to foreign monopolies must be withdrawn.

Our Party is not opposed to proper type foreign economic assistance being obtained from any country provided such assistance is taken for the creation of a modern economy and for other truly nation-building projects. Every effort, however, must be made to ensure that India's foreign liabilities do not needlessly go on increasing. With this end in view, imports should be further cut, exports vigorously stepped up and loans repayable in rupee given preference. These objectives, as experience has shown, can be achieved by greater economic co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which offer the most disinterested and needed assistance to our country.

But this necessitates the reorganisation of India's trade pattern as well as the removal of other obstructions and inhibitions. Our Party stands for further strengthening of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries as an essential feature of national planning.

Land to the Peasant

The Communist Party has been tirelessly fighting against the anti-peasant policies of the Government. It most emphatically demands radical agrarian reforms and reorganisation of our agriculture. All land transfers made in recent years must be re-examined and fictitious transfers declared null and void. All loopholes in the existing land legislations, particularly in regard to ceilings must be forthwith removed and ceilings to eliminate the concentration of land-holdings and for benefiting the peasants must be introduced in every

State and effectively enforced. Land must be distributed to the landless labourer and the poor peasant.

Economic burdens on the peasants such as high rents, high taxes and debts, must be reduced. The peasants must be guaranteed a fair price for their produce and protected against market operations which rob them. Fixation of minimum and maximum prices for this purpose is essential.

Minimum wage for the agricultural labourer must be fixed everywhere and strictly enforced.

To emancipate the peasantry from its age-long bondage is the most urgent task to enable the remaking of the nation. Without this, rapid economic progress is impossible and democracy would be a misnomer. Our Party stands for a radical orientation of the Plans so as to do away with all semi-feudal survivals and bring about an upsurge in our agriculture.

For Rapid Industrialisation

The Communist Party stands for a comprehensive programme of rapid industrialisation in which the public sector must at once be given the leading role and capital goods industries the pride of place. The public sector must be democratically organised and efficiently run and it must be kept free from all influences of big business. Small and medium industries must be given every encouragement and assistance by the State and their promotion must form a vital part of national planning. This is essential for arresting the growth of unemployment.

The Communist Party stands for a special programme of industrial projects for the industrially backward regions in order to reduce regional disparities in the country's economic development and help the backward regions to catch up with the advanced regions. The Party demands all necessary readjustments in our Plans for such a fair deal to the backward regions.

The Communist Party demands nationalisation of banking, general insurance, iron and steel, coal and other mining, oil,

sugar, jute, tea-plantations under foreign control as well as export and import trade. To allow any sector of our vital and strategic industries to remain in the grip of foreign monopolies is to put the economy and the country to great risks. The nationalisation of banking, we repeat, brooks not a moment's delay.

Raise Wages, Respect Trade Union Rights

The Communist Party stands for a general rise in basic wages and for raising and fixing of minimum wages. It demands a sliding scale of dearness allowance with full neutralisation of rise in prices in all organised industries, trades and professions. The Party would continue its fight against rationalisation or productivity that leads to retrenchment, to greater workload and no commensurate rise in wages. The Communist Party demands that bonus be treated as a share of the workers in profits. In defence of the vital interests of the working class and for its trade union and democratic rights, the Party will conduct resolute struggles. Trade union rights must be unequivocally guaranteed. The labour policy of the Government must be changed to conform to the principles of democracy and social justice.

Curb Monopolies

In Parliament and in State Legislatures and more so outside, our Party has been ceaselessly exposing the malpractices of Big Money and fighting it in action. For this, many of our comrades have had to share along with others dismissals and persecutions at the hands of the bosses of industry and severe repression by the police and Government. It has been our Party's proud privilege to be in the forefront of the struggle against the monopolies and bear the brunt of their fury.

Our Party demands an end to all pro-Big Business, pro-monopoly policies of the Government and far-reaching progressive changes in the State policies. Managing agency system must be scrapped. Concentration through interlocking, take-

overs, subsidiaries and similar devices must be firmly checked by the State. The Party stands for higher taxes on Big Business and also for tapping of the resources through compulsory loans. Ceilings must be imposed on profits, as well as on the salaries of high business executives. State policy should be directed towards breaking their economic power and compelling the monopolistic capitalists to fall in line with the basic principles of social justice and democratic planning.

The vicious grip of Big Business over the newspaper industry must be broken.

In curbing monopolies, the co-operation of workers and the employees and their trade union organisations is of utmost importance.

Bring Down Prices

Our people must be saved from the depredations of high prices. The Party stands for all possible monetary, fiscal and other effective measures to check price rises and hold the price line at a level within the reach of the common man. Strong actions must be taken against the monopolists, profiteers and speculators who hold back stocks, manipulate markets, create artificial scarcities to fleece the consumer. The state sector must be extended to internal trade in essential commodities and state-trading in such commodities must be undertaken on a large scale.

Plan for the People

To realise the above urgent objectives and ensure rapid economic and social progress, the Communist Party demands certain fundamental changes in our Five-Year Plan. Planning must be first and foremost for the people. The Plans must mobilise to the fullest possible extent India's vast manpower resources and create labour enthusiasm by constantly improving the living conditions of the working people. To them must go a progressively bigger proportion of our national income. The present yawning disparity in both rural

and urban incomes must be reduced. The Plans must strike hard at the out-dated socio-economic conditions that stand in the way of India's rapid progress. Our Party stands for bigger and bolder plans and for a much higher rate of economic growth.

Make the Rich Pay for the Plans

The Communist Party demands that the rich be made to pay their due share towards the resources for the Plan. Enormous accumulations lying with the monopolists, big speculators, former princes and big landlords must be fully tapped. Former princes who have huge fortunes locked up in foreign banks and foreign securities must be compelled to surrender as loans these assets to the State. The payment of privy purses to them is impermissible and this must stop.

The Party stands for raising the direct taxes on the richer classes while, at the same time, reducing indirect taxes that hit the poor. Huge quantities of gold worth over a thousand crores of rupees held in bullion by the monopolies and speculators must be made available for financing the Plan.

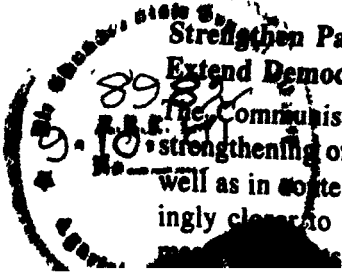
Expand State Sector for Raising Resources

The Communist Party demands that the state sector be rapidly expanded in different sectors of our economy to raise resources for the Plan. For this, not only must new undertakings be started by the State, but a number of existing private industries and business concerns, as we have already suggested, must be nationalised. State-trading in our internal market should be developed as a major source of revenue.

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**Strengthen Parliamentary Institutions,
Extend Democracy**

The Communist Party of India is deeply interested in the strengthening of our parliamentary system, both in form as well as in content. It stands for bringing the system increasingly closer to the democratic urges and aspirations of the people for the extension of democracy in all spheres



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of the State. It must be expressly and unambiguously provided in the Constitution that the President of the Indian Republic is only a constitutional head and that all his functions are subject to the unquestioned supremacy of Parliament. The emergency powers of the President must be abolished. The power of the President and the Central Government to dismiss a State Government so long as the latter enjoys the confidence of the State Assembly must be annulled. The Governors must be directly elected.

Proportional representation should be introduced in all elections so that public opinion is duly reflected in the elected bodies and the monopoly of power for any single party based on minority of votes is ended once and for all. All legislators must be subject to recall to ensure their accountability to their electors and to assert the latter's supremacy over those whom they elect. The Upper Houses are superfluous and expensive and these must be abolished.

The Communist Party demands that there must be Standing Committees in Parliament and in the State Legislatures with requisite statutory powers so that all parties and groups represented in the Legislature may be directly and actively associated with the initiation and formulation of policies by different Ministries and Government. Such Committees should also have the power to review the implementation of the Government policies and the work of the administration.

Judiciary must be separated from executive in all respects, including appointments and promotions.

The process of reorganisation of the States on a linguistic basis must be completed. Hence the Communist Party stands for the reorganisation of the present bilingual Punjab State on a linguistic basis. Where the situation so demands, as in the case of Nepali-speaking areas in Darjeeling (West Bengal) or the compact Adivasi area of Chota Nagpur (Bihar), regional autonomy should be granted. Rights of Adivasis to their distinct culture and self-expression must be fully recognised and respected.

Give More Power to the States, Democratise Local Bodies

The Communist Party firmly stands for wider power and authority, particularly in financial and economic matters, being given to the States of the Indian Union. The Seventh Schedule of the Constitution must be revised and amended so as to enlarge the powers of the State and abridge that of the Central Government. Manipur, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi must have democratic set up and responsible Government.

Our Party demands greater power for the panchayats and other local bodies, as well as adequate resources for them. Elections must everywhere be direct and by secret ballot without any bureaucratic interference. Our Party demands adult franchise for municipal elections in Calcutta. It stands for ending all bureaucratic control over local bodies and for raising their status and dignity. The guiding line in all these matters must be decentralisation and democratisation. Masses must be drawn closer to the functions of the State.

Strictly Enforce Fundamental Rights

Fundamental rights must be scrupulously respected. The Party stands for revocation of all laws, rules and regulations that conflict with fundamental rights. Directive principles which relate to the fundamental rights of the people must be made enforceable by necessary amendments to the Constitution. All repressive measures directed against the democratic forces or which are liable to be so used must be withdrawn.

There must be compulsory, independent public enquiry into all cases of police firing. Police administration must be reformed and the existing police codes revised to bring them in line with democratic standards. Except where question of defence of the country or its security is involved, there must be no reference to secret police reports in deciding appointments, promotions and so on. Political witch-hunt must stop.

Release Long-term Political Prisoners

The continued incarceration of long-term political prisoners who have already spent many years behind prison-bars can

now be regarded only as an act of political vendetta. Our Party demands immediate release of all such prisoners and withdrawal of warrants pending in connection with political cases which arose over a decade ago.

Probe Into All Corruption Charges

To fight and stamp our rampant corruption in high places and in administration, our Party demands the setting up of independent impartial commissions at the Central as well as the State levels for promptly probing into all cases of official corruption, malpractices and improprieties. Those found guilty must be severely dealt with.

Promote National Integration, Protect Minority Rights

The Communist Party stands for uncompromising struggle against the forces of communalism, casteism, of narrow provincialism and separatism. In order to wipe out these dark, ruinous forces and promote national integration, efforts must be made in every sphere—economic, as well as political, administrative as well as cultural. The policies that breed these evil trends must be changed.

The Party stands for the creation of permanent minority commissions at the all-India and the State levels whose functions shall be to study the problems of the minorities, examine their grievances and formulate concrete measures and tasks for protection and safeguard of minority rights and interests.

Larger funds must be allocated for the uplift and welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and these funds must be administered through popular agencies commanding their confidence. All other effective measures should be taken for their uplift and advancement.

Harijans must be given land and relief. The Communist Party stands not only for effective Government actions but a national campaign for the implementation of the Untouchability Abolition Act and the complete removal of all social disabilities.

The language of the linguistic minorities in different States must be fully safeguarded and given their due status. All rights of the Urdu-speaking minorities must be strictly enforced and all legitimate grievances of the Urdu-speaking people of our country should be forthwith removed.

Sindhi should be recognised as a language of our Republic and included in the Eighth Schedule of our Constitution.

The Communist Party is of the view that reduction of regional disparities in economic development is essential for national integration.

The Communist Party advocates effective steps at all levels, including joint campaign by all secular parties, against propaganda and activities which are designed to rouse communal passions, caste feelings. Our Party is totally against intrusion of religion into politics in any form or under any cover. It demands that the administration be rid of all communal elements.

Our Party is prepared to work with all secular forces in the country in order to combat the forces of communalism, casteism and separatism and promote national integration. We are, at the same time, conscious that in the final analysis, the problem of national integration is a problem of democracy and social progress.

Reorientate Education

The Communist Party demands a radical change in the education policy of the State so that our boys and girls are trained to take their rightful place in building of the nation. Education must be infused with a social purpose—with deep love for India's rich cultural heritage and above all, with a spirit of service to the people and the country.

The Communist Party stands for greater financial allocations for education and extension of opportunities for scientific and technical education.

The change-over to regional languages as the medium of instruction must be expedited and the State must render all required assistance for the purpose. Education must be made cheaper.

Condition of teachers, especially the primary school teachers, must be improved. Bureaucratic interference in education must end. Academic bodies should be under the control of qualified, progressive-minded educationists. The Communist Party demands an all-out national campaign to wipe out illiteracy.

Culture to the People

The Communist Party of India stands for the rooting out of all corruption, favouritism, bias against democratic popular ideas and tendencies from all the national vehicles of culture; it demands that the common people of our country should be beneficiaries of all our cultural activities. It stands for the development of a people's democratic culture, for a generous and unbiased help to literary and cultural bodies and organisations; for the establishment of national theatres in all the major cultural centres of our country; for a policy of developing the cinema industry of our country on progressive lines; for drawing in of the largest mass of workers, peasants and the intelligentsia in the manifold fields of cultural activities. It stands for rescuing culture from the grip of profiteers and foreign and Indian reactionary influences. It stands for the economic rehabilitation of thousands of our writers, artists and workers in the various cultural fields by providing them with the fullest opportunity, in an atmosphere of freedom and joy, for the development of their talent and for the efflorescence of a popular and democratic culture.

Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women

The Communist Party stands for equal rights for women in every sphere of our national life. It demands equal pay for equal work for women and removal of all restrictions in respect of employment of married women. The State must see that the social reforms that have been passed to uplift the status of women are strictly enforced.

Our Party stands for adequate financial allocations and extra facilities for education of women. The system of

maternity benefits must be made obligatory on the part of the employers. Social welfare schemes for women and the organisations engaged in such work must be given State assistance. To raise the status of women in every way must be regarded as of prime importance for the remaking of the nation.

Improve Housing

The Communist Party demands larger schemes and bigger financial allocations for rural housing as well as the speediest implementation of such schemes. As for urban housing, the State must take an increasingly direct part in construction of tenements and buildings for workers and lower income groups in addition to financial assistance given to individual or to employers. The claims of housing for lower income groups must be given topmost priority and wasteful and luxury constructions for the rich must be prohibited. Urban tenants must be protected against the extortions of landlords and the unconscionably high rents now paid by them must be brought down by law. Larger targets should be set under industrial housing schemes and the employers must be compelled to fulfill their obligation.

Provide Gainful Employment to Refugees

The Communist Party demands speedy rehabilitation of all refugees including the partially rehabilitated. They must be provided with gainful employment. Our Party is totally opposed to any abandonment of rehabilitation work by the Government before the refugee problem is satisfactorily and finally solved.

III. FOR WORLD PEACE, AGAINST COLONIALISM

The burning issue for all mankind today is that of peace or war. Peaceful coexistence or a devastating thermonuclear war are the alternative facing humanity.

Our emphatic answer is that a third world war can and must be averted by the joint efforts of the forces of peace.

We, Communists, consider it our prime task to work for peace and peaceful coexistence and thus deliver mankind from the threat of nuclear destruction.

Imperialism which brings about war is no longer in its past dominant position. It is on the way out. The socialist system is becoming today the decisive force in the development of society. Many Afro-Asian nations have in recent years shaken off the colonial yoke and emerged into the world arena as free nations.

The breathtaking achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have been exerting increasing influence in shaping the destiny of mankind. The historic Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which heralds the establishment of a communist society within the life-time of the present generation brings inspiration and strength to the cause of freedom as it deals a staggering blow to the forces that make for war and colonialism. The cause of peace gains new strength with every passing day.

At the same time, it must be recognised that since the end of the Second World War, the danger of a thermonuclear war has never been so grave at any time as at the present moment.

Imperialism headed by the USA is madly driving the world to the edge of a catastrophe. West Germany under the former Hitlerite generals and the revenge-seekers, has not only been armed to the teeth but it is about to be equipped with nuclear weapons. Once again German militarism, lavishly backed by the USA and NATO powers has been revived. Once again, it spells war and destruction.

The signing of a peace treaty with both German States and the conversion of West Berlin into a de-militarised free city is essential to lessen this threat and safeguard peace.

Both the Soviet and the German Democratic Republic have made repeated proposals for such constructive steps, but the only answer of the USA to the Soviet proposal has been heavier military spending, calling up of reserves, further intensification of the war drive and finally a brazen

threat of nuclear war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Communist Party appeals to our people to heighten their vigilance and redouble their efforts at this critical juncture against the U.S. and other imperialist warmongers.

On the occasion of the third general elections, our Party renews its pledge to devote all its strength and energy to the cause of preservation of world peace. It extends its co-operation, across the barriers of party and other loyalties, to all those who are dedicated to this noble cause. Let this general election be a mighty demonstration of our people's resolve to defend world peace.

Our Party attaches the greatest importance to India's role in the worldwide struggle for peace and against colonialism. It has always worked for enhancing this great role and exposed and fought the opponents of India's policy of peace and anti-colonialism. We warn our people against those forces within our land who, while paying lip-service to the policy of non-alignment, are in reality trying to undermine India's foreign policy and push our country towards the imperialist camp.

Our Party seeks the mandate of the people so that India can assume a still greater role in the coming days in defence of world peace, so that our great country becomes a most potent ally of all those fighting against colonialism.

In the recent period, however, the Government of India has shown some unbecoming vacillations particularly on issues of anti-colonialism. After the Bandung Conference at which India had played so admirable a part, great expectations were aroused about India's contributions to the struggle against colonialism. But today many Afro-Asian nations have the feeling that India is backsliding and trying to soft-pedal the fight against imperialism. The hesitation of the Government of India to recognise the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic has caused dismay and disappointment and brought no credit to our country.

The Government of India recognises the aggressive militarist Federal Republic of Germany which openly denounces

India's foreign policy and even supports the Portuguese over Goa. But the Government of India does not still recognise the German Democratic Republic, which subscribes to Panch Sheel and is fully in agreement with our country over the Goa issue as on all basic questions of peace and anti-colonialism. This discrimination in favour of West Germany is not only inconsistent with the policy of India's non-alignment, but gives comfort to the West German militarists and revenge-seekers. To India's friends abroad, this attitude on the part of the Indian Government has always seemed incomprehensible and it has indeed compromised our country's position in their eyes.

The haste with which the Government of India offered to sell sugar to the USA when the Kennedy regime stopped buying sugar from Cuba in order to blackmail and punish the Cuban people for their heroic revolution is yet another example of the Indian Government's deviation from anti-colonialism.

When President Kennedy pours huge quantities of military hardwares into Pakistan and equips her military machine with supersonic planes, the Government of India strange as it may seem, indulges in public adulation of the Kennedy administration!

The Congress rulers refuse to call such military aid to Pakistan an unfriendly act, although such a declaration would go a long way to rouse world public opinion against the Kennedy-Ayub arms deal. Evidently the U.S. dollars that are flowing into our country are choking the voice of the Congress Government.

The Communist Party stands for a consistent and unwavering application of India's broad foreign policy in defence of world peace and national independence.

Our Party stands for vigorous efforts by India to bring Western powers to their senses and make them agree to general, complete and controlled disarmament.

The Communist Party demands that the Indian Government accord full recognition to the German Democratic

Republic and the Algerian Provisional Government, as well as render the Algerian freedom struggle every possible assistance. Our Party urges India's full support to a peace treaty with Germany and for the creation of a de-militarised free city of West Berlin.

The Communist Party demands that the Government take all necessary steps so that the newly liberated nations like our own and the socialist world find their due place in the executive of the UNO and in all its leading bodies.

The U.S. military aid to Pakistan must be denounced as an unfriendly act of the USA towards our country and every effort must be made to rouse world public opinion against U.S. military build-up in Pakistan.

Our Party stands for the abolition of all foreign military bases.

Our Party demands that the Government take a firm stand against the U.S. violations of the Geneva Agreements in regard to Indo-China, especially against the U.S. military build-up in South Vietnam.

The liberation of Goa and thereby the completion of the process of national independence must be effected without any further delay. To free several lakhs of our long-suffering brothers and sisters from savagery and violence of the Portuguese imperialists, armed action by the Government is fully justified. Indeed, it has become a pressing necessity. Our Party is convinced that such a step will receive wide support throughout the freedom-loving world.

For the cause of world peace and the progress of our nation, friendship and co-operation with the socialist world and all other peace-loving nations is of utmost importance. Our Party stands for the strengthening and consolidation of this friendship.

For a Peaceful Settlement of India-China Border Dispute

Our Party has viewed with grave concern and distress the deterioration of the relation between our country and China—

the two great countries between whom bonds of close friendship have always existed and who jointly proclaimed the historic Panch Shila.

We have made it clear that, in our opinion, the frontier of India in the Eastern Sector lies along what is known as the MacMohan Line, that in the Western Sector it is the traditional frontier between the two countries that should be recognised and that the whole of Jammu and Kashmir, including the part occupied by Pakistan, forms a part of India. Our Party has made it known time and again that it stands for the territorial integrity of the country. We reiterate these declarations.

We have always urged that this dispute between India and China should be settled through peaceful negotiations and this is in full accord with India's approach in regard to disputes among nations. Indeed, it redounds to the greatness of our nation that India adheres to this only correct approach for the solution of the problems which have arisen between India and China today. Our Party is confident that peaceful negotiations with China, which now need to be carried forward on a political basis and in which the country's territorial integrity and the cause of friendship between the two countries will naturally be given paramount importance will bear fruit and bring the present unhappy chapter to a close.

The Communist Party fervently hopes that the threads of negotiations will be picked up and efforts for a peaceful settlement continued, bearing in mind such vital political considerations as the promotion of Afro-Asian solidarity, maintenance of world peace, struggle against colonialism. For the advance of all these noble objectives, the friendship and co-operation between the two great countries of the world—India and China—has become an imperative need of history.

IV. OUR APPEAL

We have put before our people the alternative policies of the Communist Party, as well as the immediate measures we would like the Government to take. These policies and measures accord with the interests of the whole nation. We

are confident that their implementation will release the mighty creative energies of our people and bring them happiness, prosperity and a cultural resurgence.

For these policies and measures, our Party has been persistently fighting, both inside and outside legislatures, along with other progressive forces. In the short span of 28 months, the Communist-led Ministry in Kerala has shown that the Communists mean to practice what they preach. For its unshakable loyalty to the masses, the only reward the Communist Ministry in Kerala got from the Congress rulers was arbitrary dismissal.

Born in the stormy days of India's struggle against British rule and steeled in many a fight for people's rights and interests, the Communist Party has always stood loyally by the people. In the fight for freedom, Communists were in the forefront of militant mass actions, especially of the working class. Ours is the Party that first carried the message of socialism to our working people and imparted to them a new consciousness about their historic destiny. It has always striven to direct numerous popular struggles, big and small, into the broad mainstream of our national democratic movement. Our Party has always resisted anti-national currents of communal, caste and similar other disintegrating forces.

When foreign rulers and internal reaction instigated Hindu-Muslim riots and conflicts our Party fought this foul challenge, held aloft the banner of communal harmony and in so doing not a few of our comrades gave their lives. After independence, the Communist Party has carried forward this patriotic tradition in many popular movements and heroic struggles in defence of the rights and interests of our people, for democracy and for the consolidation of our hard-won national independence. In this march forward, our Party has had to face often severe repression and many of our comrades made the supreme sacrifice of their lives.

Our Party has worked for strengthening India's nascent parliamentary system. It is known to our people how the Communist Party has countered the forces of reaction in the

parliamentary arena, fought them and striven to bring our Parliament and State Assemblies close to the urges and aspirations of the masses. These efforts our Party will continue in order to shape India's parliamentary institutions as genuine instruments of people's will. The Communist Party stands for the peaceful way of India's progress.

The making of a new India of the dream of our martyrs and of the living generations calls for a clearer perspective, as well as the unity and struggle on the part of all progressive forces of the nation. The supreme need of the hour is a broad national democratic front of all patriotic and democratic forces. Our Party is pledged to build this historic front and seeks our people's support and inspiration for the fulfilment of this noble task.

The forces of reaction working from both within and outside the Congress have already brought about some shift to the right in Government policies. They are out to sabotage democracy and reverse the course of development in a reactionary direction. It is the unity of all progressive forces that can defeat Right reaction and all its treacherous moves.

The answer to these trends and to the anti-people, anti-democratic policies of the Congress Government is the unity and struggles of the democratic forces for a shift to the left. Either such a shift to the left is brought about or the right reaction turns the wheel back. There is no third alternative. The Communist Party will continue to fight for a progressive orientation of Government policies in all fields—for a decisive shift to the left. In this struggle, our Party counts upon co-operation and unity with all those who stand for progress.

We know many Congressmen cherish the great traditions of our freedom fight and share the democratic sentiments and aspirations of the masses. We know that these Congressmen and many of those who support the Congress feel unhappy at the growing distress and frustration of the people, at the loss of moral values under the present

Congress regime. May we, in all humility, appeal to them to ask themselves why, even after fourteen years of independence, this great land of ours, with its vast areas under the plough, has still to depend on heavy food imports year after year? Why is it that after the two Five-Year Plans, unemployment has grown to dimensions never known in all our history? Why is it that in spite of the claim of the Congress Government that it is working for the establishment of a socialist pattern of society, the monopolists are growing alike in their economic power and in their political influence? Why is it that with all the promise of a "good life" the people groan under crushing burdens of heavy taxes and high prices? Why is it that corruption and nepotism has become so rampant today? How is it that extreme reaction is fast acquiring a mass base in some States and is able to find support among influential elements within the Congress itself?

To the right-minded Congressmen and the masses of Congress followers, their leaders surely owe an explanation.

The monopoly of power of the Congress and the big majorities it enjoys in Parliament and Assemblies out of all proportion to the votes it receives in elections has become today a positive hindrance to the growth of democracy and the advancement of people's cause. This stranglehold degrades the country's political life and helps reactionaries to gain upper hand within the Congress and the administration. Progressive-minded Congressmen are systematically pushed to the background.

More than ever before, it has become today a national necessity to weaken and break this monopoly of power by returning in large number Communists and other candidates of Democratic Opposition to Parliament and the State Assemblies.

Ten years of experience in Parliament and in the State Legislatures are a convincing proof that communist representation there helps the masses to fight for their interests and rights, as well as the broad progressive forces to effectively intervene in the affairs of the State and the nation.

After the 1957 election victories, when a communist-led Government was formed in Kerala, that event gave a tremendous impetus to all democratic forces throughout the country.

In the past two general elections, our people gave the Communist Party their massive support and that gave us the strength to fight for their cause. In this Third General Elections, we once again approach our people for the renewal of their confidence and support so that our Party can discharge, with greater strength and assurance, its responsibilities in the service of the Indian people and of world peace.

Third Elections— Communist Challenge*

Ajoy Ghosh

Polling for the Third General Elections will begin on February 19, 1962. But already all major parties have started their election preparations in right earnest. Manifestos have been published, names of a large number of candidates have been finalised, meetings have started being held.

Everyone knows, of course, that neither at the Centre nor in the majority of states, is there any possibility of a change of government. Nevertheless, people take the elections seriously, for they know on its outcome will depend to a great extent the course of events in the coming period.

They know that while it may not be possible to dislodge the present government from power, it is possible to influence to some extent at least, the policies that would be adopted and the methods that would be pursued.

Issues Before the Electorate

There will be many parties and many candidates in the field. But, as in the last two elections, the main party in the field will be the Congress which, for a period of over fifteen years, has had overwhelming majority in the Parliament and in almost all the State Legislatures.

Enjoying a monopoly of power it has had ample opportunity to translate into practice its declarations. Inevitably, therefore, the issues that will dominate elections will be

*This was released as a booklet in December, 1961

those connected with the policies which the Congress has pursued. The electorate will be called upon to do two things:

Firstly, express their verdict on 15 years of Congress rule.

Secondly, indicate clearly *in what way* they want the policies of the Congress to be changed—in the way advocated by parties of the extreme Right or in the way demanded by the parties of forces of the Left.

There are people who take a cynical attitude towards the elections. All this excitement, they say, is due to nothing but power-politics and the careerist ambitions of a handful of politicians. The common man, they argue, has no interest in all this and desires only to be left in peace.

Such an appraisal may seem to be very wise. It does not, however, explain certain facts.

Why is it, for instance, that the “common man” who mostly belongs to no political party evinces such keen interest in the elections?

Why was it that, during the last two general elections, while a fairly large number of well-to-do people did not bother to cast their votes, polling was especially heavy precisely in those areas where the toiling people—workers, poor peasants and agricultural labourers, artisans, office employees, etc., predominated?

The fact is—and our masses are coming to realise it more and more—that whether one likes politics or not, one cannot, in a modern society, stay away from it. Politics affects every sphere of our life.

How big will be the increase in national income and how will it be distributed? What goods will be available and at what price? What provisions will be there for health, housing and education? What taxes will be imposed and on whom will fall the burden?

These and a hundred other questions certainly concern the common man.

And, the answer to them depends on what policies are pursued by the government, what laws are enacted and how they are implemented.

Hence the importance of the elections which, in the present Indian context, will essentially be a battle over policies and methods.

In our Political Resolution, our Election Manifesto and various other publications we have given our appraisal of the present situation, our criticism of the policies of the Congress as well as an outline of our alternative policies. It is not necessary to repeat all of them here. However, certain points need to be stressed and elaborated.

Record of the Congress

First of all—the record of the Congress. This cannot be judged in isolation from the political situation that has prevailed in our country for the last 15 years. And the most striking feature of that situation, as already mentioned, has been the Congress monopoly of power.

As our Election Manifesto stresses, few parties in countries of parliamentary democracy have had such unchallenged sway over the government for such a long period. Few parties have enjoyed such prestige, such influence, such authority.

What has the Congress done with all this?

Of course, certain achievements have been made, both in the sphere of foreign policy and in internal affairs. We, Communists, advocated many of them and we welcomed them when they came about. We do so even now. But the question is : *Was this all that was possible?*

In order to answer this question, we do not propose to lay down a criterion of our own. Nor do we propose to compare our record with that of countries which have taken to the path of socialism. Nor do we even want to remind Congress leaders of what promises they made in those days when they were leading the battle for freedom.

We propose to do something more modest—examine the situation today in the light of the pledges given only a few years back, i.e., at the time of the Second General Elections in 1957.

“Good Progress”

In the Election Manifesto issued by the Congress in 1957, the claim was made:

“We have made good progress and laid the foundations of the new India of our dreams”.

Do facts substantiate this claim even today?

A pertinent issue in this connection is the growth of national income. Over the entire period of the two plans, national income increased only by 42 per cent or at the rate of 3.05 per cent per annum (compound). This is a rate lower than of even many underdeveloped countries. Per capita income rose only by 16.7 per cent in this whole period.

At this rate, we shall take many many years—and not 25 years as the First Plan calculated—to double our per capita income.

The Second Plan fixed certain industrial targets. Though modest, many of them have not been reached. Moreover, as the Third Plan Report says, “the shortfalls have occurred in some of those very industries which are of crucial importance and have deprived the economy of the benefits reckoned on for the start of the Third Plan” (p. 454).

For instance, the target for steel was 4.3 million tons. It has reached only 2.2 million. For nitrogenous fertilizers the respective figures are 290 thousand and 110 thousand tons. For cement, 13 million and 8.5 million tons. Production of machineries to produce textile, cement and paper as well as of several other items is far behind the schedule.

Our agricultural production, on which depends the state of our economy as a whole, remains precariously dependent on monsoon despite the expenditure of over 1,500 crore rupees. It barely keeps pace with the growth of population. During the last three years we had to import 12 million tons of foodgrains.

So unsatisfactory is the food situation that the Third Plan Report had to admit that “the relative stability of the foodgrain prices latterly has been due largely to PL 480 imports” (p.123).

Who can, with these facts before him assert that “the

foundations of the new India of our dreams" have been laid? The claim had little basis in reality in 1957. That position has not changed substantially even today.

Land Reforms

The land problem, the Congress always proclaimed, is of paramount importance for our country. Agriculture is the decisive sector of our economy. The relation between land reforms and agricultural production has been stressed many a time—by leading economists, by the Kisan Sabha and by Congressmen.

Thus, the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee, presided over by the veteran Gandhiite, J.C. Kumarappa stated, "It has been found by experience that unless land is owned by the tiller, his incentive to production does not reach the optimum".

This was as early as 1949 when the Congress had already been in power for two years. What was promised in this respect in 1957 and what is the result?

"On land", the 1957 Manifesto said, "all intermediaries must be progressively removed so that land is owned by the cultivator himself. The principle of ceilings has been accepted and should be progressively introduced so as to bring about a better distribution of land."

Again, in December 1958, a Sub-Committee of the AICC presided over by U.N. Dhebar, after considering "the question of land reforms from the point of view of agricultural production as well as achieving social and economic justice", demanded land legislation "without any further delay". The whole thing was to be "completed in all States by the end of 1959". This was approved by the Congress

Where does the matter stand now? The Third Plan Report replies:

"The impact of tenancy legislation on the welfare of the tenants has been less than was hoped for. One of the principal reasons for this is that in a number of States ejections of tenants have taken place on a considerable scale under the plea of voluntary surrender" (p. 244).

As regards ceilings, in several States they have yet to be imposed. Even where ceilings have been fixed, the Third Plan Report says: "On the whole it would be correct to say that in recent years, transfers of land have tended to defeat the aims of legislation for ceilings and to reduce its impact on rural economy" (p. 229).

And, the UP Chief Minister, C. B. Gupta whom even his worst enemies would not call a leftist, said in a public meeting at Aligarh on June 19, 1961 that "ceiling on landholdings has failed to serve its purpose". He explained, "Before the Act could be enforced, the owners had succeeded in distributing their land among their relatives and kinsmen. Very little land is now available for distribution among the tillers."

This is how the Congress implemented the slogan of land to the tiller.

And yet the Congress Manifesto for the Third General Elections has the audacity to proclaim: "Agrarian reforms are the basis for rural progress. Much has been done in the past years in regard to such reforms."

Evidently, Congress leaders think not merely that people have a short memory but also that they do not read even government publications.

In view of the sorry results which the Congress brand of agrarian reforms have achieved—both in relation to food production and social justice—we may point out that in the Election Manifesto of 1957 the Communist Party of India had warned that "so many concessions have been made to the landlords that very little land will be left for distribution even if and when ceilings are imposed". We had warned against the danger of "fictitious transfer of land".

Our warning went unheeded. But today the Planning Commission as well as leading Congressmen have to admit that we were right.

As regards the most exploited strata in the rural areas—the agricultural workers—the startling fact is that their condition has actually deteriorated. The Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry revealed that:

“The average daily wage rate of the male worker decreased from 109 naya paise in 1950-51 to 96 naya paise in 1956-57 and the average daily wage rate of adult women too fell from 86 n.p. in 1950-51 to 59 n.p. in 1956-57. Child labour received an average of 70 n.p. in 1950-51 and 53 n.p. in 1956-57.”

“No Exploitation and No Monopolies”

“In economic relations” said the 1957 Congress Manifesto *“there should be no exploitation and no monopolies and disparities in income should be progressively lessened”*.

What has happened to this promise?

At no time in India’s history was there so much concentration of economic power in so few hands as today. At no time was the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many so staggering. At no time did monopolists own or control such a big sector of our economy as now.

These are not just sweeping statements. They are borne out by facts. They are admitted by all economists.

Pressed to explain why was it that despite the increase in national income, the condition of the masses remains as wretched as ever and even deteriorates, Nehru said in the Lok Sabha in August 1960 :

“We have to avoid and prevent too much accumulation of wealth. If, after all this additional income, only five per cent or ten per cent of the population have benefited by it and ninety per cent have not, that is not a good result.”

A committee was appointed by the government to investigate into the matter, to discover where the increased national income has gone. To this day the findings of the committee have not been published, nor are they likely to be published till the elections are over—for reasons which are only too obvious. But what little has leaked out to the press is a sufficient condemnation of the government which claims to be building a “socialistic pattern of society”.

However, we do not want to say anything at this stage about the “leaked” information. The facts which are known to all are sufficiently damning.

Out of a total of nearly 28,000 private and public limited companies whose total assets comes to nearly 2,800 crores of rupees, only 7 top houses own or control Rs 776 crores. Even among these, the two super-giants Tatas and Birlas have between them nearly 600 crores.

In the sphere of banking, the three top banks have nearly 30 per cent of the total deposits of all banks.

And if we take the *entire organised private sector*—plantation, manufacture, banking, insurance and trade—it would be revealed that less than 50 Indian and foreign big business houses, firms and companies many of whom are closely connected to each other, control between themselves no less than 70-80 per cent of this sector.

Harsha Dev Malaviya, a loyal Congressman, had to say: "It passes one's comprehension as to how in these days of socialist transition in the country... business tycoons in the corporate sector are still allowed to wield power over so large a number of companies as ten or more with all benefits to reap from them and offer little in exchange" (*Socialist Congressman*, July 15, 1961).

But amazingly enough, even after all this, Congress leaders have nothing to say as to what they propose to *do*. Their present Election Manifesto only proclaims the following pious principle :

"The fundamental problem in India is not only to increase greatly the living standards of the people but also to bring about progressively social and economic equality. Existing inequalities and disparities in the social fabric are ethically wrong and will obstruct progress on all fronts and produce considerable strains."

It can be seen that Congress leaders are inordinately fond of the word "progressively" which occurs again and again in all their proclamations. And no wonder, for it commits them to nothing definite. In the meantime, the power of big business grows.

The power that big business wields is not confined to the economic sphere alone. They have intimate links with many

of the top leaders of the Congress—quite a good number of whose relatives are high-paid employees of these concerns. The monopolists have their friends in many key positions in our administration. Also they control the largest—circulated newspapers which play a big role in moulding public opinion.

And while the millionaires grow into multi-millionaires, what is the condition of those whose labour has produced the additional national wealth?

Union Labour Minister, Gulzarilal Nanda himself stated in a speech in the Lok Sabha on 11th April, 1960 :

“Between 1939 and 1947 the standard of living of the worker had declined by 25 per cent. By 1951, they recovered lost ground. By 1955, real wages had risen by 13 per cent. But since 1956 when prices again started rising, their gains have to an extent been wiped out.”

The reports of the Census of Manufacturing Industries reveal that since independence the workers have been producing more and more values, the bulk of which are appropriated by the owners.

The value added per worker went up from Rs.1578 in 1946-47 to Rs.2792 in 1956-57. For each rupee that the worker earned on an average in 1956-57, he returned that rupee plus two rupee and 39 naya paise, i.e. 3.39 rupees. This is how exploitation has been steadily intensified. This is how the handful of monopolists have enriched themselves.

Not merely factory workers, but others too—office employees, teachers and other people with fixed income—get systematically robbed in order to swell the coffers of the rich.

“Prices at Reasonable Level”

This brings us to another declaration of the Congress Election Manifesto of 1957.

“It is of the highest importance”, said that Manifesto, “to keep prices at reasonable level and to prevent inflation. To some extent inflation is almost inevitable in a developing

economy (they should have said developing capitalist economy—AG) but this should be kept fully in check and all necessary steps should be taken to that end.”

What happened to this declaration?

The Third Plan Report replies:

“The Second Plan has been characterised by a persistent upward trend in prices, though of course part of the rise was a corrective to the earlier decline. Over the five-year period, the rise in the general index of wholesale prices has been about 30 per cent; food articles as a group have gone up by some 27 per cent; industrial raw materials by 45 per cent, manufactures by over 25 per cent” (p.121).

The index of wholesale prices, as we all know, does not give adequate idea of the increase. Even then, the figures are revealing enough

The steep rise in price of food hits, above all, the poorest sections. The rise of 30 per cent in the price of cloth and similar rise in case of many other articles of everyday consumption, had nothing to do either with wages or anything else. They were just a looting of the people by big business. The Congress Government did nothing to prevent or even minimise the loot.

But when workers demanded higher dearness allowance to compensate for the increase in prices, they were told that this would give rise to inflation. The way the government suppressed the strike of its own employees is known to all and needs no narration.

The present Congress Manifesto keeps discreetly silent about what it said on prices in 1957 and what actually happened. But that does not prevent it from making new promises. Their “new” Manifesto tells: “Prices of essential commodities should be stabilised and trading on State account should be undertaken whenever this is found possible.”

Naturally, they do not say anything about the fate of their resolution on State-trading in foodgrains.

Incentive for Rich, Sacrifice by Poor

"The principal burden of finding resources"—said the 1957 Congress Election Manifesto—"must inevitably fall on the people of the country. This burden has to be borne. But, it should be spread out in such a way as to fall chiefly on those who are in a better position to shoulder it. The structure of taxation is being reconstructed with this object in view. This process will all also help in reducing disparities in income and wealth" (our emphasis).

What has actually happened?

Between 1950-51 and 1961-62 total tax revenue of the Central Government increased by 411 crores of rupees. Of this, direct taxes whose burden "falls chiefly on those who are in a better position to shoulder it" increased by only Rs.76 crores. Indirect taxes which hit the common man the most, increased by Rs.335 crores. The corresponding figures in respect of State Governments are Rs.110 crores and Rs. 220 crores.

In the name of providing "incentives", the government gives numerous concessions to the rich.

It refuses to take measures against foreign capital of the type that Egypt, Indonesia and Cuba did, measures which would extend the public sector and also place vast resources in the hands of the government.

It refuses to nationalise banking and general insurance in order not to offend the monopolists.

At the same time, it goes on throwing more and more burdens on the people and calls for "sacrifice". The rich need "incentives", the poor have to "sacrifice"—such is the logic. Innumerable struggles have taken place all over the country against this policy. The anti-tax struggle in Bihar which grew into a vast movement is one such example.

It would have been good if Congress leaders had told in their "new" Manifesto in what manner they implemented the 1957 declaration. They have not done that. Instead, once again, they say: "Taxation should be so devised as to aim at lessening disparities of income and increasing the resources available for development."

What reason is there to believe that this declaration also will not meet the same fate as the declaration made in 1957?

If one reads the new Congress Election Manifesto, one might think that there is some reason. May be, at long last, Congress leaders are becoming conscious that they owe a duty to the people and are going to change their taxation policies. Those who harbour such illusions should read the Third Plan Report.

The Report admits that *additional* taxation in the Second Plan was of the order of 1,052 crores of rupees as against an estimate of 450 crores. The proposal now is to levy further additional taxes of 1,710 crores during the Third Plan.

On whom will this stupendous burden fall?

"In the field of *income tax*" we are told, "the scope for raising the rates are generally limited." As regards "*wealth tax, the capital gains tax, the expenditure tax and estate duty*", all of which are paid by the rich, "the yield from these taxes are relatively small".*

Why?

No straight reply was given but it is suggested that there should be "as few loopholes as possible for evasion or avoidance of taxes"—which gives the reply eloquently enough.

Then as regards "*taxation of corporate incomes*", which again is paid by the rich, "a number of tax incentives and concessions are at present being given for investment". These will remain but "kept under continuous review"—which elastic phrase can mean anything *including further concession*, if past budgets are any indication.

Where then will the big sum of 1,710 crores of rupees come from?

The answer is : "*The Third Plan will involve a substantial increase of indirect taxation*". Then follows : "*Indirect*

* It should be noted that a UN publication, *Processes and Problems of Industrialisation* (1955), stated that "indirect taxes tend to have an adverse effect on industrial development" since they "are likely to raise the prices of domestic manufacture" and since they, by their regressive nature "tend to restrict the local market".

taxation along these lines tends to raise the price paid by a domestic consumer. This is a sacrifice that has to be accepted as part of the Plan.” (Third Five-Year Plan, pp.102-104).

Nothing could be plainer. And yet they talk, in their present Manifesto, “of stabilisation” of prices and of “lessening disparities of income”.

Such is the contrast between the pious platitudes of the Election Manifesto and the actual proposals of the Third Plan. Yet both have come from the same party!

“Unemployment is Bad”

“Unemployment is not only bad for the individual but is a disorder injurious to social health”—opined the Congress Election Manifesto of 1957.

The Second Plan started with a backlog of 5.3 million unemployed. The number now stands at nine million. Not only that. It was estimated by Prof. P.C. Mahalonobis, Statistical adviser to the Central Cabinet and Member of the Planning Commission that 20 million of our people have hardly one hour’s work a day, 27 million have less than two hours a day, 45 million have less than four hours a day and so on. Our vast manpower, which in a socialist society could have been a big national asset, is becoming a chronic and ever-intensifying problem.

Undeterred by this grim reality, the new Manifesto proclaims : “The ending of unemployment is of vital importance both from the economic and social point of view.”

It is not necessary to give more extracts from the 1957 Election Manifesto of the Congress and contrast them with the present reality. What has been said is enough to prove that the record of the Congress has been an unbroken record of broken pledges.

Lack of Time—Bogus Plea

Let it be clearly understood that we, Communists, have never asserted that the legacies of nearly two hundred years of British rule can be liquidated in a few years.

No matter which Government is in power, the task of rebuilding the country would be gigantic and would require time for completion.

Nevertheless, as we have stated repeatedly, those political, social and economic measures which alone can create *firm basis* for national regeneration do not require a long period.

It does not require a long time to nationalise the most important British concerns as well as those sectors of economy which should be nationalised in the interest of the country.

It does not require a long time to abolish landlordism and hand over land to the peasants.

It does not require a long time to evolve a just system of taxation.

It does not require a long time to ensure that increase in national wealth gets equitably distributed.

The question is not one of time. It is one of *bias in favour of particular classes—the propertied classes*.

We have dealt at some length with certain economic policies of the government and their results. We have done so because it is in this sphere that the Government makes the loudest claims. But our criticism of the Congress regime is not confined to this aspect alone. It covers a much wider field.

Corruption and Authoritarianism

Take the question of corruption which has become so rampant. Congress leaders either minimise its extent or blame “everybody” for this.

They refuse to recognise that at the root of this widespread corruption lie the twin phenomena of enormous concentration of wealth in a few hands and the concentration of political power in the hands of a single political party—the relationship between whom grows closer every year.

How big business subscribes to the funds of the Congress and how Congress leaders protect their interest are known so widely that they need no elaboration.

Serious charges of corruption have been made in almost every State by responsible people against officials and even against Ministers. These charges are not even investigated.

The result is lowering of morale, encouragement to mal-practices, loss of confidence. Apart from corruption of the most blatant type, there is also the practice of a large part of the allocation for social welfare being spent to provide fat salaries for favourites of Ministers and for supporters of particular Congress factions.

Congress leaders are never tired of speaking about democracy. But their actual record is one that can inspire little confidence.

Everyone knows how the votaries of constitutionalism organised, in alliance with dark forces of communalism and casteism, the "popular upsurge" in Kerala, how the Central Government aided and abetted the "struggle" and how a democratically elected Government was dismissed because it represented a party other than the Congress and tried to serve, within the framework of the Constitution, the mass of the people.

A few months before this, a Congress leader, speaking at the AICC meeting held in Hyderabad, had warned that the "contagion" from Kerala might spread to other states.

As regards civil liberties, no less a person than the President of our Republic, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, himself expressed the view in November 1960 at the Governors' Conference that there had been more police firings in India since Independence than during the days of British rule.

The powers of the bureaucracy and the police remain as sweeping as ever and these powers are used in the same way as the British days. Recently, Mr. Justice A.N. Mulla delivering a judgement of the Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court, remarked :

"I say with all sense of responsibility that there is not a single lawless group in the whole country, whose record of crimes is anywhere near the record of that organised unit which is known as the Indian police force."

Perhaps never in any democratic country did a judge of the High Court utter such scathing condemnation of the police force. It should make the leaders of the Congress sit up.

Officials, with a few honourable exceptions, continue to act and behave as they did in the days of the British. They consider themselves to be not servants of the people but their masters. Volumes can be written about the repression that the Government lets loose whenever the people, driven by misery, rise in struggle. Eighty persons were killed and over 200 injured during the food agitation in Calcutta. Eight were killed and 12,000 jailed in Punjab in connection with the anti-betterment levy agitation. The list is unending. Only recently 16,000 peasants were arrested in Madras State during the ceiling agitation.

The authoritarian and anti-democratic outlook which Congress leaders have acquired can be seen in many other spheres as well. Years of uninterrupted rule have made them intolerant of criticism even from their own ranks.

They use the power of the Government to discriminate against and sometimes even to suppress local bodies which are not under their control.

Also, funds allotted by the Government to help victims of such natural calamities as floods are often spent in such a way as to strengthen the position of the Congress party or the ruling faction inside it.

Disruption of National Unity

The Congress enjoys monopoly of power. It runs the Central Government, it runs all the State Governments, it controls a big majority of corporations, municipalities, district boards and even panchayats.

Such a dominant position of a single party in the political life of the country should normally prevent the growth of fissiparous, disruptive and centrifugal forces.

In reality, just the opposite has happened.

The unity that existed when India won freedom has, to a

great extent, been disrupted. Forces of communalism, casteism, regionalism and linguistic chauvinism have grown alarmingly in recent years. So serious has the situation become that Prime Minister Nehru exclaimed once that he would be prepared "to sacrifice even national planning to save national unity".

This growth of disruptive forces and tendencies is due to complex causes some of which are rooted in our history. But they could not have assumed such menacing proportions if the Congress had acted correctly.

We cannot agree with the thesis advanced in the Congress Election Manifesto that "the attraction of political power led to factions and numerous political groupings" and that "the general release of energy often led people in a wrong direction" and so on. We cannot agree with this thesis for it amounts to throwing the whole blame on the people and giving an alibi to the ruling party.

It is evident that after the attainment of freedom the unity that the national movement had built up could not continue indefinitely on the old basis. New problems faced the nation, the problem of rebuilding our country and of refashioning of our life. These problems could be tackled and national unity could be forged on a new basis only if the ruling party did the following things:

Place before the people an inspiring national objective and take radical measures to achieve it—nationalisation of foreign concerns, land to the tiller, etc.

Deprive reactionary classes and elements of their economic power.

Work out and firmly implement a correct policy on languages, linguistic states and on protection of minorities.

Take measures to overcome regional disparities as far as possible and uplift backward classes and tribal people.

Launch a powerful and sustained nationwide campaign against obscurantist forces, against communalism, casteism etc.

Instead of doing all this, the Congress followed policies of compromise and concessions and of drift. Inevitably, the

mood of frustration and anger replaced the earlier mood of hope and enthusiasm. Reactionary forces took full advantage of this situation.

Sometimes, even the just demands of the people as regards regional development and language got distorted and were given a disruptive turn by interested parties. Sometimes, the Congress itself directly helped the growth of communalism by alliance with avowedly communal parties—as in Kerala and in Punjab. Quite often, appeals in the name of caste were made by Congress candidates to secure votes.

In this way national unity got disrupted. In this way princes, landlords and extreme reactionaries who, at the time when the nation won freedom, stood isolated and discredited could, in a number of states, stage a comeback and win some measure of popular support by playing on people's discontent, by demagogy and by fanning hatred against minority communities.

Federation of Warring Groups

Policies that could not unite the nation could not retain the unity of the Congress either. Factionalism of the most acute type has become chronic in the Congress organisation in practically every state—factionalism based on power-politics, on the question as to which group would have how many ministers, whose candidates will get more tickets, how contracts and jobs will be distributed and so on.

Honest Congressmen, many of whom dedicated their whole life to the service of the country, feel themselves out of place in such an atmosphere and often get pushed out or voluntarily retire.

In one State after another, the Congress is assuming the character of a loose federation of warring groups, held together by common desire to retain power and by the towering personality of Jawaharlal Nehru.

The ugly incidents that occur in practically every State Congress Committee, the squabbles based on nothing but lust for power, the never-ending intrigues that have become

a marked feature of internal Congress life, the scramble for tickets that grows as elections approach—all these bring out vividly the degeneration which has set in and which defy all “solutions”.

The state of affairs inside the Congress was described by Lakshmi Menon, the Deputy Minister for External Affairs, in a recent speech which she made at a meeting of Congressmen in Nagpur :

Describing, Prime Minister Nehru as the only Congressman who followed Gandhian principles faithfully, she said, most Congressmen, while swearing by the Gandhian way of life, merely represented the reactionary urges in India. She said she was chagrined to find that in the nation’s Parliament, Congressmen were foremost in their opposition to progressive legislation concerning overdue social reforms.

“Mrs. Menon said most Congressmen, unlike the Prime Minister, were insincere in their behaviour. Many of them donned Khadi but secretly owed allegiance to or harboured sympathies with communal organisations like the Jana Sangh or Hindu Mahasabha or the RSS. It would be far more honest if such persons left the Congress and openly worked with those whom they agreed with” (*Times of India*, November 18, 1961).

Mrs. Menon did not explain why such persons are kept in the organisation and not *expelled*.

Further,

“Mrs. Menon deplored the ‘increasingly noticeable tendency among Congressmen and Congress Committees to go after money’. It was very distressing, she said, to find that several deserving persons who had made sacrifices in the fight for freedom were ignored by the Congress Committees and discarded in favour of those who gave money to the organisation...” (*ibid*).

Lakshmi Menon said plenty of more things in the same strain. Her criticism was so “scathing and trenchant” that the President of the Nagpur Congress Committee who presided, “appealed to Mrs. Menon to convey her sentiments to

the great leaders of the organisation with whom she was in close touch, rather than 'harrying and confusing' Congressmen at lower levels" (*ibid*).

Weaken Monopoly of Congress Power

No comment is necessary. Unfortunately, however, Lakshmi Menon did not probe deep enough. She did not try to lay bare the *causes* which have led to such lowering of morale.

In view of such things, is it at all surprising that when leaders of Congress preach the need for sacrifice, for honesty, for high standard of public morals, when they condemn casteism, communalism and obscurantism, people merely shrug their shoulders and smile cynically?

For all these reasons, the Communist Party considers that in the forthcoming elections, it is of utmost importance that the anti-people policies of the Congress are exposed, the damage done by them are explained and people rallied to weaken and—where possible—break the Congress monopoly of power.

That would be good for the country and the people. That would be good for the Congress itself, for it would help honest Congressmen to fight the evils that have crept in, with greater chances of success.

Defeat Forces of Right Reaction

That does not mean, however, that we merely want the defeat of the Congress — no matter at whose hands. Our attitude towards the Congress and its policies has nothing in common with the attitude of parties, groups and elements of the extreme right.

They say they too want to defeat the Congress. That is true. But the fact is that they denounce and oppose precisely those policies of the Congress which are of a relatively progressive character. The policies they want to impose on the country are policies of rank reaction. They want to turn back the wheels of history.

Foreign Policy

For instance, it is well-known that India's foreign policy, the policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism, has raised our prestige throughout the world. India has built friendly relation with socialist countries which has helped her to strengthen her national economy and build a number of heavy industries in the public sector.

We, Communists, have voiced some criticism of India's foreign policy. We have pointed out that it is not consistent enough.

We regret the failure of our Government to sharply condemn American imperialists who organised the invasion of Cuba.

We regret the non-recognition of the Algerian people's revolutionary Government.

We deplore the fact that due to the half-hearted attitude taken by us in recent periods, in relation to colonialists and neo-colonialists, our prestige, especially in the African countries, has received a setback.

We strongly urge the recognition of the German Democratic Republic, whose existence cannot be ignored and which pursues a policy of peace and opposition to colonialism. We also demand action to liberate Goa.

Our attitude towards the Government of India's foreign policy is, therefore, one of general support, together with the demand that it should become firmer and more consistent.

India-China Dispute

Some people think that the line that we take in the sphere of foreign policy is self-contradictory because, whereas we demand action to liberate Goa, we, while firmly upholding India's territory integrity, have urged that our dispute with China should be settled through negotiations. In reality, however, there is no such contradiction.

Portugal is an imperialist country with no common frontiers with India. Not even Dr. Salazar claims that there is

any *border dispute* between Portugal and India. People who are indisputably Indian are subjected to repression and humiliation in Goa. They are denied elementary human rights and the right to unite with India.

Goa, therefore, belongs to a specific category. Our national freedom itself will not be complete till the Goan people are liberated.

Such is not the nature of the dispute which India has with China. We want that India's territorial integrity be defended by all means at our disposal, no matter who encroaches on it. But we also urge that every effort should be made to solve the border dispute between our country and China by peaceful methods.

Our critics may say that this attitude we adopt only because China is a country where Communists wield power. Let them remember that even in relation to Pakistan whose forces occupied a part of Indian territory by military action, whose regime we sharply criticise, where the Communist Party is illegal, where scores of Communists are in prison and several have been killed, we have always advocated negotiations.*

In this matter our position has been the same as the position of the Government of India.

Further it must be admitted that the Government of India does not act in a straight-forward manner in this matter. From time to time they announce that India's air space is being violated by planes coming from China, that Chinese

*It should be noted that in our last Election Manifesto (1957) it was stated : "The Communist Party will do all in its power to assist the liberation movement inside Goa and strive to secure effective intervention by the Government so that this last vestige of colonial rule on our fair soil is wiped out".

"It will strive for the establishment of relations of friendship between India and Pakistan, for increase in trade, mutual and other contacts between the two countries as well as for greater facilities for communication between their peoples."

The consistency of our stand is self-evident.

patrols entered Indian territory, that new checkposts are being established by the Chinese within Indian territory.

When Pandit Nehru told the Lok Sabha on November 20 about the latest developments in Ladakh, I issued the following statement to the press:

“I have read with surprise and regret the information given by the Government of India about the recent patrolling by Chinese soldiers in Indian territory”. It is also reported that new checkposts have been established by the Chinese even beyond the territory shown in their own map of 1956.

“Such acts, especially in the context of the dispute already existing, cannot but heighten tension, create deep resentment among the Indian people and further embitter the relations between the two countries.

“We demand that the Government of the People’s Republic of China must immediately put an end to such acts. We demand also that effective measures must be taken by them to ensure that such things do not occur again.”

The Chinese Government has several times denied these allegations. But let us assume these reports are correct. The question then arises; what prevents our armed forces from taking necessary action; why are not these planes shot down? Why are the patrols permitted to enter our territory? Why are such checkposts allowed to be established?

We, Communists, certainly desire negotiations. *But have we ever asked the Government of India to sit passively and allow such things to happen? Never. Nor shall we ever do so.*

In spite of our position on the issue having been made clear repeatedly, reports are circulated from time to time about Communists carrying on a “pro-China campaign” in border areas. Not one of these reports has been substantiated.

The issue, however, is not one which concerns the Government and us alone. What we cannot ignore is that the Government is utilising the India-China dispute to attack the forces of Indian democracy and popular struggles.

Our Party, of course, has been the main target. But the attack is not directed against us alone. Several times this issue has been raised to justify repression on popular struggles.

In July 1960 took place the Central Government employees' strike—a strike not for any political ends but with the main demand of linking dearness allowance to the cost of living.

So eminently just was the demand that all Government employees' organisations joined hand in deciding upon the strike. All trade union organisations, except the INTUC, supported the strike. Among the leaders of the strike as well as among the workers there were Praja Socialists, Congressmen as well as Communists.

On the eve of the strike Prime Minister Nehru returning from a tour in Ladakh made a broadcast in which he spoke of "unfriendly posts on the other side" and the "fine body of young men"—the Indian soldiers—who were guarding our frontiers. Contrasting these soldiers with the Government employees, Nehru denounced the impending strike as "an attempt deliberate or unwilling, which could only lead to the weakening of our defences..."

This was an unworthy and demagogic attempt to push the real issues to the background and to confuse the people.

We stand resolutely for the defence of the territorial integrity of our country.

India and China are two great countries of Asia. Co-operation and friendship between them is essential for the defence of peace and the solidarity of the Asian peoples. We, therefore, want the settlement of the dispute in a peaceful way and through negotiations.

Rightist Plans

But what is the foreign policy which the parties of right reaction, making use of the dispute between India and China, want to impose on our country?

They oppose the very basis of our foreign policy.

In its Draft Election Manifesto (the final version is not out yet) the Swatantra Party says that “abstract concepts of co-existence and non-alignment have lost all meaning” and that “our foreign policy needs to be revised and brought into closer relation with the realities of the international situation.”

The Jana Sangh, while daring not to go so far openly, proclaims that the “foreign policy of our Congress rulers has been a total failure”, and that our “attitude towards a number of international questions gives the impression of its leanings towards a particular bloc.”

In other words, they too, like the Swatantra, want India to abandon the policy of peace and non-alignment. Ram Singh, the Hindu Sabha leader characterised India’s support to Egypt during the Suez crisis as “height of folly”.

It is also worth remembering that not so long ago, these very rightist parties were pleading for a “defence alliance” with Pakistan. Of course, they dare not speak of it today in view of Ayub Khan’s sabre-rattling against India. But basically their line on India’s foreign policy is the same as that advocated by imperialists—who, too, fulminate against “neutrality”.

In internal matters also the “opposition” of these parties to the Congress is a right reactionary opposition. Their words, their deeds, the classes and sections whose support they secure—all prove this beyond the semblance of doubt.

One of the main achievements of the Second Five-Year Plan has been the building of certain basic and heavy industries and the extension of the public sector. This has strengthened our economy and our national independence. Imperialists have never made a secret of their hostility to this policy.

What are the slogans of the parties of right reaction on economic matters? Significantly enough, they are the same as those of the imperialists.

In its Election Manifesto of 1957, the Jana Sangh assailed the Second Plan not for its *inadequacy* but for its being “overambitious” for its emphasis on heavy industries.

It stated that State ownership of industries was “killing democracy”.

Today its key slogan in relation to the public sector is “consolidation rather than extension”—the very slogan which was given by the U.S.-controlled World Bank Mission.

The Jana Sangh wants “abolition of the doctrinaire distinction between the public sector and the private sector”. It wants the public sector to be confined to “defence industries” and “railways, mineral oils, hydro-electrical and atomic power”. In all other spheres it would give a free hand to private businessmen.

The economic policies enumerated by the Swatantra are of the same type. It “rejects the lopsided priority given to heavy industry”.

It wants to abolish even the present limited land reforms and “reverse all expropriatory measures which, among other things, deprive the present population of sound rural leadership”—in other words, the leadership of jairdars and landlords.

The Swatantra would do away with the State Trading Corporation and even hand back life insurance companies to the private sector.

Of course, these and similar other parties know that on the basis of such slogans alone it is not possible to secure a mass base. Hence, they demagogically exploit all the failures of the Congress Government.

They thunder against corruption, condemn the rise in taxes and in prices, promise a “clean administration” and so on.

But all that cannot conceal the real character of these parties. It is not fortuitous that the main strength of the Swatantra Party lies in the states where feudal relics are strong—Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, etc. Nor that the Janata Party of Bihar, a party of landlords, and the Ganatantra Parishad of Orissa, a party of former princes have “merged” with the Swatantra.

As for the Jana Sangh, it too gets substantial support from landlords, apart from what it is able to secure by whipping up communal passion.

Communal Forces

“Communalism”, Pandit Nehru said once, “bears a striking resemblance to various forms of fascism that we have seen in other countries. It is, in fact, the Indian version of fascism”.

We wish he had remembered this during the “upsurge” in Kerala and the subsequent mid-term elections. Much evil would have been prevented thereby.

The Muslim League, which has been revived in several states thanks to what the Congress and PSP did in Kerala, has not merely contributed to the further intensification of communalism, it is doing incalculable damage to the Muslims themselves by giving a pretext to Hindu communalists.

The Akalis of Punjab are another disruptive force. Distorting the democratic content of the Linguistic State demand, using gurdwaras for political purposes, raising the false issue of discrimination against Sikhs, they have disrupted the popular forces in Punjab and also given impetus to Hindu communalism.

Our Party resolutely opposes communalism of all brands and all shades—whether Hindu or Muslim or Sikh. Those who divide the masses on a religious basis, weaken the democratic movement and serve the interest of reaction. But this is not all.

No patriotic Indian, no democrat can view with unconcern the regrettable fact that in a number of states, especially where the Communist party and the democratic movement are weak, there have been, in recent periods, a number of riots directed against the Muslim minority.

In practically all the places, the main force behind the communal carnage were leaders and members of the Jana Sangh.

The growth in the influence of the Jana Sangh in certain areas, especially Hindi-speaking areas, is an ominous phenomenon.

In its Election Manifesto of 1957, the Jana Sangh had openly proclaimed its objective as “nationalising all non-

Hindus by inculcating in them the ideals of Bharatiya culture". This meant refusing to recognise as Indians all those who are not Hindus.

It was a virtual declaration of war on Muslims—a war whose pattern has been revealed in the ghastly events that took place in Bhopal, Jubbulpore, Saugor, Aligarh and other places.

The revulsion that this caused in the minds of all decent people has made the Jana Sangh leaders somewhat cautious—but in words only. In their present Manifesto, they have discreetly dropped the slogan of "nationalising all non-Hindus". On the contrary they talk of "our ideals of a secular State", they regret the "dragging of religion into politics". They have enrolled some Muslims in their party.

But the basic idea of "Bharatiya culture" of their own special brand is stressed in the new Manifesto as well. Moreover, their whole *practice* shows that they remain a party of aggressive communalism, a party of obscurantism and of opposition to all social reforms, a party hostile to democracy.

The Jana Sangh has declared that it considers our Party to be its "main enemy". Their General Secretary, Upadhyaya said that "the Jana Sangh might even support the Congress to ensure the defeat of the Communists". Also they would support PSP candidates against us for the same purpose.

We do not regret this declaration. On the contrary, we welcome it. We consider it a matter of honour that we are looked upon as enemy number one by this party and by other parties of blatant reaction.

Big Business and Parties of Right

The attitude that big business has adopted towards parties of right reaction is interesting indeed.

The *India Press Agency* of September 11 reported: "J.R.D.Tata, Chairman of the Tata Iron and Steel Company had written to the Prime Minister intimating him that although the Tatas would continue to donate to the election

campaign fund of the Congress they felt the need for the growth of a democratic opposition and hence would be donating to the Swatantra Party since, in their view, the Congress was not effectively fighting the Communist menace”.

The politics behind this “double allegiance” was laid bare by us several months ago. We said at the Vijayawada session of the Congress of our Party:

“It is known that some of the biggest patrons of the Congress also back the Swatantra. They support the Congress for what the Congress has done and is doing for them. Simultaneously, they try to build up the Swatantra as a weapon to pressurise the Congress and move it further to the right.”

Similar is the line pursued by some of the most reactionary monopolists in relation to the Jana Sangh.

They want parties of reaction to grow. They want still closer link between the reactionaries inside and outside the Congress. They want the Communist Party to be dislodged from its position as the main party of opposition in Parliament. Through all this they want reactionary pressure on the Government to mount.

Praja Socialist Shift to Right

The Praja Socialists cannot be placed in the same category as these parties. The support that they enjoy in certain areas has been acquired mainly on the basis on the left slogans.

Nevertheless, it has been noted by everyone that, blinded by their anti-Communism, the PSP has been shifting more and more to the right. It often joins hand with the parties and forces of rank reaction.

Moreover, in relation to numerous popular struggles in almost every state, their role has been one of betrayal and disruption. On many matters, the policies that they pursue are more reactionary than those of the Congress.

Whatever socialist pretensions they had once, they have abandoned. In the sphere of foreign policy, they say they want a “genuine policy of non-involvement in power groups”, “keeping out of military alliances”. At the same time, they

demand “political and defence collaboration among countries” of “South and South East Asia”—which evidently includes such reactionary regimes as Thailand, Malaya and even Pakistan.

They keep silent over India's non—recognition of the German Democratic Republic and also of the revolutionary Government of Algeria.

They had not a word to say against the U.S.-sponsored invasion of Cuba. Their whole Manifesto never even mentions American imperialism. At the same time, they criticise the Government of India for “condoning international injustice”—evidently in relation to Tibet, which has always been an integral part of China.

Echoing the voice of the imperialists, the PSP had once frontally opposed the building of heavy and basic industries. (See *Democratic Socialism* by Ashok Mehta). They cannot do so now openly. But that does not deter them from demanding in their Election Manifesto that “in the public sector, giant corporations should be split up”. They are against what they call “modernist development”.

They criticise the concessions given by the Government to “top business firms” but keep mum over the dangerous extent to which collaboration between Indian and foreign big business has grown. In fact, foreign monopoly capital is never even referred to by PSP leaders and spokesmen.

But what matters most is not what is written in the PSP Election Manifesto. Far more important is the stand that they take on various concrete issues.

Everyone knows the despicable role that the PSP played in Kerala—being the first party to enter into alliance with the Muslim League. This was justified on the plea that the League in Kerala was not “really communal”.

One could understand it if even that stand was adhered to. One could even appreciate that stand being abandoned out of conviction. But as soon as the Congress decided to break its alliance with the Muslim League, and demanded that the PSP should do the same, the PSP forgot all about

the "special character" of the Kerala Muslim League and lined up obediently behind the Congress.

Again, when Pattom Thanu Pillai ran into trouble with his Congress Ministerial colleagues, he at first declared that he would not yield to their tactics of pressure. He said he was the Chief Minister and was determined to *act* as the Chief Minister. Ashok Mehta who visited Kerala also backed him in his high and mighty attitude.

But then, the Congress cracked the whip again. Many expected that the PSP Chief Minister would stand by his earlier declaration. Instead of that—"After a Cabinet meeting today, Pillai told press reporters, 'I have agreed to everything that the Congress Ministers wanted, for I want this Government to continue'.

"He added that another reason for his agreeing to share power was that the Congress-PSP alliance would have to fight the coming election to the Parliament together" (*Times of India News Service*, Trivandrum, November 21, 1961).

Comment would be superfluous. But one is tempted to ask: Could lack of self-respect, could utter servility and hankering after office and seats go any further?

Such is the example set by those who are never tired of sermonising to the Congress about the need for setting a "proper standard of public behaviour".

Inside the Parliament, on innumerable occasions, the PSP has taken a stand which has nothing to do with socialism or democracy.

Everyone remembers that when all democratic-minded people, including many Congressmen, reacted sharply to the shocking budget presented by Morarji Desai in March 1961, a budget which while giving relief to the rich, heaped new burdens on the poor, Ashok Mehta indulged in glorification of the Finance Minister and "applauded him for his sound tactics".

Everyone also remembers that when General Thimayya, the Chief of the Army Staff, had the audacity to challenge the supremacy of the Parliament (August 1959) and tried to

blackmail the Government by his threat of resignation, the PSP leaders, unmindful of all that they had said about democracy, "congratulated" Thimayya for his action and fully backed him.

In this, as on many other issues, their position was the same as that of the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh.

It can surprise no one, therefore, that in the Lok Sabha election from the North Bombay Constituency, the PSP, the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra have joined hand to fight Krishna Menon. This shameful act is the culmination of the entire line pursued by the PSP for a long period.

In relation to several mass struggles of crucial importance—the great food movement in W. Bengal, the anti-tax struggle in Uttar Pradesh, etc. the policy pursued by the PSP was one of betrayal and disruption.

They broke with the Leftist alliance in W Bengal.

They broke with the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti in Maharashtra.

By all this they aided the Congress. By hobnobbing with groups and factions in the Congress, by relying on this and on agreement with opportunists of various shades—the PSP expects that this time it would be able to do better than in the previous two elections.

Such is the fate that has overcome a party which once had the ambition of replacing the Congress in power.

Where abandonment of all principles and blind anti-Communism lead, can be seen from the present state of the PSP and the chronic crisis that plagues it—a crisis caused by no differences over policies but by the rivalry between various factions grouped round personalities.

Policy of Communist Party

In contrast to the parties of the right, we, Communists, combat the policies of the Government with a view to bring about a move to the left—towards democracy, social advance and consistent anti-imperialism.

No party in our country has opposed the anti-popular

policies of the Government as we have done—both inside the legislatures and by mass action. At the same time, our opposition to the Government is not a blind, unprincipled opposition.

Whenever and wherever the Government has taken a position in conformity with the interest of the people, we have given it our unstinted support.

This applies not only to such broad issues as foreign policy, the public sector, need for heavy industries, etc., but also to specific matters.

When, for example in face of General Thimayya's threat of resignation and his attempt to blackmail the Government, Nehru stood firm, asserting the supremacy of Parliament, ours was the one party to back the Prime Minister fully.

Also, we were the first to stress the need for united action by all secular parties to check the forces of national disruption—a suggestion which found partial fulfilment in National Integration Conference held in September.

The language formula adopted at that Conference is broadly on the same lines as advocated by us for a long time. Several other instances can be given.

Nevertheless, we maintain that fourteen years of experience have proved that the path of development chosen by the Congress cannot eliminate poverty and backwardness. It cannot ensure all-sided national advance. The question is not one of minor corrections here and there. It is a question of a *different path*.

Alternative Path

The alternative policies which we want the country to adopt have been elaborated in our Election Manifesto.

We advocate the ending of all exploitation of India's resources by foreign monopolists, the immediate transfer of land to the tiller, curb on monopoly, expansion of the public sector, a firm price policy, an equitable system of taxation and a living wage for workers.

We advocate protection of minority rights, promotion of national integration, extension of democracy and a more positive role by our country in the struggle for peace and against colonialism.

What can be done here and now in respect of all these matters, we have indicated in our Manifesto.

Socialism which has triumphed in one-third of the world has demonstrated its indisputed superiority over capitalism. Inevitably, in every country more and more people are gravitating towards socialism. India is no exception. Here, too, the ideas of socialism exercise powerful pull on the masses.

But socialism can be established only when the mass movement reaches a high stage and power passes into the hands of a Government representing the toiling people. Such is not yet the situation in India. Hence, the immediate proposals which we have put forward are not socialist. But when implemented, they will strengthen the position of the masses, weaken the vested interests and create conditions for advance towards socialism. As such, we expect all those who are sincere about socialism, to support them.

The programme we place before the people is not just a catalogue of things which we shall do if people put us in power. It is a programme of unity and action. It is a programme on whose basis all patriotic and democratic forces in our country can unite.

Our Appeal

We appeal to the people to vote for us not only because of the policies which we preach but also and above all on the basis of what we have done to serve them and their cause. Our people, we know, appreciate our work, despite our many shortcomings.

In two successive elections, they returned us as the main party of opposition in Parliament. Our votes increased from 60 lakhs to 120 lakhs.

Moreover in 1957, in one State of India, Kerala, they gave us a majority of seats in the Assembly and enabled us to form the Government. What that Government did against heavy odds and within a short period of 28 months was a convincing demonstration that between the word and deeds of the Communists there is no divergence.

The formation of the Communist-led Government of Kerala helped the process of radicalisation in every part of the country. It helped progressive elements inside the Congress as well. The Nagpur Congress resolution on agrarian reforms—though later sabotaged—was, to a considerable extent, due to the example set by Kerala.

It cannot be considered an accident that whereas the Congress made a PSP leader, Thanu Pillai, the Chief Minister of Kerala, the entire might of the Congress was used to bring about the fall of the Communist-led Government.

Nor can it be considered an accident that, although all other forces joined hand against us, we polled 35 lakhs of votes in the mid-term elections as against 23 lakhs in 1957, thereby blowing up the story that people who had supported us earlier, had moved away from us. The very increase in our influence, especially among the most exploited strata of the people, showed that we did what we preached.

In no other State did we get a majority of seats. But we championed the cause of the people fearlessly in the State assemblies as well as in the Parliament. We have ever been in the forefront of every popular struggle. Simultaneously, we have striven to minimise strifes that weaken national unity. We have done everything in our power to protect minorities—whether religious or linguistic.

Dark forces of reaction are active both inside the Congress and outside to take our country backward. This can be countered not by marking time but by going forward. If the general elections result in strengthening the position of the Communist Party and of democratic forces in the legislatures—as we have every reasons to believe will happen—process of going forward will be facilitated greatly.

Key Slogans

We enter the Third General Elections with three main slogans:

- Weaken the Congress monopoly of power;
- Rout the parties of right reaction;
- Strengthen the position of the Communist Party and of genuine democratic forces.

We seek the support of workers, peasants, toiling intelligentsia, artisans and other oppressed and exploited masses whose interest we have tried to serve to the best of our ability.

We seek the support of small and medium industrialists, traders, who too suffer from numerous disabilities under the present Government.

We seek the support of all patriotic-minded Indians.

We also seek the co-operation and support of Congressmen and Congress masses who are loyal to the ideas which the Congress once proclaimed.

We go into the electoral battle with confidence in our people and in their judgement. We have no doubt that as the result of the Third General Elections, democracy in our country will be consolidated and further strengthened. We have no doubt that the increased strength of Indian democracy will enable India to play a still greater role in the world struggle for freedom and peace.

The Real Face And Purpose of the “Criminal Law Amendment Act” (As passed by Parliament)*

West Bengal State Council, C.P.I.

PREFACE

At the Durgapur Session of the All India Congress Committee, some Congress leaders, in their usual anti-Communist outpourings, demanded that the recently passed Criminal Law Amendment Act be used to strike down the Communists and in effect, attack the democratic movement. It is understandable that the West Bengal Congress chieftain Shri Atulya Ghosh should have been in the forefront of this Durgapur tough-talk.

No one need be surprised at this hate and fury against the Communist Party on the part of Shri Atulya Ghosh and others. The heroic patriotic demonstration of the people of West Bengal just a little distance away from the A.I.C.C. venue against the Silchar blood-bath by the Congress rulers must have further ruffled their anti-Communist tempers.

However, Durgapur provided another proof of the utter bad faith of the Congress leaders. They need the Criminal Law Amendment Act to harass and attack the Communist Party and the democratic mass movement.

The speeches in Parliament on this Bill earlier by some members of the ruling party and the professional anti-Communists like the gentlemen of the P.S.P., Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party and now the Durgapur performance, with the Union Home Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, joining

* This document was actually released in June, 1961, according to the date given in the PREFACE of the printed booklet containing this document

in that tedious anti-Communist chorus, would leave no room for doubt about the reasons for their great enthusiasm for this extra-ordinary piece of legislation. It may be mentioned here that this measure has been welcomed in the imperialist circles abroad.

Although the Criminal Law Amendment Bill was sponsored in the name of protecting the territorial integrity of the country, its actual provisions, however, go far beyond. They arm the Executive and Police with excessive, arbitrary powers to suppress legitimate trade union and other forms of democratic activities of the working people in certain areas. They enable the Government and its officers including petty police officers to assail, at will, the fundamental rights and liberties of the people and the Press and intimidate them. The evil design of the Congress rulers and the right-wing is sought to be disguised and carried out with the help of this measure.

It will be noted that of all people Shri Atulya Ghosh, about whose personal and political integrity the less said the better, waxed eloquent at Durgapur on the integrity of our border and indulged in totally baseless fabrications against the Communist Party. Every word he uttered against our Party's activities in the border areas or in the other parts of the state was a blatant lie and he knew that he was lying. By such provocations and lies, Shri Atulya Ghosh and his friends perhaps want to divert people's attention from their crimes in West Bengal. And we will no doubt see more of this crude stunt as the General Election comes nearer,

Since 1951 for a whole period of nine years, George N. Patterson and other imperialist agents were carrying on, on Patterson's own admission, espionage and other subversive activities in the Kalimpong border area without any let or hindrance. The Congress leaders of West Bengal and their High Command had nothing to say or worry about. In fact, the Central Government slept when Patterson helped to organise Tibetan rebels, gun-running and other nefarious activities, undermining India's position and its foreign policy. Some of

the misdeeds were exposed in the Parliament from Patterson's own confessions.

In the Meerut and Delhi National Council Resolutions of our Party, our stand on the India-China border question has been made well-known to the whole country. We Communists unequivocally stand for the territorial integrity of our country and we are second to none in upholding it. But then we are aware that this cannot satisfy those who hate the Communists more than they love their country or those who want to, as Shri Jai Prakash Narain has said, "make into a football to be kicked about" with this border issue.

The way the tragic India-China border question is demagogically exploited by the Congress and the pathologically anti-Communists in the P.S.P. and the forces of Right reaction like the Jana Sangh and Swatantra Party for furthering their narrow partisan ends brings no credit to our public life. Let alone the elections, the border issue is dragged in and utilised to disrupt and attack popular mass agitations and mass actions like the Central Government Employees' Strike, movement for food, land and better wages, or against high prices and high taxes. This should make the game plain enough for all to see through.

Despicable methods were adopted by some Congress Ministers in order to prepare the background and the situation for the introduction of the Bill in the Parliament. A few questions on the alleged anti-Communist stand and activities of Communists in the border area were posed in Parliament by professional anti-Communists and others and replies were given by Ministers including the late Home Minister and the Prime Minister. Police reports of alleged anti-national utterances at secret and open meetings on the border area were read out by the Prime Minister and these were published in some newspapers with banner headlines. Even editorials were written condemning the Communist Party. But in every case the charges were, with indisputable facts, refuted and letters sent to the Prime Minister.

Thus was the situation created to usher in the Criminal Law Amendment Act with the vilest of motives.

The Congress leaders have miscalculated and they have done less than justice to the sound commonsense of our people. The people of West Bengal are in fact increasingly seeing through this dirty little political game of the Congress leaders and that miserable anti-Communist collection of the P.S.P., Jana Sangh and Swatantra Party, the latter two incidentally hardly having any existence in West Bengal's robust public life. This is why despite all their diversionist tactics and provocations and their farrago of anti-Communist lies and slanders, the great democratic movement of our State, with the Communist Party as its main leading force, has gone on advancing from strength to strength and may we say—with the permission of Shri Atulya Gosh—that today it constitutes a powerful challenge to the sordid regime of limitless graft and nepotism, corruption and misrule which he and his party have fastened upon this maimed and bleeding State of India.

We have every reason to apprehend that in their political bankruptcy and desperation Shri Atulya Ghosh and the West Bengal Congress rulers may stoop so low as to misuse the Criminal Law Amendment Act against the democratic movement and the Communist Party in West Bengal. But we are also confident that the democratic people of West Bengal will know how to frustrate all treacherous moves.

Our Party in both the Houses of Parliament unmasked the real face of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill and focused public attention on the political designs and motivations behind this. To inform the people we are, in this pamphlet, giving an account of what the Communist spokesmen said in the debates on this Bill.

June, 1961

*The West Bengal State Council
of the Communist Party of India*

Prime Minister Shri Nehru's Statement in Lok Sabha (21st Nov. 1960) on the Alleged Anti-State Activities of the Communists in the Border Areas

(From "The Statesman"—22nd November, 1960)

An adjournment motion on the Indian Communist Party's anti-national activities in the border areas again brought the border dispute into discussion.

Mr. Nehru enlarged on a "Statesman" report—on which the adjournment motion was based—and gave further details.

It was true, Mr. Nehru explained, that Indian Communists were conducting anti-national propaganda—although on "a less public scale" than before. The States were, however, alive to the situation in the new border districts as also in Kalimpong.

This brought Mr. Hiren Mukherjee (Com.) to his feet. He said it was unfair to make general allegations against his party since "we ourselves want to know who is conducting treasonable propaganda." "We are here to answer charges," he declared.

Mr. Nehru thereupon gave three instances—naming three members of the Communist Party including a West Bengal M.L.A. to prove his point.

Stating that he would give one or two instances "rather reluctantly," Mr. Nehru said that he did not want to make it a precedent.

"At the district Executive Committee meeting of the C.P.I. held on October 8 at Darjeeling," Mr. Nehru said, "Mr. S. N. Majumdar, M.L.A., urged C.P.I. workers to conduct propaganda on the Sino-Indian border issue on the lines that China would never attack India, and any propaganda to the contrary was designed to bring the C.P.I. into disrepute; that China has granted regional autonomy to the minority communities and she was manning her borders to meet likely aggression by America through Indian territory; (laughter) that China would help India in the event of an attack on India by Pakistan "

Giving another instance, Mr. Nehru said: "At a secret meeting of C.P.I. members held in Garhwal on April 18th, 1960, Mr. Krishna Bhatt endorsed the claim of China over certain parts of India and said that there were two villages near Joshimath in Chamoli District—Chanyyee and Thaneyee—the names of which clearly indicated that those areas were under Chinese occupation at one time."

"At a meeting of the party held in Simla on September 14th, 1960, Mr. Kameshwar Pandit, Secretary of the Himachal Pradesh Council, said that India should give concessions to the Chinese in Ladakh by acknowledging their suzerainty over the disputed area through which the Chinese had constructed a road, while on the eastern border, China should withdraw her claim to the territory situated across the McMahan Line in India."

Adjournment Motion in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly—Tabled by the Leader of the Opposition, Shri Jyoti Basu—22nd November, 1960

Shri Jyoti Basu : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I had given notice of an adjournment motion but you have been pleased to refuse consent and since you have given no reason for your refusal, I would just draw your attention to one particular aspect of this matter. I do not know whether it has been brought to your notice by anybody.

Mr. Speaker : Everybody has read it in the newspapers.

Shri Jyoti Basu : I do not know whether you have seen this because having read this particular paragraph I gave notice of the adjournment motion, otherwise I would not have given notice of the motion. I read it from one of the papers. "The Speaker said"—the Speaker means the Speaker of the Lok Sabha—"that the adjournment motion raised a serious question since no political party could work against the country's interest. He would have allowed the adjournment motion, he added, but for the fact that the question would come for discussion in tomorrow's foreign affairs debate." That is, today a debate is being held on foreign affairs.

Therefore the Speaker thought that he could not allow the adjournment motion and therefore I thought that since the Prime Minister has raised a question with regard to anti-Indian activities in West Bengal and also he has referred to a member of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, Shri Satyendra Narayan Mazumdar, and his alleged speech in some secret meeting of the Communist party, it was a matter not only for the Communist Party but it is also a matter for the entire country. We are interested as much as anybody else as to what these activities are and as to what the Government is doing in Kalimpong and elsewhere. We would like everything to be put on the table. Why this surreptitious attitude? Untrue statements are being made by the Prime Minister of India. It is extremely unfortunate that such things have happened. Have you considered this aspect? Therefore I thought it was a matter of urgent public importance.

Mr. Speaker : I have considered every bit of the aspect. You know the reasons. It is a long note. If you want, Secretary will show you the file.

Shri Jyoti Basu . It is very important that we should know the reasons because the Speaker of the Lok Sabha says it is urgent and you, Sir, in your wisdom think it is not important and you have rejected it.

Mr. Speaker : Please Mr. Basu, you know the reasons.

Shri Jyoti Basu : I would like to know, after I have finished reading my motion, as to what is the reason, because the Lok Sabha Speaker talks about "treasonable activities." We would like to know everything. If we are to be put on the dock, let us be put on the dock, but we would like to know from the members of the Congress benches and specially the Ministers as to what these activities are and we claim this statement of the Prime Minister to be absolutely untrue and unfounded and it is unfortunate that a person like Pandit Nehru makes such a statement.

Now I read the adjournment motion. "The proceedings of the Assembly do now adjourn to discuss a matter of urgent public importance and of recent occurrence, namely, the grave

statement of the Prime Minister in the Lok Sabha on 21st November, 1960, (1) with particular reference to the alleged anti-Indian activities of alleged Communists in the India-China border areas including Kalimpong, and (2) with reference to the alleged speech of Shri Satyendra Narayan Mazumdar, M.L.A., in an executive meeting of the Darjeeling District Council of the Communist Party of India sent to the Prime Minister by the secret police of West Bengal."

This is my motion, this is how it reads. Now, I would like to know from you how is it that you have not given your consent. I again claim that the Prime Minister on police report, a thing unheard of in the annals of parliamentary history—makes a statement in Parliament against a party.

Mr. Speaker : Mr. Basu, I request you to take your seat.

Shri Jyoti Basu : Mr. Speaker, I do not want to make a speech. I want to know your reasons.

Shri Ananda Gopal Mukhopadhyay : Sir, this cannot be allowed.

Shri Jyoti Basu : Mr. Speaker, supposing all these charges are correct—my friends there are agitated—supposing all these charges are correct against the members of the Communist Party, as Mr. Nehru says, then is it not the job of even the Communist Party of India to know? Therefore, let them answer. I want the Congress Ministers to give an answer. Those Congress Ministers who have sent the said police report are answerable about these charges.

Mr. Speaker : I may tell you that among other reasons, this is a matter which ought to be ventilated in the Central Parliament. (*Shri Jyoti Basu* : Why?) I tell you that this is my decision. This is not a matter over which we can have jurisdiction. Indo-China border dispute is a central subject.

So far as the speech is concerned, I take it as a private speech. So, I have disallowed it.

Shri Jyoti Basu : Kalimpong has been mentioned. It is within West Bengal, and therefore, it is within our jurisdiction.

The Speaker did not give permission to discuss the charges

against the Communist Party and Shri Satyendra Narayan Mazumdar.

**Shri Satyendra Narayan Mazumdar's Statement
in The Assembly (West Bengal Legislative
Proceedings dated 22nd November, 1960)**

Shri Satyendra Narayan Mazumdar : Sir, first of all I want to say that the statement made by the Prime Minister is not only based upon false police report, it is unprecedented as well. Because I know that, such procedure particularly, is not followed in the Lok Sabha. In the Lok Sabha no reference is made about a person who is not present there and who has no opportunity to put his own case. Even any reference about Government officers is objected to by the Prime Minister himself. Therefore I say that the reference about a person who is not present and who has no opportunity to put his own case is an unprecedented event. Secondly, the speech referred to by him is not the speech of a public meeting. He has said, that I made the speech in a meeting of the District Executive Committee. How could he get the report of the District Executive Committee meeting which is composed of District Executive Committee members? It has been sent either by the State Government Police or by the Central Intelligence Police. I want to state that no such matter was discussed in the meeting of the District Executive Committee. My personal view on the border dispute is well known. The main point of the resolution adopted at the meeting of the National Council of our Party held at Meerut is that, we want peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian border dispute. This is what I have stated in various places; I have stated that in various meetings. Last year, on the floor of this Assembly I stated that in my speech on the same subject. And even now we follow the same policy. We do not say one thing inside the Party and another thing outside. We speak on the basis of our party policy. Therefore I am compelled to say that what has been stated by Pandit Nehru is not at all true. And his conduct also is not proper. Because,

any person can be insulted by throwing any remark against him on the basis of police report. This is something unprecedented. That is why I want to say, I want to ask the Chief Minister and the Police Minister : Who have sent this police report? If this is so then any remark can be made against any person of any party and that will be circulated throughout India and throughout the world without any chance of protest.

Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to present my case. But not all persons of all places have that opportunity. Everywhere we make speeches on the basis of the Meerut resolution of our Party. We educate our Party members on the basis of our Party policy. Therefore I condemn the statement of the Prime Minister made on the basis of the police report.

**The Main Provisions of the Criminal Law
Amendment Bill, 1961 (As passed by Lok Sabha
on 24th April, 1961)**

2. "Whoever by words either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation or otherwise, questions the territorial integrity or frontiers of India in a manner which is, or is likely to be prejudicial to the interests of the safety or security of India, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

3.(1) "If the Central Government considers that in the interests of the safety or security of India or in the public interest, it is necessary or expedient so to do, it may, by notification in the Official Gazette, declare any area adjoining the frontiers of India to be a notified area; and thereupon, for so long as the notification is in force, such area shall be notified area for the purposes of this Section.

(2) "Whoever makes, publishes or circulates in any notified area any statement, rumour or report which is, or is likely to be prejudicial to the maintenance of public order or essential supplies or services in the said area to the interests

of the safety or security of India, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years or with fine, or with both.

(3) "On and after such day as may be specified in, and subject to any exemptions for which provision may be made by, a notification issued under Sub-Section (1), no person who was not immediately before the said day resident in the area declared to be a notified area by the notification shall enter or attempt to enter that area or be therein except in accordance with the terms of a permit in writing granted to him by a person, not below the rank of a magistrate of the first class, specified in the said notification.

(4) "Any Police Officer, not below the rank of Sub-Inspector of Police, may search any person entering or attempting to enter, or being in, or leaving, a notified area and any vehicle, vessel, animal or article brought in by such person, and may, for the purpose of the search, detain such person, vehicle, vessel, animal or article:

"Provided that no woman shall be searched in pursuance of this Sub-Section except by a woman authorised in this behalf by the Police Officer.

(5) "If any person is in a notified area in contravention of the provisions of Sub-Section (3), then, without prejudice to any other proceedings which may be taken against him, he may be removed therefrom by or under the direction of any Police Officer on duty in the notified area, not below the rank of Sub-Inspector of Police.

(6) "If any person enters or attempts to enter a notified area or if there is contravention of any of the provisions of Sub-Section (3), he shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

4. (1) "Where any newspaper or book as defined in the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, or any other document, wherever printed, appears to the State Government to contain any matter the publication of which is punishable under Section 2 or Sub-Section(2) of Section 3,

the State Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, stating the grounds of its opinion, declare every copy of the issue of the newspaper containing such matter and every copy of such book or other document to be forfeited to the Government, and thereupon any Police Officer may seize the same wherever found and any magistrate may by warrant authorise any Police Officer not below the rank of Sub-Inspector to enter upon and search for the same in any premises where any copy of such issue or any copy of such book or other document may be or may be reasonably suspected to be ”

Indrajit Gupta's Speech on Border Bill in the Lok Sabha

New Delhi, April, 25 Following are the extracts of Indrajit Gupta's speech in Lok Sabha on April 24 during the debate on the Bill supplementing the criminal law to punish anybody who questions the territorial integrity of the country

“I rise to oppose this Bill on behalf of my Party This Bill, in our opinion, is unnecessary and uncalled for and is liable to the most dangerous misuse Therefore, we oppose it

“I agree with my Hon friend, Shri Goray, that Shri Datar should have been more frank and more honest, if I may say so, when introducing this Bill, to speak out openly and say what he had in mind He accused a certain party, that is to say, without naming it, and he did indulge in what he himself has called insidious propaganda against that party He regaled us with a lot of so-called extracts from speeches or writings or slogans, as he called them But for some peculiar reason, he did not have the courage and the frankness to say openly what was in his mind Therefore, I am thankful to my hon friend, Shri Goray, for filling up that gap, the vacuum left by Shri Datar, has been very ably filled up That was what we had expected, we were not expecting anything more or less than that, because Shri Goray has made it quite clear—he said so in his

speech, if I am not mistaken—that there is no use of arguing with these people.

“Shri Yadav Narayan Yadav (Malegaon): We have got the conviction.

“Shri Indrajit Gupta : This sort of thing will not do any good and it is not adequate. Listening to him, I felt that like the Minister of State he also left a little bit unsaid, which he may say on some future occasion. But, he should also have been a little frank because the method of his argument was that the Minister should have made the demand quite clearly and that instead of a limited Bill like this being brought forward, the Communist Party should be banned, because you cannot argue with these people.

“Mr. Speaker : Is that the only alternative?

“Shri Indrajit Gupta : I do not know. That is what he meant. He was giving out his difficulty and the legitimate grouse he has against Government is that Government, while bringing in this Bill, while carrying on this propaganda against the Communist Party when they introduced the Bill, did not have the courage to say that these are the people against whom they mean to use it. I want a clear assurance on this, a commitment on the floor of this House that the Statement of Objects and Reasons given here is really meant, as far as the Government is concerned, to take action against the Communist Party. The questioning of the territorial integrity or frontiers of India has been cited here as the main reason for bringing forward this Bill. Those who may question the territorial integrity or frontiers of India in a manner prejudicial to the safety and security of the country are the people against whom it is primarily meant to be used.

“Shri Goray, of course, went off at a bit of a tangent, in my opinion. His point was that some people, Communists they say, are flouting the territorial integrity of the country. I want to make it clear that as far as my Party is concerned, we are bound and all our members are bound by the resolution which our Party has adopted on this question only last February. That was the reason why we did not repeat

this whole thing all over again in Vijayawada, which seems to be a secret mystery to Shri Goray. Only towards the end of February, our National Council met in Delhi and adopted the resolution on Indo-China dispute which resolution has been published and is before all India. Surely, Government is aware of it. What does this resolution say? This resolution says:

“The Communist Party of India has already declared in its Meerut resolution that it upholds the traditional borders in the Western Sector and the McMahan Line as the *de facto* boundary in the Eastern Sector.”

“Now I do not know, how, by any stretch of imagination, this stand can be interpreted to mean a questioning of the territorial integrity or frontiers of India. If the question is raised regarding the traditional borders of the Western Sector, well, we are not alone. We are in good company, I think, in that matter because if the matter had been settled, once and for all and for good, we would have been very happy. The fact remains that it was not being settled and that is precisely why the Government itself has gone to the trouble of entering into this protracted and prolonged negotiation with the official team of the Chinese Government. Where has this thing of 600 pages come from? Why was it necessary for our Government, if it was convinced in its own mind that there was nothing to discuss and no scope for any different interpretation and no scope for any conflicting data, to send a team to enter into negotiations?

Why was it necessary to record all this huge mass of evidence and issue the thing?

“The point is this: The only difference that I can comprehend is once this data has come before us, what is the course to be followed now? My Party has repeatedly said and has said again in its latest resolution that we stand for negotiated peaceful settlement at all costs, because the alternative is something which we are not prepared to advocate or countenance. Shri Goray feels that having said that the mass of evidence produced by our officials had made out a

very good case and a strong case, it is enough. After that, what does he want us to say? Should we refuse to have further talks? I do not know. But my Party says that after these have taken place and after this huge compendium of facts and evidence has come to light, the only way of settlement is through further negotiations, if necessary at higher political and top level. If, for that we are called traitors or treacherous, or that we are questioning the integrity of the country, those who want to indulge in that kind of accusation will continue to do that, whatever we may do. We are not bothered about that.

“I feel that this Bill is totally uncalled for. This is a type of an emergency legislation which, I think, very few countries in the world would undertake even in times of war. Are we at war? I do not know.

“Then, the Hon Minister mentioned some slogans and said that these slogans were uttered in these areas. One of the slogans he mentioned was that somebody was going about and saying that Tibet was part of China. Is that a treacherous slogan? I do not know. That is the policy of the Government of India. Has it recognised Tibet as part of China or not? We should be very careful when we are compiling this so called evidence on the basis of the police report; we should recall exactly where the Government stands in this matter. Otherwise there may be a boomerang effect. What is wrong in saying that Tibet is part of China? I say it ten times on the floor of this House; it is something which the Prime Minister has said too, repeatedly. But this is trotted out here as one of the arguments for these powers. All these years we have had troubles with Pakistan. I think many more border incidents have taken place; there have been exchange of fires and shootings of people and people have moved and have been killed across Pakistan border. We have more of these things with Pakistan than with China. We have seen some reports about Pakistani spies and espionage. But never in all these years did we hear that because of these things it was necessary to have this kind of Draconian

power. You have got a whole armoury of laws. You have got the Preventive Detention Act and the Criminal Procedure Code and Sea Customs Act and this and that and all kinds of things. What is the necessity for this? Have we not got enough powers which we can use if it is necessary?

"It seems to us that the Minister sought to make a great joke out of this and said that some people felt that it had got political motives, with the 1962 elections in view. I submit that this is not a joke at all. The only purpose of this Bill is a political purpose; it has got a political purpose to create some sort of a hysteria and panic. After all, the old spectre of Communism which Karl Marx wrote about in the opening pages of the *Communist Manifesto* has not been laid to rest. He wrote, "A spectre is haunting Europe; the spectre of Communism". But since then many years have gone by and history knows many instances of that spectre of Communism still continuing to haunt the minds of many men here. .

"*Shri Khadilkar (Ahmednagar)* : Can you compare Indian conditions with the conditions which Marx has referred to?

"*Shri Indrajit Gupta* : I am not going to digress into historical research now.

"Therefore, in conclusion, I submit that the Bill is totally uncalled for. My own feeling is—I regret it very much—that the Government has allowed itself to be pressurised by some of my friends sitting here and also outside in this country. They have been encouraged to whip up a certain campaign of hysteria. These are not enough to satisfy Shri Goray yet; he wants something more; he wants to go further. I think by bringing this Bill, the Government has taken a substantial step towards falling into the trap of those people who want to create some sort of a war psychosis and do not want settlement with China on this issue. Therefore, the Communist Party of India is being made the scapegoat for this. I submit that the powers which Government already have, they are taking under Clause 3(2). Let me read it:

"(2) Whoever makes, publishes or circulates in any notified area any statement, rumour or report which is or is

likely to be, prejudicial to the maintenance of public order or essential supplies or services in the said area or to the interests of the safety or security of India shall be punishable." etc. "This is a very omnibus clause. This may have nothing to do with the border or with territorial integrity or safety of the border. It is a very familiar phrase; we have seen it in other pieces of legislation. When the Preventive Detention Act was first brought in, then also we were given assurances. But these phrases were there. "Essential to the maintenance of public order or essential supplies." Consistently after that we have found that these powers are misused and used only in order to suppress political opposition, particularly parties which are working amongst workers and peasants and so on.

"Therefore I feel that behind a certain political smokescreen which has been created, there is an attempt to cloud the issues. But after all, the normal man in the country will read only what is written in the newspapers tomorrow. He has not got the opportunity to sift all the evidence and go into these things. Behind a certain political smokescreen which has been created, Government is conveniently taking upon itself certain Draconian powers, which will be exercised in practice by the police, the local officials and the magistracy, and which I am sure in future may be used not only against the Communist sinners. Of course, it may be used a little more against us, but also against some other friends here. They should not be so joyful about it.

"An Hon'ble Member : They are not frightened.

"Shri Indrajit Gupta : Don't be frightened; be brave.

"Shri Goray : We are not likely to be anti-national at any time.

"Shri Indrajit Gupta : Shri Narayan Dutt Tewari, Deputy Minister of...

"An Hon'ble Member : Deputy Minister?

"Shri Indrajit Gupta : I hope some time in future he may become Deputy Minister. Shri Tewari, Deputy Leader of the P.S.P. in the U.P. Vidhan Sabha, after a tour of Pithoragarh, Chamoli and Uttarkashi said that:

“Internal factors which caused discontent in the area largely flowed from the disappointment of the people whose expectations had not been fulfilled after the creation of the border districts. Official propaganda which accompanied the formation of these districts had raised hopes of a considerable improvement in their living conditions. Though officers had been posted in the new districts, their offices had not started functioning.”

“The point is: in those areas, the people living there who are poverty-stricken, illiterate, etc., have got certain legitimate grievances and certainly it is the duty and constitutional right of anybody or any party to go and to help to secure redress of their grievances. But I am sure in that case, legitimate trade union activities or anything of that type will be sought to be suppressed by conveniently dubbing that as something which is against the security and safety of the country under the powers taken under this Bill.

“What is the guarantee against misuse of these powers? There is no guarantee, because police reports are still considered in this country to be the last word on the question. I have been in preventive detention four times and you should know that each time it was found later on that the grounds on which I was detained were invalid or *malafide*. They were based entirely on police reports :

“On such and such a date you said such and such things in such and such meeting.” There was no meeting and I was not present nor I did address that meeting. But such things go on happening. The same thing will be repeated again. What is the guarantee that it will not be?

“In conclusion, I would say that as far as the insinuations and various types of charges made against my Party in this House are concerned, I most emphatically refute them. We consider them to be contemptible accusations made against us without any kind of proof or evidence. We do not consider ourselves any less patriotic or nationalist than anybody else. That is how I came here I have come from Calcutta city, where the people are certainly not illiterate

and not incapable of understanding anything and not lacking in national consciousness. My election took place at a time when the anti-China and anti-Communist campaign was at its height. That was the sole issue in the campaign made against me. Even Shri Goray visited Calcutta and contributed to that.

“Shri Goray : I am sorry for the voters.

“Shri Indrajit Gupta : But unfortunately I am here. You may be sorry for the voters, but they will survive your sorrow.

“On behalf of my Party, I oppose this Bill as being uncalled for, unwarranted, unnecessary and liable to gross misuse by the party in power.”

Extracts from Bhupesh Gupta’s Speech in the Rajya Sabha on Criminal Law Amendment Bill

(Rajya Sabha Proceedings, dated 2nd and 3rd May, 1961)

Bhupesh Gupta : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to oppose this Bill, because I think it is wholly unwarranted by facts and unjustified by moral considerations today. We have heard the speech of the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs. Towards the end of his speech he was saying so many things as if everything is relevant to the provisions of the Bill or comes within the mischief of this measure. But then the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs is a gallant person and he has to do a bit of fighting here. Right at the outset I wish to say that we are not discussing this thing in a border. Nor you, Sir, are a border guard. Therefore, let us discuss it somewhat dispassionately, objectively and on merits.

Now, Sir, at the outset I should make a few things clear. I can well understand genuine patriotic concern for the territorial integrity of our country and I fully share that concern. Now this is not the issue at all. As I proceed I shall show how this Bill has something else in mind. And the Bill is so worded that it does not say all these things, I believe, but even so, the Home Minister in another place had to say

that this was an extraordinary measure containing certain harsh provisions. I like Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, because he believed in plain speaking. And in that matter he spoke plainly, although he sought to justify his measure. It is not his baby, but a baby handed to him to be nursed and reared. I am sorry for Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. He might have been given a better assignment when he came to the Ministry of Home Affairs. This Bill has a different purpose. The intention of this Bill is entirely different. And I make bold to say that it is irresponsible, dishonest, and cowardly. I say irresponsible because extraordinary powers are being given to the executive and to the police officers to play fast and loose with the liberties and rights of the people. In fact, we know that it will be grossly abused. We have had the experience of many such measures. Therefore, the Hon. Members who may think that it is not so bad will bear it in mind that it is liable to be grossly abused. Even if you assume that there are certain things which can be justified in it, I do not assume it, because the measure will be administered not by the Hon. Members of the House, nor even by Shri Datar, but will be administered by the Superintendents of Police, by the Police Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors and by the C.I.D. men who did not know how to present a report about the Assam riots and kept the Government absolutely in the dark. It is dishonest because the real motive of the Bill is clothed, is disguised. The real motive of the Bill is to indulge in political persecution of certain section of democratic public opinion in the country. Since he did not name anybody, I need not name anybody here either. This is the intention of the Bill.

Another intention of the Bill is to intimidate certain sections of the people and to give concession to certain other sections of the people. I call it cowardly because this is a concession to the rightist elements in the country who have been clamouring for some kind of action against the Communist party and other forces like the Communist Party, with a view to disrupting and dividing the broad democratic movement in the country.

This is a concession, and the Hon. Minister was right in saying that some people in either House demanded it. I counted them from the proceedings of both the Houses. You can count them on your finger. A few people have demanded it. And if you go into the names of those persons, you will find that most of them belong to those sections of public life which assail the foreign policy of the Government of India, castigate the Prime Minister for having adopted this foreign policy and seek to discredit the foreign policy of the country. Such are the people, the rightist elements. I can add to his knowledge by saying that a measure of this kind is already acclaimed outside India by the imperialists and professional anti-Communists. Therefore, the Home Minister, at least the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, is in such a good company that way. Choose your company as you like. But I may say that this is a company, which according to your foreign policy, at least you should avoid. Therefore, this is the measure that we are dealing with and I would ask the Hon. Members to consider it on merits. Now, they think that by passing this measure they would be able to placate those who are criticising them from the rightist position. They think that by passing this measure they would be in a position to take the wind out of the sails of right reaction and pretend to the country as if they are the fighters. But then you are undermining the principle. You are appeasing the hands that will smite you, not today, may be tomorrow. We have seen that appeasement of this nature in the political life of the country leads not to better development in political life but leads to serious bad development and to the strengthening and emboldening of the forces of reaction. I am sorry that the Congress Party should have done this thing.

But then, I know that many members perhaps in this House will be supporting this measure. I do not put them in the same category. Among them there are people who are professional anti-Communists. The dream of their dreams is how to hit the Communist party. They cannot go to bed without running down the Communists. Anti-Communism is

their article of faith. But there are others who are right minded people, who rightly support the foreign policy of the Government, who may be upset by the developments that have taken place in the border but who stand for decencies in public life and the stand of the Prime Minister for the solution of the problem peacefully. To these people I can say that they have been somewhat misled. They are not misled, they are very eminent and intelligent people. They have permitted themselves to be carried away by the passions of the moment by the prejudices of the moment or certain wrong presuppositions. Some of them do not even have prejudices. I do not call them anti-Communist. I am sorry that today a situation has arisen when the foreign policy of the Government is assailed and attacked outside by the forces of Right reaction—and that voice will soon be heard in this House—and that those who support foreign policy of the Government should have permitted themselves to be so divided in a situation like this. The Government is helping that process. Sir, you might say, what is after all the Communist Party? Well, if the Communist Party were not a force, then you would not have been talking all these things that you have been talking here. If it were a force, I take it that those who stand for the defence of the foreign policy and the strengthening of it would not mind that there should be common efforts to defend it, would not like to see the forces that defend the foreign policy of the Government of India dissipated and disrupted by the machinations and manoeuvres of the forces of reaction. This is a pertinent question to ask. Therefore, when these Hon. Members opposite will support this measure, I will have no personal grudge against them; I will argue with them. It is these Hon. Members particularly I wish to address today, because I think they should not at least misunderstand our position they should not permit themselves to be carried away by the malicious, mischievous, lying, disgraceful propaganda that is indulged in by certain sections in the country—reactionary sections.

Now, Sir, I am reading out from a letter written to the

'Times of India,' dated the 27th April, by Shri J. P. Narayan. Nobody will say that he is friendly to the Communists. He does not talk kindly of the Communists, and he writes about the Indo-China border dispute:

"May I add at this point that a matter like this should not be made into a football to be kicked about in the game of party politics."

This is what Shri J.P.N. said. You know Shri J.P.N., and you know what view he takes of the Communists in many matters, but he does say that this matter is being kicked about like football by certain people. I do not say that Shri Lal Bahadur is the centre forward. I do not say that at all. But it is a fact that this issue is being used as a football by some people, may be our P.S.P. friends are the centre forwards and the half backs are the Swatantra Party. I do not see who is the goalkeeper, but Shri Lal Bahadur is becoming the goalkeeper. I would ask him not to be the goalkeeper. He is not of that type. Even if he says wrong things against me, even if he attacks me, I know I would never put him in the same category as I would put some other people. We are not carried away by temporary passions like some Hon. Members opposite. We judge people by their whole behaviour, by their entire policies, by their entire attitude in life, by their entire posture in the political life of the country, and not by what they may say at a given moment under certain stress of circumstances.

Now Sir, as far as the position of the Communist Party is concerned, that is my Party, I know what would come and I came ready for it. That was done in the other place and here Mr. Datar did not take the name of the party in the beginning but then went on as if he might be committing a great sin if he did not take the name of the Party, and therefore he brought in the name of the Party, and then he was full of utter irrelevances. Anyway I think the matter should be set at rest. I would invite the attention of the House to a resolution passed by the National Council of our Party last February at Delhi, and there it is stated:

"The Communist Party of India has already declared in the Meerut Resolution that it upholds the traditional border in the Western Sector and the McMahon Line as the *de facto* boundary in the Eastern Sector."

This is what we have stated. Now this much is stated there, and our activities are guided by the stand we have taken up. Whatever you may say about us, we are a disciplined Party. We discuss and debate, but once we take a decision, we consider it a matter of honour to stand by that decision. I can declare on the floor of the House that there is not one Communist anywhere in the country who is not adhering to the resolution or implementing the resolution that I have just read out.

Diwan Chaman Lall: Then why are you worried about this measure?

Bhupesh Gupta: I will tell you. I know, I know. I have to convince you. I know why I am worried about it. I am coming to that. You are saying too many things against us. These I repudiate, these are not true. "*Satyomeva Jayate*" is written there, and falsehoods and lies are trotted out on the floor of the House in the name of protecting the integrity of the country. Is this the way we are going to behave in our public life? If there is anyone who can come with concrete facts, with concrete evidence let us discuss it, and we shall make amends for it, but not because it is vaguely alleged somewhere some thing had been written. Where? Who? What? Nothing. "Because I, Mr. Datar, by the grace of the Prime Minister, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, have decided to make the allegation, the allegation shall pass" That shall not pass. This is what I say on the floor of this House. Therefore, let us be clear about this thing.

SIR, NO RESPONSIBLE PARTY OR CITIZEN IN THE COUNTRY WOULD GO AGAINST THE INTEGRITY OF OUR COUNTRY, MORE ESPECIALLY WHEN WE HAVE JUST WON OUR INDEPENDENCE. THE ONLY OCCASION IN THE RECENT PERIOD WHEN THE INTEGRITY OF INDIA WAS

DEFIED AND DISREGARDED WAS WHEN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER GAVE ON A PLATTER A PART OF THE BERUBARI UNION TO PAKISTAN. BUT SINCE THE PRIME MINISTER WAS CONCERNED AND HE GAVE IT, THE CONSTITUTION WAS AMENDED TO VALIDATE AN INVALID ACT, TO LEGALISE AN INVALID ACT. EVEN THOUGH WE HAVE CRITICISED THE PRIME MINISTER, WE HAVE NEVER QUESTIONED HIS BONAFIDES. HE HAD DONE IT MISTAKENLY, PERHAPS HE WAS WRONGLY ADVISED, BUT HE HAD DONE IT, AS WE SAY, EVEN IN THE MIDST OF VERY STRONG CRITICISM.

Now suppose this measure was there before and the Prime Minister under those circumstances had made a statement publicly at a meeting that in his opinion part of the Berubari Union should be given to Pakistan to settle the dispute, suppose he had said this, well, he would have come under the mischief of this measure. I know that he would not have been arrested because he is the Prime minister. Suppose Acharya Kripalani was the Prime Minister and Jawaharlal Nehru was in the opposition benches and this measure was in force, would he not have been arrested? He would have been arrested. But people may give opinions. How do you take them like that? I shall come to that point.

But I am making this point very clear that when we deal with a matter, we must go into the heart of the problem. Therefore, the integrity of India has never been challenged and I would show how it has not actually been threatened by our people, by any party—well, I do not know if there is any surreptitious party—by any party which is functioning openly or by any right-minded citizen. Why is a sort of bogey being created about it? They do so because there are certain other objectives in their minds.

Now let me come to the genesis of the Bill. That is very important. He made some reference to it. Some members demanded it. So we got men. We could not help it. We did not like it. They were Hamlets in this matter, half consenting and half not consenting. Then when approaches were made,

they fell in for it. They permitted themselves to be seduced. First of all, it does not speak well of a Government. What did you do? What was your stand? Then let me come to the next point. He did not recite it, the matter just came up in this House and in the other House also and later on November 21st also it came up. And an anti-Communist hysteria was sought to be roused by some people and as far as I can see, on the 21st of November in the other House, Shri Ram Subhag Singh asked: "May I know whether the Government intend to introduce any measure to put a curb on such activities in the entire area?" and Shrimati Renu Chakrabarty on behalf of the Communist Party just got up and said: "That is the main point." Well, it went on. An adjournment motion came up. A discussion took place. Now allegations have been made and these allegations form the basis of it. Some of these allegations have been proved to be untrue, to be incorrect. Let us come to what happened in this House. In August last year the Prime Minister made certain allegations in this House. He said, he was replying to the debate on foreign affairs—something against the paper "The New Age." When I asked him to substantiate that allegation, he merely mentioned the thing and left it at that and said something against Communist Party. Then when the matter came up again in the Lok Sabha a few days after, Comrade Hiren Mukherjee similarly challenged it and he could not adduce any evidence. He made a broad statement that he had said this thing in the Rajya Sabha and that he was saying it in the Lok Sabha. Then again "The New Age" was mentioned. When the Prime Minister made allegations against the major opposition party in the country and on the floor of Parliament, we naturally took it seriously not from any narrow point of view, but from a broad point of view. Our Central Executive was seized of the entire matter and we considered the statement made by the Prime Minister in this House and in the other House. And after that our General Secretary was instructed to write a letter to the Prime Minister to find out from him exactly what was his complaint. We were not clear about the complaint the Prime Minister

had in mind because we have great respect for the Prime Minister. And when he made certain allegations, we naturally wanted to find out first from him and after hearing from him, we thought that on the basis of what he said we would be holding an enquiry. And this is what the General Secretary of the Communist Party wrote to the Prime Minister:

“Dear Sir,

In your speech in the Lok Sabha on 31st August, 1960 you referred to “The New Age” weekly, the organ of our Party and stated that “The New Age” has carried on a consistent, a blatant, a pernicious and a false propaganda on this issue...That is the India-China border issue. Earlier in the Rajya Sabha on 18th August, you had said:

“The New Age has been carrying on not only unpatriotic but a most anti-national campaign.”

In the course of the above debate on the foreign affairs, you had also referred to the activities of the Communists in the border areas. Naturally we take a very serious view of these charges. I would request you to inform me which particular item in “The new Age” you object to.”

Underline the words “which particular item you object to.”

“I also request you to inform us about the specific facts relating to Party Members’ activities in the border areas.”

We asked if the Prime Minister had taken exception to any passage in it—let us point out—and if we were wrong, we would correct ourselves. And he was also saying something about Party members. We had hundreds of thousands of members and sympathisers of the Party who would like to know if he had anybody in mind. That letter was dated the 16th September, 1960. Then we received a reply from the Secretary to the Prime Minister dated the 18th September, 1960, that is from Mr. K. Ram.

“Dear Sir,

The Prime Minister has read your letter dated September 16th, 1960. He has asked me to tell you that it is not merely an item here and there in “The New Age” weekly which he

had in mind, but repeated articles and big headlines, all intended to give an impression that China was right and that India was wrong in regard to the frontier disputes. A reference to many issues of "The New Age" in the course of the last two or three months (Hon. Members will kindly note the words "last two or three months,") will indicate this. The Prime Minister has no time to read all these issues, and he is going out of Delhi tomorrow."

At that time I think he was leaving for abroad.

"As for the activities of some communists in the border areas, the Prime Minister mentioned the particular districts concerned. His information was based on reports of speeches made in these border areas.

Yours faithfully,
Sd/-K. Ram."

Now, we got this letter. Light was sought from the Prime Minister and we were not given much light. Districts have been named. Well, it is there in the proceedings. We wanted to know who they were and what articles he had in mind. Then the Prime Minister referred to "New Age" weekly of the two or three months preceding the date of his statement. We re-examined every single copy of "New Age" from June because the statement was made by the end of August. We re-examined the issues of June, July, August. Some articles certainly appeared where the words "Chinese Mount or Everest" or some such thing occurred. One may or may not like some of the criticisms in these articles, or some of the explanations or some of these things said in these articles. But I challenge here,—papers are there in this Library—there is not one article in any issue of "New Age" which questions the integrity, the territorial integrity of our country. That is point No 1. There is not one article which any fair-minded man, if he is not prejudiced politically against our Party, would say is anti-national. There is not one article or group of articles—very few appeared in that entire period—which would substantiate the charge that "New Age" was running an anti-national campaign.

Therefore, I say the Prime Minister, as sometimes happens with him, was misinformed. I thought that after the departure of Mr. M. O. Mathai he would be better advised, but it seems that those who advise him today, do not care to read things carefully and advise him properly for which they place the Prime Minister in a position where he has to make a statement which he cannot substantiate even after being written to by the General Secretary of our Party.

You see, Sir, that we take a serious view of this matter. I say this thing not with a view to securing debating points. I say this thing with a view to placing the facts before you, because I have got the chance now and because, some of us will be wrongly arrested and put in prison, while Mr. Datar will be smiling in the House, but before the smile comes, let me at least say something which, I hope, you would kindly try to see and take in the proper light. Now this is the position. Therefore the charge against "New Age" stands demolished. Now, here, Sir, have you noted two things? The Prime Minister did not read the "New Age"—that is number one—and he could not name anybody—No. 2. Now if I were to be a witness in a case and went before a court of law and there, having said this thing, could not substantiate the thing, would my evidence be accepted? Therefore you can understand it, Sir. My only regret is that here it is the Prime Minister of the country. He is not merely the Prime Minister, he is a great personality, and every word that he utters on the floor of the House or outside in the country is heard not only within the border of our country but abroad also. Therefore, it is a pity if he finds himself in a position where he has to make such statements which cannot be substantiated, and which do not hold water at all.

Then, Sir, let me come to what happened in the Lok Sabha. I was at that time in Moscow—in November, as you know. I was there as a delegate of the Party to attend a Moscow conference of the Communist and the Workers' Parties, but I read it there. I read the paper "The Times of India" where I got the story of a flare-up in the Lok Sabha

here—thanks to our friends, if I say so, of the P.S.P. in this case. There was a little flare up on the 21st of November. We read it very carefully. There we noted that the Prime Minister had made certain charges. There he gave certain names. Therefore, after a lapse of two or three months, he gave certain names. It seems he was reading out a statement since the whole thing appears in quotation. It seems he read out from police reports. He mentioned three names and one is Shri Satyen Mazumdar. Shri Mazumdar, as Hon. Members know, was a member of this House, a very mild, decent and reasonable member, so much so that even Dr. Kunzru could not help liking him. Now Sir, here was Shri Satyen Mazumdar. Another person the Prime Minister named is Shri Krishna Bhatt of Garhwal, and the third person he mentioned was Shri Kameshwar Pandit, Secretary of the Himachal Pradesh State Council of the Communist Party. Now I do not want to read out the whole thing. I shall only mention what the thing is. It was alleged that Shri Satyen Mazumdar has said something about how to carry on propaganda on India-China question, at a secret meeting in Darjeeling. That was the charge. Then came Shri Krishna Bhatt—I shall come to this gentleman later. It was said that Shri Krishna Bhatt also said something in some village. At another secret meeting of the Party Shri Kameshwar Pandit was alleged to have said something on the India-China border question. The Prime Minister confined himself to these three names. The whole thing, as I said, is in quotation, namely, what he was reading out. Evidently some brief had been given, most possibly the police report had been given to him, and he being a fair-minded man, that he is, unlike some Hon. Members on the Treasury Benches, was very apologetic about it, and he gave the whole thing in quotation. Well, I do not blame the Prime Minister for the words that are contained in that report, but make the complaint against him that he quoted the wrong things—that is my complaint. Now, Sir, naturally we took up this question, where do we stand. This time the demand was made, “Where do we stand?”

Now let me take up Shri Satyen Mazumdar. Shri Satyen Mazumdar as I said, was a Member of this House, now a Member of the West Bengal legislature, a very prominent Member, and he is doing well, very well—I may tell you. Now when the allegation was made against him, he repudiated immediately. He issued a Press statement, and also, I believe, wrote to the Prime Minister repudiating the charge. Shri Satyen Mazumdar said in a Press statement:

“I like to categorically state that the allegations made against me are totally unfounded and are nothing but the most blatant fabrications. Obviously the allegations made by the Prime Minister are based on fabricated reports of the Central or State Intelligence branch.”

Look after your intelligence, Mr. Datar. The statement goes on:

“How could the police report on what transpired at a meeting of the District Executive Committee where none but members can be present? I can definitely state that the border issue was not at all discussed in the said meeting. As for my stand on the border issue it is entirely guided by the Meerut resolution of the National Council of the Party”—it was our earlier resolution; we had not passed then the Delhi resolution—“which stands for peaceful and honourable settlement of the dispute. I have expressed my views on these lines not only in numerous public meetings all over West Bengal but also in the Assembly last year. I think the said intelligence report is actuated by the pernicious motive of discrediting me in particular, because I happen to enjoy wide popularity and respect in all sections of public including many Congressmen in Darjeeling district.”

And I can tell you, every word he says is true. He raised this point on the floor of the Assembly to repudiate the charge, and the Speaker of the West Bengal Assembly was good enough to give him a chance to repudiate the charge. And the charge was repudiated.

Now I come to Shri Kameshwar Pandit, Secretary of the Himachal Pradesh State Council of the Party. Well, he wrote

a letter to the Prime Minister, and in his letter to the Prime Minister he stated:

“Actually on that day”—the Prime Minister named the date of meeting—“I was down with fever and for the whole of the day I took rest at my home in Simla. No meeting of any kind whatsoever was held that day.”

Unfortunately Shri Kameshwar Pandit did not get a reply from the Prime Minister. He is a well-known man and every neighbour there knows that he was ill on that day, and may people know also that no such meeting was held.

Now, Shri Krishna Bhatt is the third name, and here I am sorry to say that we do not know of any such person being a member of the Communist Party. Have you started recruiting members for our Party? Well, Sir, I have been one of the members of the present leadership of the Party and I can tell you that we do not have on our membership rolls any such gentleman as Shri Krishna Bhatt. They seem to be discovering members for the Communist Party. I should request Mr. Datar: “Please do not do so. We can look after ourselves and recruit members on our own.” And that gentleman, I am told, made a certain other statement. Naturally, when his name was mentioned, not being a Communist, he got more funky. At least we would not be so funky, but perhaps he got more funky. Therefore, you utterly misfired, in respect of all the three names

Now, Sir, look at what will happen to our country if such are the advisers of the Prime Minister, such are the people who prepare confidential reports for the Prime Minister, on which major policy decisions are taken, or Bill formulated, of the kind that we have today. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri is a good man, a lovable person. We only request him to pay a little attention to his intelligence service, because it seems that some people belonging to his intelligence service, sitting in their homes after coming from a cinema, write reports about Communist Party meetings.

Now these are the slants given to the situation on the border. Here again I would argue with Shri Lal Bahadur, because today he may not see, tomorrow he will see my point.

Sir, there are a number of States whose border touches foreign countries. For example, there is Assam, there is West Bengal, there is Rajasthan, there is Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, leave alone the Manipur territory or Himachal Pradesh. Now, they touch variously the borders of Burma, Nepal, China and Pakistan. Am I right or am I wrong? I am right. Now, I would like to know how many of these constituent States of India demanded that for the sake of border security or for the territorial integrity a measure of this kind would be needed. How many States wrote to the Central Government advising them that a measure of this kind should be passed? Not one, Sir. I say not one. If Mr. Datar perchance says that it is all wrong, I would ask him on honour to produce the letters before the House, before you, Sir, with proper dates and so on, so that we can compare whether now or before the Bill was formulated any State in India, whose border touches a foreign country, had ever written to the Government of India asking them for a measure of this kind. I said that none wrote. And yet the Central Government, because some people in Parliament made a noise, some sections of the press wrote something, had to conceive a measure of this kind and deliver the child here. Such is the position.

Now, Sir, let me come to the points one by one. I am giving you official evidence. First of all, take it that other evidence is not there. Generally it happens that when the situation becomes serious, the State Governments write to the Centre asking for Central legislation. In this case it was not done. And what else is required to prove that there was no objective justification for a measure of this kind?

Then, Sir, let me come to the State of West Bengal. Dr. B. C. Roy—is he a Communist? No. He is not a Communist. He is the tough anti-Communist Chief Minister of West Bengal. When Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, after his visit to Calcutta, mentioned something about the bad border situation or activities on the border in West Bengal, Dr. Roy, who knows how to look after himself better than many people who pretend to look after him,

immediately said that it was all wrong. There was nothing. He repudiated the Congress President's statement.

Again, when a Jana Sangh Member raised a question in the Uttar Pradesh Assembly of certain alleged activities of Communists and others in the border area, Mr. Sampurnanand, the then Chief Minister stood up on the floor of the House to say that enquiries had revealed that there were no such activities. Then Sir, later on, as you know, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy himself said that there was no truth in it. He toured Himachal Pradesh extensively and after returning to Simla he met Pressmen. He toured, to be exact, from the 17th to 30th September. He told them that the border there was not a live border. To whom did he say that? To the paper called "Challenge" published from Simla, edited by Mr. J. N. Kaul, the local secretary of the Tibetan Committee and Camping Organiser of the anti-Communist camp in that area. The paper published from Simla and edited by him published the interview of Mr. Sanjiva Reddy in which he said that there were no political activities in the border area. Can I produce any better evidence in my favour or for my proposition than the one that I produced in this particular case?

Then, Sir, take another case after that. Here again, there is a newly created district of Uttar Kashi. The District Magistrate of Uttar Kashi held a press conference where he was bombarded with questions about the situation in the border area and the Magistrate of Uttar Kashi said that there was nothing like that; there was no such prejudicial activity in the border area. Since Shri Lal Bahadur would be asking for other reports from his advisers, I thought I should better tell him so that he can check up. On the 21st October, the Magistrate, Ushapati Bhatt, held his press conference and the newsmen bombarded him with questions about activities in the border and he said in plain language that there was no Communist activity nor were there any Communists in the district. I have given you the name of the District Magistrate and the date of his press conference. It was said by the District Magistrate and not anybody else.

Now, let me come to the Prime Minister himself. On the 21st November in the Lok Sabha he made a statement which is significant. When people were shouting about the activities of the Communists in the border areas, he made one thing clear and I am quoting him. The Prime Minister said:

“...But there is no question of insecurity in our border area or of subversion being noticeable in those areas.’

Therefore, you see, Sir, that in order to give you an idea of the situation in the border areas I have quoted the Prime Minister, a Magistrate, Chief Ministers and I have also quoted Mr. Sanjiva Reddy saying that the Himachal Pradesh border was not a live border at all. I have also quoted the paper “Challenge” edited by a very well known anti-Communist. Such is the position. Therefore, one has to ask what has happened since then. These relate to last year and since then what has happened? Has the situation deteriorated since then so much as to justify the sponsoring of this Bill in this House? I submit, Sir, the situation, if anything, has improved. The situation was never bad that way. It was built up when they talked about all kinds of things against the Communist Party, but in actual fact the border was not that way threatened.

Internally from within the country nobody was carrying on activities against the integrity of the country. Now it has improved and yet we find the Bill before us. I could have understood it if, since that time, the Government could show that the situation has deteriorated or is not as good as it was or if it were bad according to them, it has become worse. Then I could have understood the meaning in sponsoring this measure, but they have not done. They have not given any such evidence before the House. Therefore objectively it is not a fair way to put it like that. I have given the official evidence. Now I would give some unofficial evidence to justify what I am saying and for the consideration of the Hon. Minister of Home Affairs. This evidence I take not from papers which are in any way sympathetic to the Communists. I take the Hindi weekly, ‘Sarhadi’ edited by

Shri Narendra Singh Bhandari, a Congress M.L.A. which wrote on 25th July, 1960:

“When some newspapers and responsible political circles began saying that the activities and propaganda of the Communists in the hilly districts of U.P. are increasing, at that time with full responsibility we stated that it was incorrect...There are no Communists in the region and the couple or so of Communists that are there, are doing no such propaganda that harms the country. The Chief Minister of the State Dr. Sampurnanand has also stated that it was not true that in hill districts such literature is being distributed which incite the local populace. Despite this some weekly papers that are published from the hills and some local officials go on repeating the baseless and unwarranted story about such propaganda. We consider this unfortunate for we know that there is a lot in Nazi Propaganda Minister Dr. Goebbel’s statement that if a lie is repeated over and over again, it can be passed off as truth.”

He is not a Communist. I do not know how our friend, Shri Lal Bahadur, will describe him. The other day in the other House I was interested to note that he was saying that somebody’s son was a Communist. I hope he will not say that Dr. B. C. Roy’s niece is a Communist when I quoted Dr. Roy. Then there is another paper ‘Karma Boom’, the oldest and perhaps the most respected weekly of Garhwal, edited by Mr. Bhulia, an old Congressman. He protested against this kind of propaganda being launched against one Communist Party. There are many fair-minded Congressmen in this House and outside also. They do not like that for petty political reasons, falsehood should be circulated that a party should be slandered and maligned in this manner. There again, he wrote and criticised the “Hindusthan Times” of Birlas for having indulged in such Communist baiting and anti-Communist propaganda. I may mention for his benefit that in the issue of 22nd October he wrote such things.

Then there is another paper called ‘Satyapath’ edited by Shri Lalit Prasad Nithana. He is now called a former General

Secretary of the Garhwal District Congress Committee. On 2nd June, 1960 he wrote in his paper that there is no concrete evidence of any anti-national propaganda by the Communists. I hope that Mr. Datar, who knows everything, has kindly noted what an ex-Congress Secretary of a District had said.

Then perhaps I have left out one important thing about the P.S.P. Here again I would point out to you what a P.S.P. leader in U.P. said because I know that our friends of the P.S.P. here might get up against me. Mr. Narayan Dutt Tewari, the Deputy Leader of the P.S.P. in the U.P. Assembly, after a tour of Pithoragarh, Chamoli and Uttar Kashi areas, said that all these allegations were not true and they were false. He actually gave an account of the miserable condition of the people there, of the people who lived and so on. That is what the P.S.P. Deputy Leader said. I know that my friends of the P.S.P. might like to say things against me but there their Deputy Leader repudiated the false allegations that were made against the Communist Party. Sometimes people come to the truth and there he said the truth that it was the position. I cannot hold the temptation because our friends of the P.S.P. will be attacking us and I anticipate it. The P.S.P. leader there said:

“The internal factors which caused discontent in the area largely flowed from the disappointment of the people whose expectations had not been fulfilled after the creation of the border districts. Official propaganda which accompanied the formation of these districts had raised hopes of a considerable improvement in their living conditions. Though officers had been posted in the new district, their offices had not started functioning.”

Another important non-official authority I will quote. Shri Manabendra Shah, the representative in Lok Sabha from Tehri Garhwal made a speech on this Bill and one would have expected that coming as he did from the border area, he would say something about the anti-national activities, activities directed against the integrity of India, since he is a

big man also and has something against the Communist Party; but significantly enough on the 24th of last month, when he was making a speech in the Lok Sabha, not a word did he utter about the anti-national activities of anybody and it is good that he did not say anything against the Communist Party. There you are. People coming from those areas do not accuse us. Mr. Manabendra Shah did not accuse us.

Diwan Chaman Lall : But nobody is accusing you here, if you do not question the integrity of our borders.

Bhupesh Gupta : I know that you will not, but some people will do. You are going to come to my rescue later. I need your help and that of all kind persons today because we are being unjustly maligned by certain people, small numbers, of course, but loudly and vociferously. Therefore, this is the position. I think, that what I have said has abundantly made it clear to this House that from non-official evidence and from the official evidence that I have mentioned, there is no objective justification for sponsoring a measure of this kind. This is my important submission. You see I was shocked—I do not know if you were shocked—when Mr. Datar was saying that this Bill was needed for our national existence. Well, I think, such a fatuous utterance should not be made from the treasury Benches, because I consider our national existence to be something much stronger, much nobler and much bigger than to be spoken of in this manner, as though if Mr. Datar had not brought forward this Bill, our national existence would disappear and the nation would go out of existence altogether. Do not speak like that. Say that you need this Bill to beat up some people, to arrest some people, and do not try to make it look as if such a Bill is needed for our national existence. Our national existence is something far stronger than what you would make it look like with statements of this kind. I do hope that Hon Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs would choose his words in such a way that at least outside they do not give a wrong impression. Sir, when I heard him, I was reminded of what was said by Pakistan authorities in 1954. When

certain things developed between India and Pakistan, the authorities in East Pakistan, before Iskander took over and also after he took over, began to say 'Our national existence is at stake' and then they issued regulations and orders in the name of territorial integrity of the country, intended to harass, arrest and persecute the Communist Party and the Congressmen also. We shared the same Prisons—communists and Congressmen—in Dacca and other jails. Is that to be repeated here by this kind of statement? If reaction gets entrenched, some day we may be landed in such a situation. Therefore, do not emulate, for goodness' sake, the Pakistan authorities who exploited the border disputes for bolstering up reaction and prosecute the Communists and democratic parties including Congressmen, former Ministers of the Congress Party in East Pakistan and other places. Sir, we cannot endorse by statements of the kind that the Hon. Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs has made, action that took place in Pakistan. May be it will be posthumous endorsement of such action; but nonetheless, if such things are said, you will be provoking President Ayub Khan or somebody to say, "Did I not say these things? Here is India saying such things. We showed the way to India." Sir, anti-communism is an outmoded and exploded weapon in the hands of reaction. But if you use it like this, I think the situation will be bad for all of us. Therefore, I would request my Hon. friend not to indulge in such kind of statements...

Here I come to another aspect of the matter. You see, mention is made in Clause 3 to public interest. In Sub-Clause (i) it says:

"If the Central Government considers that in the interests of the safety or security of India or in the public interest."

So it is said that in the public interest, this measure is called for. And in Sub-Clause (3) and (4) certain powers are given to regulate certain entries, to regulate the entrance of certain people to an area. One would have thought that something would be told as to why these were necessary. But the Hon. Minister has not told us anything on that. One

type of alleged activity he has not mentioned at all in this House or in the other House, significantly enough. When the Bill is supposed to be in the public interest and there are even provisions for controlling the movement of the people within the country from one area to a notified area, he has not mentioned about certain activities which it is my duty now to do. I ask the Government to take note of what I am saying and I wish to invite the attention of the new Home Minister of the Government of India to the subversive and prejudicial activities indulged in by some foreign nationals in the regions of Kalimpong and other places. I have tabled an amendment to this effect. It is for them to have taken note of it, but they have not taken note of it. That only shows the intention of these people who have formulated this measure. Here, it is a very interesting story that I have to bring to your notice. I have done some hard work here. I hope the House will bear with me a little when I give Hon. Members certain news, again documented and substantiated by facts which I can place before the House.

I have in mind George N. Patterson, correspondent to the Daily Telegraph of London who came to the lime-light in connection with Tibetan counter-revolution in 1959—a name which was mentioned in this House, residing in Kalimpong since 1960, ever since he fled from Tibet when the new regime was established in China and Tibet. His activities were in Kalimpong in support of the exiled Tibetans resident there. Patterson, in his books like 'Tragic Destiny' published in 1959 and 'Tibet in Revolt' claims to describe how he from Kalimpong helped and contributed to the organisation of this revolution in Tibet in 1959, in collusion with the Tibetan residents in Kalimpong and other elements inside Tibet. In these books he makes no secret of his part in organising meeting between the Tibetan rebel leaders and the U.S. officials and others in Kalimpong. Here are the two books, written by George N. Patterson—'Tragic Destiny' and 'Tibet in Revolt' and the pages of these two books are full of confessions of subversive and prejudicial activities,

activities which go against the interest of the country and yet I do not find any kind of a reference by the Government to any of these meetings. Why does not the Government take that into account, I would like to know.

Chaman Lall : I do not want to interrupt my Hon. Friend, but I would like to ask him this. Is this the position then that my Hon. Friend is not against any prejudicial activity regarding the safety and security of India but is against any prejudicial activity by foreigners against a neighbouring country?

Bhupesh Gupta : I have given an amendment and I may say that I am against prejudicial activities by anybody, whether foreigner or national. I make that perfectly clear. But the point now is this. You have heard the Hon. Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Shri Datar. You have heard the speeches in the other House. But no mention is made anywhere to this, as if it is the Communists who must be lambasted and hanged. Nothing is mentioned about the other type, the real type of anti-national and prejudicial activities—they are such even according to the criteria of the Government—indulged in on our soil by foreigners, even when books have been written by them and published from London and sold in Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay, and available even in the Parliament library as well. That is strange. He gets so many reports from so many quarters. Does he not get the time to read so many books? That is what I would like to ask. Here is the book—‘Tragic Destiny’. I will mention only a few instances. I do, because many copies are not available. Most of them are sold out and they are costly books. Here is what George Patterson writes. What he writes I do not vouch for here. He says so many things against everybody, including the Government of India, I so realise. But at the same time, here is a man who confesses his own crimes, no matter what statements he makes about the Communist Party or the Congress Party or the Government or anybody else.

Samuel : Suppose I write a book—tragic destiny of the

Communist Party of India, would it be a prejudicial act on my part, in your opinion?

Bhupesh Gupta : No, because you will never write such a book being a better writer. (Bell rings)

It is important and I will take some time. I wish to draw your attention to pages 14, 22 and 23, of this book. I feel like presenting a copy of this book to you. It is very important. Here you see how things on the border went on. I need not mention how Mr. George Patterson came to India in 1950 through Sadiya. He entered Calcutta from there and he says:

“I am here to get what help I can from whatever source. When I have done all I can in Calcutta. I want to go to Kalimpong and if there are any Tibetan officials there get them to pass on the information to their Government in Lhasa.”

“The official got in touch with several people in the telephone and then laid it back on its rest. I have made arrangements for you to meet one of the top Security officials in Calcutta tomorrow morning. When you have finished with him, perhaps you would get into touch with me again and we’ll fix another meeting when I can pass it on to Delhi and London.”

This is what he writes. The Americans were interested but as the British official had said, “Not in a position to do anything even if they had wanted. The link with China had been broken when Chiang Kai-Shek’s National Party failed. They had no previous contact with Tibet which would have provided them with an opening for a more direct interest.” He mentions British, American and Indian officials. “Having provided all the necessary information to the British, Indian and American officials, I decided that it was now time to make for Kalimpong to see whatever Tibetan officials might be there who in turn would be able to pass on the news to Lhasa.” This is how subversive activities go on at Kalimpong. It is admitted here and he makes a boast of his activities. This is very interesting. He says that he came, met the officials of the British High Commission who put

him in touch with the Secret Service men of the United States of America and other people. Then he passed certain information, took certain things and then went to Kalimpong, to carry on his activities. This area will probably be soon turned into a notified area, but he went to live in the house of the mother of the Dalai Lama. He saw armed servants there and he was surprised to see armed servants there of the Dalai Lama's mother and brother. I ask the Hon. Minister, "Do you have any such information that people were armed, that people were keeping little private armies there?" Mr. Patterson testifies to it, being a party to all kind of conspiracy that went on there. You come across such a statement made by the author in pages 80 and 81 of the book. I would then draw your attention to page 84 which is very interesting. "The news I took to Calcutta created a sensation and the diplomatic telephone between New Delhi, London and Washington hummed with the questions and answers. Difficulties multiplied as arrangements for escape progressed. As it had to be kept absolutely secret, only the top officials were informed of what was required and Taktser had no passport. Sufficient money for an extended stay in the Reserve Bank of India, which was out of the question in such secretive procedures; exit permits to leave the country and bypass customs formalities would have to be obtained. Slowly all those problems were resolved. In the United States the Committee for Free Asia, a non-Communist association of businessmen, invited Taktser to go to America at their expense as their guest. The Indian and U.S. Government issued affidavits in lieu of a passport, accepting the Dalai Lama's letter as of sufficient *bonafides*". This is what the author writes. Kalimpong conspiracy was hatched in order to circumvent the passport rules, to smuggle some people out of the country and written by the person who was in, true or false, I do not know. He writes it. Should your attention not have been drawn to it? That does not seem to have been done. Then he writes as to how he organised the escape of the Dalai Lama. On page 109, he says that Gompo

Sham, his wife and himself had to go to Formosa, not to the United States. On page 122, he writes "I would guarantee his (Rabga Pangdatshang) anti-Communist sincerity," He was guaranteeing the sincerity of Rabga Pangdatshang who was a brother of the Governor of a Province in Tibet which had revolted. He writes on page 136 that 'it was absolutely essential that Tibet revolt and present India and other countries with a *fait accompli*'. He writes further, "The American argued with Rabga that co-operation with the Indian Government was essential". He adds further that the American representatives had drawn up a programme. I would like to know whether such things are or not covered. On page 138 he says that the U.S. representative promised to put before the appropriate officials, after returning to America, the suggestion for appointing a special agent. There is reference, on page 150, to Apa Sahib Pant and his impression is given. It is very interesting. I know that this man is against Government also. He writes that he met the representatives of the Tibetan revolt and told them that an American agent would be sent.

Dy. Chairman : Activities prejudicial to the interests of India.

Bhupesh Gupta : Let them say that this is not prejudicial to India.

Dy. Chairman : This happened in 1951. That is why this Bill has come up.

Bhupesh Gupta : Not in 1951 but in 1958-59. Let them say so. You would understand it, and so let me proceed. I am entitled to say it. If they say about Communist activities on the border, I am prepared to quote from the author of these books all these activities. Can they produce a book by the Communists?

About Apa Sahib Pant, he says, "His impression of Rabga was that he was an able and sincere man, but that overestimated the strength and ability of the Kham and Amdo tribesmen and underestimated the magnitude of the obstacles in the way of complete Tibetan Independence". These

are all important, and I wish I had a copy to present to you. On page 174, he says...

Dy. Chairman : You seem to be trying to camouflage...

N. Sri Rama Reddy : May I know how the House is interested in what happened there?

Bhupesh Gupta : Because that area will become a notified area. If the House is interested in what the Communists are doing in Kalimpong and Mr. Datar makes a statement, the House should be jolly well interested in what George Patterson was doing and his men are doing in Kalimpong. He writes, "when the Lhasa officials in the Dalai Lama's entourage returned to Lhasa they had made arrangements with private dealers in India to send in large supplies of arms and ammunition not for use but for profit'. Everybody knows and it went across the border. Was that act in the public interest? Was it not a prejudicial act? Is it something which is to be ignored in your tirade against the Communist Party, in your talk against the Communist Party? This is what George Patterson writes in his book. All the arms and ammunition that passed across the border are mentioned here. What about your Police which produced such a report, false report, and gave it to the Prime Minister? Did it make any investigation into such activities on the border? This is a pertinent question to be asked by me and other members of the Hon. House here. On page 133 he says, "On the 4th August meeting of all leaders from all parts of Tibet held in Kalimpong, it was decided on what is to be done in view of India's refusal to help and for non-co-operative attitude. I am not, therefore, against India or the Government." "The guerrilla leaders and delegates had been advocating an extreme course of action by proposing an attack on Sikkim and Bhutan with an uprising of Tibetan nationals in sympathy in Kalimpong and Darjeeling. There were about 20,000 guerrillas between Lhasa and Sikkim and 7,000 of the best fighters most feared by the Chinese on the border of Bhutan". This is what he says. Here is a meeting of the rebel leaders who wanted to attack Sikkim and Bhutan. Even though it was held in

Kalimpong on August 4th and is stated by one, who organised and participated in this meeting, we see that the Hon. Home Minister or the Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Mr. Datar, does not have a word of condemnation to say against it while he is full of condemnation, vituperation, attacks and accusation against us. Therefore I call it diversion. It is diverting the attention of the country from the really nefarious, prejudicial, anti-national and even anti-government activities that are carried on by people like him in that area.

Then, Sir, in the 'Tibet in Revolt' how the Dalai Lama escaped is described and how they are doing it from Kalimpong. Then on page 84 reference is made to 'Tibet Mirror' a paper published in Kalimpong. Here an interesting thing is said. They were getting briefing. What a shocking thing.

Dy. Chairman : Speak something about your activities.

Bhupesh Gupta : That Mr. Datar will tell you. You know my activities; for nine years we have been together and I know how you like our activities. It says here:

"To make matters even more tense, the editor of the only Tibetan newspaper, the 'Tibet Mirror', published in Kalimpong, had received several pages of typed foolscap with details of briefing for the use of American troops in Tibet and had been asked to publish it in his newspapers. Fortunately he was perturbed and he consulted some officials. On their advice he did not publish, but the information was not secret and had been passed round, thereby heightening the expectation.'

Sir, what does it show? Here is a paper getting briefing. But 'New Age' was being mentioned, not the 'Tibet Mirror' published in Kalimpong, which according to Mr. George Patterson, was receiving American briefs to publish asking American troops to take action in Tibet. The publication was stopped because of certain intervention, perhaps, of some officials. All this is not mentioned, but 'New Age' has become an obsession with them. Then he says on page 117:

"I told the Government officials all this". A plan is accepted.

"After consultation with New Delhi my plan was adopted."

He prepared certain plans Then he says he told the Government of India and then they were accepted after consultation. Such are the publications. They are all there to expose how you are proceeding in this matter. You ignore all these things; you pick up the 'New Age' which anybody can read at any time. I would ask the Government: is that the way to handle such a matter? And again here is another thing. You see, I have worked; it is hard work. Here is a handbill on art paper issued in Kalimpong and circulated widely. Have you got that? Chiang Kai-Shek's picture is given there—a colourful picture—and there is a report in Chinese language and in another language and also in English. It is President Chiang's message to the Tibetans. This was circulated widely in the Kalimpong area and it came into my possession because I come from West Bengal.

Samuel : How is it subversive against India, I want to know, it may be subversive against China.

Bhupesh Gupta : If you think that it is in public interest from the point of view of India, say so. The Prime Minister opposes this thing and that is why Mr. George Patterson criticises you and the Prime Minister in his book. You say safety, security, public interest and all these things. If meetings are organised by the guerrilla bands in Kalimpong, don't you think you are endangering the safety? Don't you think these are against national interests, against public interest? The fact that such an intelligent man as Mr. Samuel gets up and asks me this question only shows how the infection of anti-Communism affects even right minded persons. I am only sorry. I would like to present it to Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri because when it came into my hands he was not there and his people will not tell him about such things. You see such activities had been going on.

Sir, many things have been said about the provisions of the Bill. I shall deal with them as I come to the various aspects

of the matter when the amendments come up. What I would like to state here is this. Here you say territorial integrity, but then the scope of the Bill is far wider. It is not merely the territorial integrity—for Mr. Samuel I must point out—safety and security of India. I think you are not safe when the Tibetan rebel leaders held a meeting in Kalimpong and talked to the American official. About the security of India, would Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri feel secure if somebody were to whisper in his ear in his bed, “ when you are sleeping other people near the border in Kalimpong—the Tibetan rebels—are meeting and discussing the question of even doing something in Bhutan and Sikkim and discussing about transhipment of arms and so on? Would he sleep? Certainly not; he would pass a sleepless night. He would not sleep.

Himatsinka : This Bill will take notice of them.

Bhupesh Gupta : That is why I am saying this. I am saying these things so that he takes notice; so far he does not seem to have taken any notice of these things. I would have perhaps nothing much if only the expression ‘territorial integrity’ were there; but the expression ‘public interest’ has been put in. I would like to know from the Home Minister this thing. Suppose someone makes a speech of this kind; would that come under the mischief of this measure?

“I am not going into the long history because I do not want to take much time. It is a complicated thing but we have always looked upon the Ladakh area as a different area as, if I may say so, some vaguer area so far as the frontier is concerned because the exact line of the frontier is not at all clear as in the case of the McMahan line. When we discovered in 1958, more than a year ago, that a road has been built across Yehchong in the north-east corner of Ladakh, we were worried...It is a relevant question but the fact of the matter is that we just are not within hundred miles of that area.”

The same gentleman, a very important person—I do not want to go into the details—says here when he was speaking about the Aksai China area :

“But I distinguish it completely from the areas. It is a matter for argument as to what part of it belong to us and what part of it belongs to somebody else. It is not at all a dead clear matter... I cannot go about doing things in a matter which has been challenged, not today, but for hundred years.”

Would the Hon. Home Minister tell us whether statements such as these would come under the mischief of the law or would they not? Sir, will you kindly tell him?

Lal Bahadur : Whatever I have to advise you, I shall do so tomorrow.

Bupesh Gupta : If he says now, then I need not pursue this matter but he would not say. I read out this statement. Who is this person who make this statement? Not a Communist against whom you are up in arms, but the leader of your party, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, currently engaged in finding two Deputy Leaders. That is the position. Sir, the law is law. Once it is passed, I say that Pandit Jawhararlal Nehru would not be in a position—nobody would blame him; he is a courageous man—to say what he has said without attracting the penalty of the law. Let Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri come to the House tomorrow and tell us that such a statement would not attract the provisions of the law. If he says that, I will stand corrected. If he does not say that, then it would be clear to the House how wide the law is. Now the fact that he is the Prime Minister, the fact that he may say something today, does not mean that he was absolutely unreasonable or was talking through his hat at that time. He was saying something in the circumstances as any reasonable man would say, because everybody would like to find out the position. If such a law were there he could not have said such thing in public without being liable to be arrested by Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri and put into prison. But then he would say he was the Prime Minister of the country and that would have been his protection. Therefore you see how wide the law is. Now they say in Clause 3(2) :

“Whoever makes, publishes or circulates in any notified

area any statements, rumour or report which is, or is likely to be prejudicial to the maintenance of public order or essential supplies or services in the said area or to the interests of the safety or security of India, shall be..."

Now you have the provision of the Defence of India Rules imported here. You have the provision of the Preventive Detention Act imported here. Now, what has this got to do with the territorial integrity? What has this got to do with any other part of India as far as essential supplies and so on are concerned? Here they bring in this thing with a view to persecuting normal trade union activities. This is what I say. In this connection, I would like to refer to the case of Shri Krishna Bahakat Pawrel alias Sharma...

Shrimati Maya Devi : From Kalimpong.

Bhupesh Gupta : From Kalimpong. You know it. The case came up in the Court of Shri D. C. Mookherjee, M.A., LLB. He seems to be writing all these degrees. I do not write them. Normally, a Magistrate should not write his degrees. He is M.A., B.Sc., LLB., W.B.C.S., Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Kalimpong, Magistrate 1st Class. Here certain orders were passed in case No. 20 of 1960. It reads :

"Whereas it has been made to appear to me that you have been visiting and engaging yourself openly in the jurisdiction of Gorubathan P. S. instigating Forest labourers with a view to incite them against the Officers of the Forest Department intending to cause disturbance of Public tranquillity and riot."

Now, therefore, he binds him and passes an order prohibiting :

"Pawrel alias Sharma to enter or stay in the jurisdiction of Gorubathan Police Station for the period two months from the date of service of this order."

On what basis has his movement been restricted? I took the trouble of getting the ground for promulgating an order under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code restricting the movement of Shri Pawrel alias Sharma. Here this Bill is very relevant. I say this because this is the kind of

thing that this Bill will help. The Police report of the affidavit or the statement filed by Mr. A. M. Khan, O. C., Gorubathan P. S.—am I right Mrs. Maya Devi Chetty?—Kalimpong says:

“His main campaign rests on his pretended propaganda that although the Forest Department Officers are receiving more money towards defraying expenses on account of labour they are making less payments and misappropriating the balance. The malicious propaganda produces provoking influence on the labourers, who under his influence have organised demonstrations and large scale intimidation on the local forest department employees; but the calculated outburst of acute lawlessness was thwarted due to timely action of the Police. The subject is reported to have organised subversive activities in these areas, which borders Bhutan and thereby has greater international implications.”

After all he is the Officer-in-charge of the Police Station.

Dy. Chairman : You must finish now Bhupesh Gupta. You have taken 1½ hours.

Bhupesh Gupta : I am finishing, Sir. Then it continues:

“Although he is reported to have concentrated on Forest Labour only, this may be a camouflaged move, which may take any shape any moment as the policy of the party to which the subject belongs is not at all clear.”

Now, this is what he said. How does it become camouflaged? Here you will see that even before this measure is passed the India-China border question and allied questions are brought in with a view to restricting the movement of a citizen under Section 144. This is how it is done. Now you can well imagine, after a measure of this kind is passed, what will happen. They will run amuck. They will arrest anybody and everybody engaged in the trade union movement, saying that he is interfering with the supply of essential commodities. Here it says ‘maintenance of public order or essential supplies.’ Somebody demands wages. Somebody demands food and somebody demands something else. They will say “All right. Now, we arrest you.” Ordinarily they

would not be in a position to send them to prison. Even if there was a trial, even if they could prove a false case, the conviction will be a few rupees' fine or jail for a month or so. But now if they can somehow or other bring the charge sheet under Section 3 or Section 4 of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which they propose to pass, the people could be given three years' imprisonment. This is the provision. Therefore, I say that this measure will only give a handle to your oppressive officers. I do not say that Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri intends that kind of thing. I am not imputing motive to him. But what will happen is an objective fact of life, is something that you have to take into account. If this measure is given to them as an Act, those who administer this thing will take every opportunity to start cases, to bring frame-ups with a view to sending people to jail. It would mean giving the dog a bad name and hanging it. That will be the line taken. Now, I, ask, with all respect to Lal Bahadur Shastri, is that the way we are going to face the situation? Is that the way we are going to guarantee the articles in Part III of the constitution, which deals with Fundamental Rights? Is that the way we are going to create confidence among the people? Is that the way we are building the country, when you have such a measure? It is not what you say here that matters. It is what will follow that matters. With all the good intentions on our part, I concede that Shri Shastri would not like taking a hand in prosecuting this party, perhaps even against the Communist Party. But what will prevent them from doing it? He has no jurisdiction. After the bill is passed, it becomes a weapon in the hands of the local officers. Once it goes to a Court of law, it is a matter under the Court of law about which the Central Government will not be able to do anything. They can give directives but that will not take away its ugly process from which the country has to be saved. Now, Hon. Members may feel that perhaps it will affect some members of the Communist Party. They may seek consolation from the fact that some Communists will be affected by it. I do not say

that Shri Shastri feels in that way. Many will not be affected. Perhaps you are feeling that way. But in the other House Mr. Bisht, a Congress member, pointed out that a person was arrested and framed up on a charge of what is called 'Chinese minded.' This is a new charge. Then he pointed out to the house that he was not a Communist but a Congressman. Now, this is how things happen. He must have heard about it. Here, even before the measure comes into existence a Congressman is framed up, and he is characterised as a man of Chinese mind, leaving it to a Member of Parliament from that area to reveal to the House of People that he was not a Communist—perhaps he would have been happy if he had been a Communist. Would Shri Shastri have been happy also if he were a Communist? Even the charge was false, would he have been happy? No I think he would not have been happy. But then such things will happen. It will give rise to a large number of prosecutions, a large number of arrests, large scale intimidations and political propaganda and so on. This is what I say. Therefore, I have given a whole series of amendments.

Somebody was asking me this: "After your amendments, what remains of the Bill?" I say that if Shri Shastri would insist on having his pound of flesh, I cannot produce a Portia here, because Shrimati Menon would not be one. But certainly I can tell him that I would like to make it as innocuous and as harmless as possible, within the framework of this law. I should try to take the fangs out of this measure, so that people will not be bitten all the time. I should like to guard where it is likely to be abused.

Therefore, Sir, the whole series of thoughtful amendments that I have given notice of should evoke right thinking in every person including the Home Minister. I say, keep the measure for three months or so, if you must. Let us see what happens. Keep it upto the 21st October. We can discuss it then after your return in the next election. Now our fear is that if you have this measure at the time of the election, it is bound to be all the more abused. I know that Shri Lal

Bahadur will immediately say, "well, are we afraid of the elections? Can we not win the elections without this measure against the Communist Party?" I say he can win the elections without such measures. I know he is going to be there. The Congress Party will be there. I concede this point. Taking the country as a whole you do not need this measure for the persecution of the Communists in this manner, for being returned to power, for winning the elections. I concede it. But then does it apply equally to the case of every candidate in every constituency? No, it does not, because not only the Government wants to be returned, the Party wants to be returned, every candidate, also wants to be returned in the constituency. There comes the problem. He will try to use it to make his victory easier. And we saw it at the time of the South-East Calcutta Parliamentary by-election. The Congress had done so many things according to them, the Five-Year Plans and so on. The entire plank of the Congress propaganda against our candidate, Comrade Indrajit Gupta, was the India-China issue and attack against us on that score. Calumnies, lies, slanders, accusations and vituperations were let loose. Like the Niagara Falls they came and flooded the streets of Calcutta. Nothing was spared. Shri Shastri was not there. I am sure that if he had been there, he would not have made such speeches as were made there, chauvinistic, firing speeches. Now, that was there because that particular candidate and the Congress also there thought that perhaps that would be the best way of winning elections and therefore the relations between the two countries were brought in for taking advantage of partisan electoral advantage. Results were disappointing no doubt. We won by a bigger margin of votes that we ever thought. Some of us thought that we might even lose. Some of us thought that we would win by a small margin. But we won with a big margin and it was demonstrated to the whole world that such things would not pay. So the individual candidates in an area connected with the local officials may try to pull wires in order to get through the election. Therefore, I say "Do not have it during that period."

Then here again I have suggested that if it is a case of the spoken word, do not rely for heaven's sake—if you believe in God, for God's sake—on the Police report. I have mentioned to you the report that was given to the Prime Minister and what kind of a report would it be if it were to come from the subsidiary department of Central Intelligence Bureau in Assam which gave such a magnificent account of itself during the Assam riots? Do not rely upon it. Therefore, if you deal with the spoken word, I say that every word spoken must be written down and the report should be taken simultaneously as the speech is made or as the words are spoken and then the matter should be proceeded with. I have given a whole series of amendments to make it proper so that you do not have to read wrong report and get acquainted with the wrong words which we never uttered. Then the report should come to the magistrate and should be at once...

Dy. Chairman : Amendments will take their place...

Bhupesh Gupta : I thought you referred to the report. Amendments will come later on. I take the suggestion of yours. I have given certain suggestions to plug the loopholes. Many loopholes are there. About the Trade Union activities, I have given notice of an amendment. That should not be considered prejudicially. But often what happens to those who may try to use this power improperly and abuse this power with a view to interfering with the fundamental rights of the citizens coming in the way of their normal discharge of duties as public men and so on? What happens to them? No provision is there. Therefore, I have tabled an amendment. Such people also should be punished. Why must we alone be in jail if we commit any crime? Why must not they be put in jail if they are found to have abused their authority, produced wrong reports and misled the Government. They should also land in jail and share the sorrows and fortunes with us there a little. I ask that question. Therefore, there is no such thing. The communist Party is there. They are attacking them like this. They go after them, arrest them,

persecute them and put them into the jail. All clear signal is given to go into the battle and to have a field day against the Communists. Is this the way for a polite, humble, truth-seeking Home Minister to explain? Therefore, I have tabled an amendment in this regard. Then, Sir, certain people, foreigners who are known to have carried on prejudicial activities, people like Mr. George Patterson should not be allowed to go the notified area. Never. No permit should be given to them. Clear Kalimpong of such people—no matter who they are. I am all in favour of that. But go by evidence. When you declare a notified area, should you leave it to the magistrate to declare it or to the local authority? My amendment says that Members of Parliament and Members of the Assembly from that area and the groups in that State should be called in a meeting. The Government should explain things to them and seek their opinion. Shrimati Maya Devi Chettry will be there. I will not be there, she will be there. Congress people will be more. I leave it to the good judgment of the congressmen and, if I may say so, Congress women also to say what should be done. But it should be done on the advice not of a Police Sub-Inspector, but on the advice of the M.L.A.'s and M.P.'s and I say, consult the party leaders also there. Call a meeting. If there is divergence of opinion, settle it. Suppose somebody says that the Communist Party might go there and come in the way of Shrimati Maya Devi Chettry advising that a notification should be issued, I say do not send it to the General Secretary of the Communist Party. Refer the matter to the Prime Minister for final decision. Let him take the final decision because he will bring his judgment to bear upon this matter, he will bring his statesmanship to bear upon this matter. I think we would not be easily carried away by personal or small, petty considerations or prejudices or local considerations; he will take into account the bigger perspective and also the consideration as to how this measure should be viewed. Therefore, in the event of any divergence of opinion arising as to whether an area should be notified or not, it should go in the first

instance to a committee of this kind and a meeting of this kind should be held and if the meeting cannot come to an agreement and if there is serious divergence of opinion, then refer the matter to the Prime Minister. I have faith in the Prime Minister in this matter. But they do not say that I have faith in him.

Dy. Chairman : Please wind up.

Bhupesh Gupta : I will continue tomorrow. You know I am a persecuted man. I will continue tomorrow, because nobody is speaking today. You have been very good and I must say that you know that man who is wrongly attacked and sought to be persecuted should be given his right of self-defence at least. It is a very healthy experience I am having from the Chair. It is good thing and also a very relevant thing. Nothing is irrelevant. Therefore, I say leave it to the Prime Minister. I say, during the time of the election, two months before the date of polling...

Dy. Chairman: You may take another five minutes and finish the speech.

Bhupesh Gupta : No, Sir, I will continue at most... (after a sharp discussion the Dy. Chairman gave permission to Bhupesh Gupta to continue his speech on the next day).

The House adjourned on Wednesday, the 3rd May 1961.

3rd May, 1961

Bhupesh Gupta : Let me now start by adding to the information which I was imparting yesterday to the Home Minister. I may inform him today this morning that the Magistrate of Chamoli District Mr. S. P. Watal—it is newly created district in Uttar Pradesh, told the Pressmen there that he was not facing any such problems due to prejudicial activities on the part of the Communist Party. I have given the name and I have also given the date; that is roughly the middle of November. Then another gentleman of the Garhwal Antarim Zilla Parishad, a Congressman, repudiated the allegations made against the Communist Party. Good Congressmen are there; many of them are there. This was done two

months ago. Then Mr. Jogeswar Prasad Khandoli, President of the District Congress Committee of Garhwal also in his private talks with friends and others repudiated these allegations. I do not know how many Congressmen I should name.

Dahyabhai Patel : Begin with the top.

Bhupesh Gupta : Please don't disturb me; time is short. It is not merely a question of civil liberties and rights being curtailed. I shall give another example. Normally as matters now stand, Uttar Kashi, Chamoli and Pithoragarh are declared as border area. Tehri Garhwal and Almora are not so declared. So what happens? There some people by talking about this kind of thing are trying to create a war psychosis and they are carrying on such propaganda do you know for what? Not, because they are particularly against the Communists but they think that by doing so they would catch the attention of the Central Government and could get more cement, more allocations, more grants and in that way they could have some improvement. It is a wonderful thing going on there. The Government are sending cement at a cost of Rs. 7 per bag to Garhwal and the Chamoli area. But they do not need it; the contractors who get it sell it in the black market at Rs. 14 per maund. I think the Government is losing some money there. Shri Shastri will kindly note that he is adopting such a policy that large quantities of cement go to such areas with a view to protecting the border but that is being sold in the black market.

That is why some lawyers, one or two lawyers, are talking about these things, although they do not believe in it. Congressmen there, I must tell you I am not saying that there are such prejudicial activities on the part of the Communist Party they are accusing that the Communist Party people are very active. The Police is harassing people and intimidating people. I can understand the P.S.P. and the Jan Sangh getting very angry with us. All of them together cannot get more votes than we can. But the Congressmen naturally are also a little upset about it. Therefore that aspect of the matter should be borne in mind...

Then, Sir, I have calculated it. We have 8,000 miles of borders and if you calculate it on the basis of thirty miles deep, 2,40,000 square miles would be within the range of this measure. Such a huge area, taking the country as a whole, would be open to the excessive powers. Is it good? Is it fair? Such things should not be done. It is a badge of shame for any parliamentary institution and democracy that you throw open such huge areas to oppressive measures and caprices of high-handed officials.

Then, Sir, the other day I was very sorry to read in the Press report that the Deputy Chairman said that I was trying to camouflage. There again, I make a submission. When there is a controversy between us and the Government, the remark should, I think be such that it does not lead to the interpretation as if the Chair is supporting somebody else. I do not say that you are supporting, but the way the Press has presented it in bold letters, it would be doing injustice to the Deputy Chairman. But anything, here I was unveiling the story that was not told by the Hon. Minister there, the story of Mr. Patterson, the imperialist agents and those who carry on anti-national activities directed against the public interests of the country, which undermine the honour and prestige of the country, activities directed against the stand of the Govt. in foreign affairs. That is what I was doing. I would like to know from the Hon. Minister, when he replies, what he has to say about the series of allegations Mr. Patterson had made about his own contacts with certain officials of the secret service of the Govt. of India. That should be made clear. Let it be repudiated. I think that should be made clear.

Now, these are the police who are being armed perhaps with such excessive powers. I was a little shocked to learn that a foreign correspondent, this gentleman, Mr. George N. Patterson, addressed a meeting at Sapru House on the 7th Nov. and spoke on certain Tibetan affairs. Where is he now? I would like to know it from the Home Minister. What happened? Did you cancel his visa? Did you cancel his permit? If it were so, how is it that he was at large somewhere

in Delhi addressing a meeting in Sapru House? And I was told that certain Deputy Ministers—I will not name them—were present at the meeting—I would like to know these things. These are the stories, but why do such things happen? How is it that today I have to narrate the story of the prejudicial activities of a certain imperialist agent, who claimed himself to be an agent, who claimed himself to be an agent of Britain, of America and what not, who accused the Govt. and Mr. Nehru in his books? He accused many others. How is it that I have to tell that story in the House? How is it that during the ten years he was carrying on such activities, which have been related now in his two books, one published in 1960 and another in 1959, the Government did not bring forward such a Bill as this? The Government did not mention this thing. When we asked questions and supplementaries, there was always evasion. Today they are coming down upon their countrymen, the Communist Party of India, because they do not like that Party because we happen to be major challenge from the electoral and other points of view. I do not say that we are equal to the Congress Party, but certainly we are a big challenge. How is it — he should satisfy you, Sir, that for ten years his activities were going on. Were they all sleeping in the Secretariat of Delhi? Were they all sleeping in the Central Intelligence Bureau under the Government of India? Were they all sleeping in Kalimpong and other places, where openly armed bands were organised by these people and so on? Now, Sir, at that time they did not feel the need for bringing forward such a measure. But as the third general elections are coming, as they have to make some concessions to the rightist elements in the country, because otherwise some Swatantra gentlemen might be shouting somewhere else, they have brought forward this Bill. Well, Sir, they may hit us, some of us. We can take it. We have taken many hits from them. But what would be most hit by this kind of thing is the institution of democracy in our country, fairness in public life and justice in public life. That is what I fear. Dr. Kunzru will not be hit, because he never hits anybody.

He is neither hit by us nor by the Government, nor by the British nor by the Congress. He had been an unhit man all his life. But we have been hit variously. We have been hit by the British, we have been hit by them...

Kunzru : You hit me.

Bhupesh Gupta : Never. You are a very innocent man. Sometimes you are saying things in favour of the Americans. After all I like you so much that I cannot think of doing any harm to you. You are so innocent, because nobody follows you in the country. I know this and, as Mr. Nehru and I said the other day, being an independent he is above all of us. He is a high altitude man. But then we have to see, as he will be speaking. You will hear what he has to say, because he has read some of the things in the Library already and he will be saying something. But here I say the Government is doing the wrong thing. How do you present your country before the world? You present it in a wrong light. In our country the situation is not such, that you need such extraordinary powers to maintain the integrity of the country, the territorial integrity, and so on. It is not so happily. And why do you make the country look as if the internal condition is such that such a measure is needed? Why do you make it look like that? Why do you indirectly defame the country in the outside world just because of your partisan interests, just because it suits you to hit some Communists and so on? I think they are placing the interests of the party, certain prejudices, before the interests of the country. (Time Bell). Sir, you have rung the bell. Two minutes are there. Therefore, I shall finish in two minutes. Finally, I would appeal, if I may make an appeal to your sense of reason that even now there is time to withdraw this Bill. I know that the Bill will be supported. The support has been got ready. I know that not many people will support it and some people just because they belong to a particular Party. But I do not think that you should strain your party discipline every *time in this manner. I know that left to themselves many*

Congressmen would not have liked the Bill. The demand for this Bill came from the opponents of the foreign policy of the Government namely, the Jana Sangh, the Swatantra Party and our Hon. Friends from the P.S.P. sometime joining the chorus. Such is the position. Why do you have then such a Bill? It will be abused. People will be attacked there. The rights and liberties of the common man will be attacked. The officers will be oppressive and the funds of the Government will be utilised for all kinds of ends and not for real, constructive activities. Such is the position. Now, I think, again he knows the border areas. There they are very weak. Mr. Datar said the Communist Party was active. Why are you upset if we are active? When people suffer, we have to fight for the rights of the people. Even foreign policy is attacked in the borders by the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra parties. We have to defend it. If you do not do, we have to defend your progressive declarations and so on. We have to do common work for the reconstruction of the country and for the betterment of the country. Why are you upset if we are active? I cannot understand it. Now, this is not the right way. He gave out his mind when he said the Communist Party was active. We are not a party that goes to sleep. We are an active party and we shall continue to be active, active in the interests of the country and in the interest of the people (Time Bell). We shall continue to be active.

I appeal finally to Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri to take back this infamous measure and save the fair name of the country, from calumny.

Amendments to the Criminal Law Amendments Bill Tabled by Shri Bhupesh Gupta.

(Rajya Sabha Proceeding—3rd May, 1961)

(A large number of amendments to the Bill were tabled by Shri Gupta. But not a single amendment had been accepted by the Government. We give below some of the important amendments, which are self-explanatory.)

Clause No. 2—Questioning the territorial integrity of frontiers of India in a manner prejudicial to the interests of safety and security of India.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta : Sir, I move:

That at page 1, line 10, for the words "safety or security" the words "territorial integrity" be *substituted*.

That at page 1, line 12, for the word "years" the word "months" be *substituted*.

That page 1, after line 12, the following provisos be *inserted*, namely—

"Provided that no one shall be punished for spoken words except on the basis of (i) the complete and exact report of all the words so spoken, and of (ii) the prior verification of the correctness or otherwise of such report by the person who has uttered the words:

Provided further that no such report shall be admissible as evidence unless it is taken down openly and at the time when the words were actually spoken:

Provided also that no such report shall be admissible as evidence unless, immediately after the recording is complete, it is attested and signed by at least five persons who are not Government servants or in any way connected with the Congress organisation or any other organisations known for their opposition to the general foreign policy of the Government of India.

Provided also that no such report shall be admissible as evidence unless the report has been submitted to a Magistrate of the first class within twenty-four hours of the words so spoken and recorded together with the comments on the same by the person who has spoken those words."

New Clause 2A.

Sir, I move—That at page 1, after line 12, the following new Clause be *inserted*, namely:

"2A. Any person, whether public servant or not, who makes a distorted, grabbed or otherwise an incorrect report or complaint against a citizen of India with a view to incriminating him under Section 2 shall be punishable with

imprisonment which may extend to three months, or with fine, or with both.”

Clause 3 (Statements, etc. In a notified area prejudicial to maintenance of public order etc., therein or to safety or security of India and regulation of entry of persons in such area.)

Sir, I move—That at page 1, *for* the words “safety or security of India or in the public interest” the words “territorial integrity of India” be *substituted*.

That at page 1, *after* line 19, the following proviso be *inserted*, namely:

“Provided that no such notification shall be made in respect of any area within three months immediately preceding the polling dates for a general election or by-election to the House of the People, State Legislative Assembly or Territorial Council, unless a Board consisting of three Judges of a High Court or the Supreme Court, on a special reference by the Government to examine the reports about the area concerned, comes to the conclusion that there are reasonable grounds for making such notification:

Provided further that in all cases where a notification under Sub-Section (1) of Section 3 is proposed to be issued, the Government under whose jurisdiction the area concerned is situated shall call a meeting of the representatives of all political parties in the State or the Centrally administered area concerned, as well as of all members of Parliament and State Legislature or the Territorial Council concerned, as the case may be, elected from the area concerned, at which all relevant grounds for issuing the notification shall be explained and the opinion of those present shall be sought and recorded for consideration by the Government:

Provided also that if there is a strong divergence of opinion as to the advisability of issuing such a notification, the entire matter shall be referred to the Prime Minister of India for final decision and the Prime Minister may constitute a fresh enquiry to assess the situation in the area concerned and consult the representatives of all parties and groups

represented in Parliament before taking the final decision in the matter.”

That at page 1, *after* line 19, the following be *inserted* namely:

“1(A). All notification issued under Sub-Section (1) of Section 3 shall expire sixty days after the date of the issue of such notification.”

That at page 2, line 3, *for* the word “years” the word “months” be *substituted*.

That at page 2, *after* line 3, the following proviso be *inserted*, namely:

“Provided that no peaceful activity in pursuance of normal trade unionism or for the improvement of the wages and earnings of the workers, peasants and other sections of the working people or for the advancement of the cause of the tribal people and backward communities as envisaged in the Constitution or for securing adequate supply of foodgrains and other essential necessities of life or for the provision of better housing and communication shall be deemed prejudicial.”

That at page 2, *after* line 3, the following be *inserted*, namely:

“2(A) Any person, whether public servant or not, trying to interfere with the normal trade union activities in the notified area or in the exercise of the fundamental rights of the residents in such area by attempting to take recourse to the provisions of this Act, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three months, or with fine, or with both.”

That at page 2 *after* line 11, the following proviso be *inserted*, namely:

“Provided that no person who is not a citizen of India and who is known to have interfered in the internal affairs of any neighbouring country at any time from the Indian soil or has committed other forms or prejudicial activities shall be allowed to remain in or enter, any notified area.”

Clause 4 : Power to declare certain publications forfeited and to issue search warrants for the same.

Sir, I move: That at page 2, *after* line 42, the following proviso be *inserted*, namely:

“Provided that no action under this Section shall be taken unless a Magistrate, after going through the alleged prejudicial matter contained in the book, newspaper, or document, as the case may be, finds that *prima facie* there are reasonable grounds for taking action under this Section, and authorises such action being taken.”

That at page 2, *after* line 42, the following proviso be *inserted*, namely:

“Provided that all powers exercised under Section 4 shall be reported at the earliest available opportunity to the Parliament in the case where the Central Government have exercised the powers, and to the State Legislature concerned where a State Government have exercised such powers for consideration.”

Clause 5: *Application to High Court to set aside order of forfeiture.*

Sir, I move: That at page 3:

(i) in line 21, *for* the words “No order” the words “Any order” and *for* the word “shall” the word “may” be *substituted*; and

(ii) in lines 22-23, the words “otherwise than in accordance with the provisions of this section” be *deleted*.

That at page 3, lines 22-23, *for* the words “otherwise than in accordance with the provisions of this section” the words “except by person or persons aggrieved by such order or action” be *substituted*.

New Clause 6.

Sir, I move: That at page 3, *after* line 23, the following new Clause be inserted, namely:

“6. The Central Government shall place before both Houses of Parliament for consideration a quarterly report on the working of this Act including such information as the Chairman of the Council of States and the Speaker of the House of the People, at their own instance or at the request of the Members, may ask for from time to time.”

Clause 1 : Short title and extent.

Sir, I move: That at page 1, *after* line 6, the following be *inserted*, namely:

“(3) It shall expire on the 31st day of October, 1961.”

**Concluding Speech by Shri Bhupesh Gupta
in the Rajya Sabha on 3rd May,
— Third Reading of the Bill**

Bhupesh Gupta : Just a few words only, Sir. You may ask why I get up. I don't want to trouble you, but still I must say that I oppose this motion. You will pass it now and so I can only say how you should behave. The Government has displayed its utter lack of faith in themselves by bringing in this legislation. This measure is conceived in bad faith and produced in bad faith and I fear it will be executed and worked in bad faith. This is all I would say. I would say that such a measure was unnecessary for the country today. But they have decided, for the interest of the party, to have it and they must have their way, because they command a brute majority in Parliament. And somehow, this time they have obtained support from some opposition groups, playing up the anti-Communist prejudice. Let it not be said that this measure is purely for safeguarding territorial integrity and so on. The speeches made on the floor of the House by some Hon. Members and by the government have made it absolutely clear that this measure is politically designed to attack a particular party in the country and all members of that party and all movement led by that party, all trade union activities and so on. That is quite clear. This is a measure which has been brought forward to terrorise and intimidate the people by playing on prejudices and chauvinistic sentiments of some people. That is quite clear. It is also quite clear that they will attempt to blackmail the people to toe the line in everything and not to have a word of criticism against the Government where even fair criticism is called for, because they will be subjected to terrorism. Here is a measure, I say again, which gives extraordinary powers in the hands of the Police officials and the Executive over whom Parliament

has only national control and no mistake about it. I know that in the border areas and in other places, this measure will be used for the purpose of oppression and it will be no consolation for us if at that time some Hon'ble Members spoke regretfully over this matter. That is what I say. Sir, it will be a shame for us and it will be known to the world that country like India which is developing its Parliamentary institutions and systems and which is led by such a personality like Shri Jawaharlal Nehru who is at the head of the Government, should require a measure like those formulated and promulgated in Pakistan in the terrorist regimes of Iskander Mirza, Ayub Khan and those who preceded them. It will be profound shame for everybody. This is what I say. Today you may pass it. You have passed it, almost. I know it for fact. And I know how it will be used. What about the moral prestige of the Government? Its ego will be satisfied, but the moral prestige of the Government will suffer seriously because of this measure. It will suffer tomorrow, if not today, because history will one day judge of such measures and the people will judge by how it is worked. The working of this measure will disclose the mischief and the bad faith underlying the whole scheme of things. I do not want to say anything more. I oppose it. Why? I know a hornet's nest will be created about what I say. But at the same time I felt that the Communist Party should have the courage to get up here on the floor of the House and before the bar of public opinion to condemn what it feels to be wrong and to assert what it thinks to be right, and that is what I am doing here. I know if the audience were merely what I see here, I would not have wasted the time of the House. But outside there is a greater audience and the greater Parliament, the public of India, will judge of things and they shall judge it at the time of the general elections. The P.S.P. may say so many things and level so many charges against us. I may tell them that all their attacks have led to such a result that the Party is getting wound up in the country and the Communist Party is gaining strength day to day. Traitors do not grow in a glorious and noble country. It is an insult to the people to call the Communists traitors,

when that party is gaining strength every day. It is a serious thing in the scheme of things that we have today that a major party like the Communist Party of India which is in Parliament should thus be abused, attacked, insulted and sought to be called "traitor" by the people who need not tell us what patriotism is. Patriotism is not cosmetic of fashionable ladies to be displayed about and used here in Parliament. Patriotism is something to be seen and shown among the people, the workers, the peasants, the intellectuals, the middle class and small tradesmen. How is it, even when you call us such names, the Communist Party is redoubling its strength and going ahead to gain the support of the people? Have all the people become traitor-lovers? They need not call us. I don't call the Congress Party traitors. I call them a party of what it is. I do not call anybody that way that they are individuals may be. Individuals may be, but they talk in that language. Our friends of the P.S.P. said, "Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and his agents." Let them know this. The P.S.P. has been practically liquidating itself because of its anti-Communism. I wish them good luck. Let them go on indulging in their anti-Communism but they shall be wiped out from other States also. I throw this challenge on the floor of the House that at least in one State, the State from which I come, the P.S.P. will be paid dividends and interests in the next General Elections. Take it from me.

I think the time has come to stop this chauvinistic jingo of anti-Communist propaganda. I wish you would stop this. You may disagree with me and I may disagree with you. When the Prime Minister said something in the United Nations and called the China-issue a 'controversy,' he was attacked by the Right in the country, the Swatantra Party and the P.S.P. They asked as to why the Prime Minister had not called it aggression. Now you are feeding the very forces which direct their attack even against the Prime Minister. I would ask Shri Shastri to ponder over the course of action that he has taken. Whatever may be his intention, if this course is pursued, whatever the intention of well meaning Congressmen may be, it will only strengthen the forces of

internal reaction that we all want to curb and put them in their proper places.

I am sorry that I have to speak and I am sorrier still that our Parliament today, after thirteen years of independence, have to pass such a measure, to tell the world that unless this measure, this precious little thing, is passed, Indian independence is not going to be defended, national existence will be in jeopardy. I have greater faith in our independence and national existence, and I know that all people of all parties, progressive and patriotic minded people, will cherish it, defend it and protect it. Therefore I have no lack of faith, but it is they who display lack of faith. I have no doubt about it. It is a matter of deep sorrow and I was very sorry when others because of anti-Communism, supported this measure. I do not wish to say anything; many people spoke. I have no quarrel with them. Many well meaning people from the opposite side, people who take a progressive stand in other matters, spoke rather strongly against us. I do not quarrel over that. I judge them as a whole. Although I may disagree with them in certain matters and they may disagree with me in regard to certain others, broadly speaking, of foreign policy, in the matter of how the country should behave in the world, there is a vast measure of agreement. The field of agreement is far greater than the field of disagreement. It is the area of agreement which is wider than the field of disagreement. I draw inspiration and strength from that.

I only want to submit this thing to the government. Let Shri Lal Bahadur, even if he has not accepted any of our amendments, see that this measure is not abused by the Police and other officers of the Government. He should see that his partymen and others do not take recourse to this measure with a view to grinding a political axe against the Communist Party. He should see that this measure does not become ammunition in the hands of the right reaction who may attack us today, will surely attack, as surely as the sun rises in the east, all progressive elements in the Congress and even the Government whenever it takes a progressive step. That is all I wish to say in regard to this.

Resolutions Adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India (Hyderabad, 14–20 August, 1962)

4(a) Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund

The National Council of the Communist Party of India resolves to launch a countrywide public campaign for an "Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund" of Rs. five lakhs which will be used for the construction of a Central Party Headquarters building to commemorate the memory of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh.

The National Council calls upon all party members and friends of the Party to participate actively in organising collections from all those who revere the memory of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh as an outstanding leader of the Indian people's movement for independence, democracy and socialism.

4(b) On the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union

The National Council of the Communist Party of India hails the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted at the 22nd Congress of the Party. This Programme for building a communist society invests the Congress with special importance and value. The 22nd Congress has underlined the important decisions already taken by the 20th Congress and the 81 Parties' document in regard to a number of cardinal questions facing the international working class movement and all mankind. The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which will find its place in history as the Congress of the builders of communism,

will forever stand as a beaconlight in the creative development of Marxism-Leninism. The Congress opens up new vistas and radiant perspectives for humanity's triumphant march to its cherished goal—the goal of peace and communism.

The Programme of the CPSU brilliantly sums up the rich experience of socialist construction by the Soviet people under the leadership of their beloved Communist Party. It generalises the great and varied experience of the international communist movement. In this historic document, which is a new, invaluable addition to the treasurehouse of Marxism-Leninism, there emerges vividly an impressive picture of the communist society in which all men are free and everyone will be called upon to give according to his capacity and receive according to his needs.

The great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin are being concretised. The new Programme gives a clear picture of the new world that is emerging. The communist society as visualised by the founders of communism, enables mankind to translate its dreams into reality.

The targets and objectives set in the Programme are not only staggering and gigantic; they will further change the balance of forces in the world in favour of the people.

In the current decade itself (1961-1970) to Soviet Union, in creating the material and technical basis of communism, will surpass the strongest and richest capitalist country—the USA—in production per head of population; the people's standard of living and their cultural and technical standards will improve substantially; everyone will live in comfortable circumstances; all collective and state farms will become highly productive and profitable enterprises; the demand of Soviet people for well-appointed housing will in the main be satisfied; hard physical work will disappear; the USSR will have the shortest working day.

The material and technical basis of communism will be built up at the end of the second decade (1971-1980) ensuring an abundance of material and cultural values for the whole population. There will be a gradual transition to one

form of ownership. The principle of distribution according to need will be introduced.

With its gigantic targets of full-scale communist construction, the Programme of the CPSU makes the most exhilarating declaration of our time, namely that the 'present generation of the Soviet people shall live under communism'. For the first time in human history, the building of a communist society is set as an immediate practical task. 'Communism accomplishes', proclaims the Programme of the CPSU, 'the historic mission of delivering all men from social inequality, from every form of oppression and exploitation, from the horrors of war and problems Peace, Labour, Freedom, Equality and Happiness for all peoples of the earth'.

No wonder that the Programme of the CPSU has been rightly described as the greatest document of our age, for the international working class movement and for all peoples fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. This charter of communism has a tremendous international significance. The Programme forcefully demonstrates the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the superiority of socialism over capitalism. The very announcement of the Programme stirred the imagination of all men in every part of the world. The Programme immensely enhances the force of attraction of the ideas of scientific socialism and wins the minds and hearts of millions of people throughout the world. The fulfilment of the great Programme by the Soviet people who are already on the high road to socialist world changes the world balance of forces in favour of the people and helps the forces fighting for peace, democracy, freedom and socialism. The Programme is right in its expectation that when the Soviet people enjoy the blessings of communism, new hundreds of millions of people on earth will say: We are for communism. The road to communism along which all people will sooner or later traverse has been newly and majestically paved.

2. The Programme is permeated with the spirit of the world-

wide struggle for peace and of promotion in the fullest measure of liberty and equality for man. Indeed its implementation depends on the maintenance of world peace and the continued extension of socialist democracy and on the boundless initiative of the entire party and the Soviet people.

3. The Programme sums up the experience of socialist construction and the first phase of transition to communism, in the land which ushered in proletarian dictatorship. It draws on the varied experience of the other countries of Europe and Asia, which took to the path of socialist construction after the end of the second world war. It tries to solve the most important and basic problems of economic construction, social and cultural regeneration and the development of socialist democracy.

4. The Programme is not a substitute for an independent study and working out of the national problems of each country by its Marxist-Leninist Party with a view to evolving its own national path of advance. Socialism can be accomplished and transition from socialism to communism effected only by following the road of scientific socialism. But this does not mean a mechanical transplantation of the Soviet experience to other countries. The universal truths of Marxism-Leninism which are confirmed and enriched by the Soviet experience must be integrated with the peculiarities and specific conditions of other countries. For, each country has its own national traditions, social and economic institutions with their distinct national features, the stage of literary, scientific and cultural development peculiar to itself. Only by taking account of all these national peculiarities of each country can a Communist Party draw up its own Programme and successfully work for its fulfilment.

In doing this, however, the new Programme of the CPSU will undoubtedly act as the guiding star for all Communist and Workers' Parties in the world, since the Programme combines what is specific to the Soviet Union with what is common to the international working class movement as a whole.

5. The perspectives of communist construction as outlined in the new Programme stand in marked contrast to the continuing crisis which has gripped the entire capitalist world. Despite the boastful talk indulged in by the leaders and spokesmen of the capitalist world regarding 'welfare state' 'people's capitalism' etc., with which they are trying to deceive the people, the capitalist system is being exposed before the whole world as utterly bankrupt as has been once again evidenced in the recent Wall Street crash and in its reactions in all capitalist countries.

As Comrade Khrushchov says in the Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 22nd Congress:

"Although there has been some growth in production, the economy of the capitalist countries has become still more unstable and reminds one of a man sick with fever, so often do its short-lived recoveries give way to depression and crises. The USA, the chief capitalist country, has experienced two critical recessions in five years, and there have been four such recessions in the post-war world as a whole. The crisis of 1957-58 involved countries whose share in capitalist industries' output amounts to almost two-third of the whole. With the incomes of the monopolies increasing to a fabulous degree, real wages of the working people have increased very slightly and far more slowly than the productivity of labour. The social gains achieved by the working class in the past are gradually being reduced to nought. In general, the conditions of the working people, especially in the under-developed countries, is growing worse."

It is against this background that the inspiring targets of all-round, continuous and uninterrupted increase in production, remarkable improvements in the living standards of the entire people and tremendous cultural advance are being laid by the CPSU.

In the present condition when the world is divided into two systems, the capitalist and socialist, the scientific technical revolution is leading to two opposite results. In the socialist system, the revolution is leading to greater happi-

ness of the people, accelerating the transition towards communism, while in the capitalist system it is leading to militarisation of economy, worsening of people's conditions and economic crises.

The perspective of the programme is, however, not of the people of the Soviet Union alone. What is to happen in the USSR by 1980 will eventually happen to all countries if only they are freed from the enthralling grip of the exploiting classes.

6. The Communists, Socialists and other progressives in India will find in the new Programme a powerful weapon with which to demonstrate the superiority of socialism; to combat bourgeois ideology and expose the claims of the capitalist class in our country that they are building a socialist society; to win over the broad sections of our people to the positions of scientific socialism and for fundamental social transformations. The achievements of the Soviet Union and the Programme of the CPSU are a convincing proof that only under socialist planning can the people march forward rapidly towards all-round advance and universal happiness.

Communist construction in the Soviet Union and the more or less simultaneous transition of the socialist countries to communism offer to the newly-liberated nations like our own, abounding and ever increasing source of disinterested economic and other assistance for their rapid, independent development and for strengthening their freedom. It is, however, for the peoples of these underdeveloped countries to draw upon this assistance and use it in the correct way in order to go forward along the pathway of all-sided development.

7. The materials of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU give a generalised picture of the two paths of development before the recently-liberated and former colonies and dependent nations. Basing itself on the intense discussions that have taken place in the international communist movement—discussions in which our Party too, made its own contributions, in which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union played the leading role—the new Programme of the CPSU says :

“One of the basic questions confronting these peoples is—which road of development the countries that have freed themselves from colonial tyranny are to take, whether the capitalist road or the non-capitalist.

“What can capitalism bring them ?

“Capitalism is the road of suffering for the people. It will not ensure rapid economic progress nor eliminate poverty; social inequality will increase. The capitalist development of the countryside will ruin the peasantry still more. The workers will be fated either to engage in back-breaking labour to enrich the capitalists, or to swelling the ranks of the disinherited army of the unemployed. The petty bourgeoisie will be crushed in competition with big capital. The benefits of culture and education will remain out of reach of the people. The intelligentsia will be compelled to sell its talent.

“What can socialism bring the peoples ?

“Socialism is road to freedom and happiness for the peoples. It ensures rapid economic and cultural progress. It transforms a backward country into an industrial country within the lifetime of one generation and not in the course of centuries. Planned socialist economy is an economy of progress and prosperity by its very nature. Abolition of the exploitation of man by man does away with social inequality. Unemployment disappears completely. Socialism provides all peasants with land, helps them to develop farming, combines their labour efforts in voluntary co-operatives and puts modern agricultural machinery and agronomy at their disposal. peasant labour is made more productive and the land is made more fertile. Socialism provides a high material and cultural standard of living for the working class and all working people. Socialism lifts the people out of darkness and ignorance and gives them access to modern culture. The intelligentsia is offered ample opportunities for creative effort for the benefit of the people.”

8. The National Council is of the opinion that our Party should carry out the task of widely popularising the glorious perspective of communist construction as outlined in

the new Programme of the CPSU. The Programme of the CPSU will enable the Party and the advanced sections of the working class to explain to the broad masses of our people in concrete, living terms the superiority of socialism over capitalism and draw them increasingly closer to the ideas of scientific socialism.

9. Basing itself on intense discussions and conclusions of the international communist movement, the 22nd Congress of the CPSU also gives a clearer picture of the way in which Communist and Workers' Parties in the newly-liberated underdeveloped countries can help the struggle of their people. The Programme of the CPSU states:

“The young sovereign states do not belong either to the system of imperialist states or to the system of socialist states. But the overwhelming majority of them have not yet broken free from world capitalist economy, even though they occupy a special place in it. They constitute that part of the world which is still being exploited by the capitalist monopolies. As long as they do not put an end to their economic dependence on imperialism, they will be playing the role of a ‘world countryside’ and will remain objects of semi-colonial exploitation”.

And further on it says:

“Imperialism thus remains the chief enemy and the chief obstacle to the solution of the national problems facing the young sovereign states and all dependent countries.

“A national liberation revolution does not end with the winning of political independence. Independence will be unstable and will become fictitious unless the revolution brings about radical changes in the social and economic spheres and solves the pressing problems of national rebirth.”

The Programme points out:

“The national bourgeoisie is dual in character. In modern conditions, the national bourgeoisie in those colonial, one time colonial and dependent countries where it is not connected with the imperialist circles is objectively interested

in accomplishing the basic tasks of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. Its progressive role and its ability to participate in the solution of pressing national problems are, therefore, not yet spent.

“But as the contradictions between the working people and the propertied classes grow and the class struggle inside the country becomes more acute, the national bourgeoisie shows an increasing inclination to compromise with imperialism and domestic reaction.

“The development of the countries which have won their freedom may be a complex multi-stage process. By virtue of varying historical and socio-economic conditions in the newly-free countries, the revolutionary effort of the masses will impart many distinctive features to the forms and rates of their social progress.”

It is, therefore, of the utmost importance for our Party to seek to build the broad national democratic front of anti-imperialist, democratic forces including the national bourgeoisie, while keeping in view the dual character of the bourgeoisie and the necessity of unity and struggle with it. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry must form the core of the broad national democratic front and the extent to which the national bourgeoisie will take part in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle will depend in a considerable measure on the solidity of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

But to build such a broad democratic front, our Party has to pay urgent attention to the tasks of working out the Programme of our Party, defining our road to socialism, basing ourselves on the experience of our own people and on the broad perspective of development as envisaged in the 81 Parties' statement and the CPSU Programme, discussing such concepts as national democracy and non-capitalist path in relation to our conditions.

The Party has to carry on systematic and continuous struggles against the dangers of revisionism and dogmatism against which warning has been given in the documents of

the international communist movement. The 22nd Congress of the CPSU once more focusses attention on the fight for maintaining the purity of Marxism by calling for a struggle against revisionism and dogmatism and sectarianism. It states:

“The communist movement grows and becomes steeled as it fights against various opportunist trends. Revisionism., right opportunism, which is a reflection of bourgeois influence, is the chief danger within the communist movement today. The revisionists, who mask their renunciation of Marxism with talk about the necessity of taking account of the latest developments in society and the class struggle, in effect play the role of pedlars of bourgeois reformist ideology within the communist movement. They seek to rob Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary spirit, to undermine the faith which the working class and all working people have in socialism, to disarm and disorganise them in their struggle, against imperialism. The revisionists deny the historical necessity of the socialist revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, undermine the foundations of proletarian internationalism, and drift to nationalism. The ideology of revisionism is most fully embodied in the programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

“Another danger is dogmatism and sectarianism, which cannot be reconciled with a creative development of revolutionary theory, which leads to the dissociation and isolation of Communists from the masses, dooms them to passive expectation or incites them to Leftist adventurist actions in the revolutionary struggle, and hinders a correct appraisal of the changing situation and the use of new opportunities for the benefit of the working class and all democratic forces. Dogmatism and sectarianism, unless steadfastly combated, can also become the chief danger at particular stages in the development of individual parties.

“The Communist Party of the Soviet Union holds that an uncompromising struggle against revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism, against all departure from Leninism, is a

necessary condition for the further strengthening of the unity of the world communist movement and for the consolidation of the socialist camp.”

10. The materials of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, of the two Moscow conferences of the international communist movement (1957 and 1960) and of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU are sufficient, if they are correctly studied and adhered to, to effectively fight and eliminate revisionism and dogmatism on such questions as the struggle for peace and disarmament, peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems and different forms of transition. The new concepts on these questions have been sought to be interpreted by the revisionists, as well as dogmatists, to mean that the basic class standpoint of Marxism-Leninism on these questions has to be abandoned. The above documents make it clear that all this is nothing but distortion and departure.

The concept that a world war is not inevitable and a world without arms can be realised even before capitalism is eliminated from the face of the earth is no negation of Marxist-Leninist standpoint that imperialism is the source of war in the present-day world. It should be noted that the imperialists stubbornly refuse to accept the proposals for disarmament and are feverishly continuing their war preparations. Hence arises the imperative need to maintain vigilance. But for the first time in history the possibilities of preventing a world war and bringing about general and complete disarmament have arisen even before imperialism is finally wiped out. But this possibility can be made a reality only by the combined efforts of all peace forces—the socialist camp, the newly-liberated nations and the peoples fighting for national independence, the international working class movement and all other peace champions.

The Programme adopted by the 22nd Congress of the CPSU is vitally and inseparably linked with a policy of peace and struggle for peace which is being vigorously pursued by the Soviet Union. The Congress endorsed the basic theoretical position taken by the 20th Congress that the main

problem of our time is that of peace and war and that war today can be avoided. Although imperialism, which is aggressive by its very nature threatens mankind with a thermo-nuclear war, it is no longer the dominant force in the world and cannot do whatever it likes. The forces of peace, which are growing ever stronger in all parts of the world, can prevent the unleashing of a new world war. In fact, the rising strength of the forces of socialism and peace over that of imperialism and war have given rise to a situation which creates the possibility of eliminating world war from the life of society even before the world-wide establishment of socialism. The complete victory of socialism will forever eliminate the causes of war and it is the mission of communists to establish permanent world peace and banish for all time the spectre of war.

The 22nd Congress reaffirmed that the policy of peaceful co-existence creates conditions which are most favourable for the political and economic reconstruction of socialist countries, for the development of class struggle in capitalist countries and for strengthening the struggle for national independence in the colonial countries. This policy is the basis for peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism on a world scale. This policy, therefore, isolates the most reactionary and warmongering section of society in imperialist countries and helps the growth of progressive democratic peace-loving forces in all parts of the world.

As for peaceful co-existence, it is not a denial of political and ideological struggle that takes place between the bourgeoisie and the working class on a world plane. Peaceful co-existence serves as a basis for the peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism on an international scale and constitutes a specific form of class struggle between them. It actually means that the forces of aggression are prevented from intervening in the internal affairs of other countries and that the basic controversy between capitalism and socialism on a world plane must not be settled through recourse to war between states. Victorious socialism, as Lenin

long ago pointed out, exerts its influence on the world developments mainly through economic achievements. The Programme of the CPSU opens great perspectives for peaceful competition between two systems and of the tremendous impact that full-scale communist construction is going to have on the course of world development.

The 22nd Congress of the CPSU in conformity with the 81 Parties' Statement once more emphasised the desire of the working class and its effort for a peaceful socialist revolution. 'The working class and its vanguard seek to accomplish the socialist revolution by peaceful means.' This meets with the interests of the working class and the people. In the conditions prevailing at present, in some capitalist countries, the working class led by its advanced detachment has the opportunity to unite the bulk of the nation, win state power without a civil war in cooperation with different political parties.

"The working class, supported by the majority of the people and firmly repelling opportunist elements incapable of renouncing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords can defeat the reactionary anti-popular forces, win a solid majority in Parliament, transform it from a tool serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into a instrument serving the working people, launch a broad mass struggle outside Parliament, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and provide the necessary conditions for a peaceful socialist revolution."

Further, it also notices the possibility of a non-peaceful transition to socialism where the exploiting classes resort to violence. It correctly states:

"Leninism maintains and historical experience confirms that the ruling classes do not yield power of their own free will. Hence the degree of bitterness of the class struggle and forms it takes will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the strength of the reactionary groups' resistance to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people and on the use of the force by these at a particular stage of the struggle for socialism."

On the question of transition to socialism, the advanced sections of the working class need to properly assimilate in its entirety the conclusions of the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960.

The position taken by the CPSU and the international communist movement on these questions is thus not a negation of the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism with regard to class struggle, mass action as the only means of bringing about social changes, the class character of the state, necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc. On the contrary, it is a creative application of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism in the new historical context. What the CPSU and the international communist movement does is to point out that, in respect of all these questions, the position of the working class movement in the world as a whole, and in each individual country, separately has become far more favourable than ever before and that it has now become possible to make the transition from one social system to another less painful than before. It is the task of the advanced sections of the working class to fully use the favourable conditions for this purpose.

11 The 22nd Congress further carries forward the discussions initiated at the 20th Congress on the restoration of the Leninist principles of Party organisation, which were violated in the CPSU in the later years of Comrade Stalin's life. Not only does it throw more light on the harmful consequences of the cult of Stalin's personality which led in innumerable ways, to the suppression of the initiative of Party members and Soviet citizens in socialist construction. The 22nd Congress also elaborates the 'tasks of the Party in the spheres of state development and the further promotion of socialist democracy in the period of communist construction.' It lays down the lines on which certain specific guarantees of inner-Party democracy are to be provided in the Rules of the CPSU.

12. The overcoming of these negative consequences of the cult of Stalin's personality is essential for developing

collective leadership, for releasing the initiative of the Party ranks and the masses for successful accomplishment of the task facing the world communist movement. The struggle against the cult of personality and the elimination of all its consequences conform to the interests of the international working class movement of socialist construction and of transition to communism.

Maxism-Leninism never denied the role of individual leaders in history but the personality cult is completely alien to it. Stalin was doubtless an outstanding Marxist-Leninist of exceptional talent and abilities and his positive role as a leader will not be questioned. He upheld the teachings of Lenin against deviations and developed Lenin's teachings in several spheres. He made valuable contribution to the building of socialism in the USSR and towards the growth of the world communist movement. All these facts cannot be erased from history. But then he had his negative sides, too, which found concentrated expression in the growth of his personality cult.

Towards the later period of his life, the negative side of his character developed and the phenomenon of the cult of personality went from bad to worse. Impermissible departures from Leninist Party standards, as well as grave violations of socialist legality occurred. Excess and even crimes took place in the period of the cult of personality. The 20th Congress of the CPSU began the struggle against the cult of personality and for the restoration of the Leninist Party standards and socialist legality. Life itself has underlined the essentially beneficial results of the struggle for the elimination of all traces of cult of personality. The need for this fight against the cult of personality is acknowledged by the entire international communist movement. The 22nd Congress of the CPSU has only carried forward this process of elimination of the harmful consequences of the personality cult.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India is of the view that conditions must be created in the international

communist movement so that the personality cult shall never grow again. However, in the conduct of the struggle against the cult of personality of Stalin, it is always necessary to keep in view both aspects of Stalin's character and role—positive as well as negative—so that the struggle is conducted in a balanced, objective manner and without giving in to subjectivism. In view of the fact that the fraternal Parties, especially in the capitalist countries have not had the same direct, bitter experiences of the cult of personality, it is also necessary to take into account in advance the possible repercussions in such Parties that particular steps in the struggle against the personality cult may cause.

The negative and harmful consequences of the cult of personality were by no means confined to the Soviet Union and the CPSU alone. The personality cult became a ramified international phenomenon affecting in one way or another a number of other Communist Parties and this includes Parties in the capitalist world. The personality cult of Stalin and its impact and influence on other Parties obstructed the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and gave rise to abnormalities in the relations of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties.

The struggle against the personality cult started by the 20th Congress was an act of exceptional courage and significance on the part of the leadership of the CPSU in order to bring about a radical break with the past methods and theories which had become shackles on the advance of Soviet society towards the goal of communism. The result has been the restoration of socialist legality, re-establishment and growth of inner-Party democracy, a powerful blow to bureaucratic practices and habits and a great unleashing of mass initiative in the sphere of socialist construction. This struggle, which was developed further between the 20th and the 22nd Congresses of the CPSU exercised a powerful influence on the course of development of the entire world communist movement. The Moscow Conference of 81 Parties fully endorsed the importance and urgency of developing this

struggle and eliminating the harmful consequences of the personality cult. The Communist Party of India congratulates the CPSU on its greater achievements in this historic battle against the cult of the individual.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India recognises the need for the fight against the cult of personality and complete elimination of its consequences from the ranks of every Communist Party. The struggle against the cult of personality has proved beneficial to all fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties and it facilitates the normalisation of their relations according to Marxist-Leninist standards. It has removed obstacles for the enrichment of Marxism-Leninism by all fraternal Parties.

In this connection, the National Council of the Communist Party of India, however, considers it necessary to state that the violation of the Party standards and socialist legality and the excesses that took place during Stalin's life-time, cannot be adequately explained merely by attributing them to the cult of personality. More objective and more self-critical examination of the emergence and the growth of personality cult, as well as of all relevant conditions, circumstances that contributed to these violations and excesses need to be comprehensively studied and examined. This is necessary not only for a proper appraisal of the cult of personality but also for creating such guarantees in the sphere of the state and in the Party life that would once and for all prevent the reappearance of the personality cult.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India does maintain that these violations of socialist legality and the excesses do not detract from the superiority and vitality of Soviet society. On the contrary, the fact that Soviet society could make such unparalleled progress in all spheres of life despite the growth of the personality cult underlines all the more the fundamental superiority of the Soviet system and the inexhaustible creative power of the Soviet people which socialism has released. Those who question this superiority of the Soviet system do so either from ignorance

and prejudice or from a deliberate design to malign socialism.

13. The struggle for overcoming the harmful consequences of the cult of Stalin's personality and the exposures made in this connection by the CPSU caused a measure of confusion within the ranks of our Party. This has hampered serious and useful discussions on the outstanding contributions and decisions of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India holds the view that it is not necessary for us to endorse every statement made by the CPSU leaders in the course of exposing the harmful consequences of the cult of Stalin's personality. We may have our differences on this or that aspect of the criticisms made by the CPSU leadership. We may also have our reservations on the way in which certain specific decisions were taken.

There is, however, no doubt that, even if we differ with the CPSU leadership on some of these specific aspects, we appreciate and welcome the basic departure which they have made in the methods of leadership inside the Party and in state affairs. Whatever temporary confusions were created in our Party by the 20th Congress exposure of the distortions of inner-Party democracy and socialist legality made by Comrade Stalin in his later years or by the 22nd Congress decisions to remove Comrade Stalin's dead body from the Mausoleum and to change the names of cities, we have to recognise that the CPSU leadership has done a distinct service to the entire international communist movement by revealing the dangerous consequences of violations of the Leninist principles of inner-Party democracy. The chapter of the new Programme of the CPSU on 'The Tasks of the Party in the Spheres of State Development and the Further Promotion of Socialist Democracy', together with the new Rules of the CPSU adopted at the 22nd Congress, are examples of the creative development of Marxism-Leninism in the sphere of State-political and inner-Party relations. It is, therefore, for our Party to make a thorough study of the significant

departures that are being made by the CPSU in state-political and inner-Party relations and to use them for reorganising inner-Party relations in our own Party.

14. It is understandable that such tremendously significant developments in the field of theory and practice as arose from the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement and the 22nd Party Congress could not be made without differences inside the international communist movement.

However, it is regrettable that these differences should have led to open conflicts as between the Albanian Party of Labour and the CPSU. The fact that the Albanian Party of Labour has come to the position of repudiating the commonly agreed propositions of the 81 Parties Statement to which they had lent their signature, calling the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union revisionist and levelling unfounded charges against the CPSU is still more regrettable and highly unjustified.

15. The National Council of the Communist Party of India hopes that brother Parties will make every effort at resolving the differences that have cropped up in friendly and fraternal discussions between brother Parties. The Statement of the Moscow Conference of 1960 provides the ideological basis and also lays down the practical methods for resolving the differences. The international communist movement cannot afford now to have the mutual relations between different fraternal Parties strained as they appear to be. Nobody but the imperialists and reactionaries in the various countries of the capitalist world will profit by the continuance of the state of affairs which exists now.

4(c) On India-China Border Dispute

The National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses great concern at the recent developments on the India-China border situation in Ladakh. The armed forces of the two countries are so poised against each other that there is always danger of clashes taking place between them any

moment. One incident has already taken place in which personnel on the Indian side were injured which has justifiably evoked resentment from the Indian people.

The National Council supports the policy of the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, of making all efforts to bring about a peaceful negotiated settlement of the border question even while taking necessary measures for the defence of the borders of the country.

The Council notes with satisfaction that the Government of India is taking steps to prevent any further worsening of the situation and to create appropriate conditions for the starting of negotiations between the representatives of the two Governments. Leaders of the Government have made it clear that in accordance with India's policy, they will strive always to settle the present dispute not by methods of war, but by peaceful means, through negotiations at the appropriate time and under necessary conditions.

The Council appreciates the steps taken, in accordance with this policy, to maintain contacts with Chinese Government spokesmen such as the recent meeting between India's Defence Minister and China's Foreign Minister at Geneva.

The Council notes further that the Chinese response to India's initiative has been positive, inasmuch as in a recent note, the Government of China expresses the willingness to start negotiations on the basis of the reports submitted by the officials teams. The recent statements of Chinese representatives that the boundary question should be treated as a local dispute and should not be allowed to develop into a major conflict between the two countries and that peaceful settlement through negotiations remains the aim of the Chinese Government are also hopeful signs.

The Council is conscious that the process of starting and continuing the negotiations is beset with difficulties. The very presence of the two armed forces so close to each other creates difficulties in the way of a calm and dispassionate consideration by the two sides of the basic issues in dispute. It, therefore, appreciates and supports the efforts being made

by the Government of India to ease the tension on the border and thereby to create appropriate climate for further discussions.

The National Council hopes that these efforts being made by the Government of India would be responded to by the Chinese Government and result in a workable arrangement with the Chinese Government.

The Council, however, notes that efforts are, on the other hand, being made to put pressure on the Government to reverse its policy of negotiating a settlement. Certain political parties and groups in the country are carrying on a vicious campaign against the Defence Minister and Prime Minister in particular, to the effect that they are trying to barter away the country's honour and integrity. Those who carry on this attack on the Government's policies are in reality attacking the entire foreign policy of the country, the policy of peaceful settlement of international problems and of non-alignment with military blocs. For, what they are advocating in the name of safeguarding our frontiers is the abandonment of the method of peaceful negotiations and the adoption of a policy of aligning our country on the side of imperialist powers.

The Council hopes that all patriotic citizens of the country would rally themselves against these efforts and support the Government of India in its efforts to start negotiations with the Government of China in a calm and peaceful atmosphere.

4(d) On Anti-Tax Campaign

The National Council of the Communist Party of India Congratulates Party units all over the country for having responded to the call of the Central Secretariat to observe the Anti-Additional Taxation Day in June.

Party units in some States followed up the observance of the Day by staging demonstrations, organising picketing and other forms of protests against the increase in railway fares on July 1st. The Madhya Pradesh State Council of the Party

took the initiative in launching satyagraha before the Assembly in order to register the people's protest against the new burdens of taxation. Demonstrations in Gujarat and Andhra, too, were organised by the party on a big scale.

The call given by the Party Centre and the response given to it by Party units all over the country, went parallel to the calls by the leaderships of other opposition parties, such as the P.S.P., the Socialist Party of India, Jana Sangh, etc. Observance of protest days, staging of demonstrations and other forms of protest were adopted by them also. Sections of Congress joined in these anti-tax increase movements in several parts of the country while in the Punjab former Congressmen, who are now in the opposition under the leadership of the State opposition leader Devilal, took the lead in forming joint committees of protest against increased tax burdens.

The Council notes that some opposition parties like the Swatantra joined the anti-tax increase movement with their own approach to the problems of national economic development to which neither the Communist Party nor other parties pledged to the programme of planned development of the country can ever subscribe. Parties like the Jana Sangh are also trying to utilise the mass discontent which is growing against the increasing tax burdens in order to popularise their disruptive policies. The Party cannot have anything to do with objectives with which these parties start their own anti-tax increase movements.

The Council, however, notes that the masses who are rallied behind such parties are far from being moved by the objective or policies guiding their leaders in organising the movement. They are, on the other hand, moved purely by the sense of discontent against the anti-people policy of the Government and the desire to see that sufficient pressure is put on the Central and State Governments to force them to reduce the tax burdens. It is this desire of the masses that has led, in several places, to united actions participated in by masses owing allegiance to various opposition parties, as well as sections of Congressmen.

While noting these developments with satisfaction and directing all Party units to make the anti-taxation campaign as broad based and united as possible, the Council exhorts on all Party units, friends of the Party and democratic people in general to be vigilant against the efforts of parties like the Swatantra and Jana Sangh to utilise the anti-taxation movement for reactionary or disruptive political purposes. Opposition to the additional taxation levied by the Government should not be allowed to become opposition to the planned development of economy, as the Swatantra Party seeks to make it. On the other hand, the Communist Party and other progressive elements in the political life of the country should go on making it clear that the country cannot take the path of progress unless it improves the method of planned development. Nor can they allow the Jana Sangh and other disruptive parties and organisations to use the platform created by the anti-taxation movement to propagate their obscurantist and disruptive slogans and policies.

The Council desires to repudiate the charge levelled by the Congress leaders that anti-taxation movement is in effect a movement directed against the whole idea and programme of planning. The Communist Party is committed not only to the idea of planning in general, but planning with its emphasis on industrialisation with heavy industries as its core. The Party will, therefore, do its utmost to cooperate with the Government in securing the financial resources necessary for the implementation of the plans.

The Party is not opposed to all taxes; as a matter of fact, one of the major criticisms which the Party is levelling against the Government is that some of the most effective means of raising financial resources for the Plan are not being utilised, some of the specific forms of taxation whose burdens will not fall on the mass of the common people are not being levied. There is, therefore, no question of the Party opposing all forms of new taxation. What it opposes

in such taxes as impose unduly burdens on and thereby depress the living standards of the mass of working people.

The party would like to point out that before imposing new burdens of taxation on the people, the Government should make sincere efforts to reduce unnecessary, avoidable or extravagant expenditure on general administration, construction of buildings, payment of high salaries to Government officials, etc. It should also cut such 'developmental' activities as are either unnecessary or can wait till better times. Having taken all these steps to bring about economy in expenditure, the Government should begin by taxing the rich. Only if the recourses mobilised by these methods are inadequate can it ask the common people to tighten their belt as the Government is at present doing.

The Council calls upon all Party units in the country to widely popularise the positive stand of the Communist Party, and, on the basis of such a stand, to approach the mass of Congressmen with a view to draw them into the anti-tax increase movement. The Party must prepare its campaign on these questions on its own initiative. The Party should, at the same time, join hands with such elements, groups or parties from issue to issue in such a way as will not permit the strengthening of reactionary influences and will at the same time permit of greatest mobilisation of masses and their unity and the building of a countrywide movement against the burdens of taxation.

4(e) On Prices

The National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its grave concern over the spiralling prices of food-grains and other articles of daily use of the common people. During the last three months alone, wholesale prices of these articles have risen by four per cent. Retail prices have risen still more.

This never-ending rise in prices depresses the living standards of the people on the one hand and enrich a handful of

speculators and profiteers and monopolists on the other; it increases the cost of our Plan projects, makes even the inadequate targets of our Plan difficult to realise and breeds apathy and indifference among the people to the Plan itself.

The National Council is amazed at the apathy of the Congress Government towards the hardships and privations of the people due to this price rise. Many of the Ministers, who during the elections, expressed concern over the rising prices have changed their tune after the elections. They proclaim that price rises are inevitable in a developing economy.

The National Council declares that price rises are not inevitable in a really democratically planned economy. The enormous rise in prices is due to the fact that in the decisive spheres of economy and especially in the vast field of production and circulation of consumer goods affecting the basic needs of the people, it is not the State sector but the private profiteering interests of the monopolists, bankers, landlords and speculators who are in control.

The prices of such essential goods as cloth or sugar have not risen because, as is alleged, wages have risen. In fact the proportion of wage cost in the total has been falling. The cost of food has not risen because the agricultural workers or peasant cultivators are getting more for their work and produce.

Prices in these essentials of life are rising because of the grip of the big monopoly interests, the bankers, landlords and profiteers who control the major lines of production and the market.

Large landholdings lying still in the hands of big landlords, the grip of moneylenders on the peasant producers and the hold of the banking interests on the wholesale markets not only prevents the peasants getting a fair price for their products and labour; it dictates the high price of food and raw materials to the country as a whole. The private ownership of banks placing vast assets in the hands of a few rich groups facilitates these operations still further.

Instead of breaking this monopoly, when the Government in the name of gathering resources for the plan schemes of development impose heavy excise duties and sales taxes, it further worsens the situation, enables the capitalist market to shoot up prices and fleece the consumers.

Foreign monopoly capital operating in important fields like oil, mining, engineering, jute, etc., is allowed to export its vast profits, dictate their prices of supplies to us even in such essential things as drugs and medicines. This also has its large share in the rise of prices.

The National Council declares that only by reversing these policies and by thorough-going land reforms, by Government taking over the big banks and foreign trade and by resorting to State trading in foodgrains and essential articles of consumption, can stabilisation of prices and continuous improvement in the living standards of the people be ensured.

Reactionary parties like the Swatantra Party and others seek to utilise the discontent of the masses over the price rise to push forward their reactionary programme. They allege that the price rise can be arrested not by a reversal of the basic policies of the Government but by giving up planning itself. The Communist Party warns the people that the slogan of these parties would lead to unrestricted exploitation of the people by the monopolists, landlords, speculators and profiteers and not to arresting the price spiral.

The National Council demands the following immediate urgent steps to relieve the people:

1. Supply by the government of rice, millets and wheat through a wide network of fair price shops at the rate of one shop for every 500 families. Similar arrangement to be made in rural areas also wherever necessary at rates within the reach of the poor and middle class people. Government to procure foodgrains from landlords and hoarders.

2. Prices of all essential articles of consumption to be fixed by Government and these articles to be supplied from the cheap price shops to the people.

3. Minimum price for the agricultural produce to be fixed and ensured to the peasants by government undertaking to purchase them at the price whenever offered by the peasants at convenient places.

4. With a view to encourage the peasants to grow more food, Government should assist them by supply of agricultural implements and fertilisers at even subsidised rates and by provision of cheap credit for agricultural families. All big landlord families to be denied such government assistance.

5. Abolition of taxes on foodgrains and other essential articles of consumption by common people.

People all over the country have been struggling during the last several years in various ways against the policies of the Government which have led to the phenomenon of spiralling prices and the Communist Party in various States had led many of these struggles on its own or in co-operation with other parties and organisations.

The fact that the Government still persists in these policies, and refuses to take any effective steps for bringing down prices is a proof of the grip of the profiteering sections over the Government.

Nonetheless, this very apathy of the Government has led to still more resistance of the people to these policies. The announcement this year of the Central and State Governments' budget proposals of more taxation and the consequent increase in prices was marked by struggles, demonstrations and movements in several States.

The National Council is of the opinion that it is the urgent task of the democratic movement to launch an all-India campaign for the realisation of the urgent and immediate demands stated above and for a general reversal of Government's policies and directs the Secretariat to work out appropriate forms of this campaign in consultation with State Committees.

4(f) On Pondicherry

The National Council of the Communist Party of India rejoices with all our people on the completion of the *de jure* transfer to India of the former French colonial possessions of Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam. The *de facto* transfer of the areas brought about in 1954 by the heroic struggles of the people of French India, together with the anti-imperialist movement of the entire Indian people has now been followed up by the *de jure* transfer which officially records complete severance from all French control.

The National Council of the Communist Party greets the people of Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam on this happy occasion and salutes the memory of those brave martyrs who in the course of a long struggle laid down their lives so that the people of French India might win freedom and unite with their brethren in the rest of India.

The question of the integration of these territories with the Indian union and status to be conferred on them is now under the consideration of the Government of India. The National Council of the Communist Party of India is firmly of the opinion that whatever the status to be so decided, the commitments of the French Government to the people of these former French Indian territories such as pension rights, etc., should be duly protected by the Government of India. The agreement of May 28, 1956, between France and India has in Clause 10 guaranteed the implementation of such safeguards.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India takes note of the fact that these territories are separated from each other by hundreds of miles. They comprise Pondicherry (population about 2 lakhs), and Karaikal (population about 40,000) where Tamil is spoken; Mahe (population about 30,000) where Malayalam is spoken and Yanam (population about 7,000) where Telugu is spoken. The cultural, social and economic relations of each of those areas

has naturally been only with the people of the corresponding linguistic State—i.e. Tamilnad in the case of Pondicherry and Karaikal, Kerala in the case of Mahe and Andhra in the case of Yanam. The National Council is, therefore, of the view that the only proper course is for the integration of these territories with the corresponding Linguistic State of the Indian Union as regards their future status. This alone would facilitate the democratic and cultural advance of the people of these territories.

The National Council is of the opinion that the proposal of a separate State for these four areas urged by the Congress Councillors of Pondicherry State will hamper such a democratic advance and is wholly inappropriate. Nor will it be proper to continue to administer these territories as Union Territory as the Government of India is doing.

The National Council, therefore, calls upon the Government of India to take early steps for the integration of the above former French Indian territories with the corresponding Linguistic State of the Indian Union.

4(g) On Release of Political Prisoners

The National Council of the Communist Party of India notes with satisfaction that the Government of West Bengal has released all long-term political prisoners in that State. The Council sends its warmest greetings to the released comrades and welcomes them back in our midst in the service of our people and the nation. The Council also records with appreciation the humane and wise action of the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Shri P. C. Sen, and his Government.

The National Council notes with regret that while the long-term prisoners in Tamilnad and West Bengal have been lately released, the governments of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab should have thought it fit to ignore the popular demand for the release of the long-term prisoners in their States. The Council fails to understand the attitude of the government of Kerala in refusing to release Comrade C. A. Balan who was convicted years ago in the composite Madras State and was

later transferred to Kerala after the States reorganisation and has served already more than 11 years sentence, even though other long-term prisoners convicted about the same time have been released by the Government of Madras.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India earnestly urges upon the Governments concerned to release all the remaining long-term political prisoners and appeals to the people to continue their efforts for the securing of their release and cancellation of warrants pending.

4(h) United Mass Action for Disarmament and Peace

The National Council of the Communist Party of India reiterates its conviction that the struggle for general and complete disarmament is becoming the prime duty of all peace forces and all organisations, groups and individuals in all countries, who stand for the maintenance and promotion of peace.

The urgency for world-wide action by the peoples to ensure the early signing of a disarmament treaty has been underlined by recent events : by the persistent sabotage by the U.S. Government and its supporters of all efforts for agreement made by the socialist and non-aligned countries at the Conference of the 17-Nations, now meeting in the Disarmament Committee at Geneva; by the carrying out, just at the time when negotiations had begun at Geneva, of a new series of atmospheric tests, including the most perilous high altitude 'Rainbow Bomb' test, by the U.S. Government over the Christmas Island in the Pacific Ocean; and by the fresh spate of provocative incidents and outrages in Berlin committed by the West German militarists, with the support and on the initiative of the Western imperialist powers, creating serious international tension, which can lead to disastrous consequences.

With all its efforts at agreement spurned by the imperialist powers, after even the compromise proposal for a test ban put forward by India and other non-aligned nations at Geneva, had been rejected by the USA, which continued its tests and secured consequent military advance—the Soviet

Union has been compelled regretfully to begin a new series of nuclear tests (taking care to reduce the resultant radioactive fall out to the very minimum) in the interests of its own defence and of the defence against imperialism of all peoples. This has further underlined the necessity for mass action for a disarmament agreement.

The World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace held at Moscow from July 9 to 14, 1962—an event of great historic significance for the peoples of this age—has called for united activities by all peoples for disarmament and peace.

The National Council hails the magnificent unity of peace organisations manifested at this Congress, and the efforts being made to popularise and win support for the Appeal and other decisions of the World Congress.

The National Council welcomes the moves being made in our own country, to co-ordinate the activities for disarmament and peace being carried out by various parties, peace committees, trade unions and other mass organisations of kisans, women, youth, students, etc., as well as cultural and social organisations. All actions which can help towards bringing about a disarmament treaty and the banning of nuclear weapons and their tests, all receive the support of the Communist Party.

The National Council calls on all units, members and supporters of the Communist Party to take an effective part in all such actions, unitedly with all other Indians, who stand for disarmament and peace.

4(i) Against Imperialist Provocations in Berlin

The USA and other imperialist Governments have inspired a new round of dangerous provocative actions by militarist and revanchist groups in West Berlin, to coincide with the first anniversary of the building of the anti-fascist defence wall by the Government of the German Democratic Republic.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India strongly condemns these provocations, which have already been marked by the pelting of stones and soda water bottles,

the firing of teargas shells, arson, bomb-throwing and shooting by West Berlin police and hooligans. These incidents, as well as the shooting down on August 14 of an officer of the GDR border guard by West German guards, who illegally entered GDR territory—could have certainly led to a major armed clash, had the Governments of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic not taken resolute measures, firstly, to warn the U.S. Government and its allies of the consequences of further provocations and, secondly, to strengthen the State frontiers of the GDR, while giving instructions to all border personnel to exercise the greatest patience and calm in dealing with the provocations in the interests of peace.

The continuation of these fascist militarist acts of violence underlines once more the urgent necessity for the immediate signing of a German peace treaty; the admission of both German States to the UNO; and the establishment of a demilitarised free city in West Berlin, guaranteed normal communications with all countries of the world, with the evacuation of all troops of the Western powers from West Berlin (if necessary. United Nations troops from countries other than those of the NATO bloc may be temporarily stationed in West Berlin to guarantee its free city status and the right of its people to determine their own affairs).

The National Council reiterates its demand that, as a vital contribution to the solution of the German problem and in pursuance of the policy of non-alignment, the Government of India should immediately grant diplomatic recognition to the Government of the German Democratic Republic and use its influence to bring about the signing of a peace treaty with both German States.

4(j) Solidarity with People of Vietnam

The National Council of the Communist Party of India strongly condemns the U.S. Government for its brazen aggressive actions against the people of South Vietnam. In open defiance of the Geneva Agreement, more and more U.S. troops

have entered South Vietnam and are actively engaged in massacre and plunder of the heroic people of South Vietnam. The establishment of a U.S. military command in South Vietnam, again in flagrant contravention of the Geneva Agreement, is a direct threat to peace and security in South East Asia.

Facing increasing violence and repression from the Ngo Dinh Diem Government, the people of South Vietnam are engaged in a gigantic heroic battle for their lives and liberties. Tens of thousands of courageous men and women have declared their determination to overthrow the rapacious imperialist-propped Government of South Vietnam and liberate themselves from its tyranny. Unable to stem this tide of patriotic fervour by any other means, U.S. troops and armaments have been rushed to protect the dying order in South Vietnam.

Again and again has the International Supervisory Commission in Vietnam, headed by India, accused the South Vietnam Government of violations of the Geneva Agreement, and more particularly has it pointed its accusing finger at the introduction into South Vietnam of U.S. troops and armaments.

Despite all this, the fact remains the U.S. military aggression in South Vietnam grows with every day and the International Supervisory Commission appears to be unable to take any effective measures to halt the almost daily massacres of Vietnamese citizens by U.S.-led troops.

The National Council expresses its grave concern at the situation in South Vietnam. It particularly regrets the fact that in its last report, the International Supervisory commission by a majority which included India, accepted in some measure the false and lying accusations made by the South Vietnam Government of interference by North Vietnam in South Vietnam. These accusations seek to hide the reality of the upsurge of the people of South Vietnam themselves and are being used to provide an excuse for U.S. aggressive intervention. The stand of the Government of India in this

matter is neither consistent with India's anti-colonialism nor is it helpful to the solution of the problem.

The National Council urges the Government of India to use the position India commands as Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, to ensure that effective steps are taken here and now, to end the U.S. aggressive interference in South Vietnam by calling for the immediate evacuation of all U.S. troops, and to prevent any further violation of the Geneva Agreement and thus to preserve peace in South East Asia.

4(k) Antoine Gizenga

The National Council of the Communist Party of India is gravely concerned at the news of the hungerstrike and the danger to the life of the Congolese patriot and leader Antoine Gizenga. Since his illegal arrest and detention, protests have been made all over the world, warning against the conspiracy of the imperialists and their henchmen to murder Mr. Gizenga, in the same foul manner as they murdered the great Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba.

The National Council demands that the Government of the Congo immediately release Mr. Gizenga and guarantee the protection of his life.

Despite repeated appeals, the United Nations Command in the Congo has done nothing effective to secure Mr. Gizenga's release or even to ensure his safety. At this grave moment, the National Council once more demands that the United Nations Command intervene to prevent a repetition of the terrible tragedy which overtook the Congo, Africa and the world, when Lumumba was murdered. The National Council appeals personally to the Secretary-General, U Thant, to use his authority in such a manner that the life of Antoine Gizenga is saved and he is released to serve his people once again.

The National Council urges Prime Minister Nehru to act without delay to impress upon the Congolese Government and on the UN Secretary-General and the UN Command,

under which Indian troops are working, the urgency and necessity for immediate and effective action to save the life of Antoine Gizenga.

India cannot and must not be a passive spectator of the dastardly conspiracies of the imperialists in the Congo. Let the Indian people's voice be heard in solidarity with the patriots of the Congo, in their courageous struggle to uphold the banner of the immortal Lumumba.

4(1) Comrade K. M. Ashraf

The National Council of the Communist Party of India records its deep sense of grief at the demise of Comrade K. M. Ashraf, a veteran communist and scholar who played an outstanding role in the freedom movement of the country.

Coming from a poor peasant family, Ashraf in his younger days faced extreme hardships. but with his remarkable courage, grit and capacity, he managed to educate himself and became one of the most distinguished students of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh. He joined the non-cooperation movement and left his studies at the age of 19 and soon came to occupy a leading position among the mass of Muslim youth who were drawn into this struggle. After the collapse of the movement, he rejoined the Aligarh University and became the leader of the nationalist section of students of the University.

With a revolutionary and restless mind, he read extensively about freedom struggles in other countries and began to be drawn towards the ideas of socialism. Due to his outstanding academic merit, he was given a scholarship for studying abroad by the Government of the Alwar State. In London, he soon came into touch with the communist movement and became one of the founders of the first Communist Students' Group in England. While in England, he also distinguished himself as a scholar of medieval Indian history and his thesis for Doctorate on *Social and Economic Conditions of the People of Hindusthan from the year 1000 A. D. to 1526 A.D.* is still considered to be the best work on the subject and is prescribed for post-graduate studies in many Indian universities.

On his return to India in 1931, Ashraf plunged into the national struggle and also joined the Communist Party of India. He soon came to occupy a very important position in the Indian National Congress and was looked upon at that time by the mass of Indian people as a Nationalist Muslim leader, in stature and importance next only to Maulana Azad. Despite his tremendous mass popularity as a national leader, Ashraf remained a humble and loyal worker of the Party. When he was called upon by the Party to leave the Congress, he did so without any hesitation and took up the work of editing the Party's Urdu weekly at the Party Headquarters in Bombay.

Ashraf also played a prominent role in the building of the Kisan Sabha in the early stages. With his rich experience of national movement, Ashraf made very valuable contributions to the development of various mass organisations in the country.

After the 2nd Congress of our Party, Ashraf began to suffer from indifferent health and became a victim of tuberculosis of the stomach. In 1949 he went to England for treatment and lived there for a few years but could not regain his health. Therefore, on his return to India in 1953, he decided to withdraw himself from active political work and took to academic life and research. Even in his field, Ashraf remained a loyal member of the Party and formed teachers' and students' groups to propagate communist ideology.

Last year he was invited by the Humboldt University, Berlin, to occupy the Chair of Indian History which he did with great distinction.

Ashraf has left behind him thousands of men and women who admired and loved him during his life time as a brave and honest man, a great patriot, a revolutionary and a good communist.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India sends its heartfelt condolences to the bereaved family.

On Development in the NEFA

**Resolution Adopted by the
Secretariat of the National Council
of the C.P.I., New Delhi, October 17, 1962**

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its grave concern at the serious happenings on the NEFA border. There have been clashes between the Chinese and Indian armed forces, leading to loss of life.

The situation is all the more alarming in view of the fact that only a few weeks ago strong hopes had risen in the minds of our people that a climate for negotiations was being created and that meetings between the two sides for the necessary preliminaries were in the offing. All these hopes have been belied by the new tensions that developed on the NEFA border.

This border has been comparatively free from disturbances especially in view of the fact that there has existed the McMahon Line, a virtually demarcated border line, between India and China. Thus one least expected serious differences and clashes on the McMahon Line.

Reports of the Government of India show that the Chinese forces have crossed to the south of the McMahon Line and thus violated Indian territory, though the Chinese deny this. The Communist Party of India has always maintained that the McMahon Line is the border of India. Hence all necessary steps to defend it are justified.

The National Council resolution of our Party passed at Hyderabad lent its support to the Government's efforts at negotiations, while taking necessary steps for the defence of the borders.

Resolution of the National Council of the C.P.I.*

**Adopted in New Delhi Meeting on
October 31–November 2, 1962 on Armed Conflict
between India and China on Border Dispute**

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, meeting in New Delhi in the present grave period of national emergency, appeals to all sections of the Indian people to unite in defence of the motherland against Chinese aggression. The Communist Party joins hands with all our patriotic people who stand behind the Prime Minister's stirring appeal for national unity in defence of the country.

The National Council pays its humble tribute to the remarkable heroism of our soldiers in the face of extreme odds. The National Council salutes the memory of those

* This resolution of the National Council of the C.P.I. was entitled: "Unite to Defend Our Motherland Against China's Open Aggression".

India-China Border Dispute took a drastic turn in the form of an armed conflict from October 20, 1962 and the Chinese Armed Forces crossing over McMahon Line entered deep into Indian territory in the North-East with practical rout of Indian Army in the area and this development created a very serious situation in national and international plane and tremendously roused the public opinion in India against People's Republic of China. The Chinese Government thereafter declared an unilateral 'cease-fire' and withdrew the Chinese Armed Forces beyond McMahon Line vacating the aggression. The Union Government of India, headed by Jawaharlal Nehru, immediately resorted to arrests of notable Communist leaders including Muzaffar Ahmad, A.K. Gopalan, B T Ranadive, P. Sundarayya, Jyoti Basu, Promode Das Gupta, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, M. Basavapunniah, Harekrishna Konar, Krishnapada Ghosh and many others, without trial under the Defence of India Rules, and kept them in prison confinement for a long time

sons of India who have given their precious lives for the defence of our borders.

The last few weeks have seen an unprecedented mass upsurge of our people against Chinese aggression and for the defence of the country. In various parts of the country, State and District Committees of the Communist Party have joined hands with other patriotic forces to mobilise and unite the masses for national defence.

In violation of the solemn undertakings given by the Chinese Government during the last three years, not to cross the McMahon Line, Chinese armed forces in large numbers have openly crossed this international frontier and are today in many places inside Indian territory. The Chinese forces have also simultaneously launched big offensives against our positions in Ladakh.

The claims which have again and again been put forward by the Chinese Government on the grounds that the McMahon Line is 'illegal' because it was the result of an agreement made at a time when British imperialists ruled over India, are completely untenable and on no account can such arguments justify their launching aggression on India. The crossing of this line, under any excuse or pretence whatsoever, indisputably constitutes aggression and violation of our territory.

The National Council congratulates the members and supporters of the Communist Party who have joined the national defence efforts in large numbers and participated in different forms of patriotic actions.

The National Council calls on every Party member and supporter to intensify his efforts in support of the defence of the country—in unity with all people.

The National Council extends its full support to the position taken by Prime Minister Nehru in regard to the conditions for the opening of negotiations for the settlement of the border dispute. India had all along declared its willingness and its desire to settle the border dispute by peaceful negotiations, and even today, in the face of the invasion of our territory, the Prime Minister reiterated his willingness to

negotiate with the Chinese Government, while taking all the necessary measures for the defence of the country. But such negotiations can take place obviously on the basis of the withdrawal of the Chinese forces at least to the positions they held before the present aggressive actions began—that is, as the Government of India has suggested, to the positions held before 8 September 1962.

The National Council of the Communist Party appreciates the efforts of friendly countries and governments to end the present conflict and pave the way to negotiations. It appeals to them and to all progressive and peace-loving forces in all parts of the world to throw their weight in favour of stopping of hostilities, to secure the withdrawal of Chinese forces as proposed by the Government of India so that an atmosphere for negotiations is created.

It should now be clear to all that the continuation of this conflict disrupts Afro-Asian solidarity, weakens the common struggle against imperialism and for national independence, and threatens world peace.

While defending the sacred soil of our country from aggression, our people are conscious of the fact that a full-scale war between two such big powers of Asia is a disaster that everyone must exert his best to avoid.

The National Council totally rejects and repudiates the characterisation made by the Chinese authorities in their press and radio propaganda, of Prime Minister Nehru as 'an agent of the U.S. imperialists' and the leader of 'reactionaries' and an 'expansionist' and of the Government of India acting as a 'tool of U.S. imperialism' in order to secure more dollar aid.

The Communist Party in its Sixth Congress at Vijayawada had already stated that the Government of India under the leadership of Nehru, is pursuing a policy of peace and non-alignment and of opposition to war and colonialism; it is not expansionist nor serving the interests of U.S. imperialism, though there have been errors in the consistent execution of such a basically correct policy.

In his broadcast to the nation, Prime Minister Nehru has

reiterated that India will continue to pursue a policy of non-alignment. The Communist Parties of the world have again and again acknowledged the contribution to peace of the non-aligned countries and particularly India.

As long ago as last December, our late General Secretary Ajoy Ghosh publicly repudiated the wrong Chinese understanding of the character of the Indian Government and the policies pursued by it.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India never expected a socialist country like China to settle a border dispute with India by force of arms, and make astounding claims against a country which is engaged in peaceful consolidation of its newly-won independence, which belongs to the peace camp, which follows a foreign policy of non-alignment, which has all along maintained friendship with China, and whose Government is run by a parliamentary democracy and not a military dictatorship.

The behaviour of socialist China towards peace-loving India has most grossly violated the common understanding in the communist world arrived at the 81 Parties' Conference in 1960 in relation to peaceful co-existence and attitude to newly-liberated countries and the question of war and peace. Socialist China has fallen victim to narrow nationalistic considerations at the cost of the interests of world peace and anti-imperialism, in its attitude towards India.*

By its wrong and mistaken attitude, the Chinese Government has facilitated the strengthening of rightwing reactionary parties and groups in this country, strengthening of the opponents of non-alignment. The result of Chinese aggression has been to give a tremendous fillip precisely to these forces.

The reactionary forces seek to take advantage of the situation created by the Chinese aggression, to make India give

* By a decision of the National Council this paragraph was omitted from the text released to the public and the press. This is, therefore, the first time that the full text of the resolution is being made available to the public

up its policy of non-alignment, foment war hysteria and drag India into the imperialist camp. To this end, they are spreading panicky rumours and slanders to discredit the defence administration and leadership; they are openly accusing the Government and the Prime Minister of 'appeasement' and 'vacillation' and calling for a total reversal of foreign policy.

The Communist Party of India stands for the strengthening and building of the unity of all patriotic forces in this national emergency. The Communist Party of India is not opposed to buying arms from any country on a commercial basis. But it is opposed to the import of foreign personnel to man the defences of this country. The people and armed forces of India are capable enough to defend their country once they organise and move in their millions as a solid united force. Supreme efforts both by the Government and people will have to be made in this direction.

The people have responded splendidly to the call of the Prime Minister for united national effort, for stepping up production, mobilising funds for the armed forces, etc.

The Communist Party pledges itself to participate fully in all activities for the promotion of national unity, defence and the strengthening of the morale of the people.

In this situation, the National Council draws the attention of all to the warnings given in the Prime Minister's appeal against anti-national vested interest, who will try to profit by raising prices or hoarding, etc. The Council hopes that the Central and State Governments will take stern measures against the vested interests, who, as past experience shows, utilise such situations of national and international crises to enrich themselves at the cost of the toiling people, to the detriment of the defence of the country.

The great common mass of toiling people, who already live in poverty but who by their labour on land and in factories will be working in the rear to fulfil the needs of production, also need to be protected against the anti-social vested interests.

While sharing the tasks of the defence of the country, the people want to be assured that all the burdens of defence are

not cast on the poor toiling people. Hence the Council hopes that those unpopular measures which have been on the anvil of the legislatures are set aside and the defence efforts are so organised as to enthuse the mass of people and unite them for greater voluntary sacrifices for the defence of the country.

The Council notes that reactionary elements in the country are trying to misuse popular indignation against Chinese aggression to rouse feelings against the Communist Party of India. In the present situation this amounts to nothing but national disruption and defiance of the Prime Minister's call for national unity. The Council is confident that the patriotic and democratic forces in the country will give a fitting rebuff to all such attempts.

The Council calls on Communist Party units, members and supporters everywhere:

To take an active part in the work of the popular committees which are being set up in support of the defence efforts;

To exert their best to build up the National Defence Fund;

To work resolutely for increase in production for defence and people's needs;

To mobilise public opinion against price rises, black-marketing and profiteering and other anti-social activities, which hit the working people and the nation;

To campaign tirelessly against those groups, parties and elements which seek narrow political advantage out of the present crisis;

To oppose attempts to force India to give up her foreign policy of non-alignment and peace and thereby put her at the mercy of the imperialist camp and involve India in a prolonged full-scale war;

To support all moves taken by the Government of India to bring about a peaceful settlement, consistent with the honour and dignity of the country.

The National Council is confident that all Communists will stand at their posts of duty and work together with the rest of the Indian people, for the greater glory of the motherland.

Speech of Jyoti Basu in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on 16th November 1962 on India-China Border Conflict*

**West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings
(33rd Session, Vol. 33, November 1962; Proceedings of
November 16, 1962, Pages 18–25)**

Shri Jyoti Basu: Hon'ble Mr. Speaker, Sir, I face a difficulty. Yesterday I informed you that it was not written in the notice that we received on Pratap Babu's Motion that you have given consent to it. Thereafter, on enquiry I came to know that you had still not given your consent—may be, it would be given later on and there might be some amendment. In this context it is not clear to me how we could have the right to give amendments on it under the Rule 185. The West Bengal Assembly Procedures Rules provide that we can give notice on a Motion—may be we may not discuss about it. Subsequently I received another notice informing therein that you gave your consent yesterday night and we received it. But I face some difficulty. We have now two alternatives—one is that I can submit an amendment. Then I will have to modify it stating on which point I place the amendment. This is a technical position and we face this position. I will tell you later as to whether I will place it. But if you permit me, I can start my speech.

Mr. Speaker: I have decided to allow you to speak first. Regarding your point, I am examining it and you will have the chance of moving it afterwards if you want to move it.

* The speech was given in Bengali as recorded in the proceedings of West Bengal Legislative Assembly. Its translation is given here, translation done by the Editorial Board

Now, I will have a word with Mr. Maitra. Mr. Maitra, you also have submitted an amendment, but I don't think there is necessity of that.

Shri Jyoti Basu: Hon'ble Mr. Speaker, Sir, just now Hon'ble Member, Mr. Pratap Chunder Chunder delivered his speech—a long speech in the end part of which what he said and—from it what I understand is that the speech that I prepared to deliver here will not be useful. I made the preparation of my speech differently. It appears from his speech that he does not bother about Pandit Nehru or the Home Minister or the Central Congress Party. Perhaps his approach has been discussed in the West Bengal Congress Party. In his speech what he said against us—is beyond my comprehension.

(Shouting and Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker: I would request the honourable members not to interrupt. Shri Basu should be allowed to speak.

Shri Jyoti Basu: Specially there is one reason, as it appears to me on hearing this speech that within a few days we will come to know that my present speech will be the last speech in this forum. For this reason, Hon'ble Mr. Speaker, Sir, this speech represent the view of the Congress—and I take it like that. Of course, in the end I will have to hear the speech of the Hon'ble Chief Minister tomorrow. I assume that the speech I referred to, cannot be delivered by a Member unless it is approved. Assuming it I say, I am not surprised. Such an important and historic session has been convened, a resolution has been drafted on behalf of a Member of Congress but it did not call anybody to discuss it. But, some of our friends of the Left Parties on their own discussed with them and also gave a few amendments, some of them were accepted. It is good that some of them were accepted. But where such a resolution is brought, all were not called to discuss about it. Specially the Congress Party—*which is running the Government and on which rests the biggest responsibility, which is talking today about the unity of the country, talking about inspiring the country—but it did not call anybody for discussion.*

Now I understand, why we were not called. If this is the attitude, if this is the outlook and particularly what Pratap Babu said at the end of his speech—it was not possible for them to call us.

(Shoutings)

Mr. Speaker: I will again request the honourable members to keep silent when Shri Jyoti Basu speaks. Mr. Roy, if you have something to say, if there be any objectionable remarks, you can submit them to the Chair.

Shri Jyoti Basu: Mr. Speaker, Sir, you might have noticed that in the matter of placing this resolution an exceptional procedure was adopted in West Bengal. Now I understand why it is so. In other states and at the Centre, the Prime Minister, Chief Ministers and Home Minister have brought a resolution. All have unitedly accepted the resolutions, whatever criticisms they wanted to offer, they have done it. But I have not heard that such a speech was given anywhere.

(Shoutings)

Shri Jyoti Basu: A few days back I asked the Chief Minister, Prafulla Babu, over the phone as to how the resolution would be brought. Then I did not know what sort of resolution it will be. He told me, "I am not bringing any resolution, one of our Members will bring the resolution, on 16th you come little early to the Assembly, you can discuss it over there." This I heard 7 or 8 days before. Subsequently different things happened. Whatever it may be, it is their Party's affair. So out of compulsion I have placed a Notice of a Motion on behalf of my Party under Rule 185. You have seen the resolution adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India.

(Interruption by Shri Nepal Ch. Roy)

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Roy, please allow him to speak. You are always interrupting him. You have no right to interrupt. The House must hear him patiently.

Shri Jyoti Basu: In spite of such provocative speech we want to say that there should not be any discord in this

regard anywhere in India. We want to unify the whole nation to defend the country. You know, Sir, after the resolution was adopted by our Party, it was supported everywhere and the direction was given to implement it in all places and you know, Sir, all these arrangements were made. For this reason I have given the Notice on this Motion. Now we have decided not to place it separately in the form of an amendment. For we want this resolution to be adopted on the basis of unanimity as it is done in other States and due to this reason we are not separately placing it. I will say a few words on this resolution: if it is possible they can accept 'short notice amendments' by tomorrow. The resolution that the Central Government have accepted—if the same approach is taken here, it will be good. You know, Sir, the Parliament have given the leadership in accepting the resolution unanimously on "However Difficult and Prolonged the Struggle May Be, Firmly Resolved to Remove the Chinese Aggressors from the Holy Lands of India". For this reason while I do not place the amendment, I draw your attention even now to ask you as to whether it can be done through a short Notice. I do not suggest to place the whole resolution or do not suggest to re-write the whole contention of the resolution. We suggest for consideration —whether we can include in it: 'The resolutions that the Prime Minister and the Home Minister moved in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha which were unanimously accepted—we also unanimously support them'.

(Prolonged shouting and interruptions from Congress Benches)

(Interruption by Shri Nepal Ch. Roy)

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Roy, we are discussing a serious matter, but every time you are interrupting.

Shri Jyoti Basu: The second point, what is Communism, Socialism and Capitalism—now I do not want to go into them and there is no scope for it (Shoutings) But I want to place our contention very clearly that during the last few days it is being propagated from China and by the Chinese

Communist Party that Pandit Nehru has gone over to the side of U.S. imperialism and has become its lackey. Not only that they say that India's policy of non-alignment is a matter of the past. The Communists in India neither accepted this before nor they accept it now. In spite of taking arms Pandit Nehru has declared that the policy of non-alignment is still valid. We also accept it.

(Shoutings)

(Interruption by Ananda Gopal Mukhopadhyaya)

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Mukherjee, please do not interrupt. After all, you must take it as a serious matter. Honourable members, you are having a serious resolution tabled today, and I expect some seriousness on the part of all the honourable members.

Shri Jyoti Basu: I contend that consider this Chinese propaganda as very harmful. Not only for our politics, it is harmful for international politics and for democracy.

Third point, keeping in view the resolution of the Parliament and the speeches given in the Parliament by the Ministers, I say that already a few meetings were held in West Bengal where, we have heard, it was said that we will have to abandon 'non-alignment policy', otherwise we cannot defend our country. We cannot but protest against it. Fortunately in one paragraph of the proposal moved by Congress today this has been included. I say, it is not enough to include it in the resolution. I particularly approach the Members of the Congress Benches—you please consider it. As you keep watch over us, you also keep watch on what is said in the meetings.

Hon'ble Speaker, Sir, it is said in the Central resolution as well as in the resolution brought here by Pratap Babu that America, England, France and other countries who have given us essential arms at the time of our great need—we thank them. It is true that delivery of these arms has given us advantage. No doubt, at the time of need we should bring arms from anywhere. We are a sovereign state, no one has anything to say wherefrom we bring arms. Why do we clamour

about Cuba? Why it is said—from which source arms should be kept in Cuba? U.S. imperialism dictates to sovereign State of Cuba which sort of arms they can keep.

(Noise)

Shri Jyoti Basu: This cannot be the case that if we take arms from a country, we should make our country subservient to it.

On the one hand there is struggle for preservation of our freedom, and on the other hand abandoning the policy of 'non-alignment' to become a lackey of others—no Indian will accept it I know. When the Government of India have given sufficient importance to the resolution adopted by our Communist Party of India and when they gave a call to unify the people of India to resist the Chinese aggression, we see an opposite development in West Bengal. Here disunity is being created, the people are being divided and offices of the Communist Party are being attacked.

(*Shri Nepal Chandra Roy:* They are doing well, more will be done.)

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Roy, again I remind you, you must not interrupt like this.

Shri Jyoti Basu: Here, in some of the places papers are brought out from our offices and put on fire, Congress followers are going to the houses of the Communists to threaten them, attempts are made to insult them and to attack them. It is also seen that among the attackers there were men who were arrested under P.D. Act's Anti-Social Sections; these people are engaged to attack the houses and even female members are insulted. I notice some people here find pleasure in it and say, more such things will happen. The speech Pratap Babu has given here is a 'call to murder the Communists'. It means—you kill the Communists today, *attack their houses, burn their offices, then you become patriots.*

(Shoutings)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am surprised to hear such a speech from Pratap Babu. When similar speeches were made in the Parliament, Pandit Nehru said:

Why should we divide them? Why should we not take advantage of the resolution which they have adopted? and he said, the Chinese thought that Communist Party of India will support them but they did not get this support. Yesterday I have seen, he said in the Parliament: "As we are constrained to fight this war..."

Let us not be brutalised, let us be gentle..." What is happening in Bengal, Mr. Speaker, Sir, if this is not the symptoms of brutalisation then I do not know what is the main symptom of brutalisation ?

(Shoutings)

Openly, in meetings it is being said—drag the Communists out of their houses, burn them to death, whip them, kill them. These sort of words are uttered which are cognizable under the law.

(*Interruptions by Shri Nepal Roy: They should be kept in a cage and spitted upon to death.*)

Mr. Speaker: Shri Nepal Roy, I have warned you several times. I am now giving you last warning, otherwise I will have to move in my own way.

Shri Jyoti Basu: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I say, what Nepal Babu and his associates gain by shouting ? They are moving either to declare Communist Party illegal and arrest us or to kill us. They will not face any difficulty in doing it. Our houses are unmanned, they will not find any Darwan there, nor they will find any servant. You give Rs. 25/- to a person and send him, he will go and kill the Communists. But after killing the Communists where you will take the country to? If by killing a few Communists you can defend the country and resist Chinese aggression then I will not be sorry—here itself I open my chest for them to shoot with their revolvers.

(Shoutings, interruptions)

Shri Jyoti Basu: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the very day I joined the Communist Party I knew that the reactionary Government can take my life any day. If we were afraid of it then we would have left the Communist Party much earlier. But I request you to think over it. On hearing the speeches in

this Legislative Assembly we understand what they will do. There is no reason not to understand it. Still I want to say as I am in this Legislative Assembly occupying this side: Today arrangements are being made to defend the country, but if you move in this way, if you create chaos in this manner, if you try to attack and kill the Communists, if you destroy the unity of the nation, then what will happen to you tomorrow? May I ask, will you survive? Those who are democratic Congressmen, they will not be spared. The reactionary forces start in this manner first with the Communists. In Germany also it was started with the Communists. But thereafter what happened in Germany—the Social-Democrats did not survive, the Labour Party, Socialist Party none could survive. Their members all were killed together. Fascism was established there, military rule was imposed there and those who were quarreling outside, in the prison one's cell was next to another where they were kept in detention.

The Hon'ble Bijoy Singh Nahar: This will not happen here any day. China will not come here. You cannot scare so much in this manner. We do not want to hear these things

Shri Jyoti Basu: Has China come to Pakistan? Where is Mr. Suhrawardy? He is also being imprisoned frequently. Military rule is imposed there. For this reason I state all these facts. Mr. Speaker, Sir, when we inform the police about attacks on us, they remain indifferent. We are being attacked but police do not take any action. If we inform the Government, the Government say: they do not want such things and they have given orders that they do not want any disorder. But we find them indifferent when all these things happen. I said all these things because I do not know if I will get opportunity to speak here again. The friends in Congress who are here—they should think over it—now you do not understand anything. But you should remember even at a later date about all the things that were said here today.

[4-40—4.50 p.m.]

Shri Jyoti Basu: One more thing should be said here which is not included in this resolution. In meetings' also

resolutions are not taken on it. Those who want defence of the country say: it is not possible to have peaceful negotiation with China. But Pandit Nehru has said that it is not possible to close the possibility of having negotiations on the basis of propriety, dignity and self-respect. We support this stand of the Government of India. The Government of India will decide which terms will be conforming to our dignity and on this basis certainly there can be settlement. That China will subjugate us with its military strength cannot be accepted. Similarly, India will subjugate China—this also cannot be accepted. Pandit Nehru has said that it is an attack on our independence and on this ground we stand behind him. On the understanding that we will be able to drive them out. Not to capture China nor to subjugate China. If they move away to the place where they were on 8th September there can be negotiation. So long they do not move away to that place there cannot be any negotiation. Because, without it there cannot be any dignified term. For this reason we say that Pratap Babu should include this point in his resolution. This is not just our stand—this is the stand of Pandit Nehru, this is the stand of Government of India. It is now surmised that the war will not be a just a border-clash, may be a long-drawn one. For this reason the call is given to the whole nation. If that is the reality no purpose will be served in creating excitement for a few days. We will have to prepare ourselves for self-abnegation for a long time. Production will have to be increased in our factories and in agricultural lands and farms. And that will be not for one or two days, or for six months or one year. For this certain fundamental steps are to be taken. Particularly for this reason, we know, the Central Government have declared certain policies so that profiteers and black-marketeers cannot function as before and prices of commodities are not increased—Pandit Nehru has also said it. We will have to take effective steps so that these policies are implemented in toto. Otherwise, if we move in the traditional way then we cannot build up the moral strength of the people. We

will have to remember it. Mr. Speaker, Sir, in consideration of it the Communist Party have given an eight-point proposal. The Central Government have also mentioned some of our points in their proposal. We have heard them. And on this basis I feel if we are to strengthen our unity then it is the duty of the Government to form Defence Committee with the representatives of all political parties—as it is done in Punjab, Tamil Nadu and Assam. If this war is prolonged then we must be prepared to face many difficulties. The Home Minister has said about “Toil & Sweat”. Thus if we all cannot stand united, can we inspire the people ?

Shri Jyoti Basu: After referring to another point I will finish my speech. Before that I want to draw the attention of the Hon'ble Chief Minister to a matter. Shri Ratanlal Bramhan is the Secretary of our Darjeeling District Committee. He has been arrested under Section 11 of the Security Act. Similarly Shubash Basu, Aahi Chatterjee and Harinarayan Adhikary of Ranaghat and 5/6 more have been arrested under Section 11 of the Security Act. I ask—why this should happen? But I will tell the Hon'ble Chief Minister—when our All-India Party have clarified its proposal, instead of arresting them in this manner you see their papers relating to their charges. I have no doubt that if you personally go through their papers you will be convinced that they have not committed any offence. It is very easy to arrest. But if arrests are made in this manner in various places, I do not know where the whole thing will lead to. Hon'ble Speaker, Sir, my last contention is—you might have seen in the newspapers that Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri while delivering a speech in the Rajya Sabha has mentioned my name and he has said something about one or two of my statements. He gave a speech at Tezpur in which he mentioned about our Party in West Bengal. But he did not mention my name. I was surprised to see his statement. One Representative of P.T.I. showed him an alleged report of West Bengal Party. On the basis of this report Shri Shastri gave a statement in the public meeting. On seeing it I wrote to him saying that

our West Bengal Party did not issue any statement. But I gave a statement. And I wanted to know which part of this statement was objectionable to him.

Shri Ananda Gopal Mukhopadhyaya: Sir, is he using the floor of this House for his personal purpose? Has it got any relevance to the subject matter of the present resolution? He is talking about a matter which was discussed in the Parliament.

Mr. Speaker. Mr. Mukherji, please take your seat.

Shri Jyoti Basu: There is no impropriety in what I was referring to. Because, it has come in the newspaper that I wrote him a letter, and he gave a reply 5/6 days back. He informed me in this letter that he would read my statement and after making a statement in the Parliament he would give me the reply. I have still not received that reply. What he said in the Parliament I read it here.

He said: But recently Shri Jyoti Basu wrote to me and said that I had said something in Assam, in Tezpur and he was rather sorry over it.

Shri Birendra Chowdhury: Sir, Parliamentary proceedings. Can it be discussed here?

Mr. Speaker: He is making a statement.

Shri Jyoti Basu: He thought that I had said something which was not quite correct.

Shri Ananda Gopal Mukherjee I want to know if this statement has any connection with this resolution.

Mr. Speaker: I say there is.

Shri Jyoti Basu: He said: "I read a statement of Shri Jyoti Basu before I went to Assam and I was really shocked to read it. I saw later on that he had contradicted this statement. So, I accept that. When once a contradiction is issued, I have nothing to say, not a word more".

After saying it Shri Shastri said that in my next statement which came out in the newspaper it contains the following:

"We have always stood for the defence of our country including the strengthening of the defence of our border.

Can India and China not demonstrate the same statesmanship in a more restricted sphere by at least agreeing to seek the help of friendly mediators for a peaceful solution ? I ask: Why is it not possible for our Government as well as the Chinese Government to agree to seek the help of friendly mediators?"

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri has raised objection to it and said, by saying friendly mediators you have placed India and China in the same category. It is true what Shri Shastri had said—it was there in the statement that I issued on 30th October and I said:

Why should each Government stick to its point of view? In case a cease-fire is possible, further talks should be pursued by the representatives of India and China.

Shri Shastri said that it was not proper to speak like this. The resolution that the National Council of our Communist Party adopted did not accept this view of mine. So, the stand that they have taken I am also a party to it. Our Party resolution was adopted after 30th and I informed Shri Shastri that the statement of 30th was my personal view. But the resolution that my Party has adopted, in other words the stand of the Government of India that if the Chinese move north of 8th September line then only peaceful negotiation can be held and this is also my stand. This is not only the stand of my Party, it should be accepted also as my personal stand. And my previous statement is cancelled. Though the Chief Minister is not present here now, I will come tomorrow definitely and hear his speech and will want to know whether the views of Pratap Babu are also his views. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I ask this question as the men of Intelligence Branch are moving around my house (may be I be arreaste). However, we hope, the Government will give us scope to work according to our resolution. When the country is facing a danger and our Jawans are sacrificing their lives. I tell the Congress members not to create such strife and indulge in killing. They should determine their duties. I do not want to give any reply to their provocations. I do not want to use

any acrimonious word. Inspired by patriotism we want to work. It is our duty to defend the country and all Communists will do it. Let them go on killing and do illegal activities, let them move whichever way they want, we will perform our duties.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

C.P.I.'s Letter to Fraternal Parties Sent on India-China Border Conflict on 20.11.1962

Dear Comrades,

We are addressing this communication to you to briefly inform you of the extremely serious situation arising out of the India-China conflicts. We are enclosing a copy of the resolution on this issue adopted by the National Council of our Party at its (November 1962) meeting which explains our present stand. It is perhaps necessary to explain to you briefly some of the important aspects of the India-China border dispute which has now led to the present serious developments—developments that concern not merely India and China but the larger cause of Afro-Asian solidarity, anti-colonialism and of world peace. In our view, it is essential for all Communist and Workers' Parties, and indeed for all progressive forces in the world to have a correct objective understanding of the problem and the grave consequences it is fraught with. Unfortunately, the problem does not seem to have been correctly understood by a number of our fraternal parties and this has caused us surprise and pain. We hope that what we are stating below will enable you to consider the India-China border developments afresh and appreciate the stand we have taken in the present situation. The situation is one in which the position of our party and the democratic movement—in short, the future of our country—is gravely imperilled.

India's border with China runs into 2,200 miles along the Himalayan ranges (excluding China's border with Bhutan

and Sikkim). Most of this border is comprised of high mountain ranges and mountain peaks without any human habitation. For centuries this border has been tranquil.

The India-China border dispute came to the forefront in 1959 when China made certain claims to Indian territory both in the north-eastern, as well as in the western sector of the India-China frontier. In the north-eastern sector, they claimed about 36,000 square miles of territories to the south of the McMahon Line, whereas in the other sector, the claim involved 15,000 square miles comprised mostly of high Himalayan peaks with no human habitation. These claims were not made either at the time of the signing of the famous Panch Sheel agreement between India and China in 1954 or when both India and China played an important part at the Bandung Conference in 1955. At that time, India-China relations, as is well known, were very friendly and full of promise for all peace and freedom-loving peoples.

Although certain minor incidents had taken place earlier, the border dispute really assumed the form of an open conflict after the rebellion in Tibet. May we mention in this connection that when the counter-revolutionary events took place in Tibet, our Party solidly stood by the Panch Sheel agreement whereby India recognised Tibet as a region of the Chinese People's Republic and rebuffed provocation over Tibet against the Chinese People's Republic. We fought against all attempts by certain Indian reactionaries to interfere in the internal affairs of Tibet. Prime Minister Nehru and the Government of India also reaffirmed that Tibet was a region of Chinese People's Republic. Prime Minister Nehru strongly resisted all pressure on him to give up this basic position and interfere in the internal affairs of Tibet, that is, in the internal affairs of the Chinese People's Republic. His stand was in accord with the Panch Sheel agreement of 1954 and conformed to the interests of friendship between India and China.

It is largely due to the constructive stand taken by Prime Minister Nehru in regard to Tibet after the 1959 rebellion

that the machinations of the imperialists and certain other reactionaries in India over this question failed. It will be recalled that when the Dalai Lama came to India and there was demand within our country that the Dalai Lama be given opportunities to carry on political activities and establish and man some sort of a 'Tibetan Government in Exile' in India, Prime Minister Nehru refused to yield to this demand. The Dalai Lama and those around him were forbidden to engage in political activities and this surely was in line with India's friendly relations with the People's Republic of China. It does not require to be said that any reactionary and unfriendly Government would have seized upon the opportunity and given all facilities to the Dalai Lama to engage in subversive political activities against the Chinese People's Republic. The fact that the Nehru Government did not allow such facilities was certainly a matter of some positive value which the progressive forces should never overlook or under-estimate.

The Nehru Government did not support or encourage those who wanted to take the Tibetan question to the UN. On the contrary, it consistently supported admission of China to the UN.

It may be noted here that even as late as 14 November 1962 Prime Minister Nehru castigated and firmly rejected the demand for 'liberation of Tibet'. In his earlier speech on 8 November in Parliament, the Prime Minister said that the major issue between India and China was not one of communism and anti-communism. This observation he made in reply to those who want to treat the border conflict as the fight against communism.

In the north-eastern sector of the border between India and China, the McMahan Line represents India's border with the People's Republic of China. The Chinese Government has taken the stand that they do not recognise this McMahan Line because it was drawn up by the British in 1914. They maintain that this line has been imposed by British imperialism

and is illegal. India on the other hand, takes the stand that the geography, natural features, history, etc. have long made the McMahon Line the border of India. The British representative merely confirmed the natural and time-honoured boundary along the crest of the Himalyan range. On top of it India bases its case on the fact that an agreement was signed by the British who were then ruling India and the Tibetan Government of the time in regard to the McMahon Line. This agreement was signed at the Simla Convention, as has been already mentioned, in 1914 and the Chinese Plenipotentiary was also present at the meeting. India's case is that it was not an imposition by the British Officer, Mr. McMahon, who attended the Simla Convention. The agreement was rather based on the acknowledgement of the fact that the McMahon Line represented India's border in the north-eastern sector with China. What is more, it has been pointed out by India that this has been regarded as the border for centuries. In the eyes of India, the Chinese position, therefore, is neither historically a correct one nor even is it legally valid in view of the agreement of 1914. Incidentally, the Chinese People's Republic had already given recognition to at least a part of the McMahon Line, which forms the boundary between Chinese People's Republic and Burma. (In 1914, Burma was a part of the British India Empire.) Moreover, the Chinese maps on which they make their claims were drawn up not by the Chinese People's Republic but by the old Chinese Emperors. India's case is further strengthened in the matter by the fact that only in 1959, that is to say ten years after the Chinese People's Republic was founded, was any dispute for the first time raised by China with regard to the McMahon Line. In this connection it will be noted that as early as 20 November 1950, Prime Minister Nehru declared in the Indian Parliament: 'The McMahon Line is our boundary, map or no map'. The Chinese Government then said nothing.

Later, during his visit to China in 1954, Prime Minister Nehru drew the attention of the Chinese Premier to certain

maps published in China which showed a wrong boundary between the two countries. The Chinese Premier replied that these maps were really reproduction of the other maps drawn before 1945 and the Chinese Government had as yet no time to revise them. In 1956, when Prime Minister Chou En-lai visited India, the Indian Prime Minister raised the question of India-China border, more especially the so-called McMahon line. The Chinese Prime Minister is reported to have said that whatever happened in the past he would accept the McMahon Line as the border with India. At that time Prime Minister Nehru recorded the substance of his talk with the Chinese Prime Minister in the following works:

Premier Chou referred to the McMahon Line and again said that he had never heard of this before though, of course, the then Chinese Government had dealt with this matter and not accepted that line. He had gone into this matter in connection with the border dispute with Burma. Although he thought fair, nevertheless, because it was an accomplished fact, and because of the friendly relations which existed between China and the countries concerned, namely, India and Burma, the Chinese Government were of the opinion that they should give recognition to this McMahon Line. They had, however, not consulted the Tibetan authorities about it yet. They proposed to do so.

Since the foundation, the Chinese People's Republic *de facto* accepted the McMahon Line as India's north-eastern border with China. This position is further buttressed by the fact that the Chinese Government gave repeated assurance to the Government of India that even though they did not recognise the legal validity of the McMahon Line, they would not cross it. In fact, by and large, they kept this assurance till recently when the Chinese forces in large number crossed the McMahon Line in violation of their past assurance. The Chinese forces are now in occupation of sizable Indian territories south of the McMahon Line and are further pressing on. Prime Minister Nehru has stated that this crossing of the McMahon Line by large numbers of Chinese forces constitutes

quantitatively and qualitatively a new development. We share this view.

In the north-western sector, otherwise known as the Ladakh region, the border dispute relates to conflicting claims by India and China. While broadly speaking both sides in principle accept the traditional frontier as the boundary, the controversy is about the alignment of this boundary. The latest Chinese map includes 15,000 sq. miles of Indian territory in north-eastern Ladakh within China. The Chinese map cuts deeper into the territory of India. This is the complaint of the Government of India. China, on the other hand, complains that the Indian map cuts deeper into the territory of the Chinese People's Republic and claims what really belongs to China. The Indian claims are based mainly on the fact that the boundary of Ladakh, which is part of India with the Tibetan region of the Chinese People's Republic had been long sanctified by custom and reaffirmed by the Treaty of 1842 by the representative of Kashmir and the Dalai Lama and the Emperor of China on the other. The Tibetan text of the Treaty confirms that China was a party to it. Of course, the Treaty did not define the boundary but referred merely to the 'old established frontier'. In the opinion of the Government of India, these frontiers were well known and did not require any formal delimitation. It is further stated by the Indian Government that in 1847, the Chinese Government informed the British Government that as the boundary was sufficiently and distinctly fixed, there was no need for additional measures for fixing them. China, of course disputes these contentions. It may be mentioned here that it is within this region that China had built a road running about 100 miles across the Aksai Chin which India considers her territory. In the recent months, India set up certain advance posts within the territory in the Ladakh sector, which Chinese maps claim as Chinese territory but which India regards as the territory belonging to our country. It should perhaps be mentioned here that these posts were set up by India without coming to any clash with the

Chinese forces or even having to meet any kind of resistance from them. The area was then unoccupied. The Indian contention in this respect is that by setting up such posts within her own territory, India has committed no intrusion or aggression. Recently, along with the large-scale offensive in the eastern sector, i.e. the McMahon Line, China launched an offensive in the Ladakh sector as well, and recaptured most of these posts (incidentally the new posts set up by India in the area involve an area of 2,500 sq. miles). Chinese offensive was extended to Daulat Beg Oldi in that region, which is outside the Chinese boundary even according to the Chinese map. Chishul, another important Indian base which is also outside the Chinese boundary according to their own map, has been shelled and is now threatened.

These large-scale military operations and offensive on the part of China in both the north-eastern and north-western sectors have created the present grave situation. Not only the Government of India but our Party, too, in its resolution as late as September 1959, held that the McMahon line represented the north-eastern border of India with China and that all territories to the south of this Line belong to India. This has been our firm position. Now when the Chinese forces have crossed the McMahon Line to the south, violated India's territorial integrity and occupied some Indian territories in violation of even their past assurances, how else can it be described than as aggression? The resolution of the National Council rightly calls it open aggression and rejects the excuse and pretext given by China to justify this aggression. It is contended by China that the Chinese forces had to cross this line in order to prevent the Indian forces from carrying on aggressive action against the Chinese forces on their side of the McMahon Line. But the fact is that it is the Chinese forces which launched a large-scale offensive, crossed the Line and are now in occupation of areas which belong to India. They inflicted a number of reverses on the Indian forces and such immediate reverses

would be improbable if Indian forces were committing aggression. It is not for us to go into any military details here; but it is obvious from all evidence, including the fact of occupation by the Chinese forces of Indian territory that aggression was committed by China and not India. It is one thing to say that aggression is not in the interest of any socialist country; it is quite another thing to deal with a concrete situation like this where a socialist country has *in fact* committed aggression. The test here is objective. Incidentally, it may be mentioned in this connection that whenever the Indian troops advanced or set up some checkpoints within the territory which India consider her own but which China disputes, the Chinese side at once accuses India of committing aggression. Hence, at least China should be the last to complain when we in India describe the Chinese action in crossing the McMahon Line and occupying Indian territory as aggression. It will be of interest to note that the Chinese propaganda describes the vast Chinese armed forces running into thousands as 'frontier guards' and would not call them by their proper names, although they are using tanks, mortars, canons, etc.

Since 1959, some incidents and clashes took place, especially in the western sector. The north-eastern sector, i.e. the McMahon Line region has been quiet and undisturbed during these last three years. It may be recalled that in this area once dispute arose over a village called Longju. India held that this village belonged to our side of the border but the Chinese forces occupied this village, claiming it to be a part of their territory. They are still in occupation. In another case, the Chinese pointed out that Indian forces had occupied a spot called Tandam on the Chinese side of the border. Indian forces withdrew from there. The point is noteworthy, in view of the Chinese allegation that Indian forces recently crossed to the north of the McMahon line. However, beginning from 8 September and more particularly 20 October 1962, the McMahon Line region has become a centre of military operations due to acts of Chinese aggression. It should be

mentioned here that the renewed military offensive by the Chinese in the Ladakh sector was timed by them to synchronise with the aggression in the Eastern sector (McMahon Line).

This aggression and military operations took place at a time when the representatives of India were getting ready to meet the representatives of the Chinese Government for talks in order to lessen tension on the border and to create conditions for negotiations between the two countries. The representatives were scheduled to meet on 15 October 1962 in Peking but the military operations by the Chinese started in the first week of September which were to develop into a large-scale offensive on 20 October. This prevented the preliminary talks of the officials of the two Governments and ruined the prospects of further negotiations which everyone in our country was looking forward to. The responsibility for this, in our view, rests with the Chinese side.

It is not necessary for us to give here any detailed account of the repercussions which the Chinese aggression has caused within our country. The entire people belonging to all classes, especially the working people—the workers, peasants and employees, have risen in universal indignation and anger against Chinese aggression. Never since independence has India witnessed such a universal demonstration of patriotic feelings throughout the country as is in evidence today. One has only to be in India for a couple of days to understand the depth and dimensions of the popular anger and feelings. It is true that some chauvinistic and arch-reactionary elements are trying to exploit these feelings as always happens in similar situations, but it would be a howling mistake to interpret or understand this popular upsurge as the handiwork of chauvinism or of reaction. The upsurge is one of universal patriotic indignation and anger and it embraces all sections of India's progressive opinion. It should be understandable that our people, who have won their independence after long years of struggle against the British cannot but feel acutely sensitive when they see that the territorial integrity is attacked

and their freedom is menaced. The feelings grow all the deeper in view of the fact that only eight years ago, the Indian people acclaimed with unbounded enthusiasm the signing of the Panch Sheel agreement between India and China and demonstrated their friendship towards the Chinese people with the popular slogan '*Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai*' (Indians and Chinese are brothers). All these have added to the shock and revulsion on the part of the Indian people. It is in this context that the national unity which has come about today in defence of the motherland and around Prime Minister Nehru must be appraised. To view all this as a manifestation of bourgeois nationalism or capitulation to the bourgeoisie will be the greatest imaginable folly.

In his reply to the long debate in Parliament Prime Minister Nehru once again reiterated his stand for negotiations and peaceful settlement. Despite all the pressure of the reactionaries, Prime Minister Nehru openly declared on the floor of the Parliament that this war between India and China must be brought to an end on terms honourable to both. In this connection, he once again reiterated the Government of India's terms for cease-fire and for negotiations.

The Government of India's terms are that Chinese forces must return to the positions which existed before 8 September 1962, when they began their present series of military offensives. This means that the Government of India wants that the position 'as prevailed on the 7th of September, 1962' should be restored. We are of the view that this a very reasonable and constructive proposal and we fail to understand why the Chinese authorities should have indulged in petty arguments and rejected this reasonable offer. Statesmanship, political wisdom and adherence to the common objectives of the international communist movement demand a radically different approach on the part of China.

The Chinese proposals of 24 October for ceasefire and negotiation, about which so much of international propaganda has been made, are not found satisfactory in India and for good reasons too. In India, the acceptance of this proposal is understood as capitulation to Chinese aggression and to

the show of Chinese military might. No Government can permit itself to this position and yet hope to carry the country with it. Whether any proposals from one side are constructive or not, cannot be judged in the abstract and apart from all the complex developments that have taken place. Now the constructive nature of any proposal by China is to be judged by how it appeals to India and what response it gets here. It should be realised that no terms which are unacceptable to Prime Minister Nehru can be acceptable to India. China must, therefore, meet his points. It must take due note of the fact that there are very powerful forces within India which are opposed to any negotiation and peaceful settlement, but would like the military conflicts continued and enlarged. Unfortunately, it is these forces which the Chinese actions are strengthening every day and not those who stand for peaceful solution of the problem. Does it not stand to reason that if China is at all serious about negotiations and peaceful settlement, she must help strengthen the forces that stand for such an approach? In this context, the question of national honour and dignity is also of utmost importance. Hence we are firmly of the opinion, we repeat, that the Chinese Government should accept the proposal of the Government of India and withdraw to the position the Chinese forces occupied before 8 September.

The disastrous consequences of the three year-old border dispute between India and China and the latest military developments can hardly be exaggerated. These developments have caused all-round damage to the cause of peace, Afro-Asian solidarity and of anti-imperialism. Within our country, the recent Chinese aggression has enormously strengthened the forces of extreme reaction which are today taking full advantage of the opportunity and are assiduously trying to undermine and wreck the policy of non-alignment, drive India into the arms of imperialism and bolster the extreme reactionaries in key positions in the political life of the country. Never before in recent history have such great opportunities come for the

pro-imperialist and the reactionary forces. They are becoming increasingly active and, in many places, even dominant. As for our party and the democratic movement, they have been placed in unbelievably difficult conditions and in extreme jeopardy. The Chinese aggression has provided much ammunition to anti-communism whereby the enemies of the people and the reactionaries are trying to isolate the Communist Party and disrupt the country's democratic movement. In this, the reactionaries have already registered considerable successes. We cannot but say here that if China persists in its present posture and policies towards India, the working class and the democratic movement in India will be faced with the gravest crisis yet known. The forces of reaction and counter-revolution, backed by imperialism, will have a field day. The Moscow Statement of the Communist and Worker's Parties enjoins upon the Communists the task of uniting all national-patriotic forces and building a national-democratic front for the completion of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic revolution. The Chinese actions constitute the greatest blow to us in this respect and bring grist to the mill of exactly the opposite, reactionary forces. As such, the Chinese action runs plainly counter to the programme of the world communist movement. It is a great tragedy that China, which should have influenced the developments in our country through the example of its economic and other achievements and through friendship in the spirit of Panch Sheel—should have embarked upon today on such military and political adventures to antagonise the million of our people and indeed the whole nation in this manner. This is the greatest disservice to our cause. It is surprising that the leadership of China is totally indifferent to all these serious aspects of the matter.

We consider it necessary to draw your attention to the wholly wrong assessment of Nehru and the Government headed by him which the Chinese leadership has made and on the basis of which they are directing their policies.

According to the Chinese leadership, Nehru has become a tool of US imperialism and India's policy of peace and non-alignment is nothing but a cover to deceive others. The Chinese press and the radio are carrying on the most vicious and slanderous campaign against Prime Minister Nehru and the Government of India in complete disregard of all facts and what is more, of the common understanding of the international communist movement. Both the Moscow Declaration (1957) and the Moscow Statement (1960) of the Communist and Workers' Parties lay great stress on the role of the non-aligned neutral nations and set great store by them in the struggle for defence of world peace, against colonialism, etc. It is the common understanding of the world communist movement that the emergence of these newly-liberated nations and the role they play in the world arena ranks only next to that of the socialist camp. 'The neutral countries', said the Peace Appeal of the Moscow Meeting (November 1960) of the Communist and Workers' Parties, 'which disagree with the aggressive policies of imperialists, work, for peace and peaceful coexistence.' The other socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union, have played a great constructive part in consolidating the friendship between the socialist countries and these non-aligned nations and thus in strengthening what is called the vast peace camp. We understand it as the common line of the international communist movement that the socialist countries carry forward this constructive role and develop this friendship and co-operation with the newly liberated non-aligned nations and help strengthen all their positive and progressive features in the interests of peace, freedom and progress. At least with regard to 440 million Indians, the Chinese line and the Chinese are producing exactly the opposite results.

In this connection, we think we should inform you that in October 1959, a delegation of our party headed by our late General Secretary, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, went to China and met the Chinese leaders. In its talks with the Chinese

leaders, our delegation gave our Party's assessment and views regarding the Government of India and Prime Minister Nehru and plainly told them that the Chinese views in that regard were wrong. Our delegation further told the Chinese that India was not 'expansionist' and the Chinese characterisation of the Indian ruling circles as 'expansionist' was again wrong. The delegation asked the Chinese leaders not to use such wrong epithets and characterisation in regard to India. It should be added here that following this, the Chinese Press and propaganda stopped using such expressions as expansionists in regard to India. though they have lately again returned to these epithets. We assume that the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties who attended the November 1960 Moscow meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties informed their respective Central Committees about our Party's criticism and objections to the Chinese position in regard to the India-China border problem and the assessment of Prime Minister Nehru and his Government. Our Party stands by what our delegation said at the Moscow meeting, but it regrets that the Chinese leadership has chosen to completely ignore what we said and persist in its totally wrong views.

We are firmly of the view that the understanding, as well as the policy of the Chinese leadership and the Government of the People's Republic of China in regard to India are a clear repudiation of the common understanding of the international communist movement as embodied in the Moscow documents.

We further consider it impermissible for any Communist Party to come to an unilateral understanding of its own in defiance of the common understanding of the international communist movement and then proceed to act on the basis of such wrong understanding and assessment. The foreign policy of peace and non-alignment of which Prime Minister Nehru is undoubtedly the chief architect, is indeed the creation of all progressive forces within our country. It is one of the biggest gains of the progressive forces not only in India

but outside as well. It has been sustained and helped by the peace-loving forces within India and outside. The progressive forces have been consistently defending this policy of peace and non-alignment and are working for further strengthening and consolidating it. The line the Chinese leadership has taken runs exactly counter to the efforts of the progressive forces in India and the present Chinese line, left to itself, cannot but bring disaster to India's political life and incalculable harm to the cause of peace and Afro-Asian solidarity. The loser will be not only our people but all peoples who stand for peace, national independence and progress. In particular, if China continues its present policies towards India and is not halted in its adventurous career by the Communist Parties of the world, it will only contribute to ruining of the relations of India with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of the socialist camp. This is what the imperialists are aiming at and the Chinese policy with regard to India is *objectively* creating precisely such opportunities for imperialism. It follows, therefore, that the line of Chinese leadership is *objectively* helpful to imperialism. One has only to look at India today to understand this simple truth. Hence also it is *objectively* contrary to the cause of national independence, democracy and socialism. It does not require much intelligence to understand that the cause of democracy and socialism can hardly be expected to advance within our country under such conditions as have been created by the Chinese actions. While totally indifferent to all this, the Chinese authorities are trying to make capital out of the fact that India is receiving arms from the USA, Britain and other Western countries. For this development the Chinese leadership has only to thank itself. When Chinese aggression and military offensive are on, when the defence of the country presents to our people as the central task, the question of equipment for the armed forces naturally becomes a major national issue. Compared to the Chinese forces, Indian forces have been proved to be ill-equipped. Is it expected that in such a

situation any one in India can take the position that India should rather allow her troops to be mowed down by the Chinese forces than procure arms from the West? If any Government were to take this position, it would fall the next moment.

The Chinese leadership should know better that earlier in 1959, President Eisenhower once offered arms aid to India when certain border clashes with China flared up. But Nehru plainly refused it. Now it is the Chinese actions which have driven even such a person as Prime Minister Nehru to request for large quantities of arms from the U.S., Britain, etc., to meet this emergency. He has asked for aid from socialist countries also. And in this he has the backing of the whole nation, including all progressive sections. If the Chinese leadership is at all concerned about what the U.S. and other imperialists are trying to achieve in India in this respect, the very first thing the Chinese leadership should do is to take all necessary initiative and steps that will immediately bring to an end the present military operations and facilitate negotiations and settlement. Our Party's position in this respect is that while procuring arms from any source, India must not allow foreign military personnel to come in. We are opposed to military aid. Broadly speaking, Prime Minister Nehru more or less takes this position. If China continues in her present adventurist policy and actions, even this position may be abandoned for the worse. The Chinese actions are fast creating objective conditions in which India may be driven into the arms of the West. All these years the demand for military aid from the West has found no support either from the people or from the Government. In fact, Prime Minister Nehru had always stoutly rejected such proposals. Today, the demand for 'massive military aid' from the West is catching on among the people. It is no good, therefore, in this situation merely to harp on certain abstract theses about arms aid from the West. The issue has to be faced concretely and here the Chinese leadership bears the main responsibility.

Here we would like to take the opportunity to invite your

attention to a recent editorial in *People's Daily* (the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China) entitled 'More on Nehru's Philosophy'. This editorial makes an appraisal of the Indian situation Prime Minister Nehru and the policies of his Government, without the slightest regard for facts or truth. The analysis and the assessment of the article is grossly subjective, perverse, full of falsehood and mis-statements and it has nothing to do with any Marxist-Leninist analysis. Needless to say, the editorial, of course, completely disregards the assessment and understanding of the Sixth Congress of our Party. Is it permissible for a Communist Party to indulge in any such assessment of the internal situation of another country in total disregard of what the Communist Party of that country has had to say? Does it conform to the norms of relations between Communist Parties as enunciated in the Moscow Statement or is otherwise generally accepted in the relations between the Communist Parties? Not only has the Chinese leadership ignored what we say in this matter, but they have also ignored the understanding of other fraternal Communist Parties, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. All these certainly do not make for Marxist-Leninist relations between the Communist and Workers' Parties or for promotion of proletarian internationalism. The Chinese leadership should have realised that our party is the best judge about the situation in India and that anyhow it is not open to another party to publicly repudiate our understanding, much less act upon it in this manner. The above editorial in the *People's Daily* did not stop at merely giving its own wrong appraisal of the Indian Government and the Indian situation. The editorial also launched an attack against our Party by calling the Chairman of our Party, Comrade S.A. Dange and some others, without however naming them, as 'self-styled Marxist-Leninists.' It will be realised that we cannot but take serious exception to such methods which have nothing in common with proletarian internationalism. As for *People's Daily's* evaluation of Prime Minister Nehru

and his Government, the Chinese position is wrong from the beginning to the end.

We do not propose to go deep into the roots of the disastrous mistakes and deviation of the Chinese leadership with regard to India. It is, however, plain for all to see that the understanding of the Chinese leadership and its line of action have nothing in common with either the common understanding and objective of the international communist movement or with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. What the Chinese leadership is saying and doing with regard to India is, on the contrary, a flagrant defiance of the Marxist-Leninist positions and of proletarian internationalism. To these conclusions we have come during the three painful years of border conflicts between India and China. It is evident that at the root of their understanding and policy lies certain narrow nationalistic considerations....* They most vitally concern the cause of the world communist movement as a whole.

We can say a lot more on the subject but we do not propose to further lengthen this communication. We hope you will kindly consider what we have said in this letter and study the developments and appreciate the position we have taken in the present situation. We will, of course, do our best to face this difficult situation but we naturally expect that the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties will give their deepest thoughts to these developments in general and the attitude and policy of the Chinese leadership in particular and exert their influence on the latter so that it rectifies its serious mistakes and returns to the common positions of the international communist movement in the context of this matter. This intervention is called for not only in the interest of the Indian people but, if we dare say, in the interests of the Chinese people as well. The interests of the worldwide struggle for peace, national independence, democracy

* Nine(9) lines from here could not be given as the text obtained from P.C.Joshi Archives On Contemporary India was not readable here.

and socialism most desperately demand such an intervention before it is too late. Should you need any further clarification on the subject we shall only be too glad to furnish it to you. With fraternal greetings,

S A. Dange, *Chairman*

E. M. S Namboodiripad, *General Secretary*

Bhupesh Gupta, *Secretary*

Z A. Ahmad, *Secretary*

M N. Govindan Nair, *Secretary*

Yogindra Sharma, *Secretary*

(SECRETARIAT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA)

Unity for National Defence and National Policies

**Resolution adopted by the Central
Executive Committee of the C.P.I.,
New Delhi, 29 November–1 December 1962**

The Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, meeting in New Delhi one month after the adoption by the National Council of the Party of its resolution on the *defence of the motherland against Chinese Aggression*, reiterates more forcibly than ever the Party's appeal for national unity in support of the basic policies being pursued by Prime Minister Nehru: the policies of all-out national defence against Chinese aggression; of implementation of the Plan and the gearing of our economy to our defence needs; of preservation of non-alignment; and of steadfastly seeking an honourable settlement on the basis of the vacation of the present Chinese aggression.

The Committee joins the rest of the Indian people in expressing its sense of satisfaction at the magnificent response of the whole nation to the call for efforts and sacrifices by every Indian for the supreme task of national defence. All sections of our people are taking part in this mass upsurge against Chinese aggression and for the honour and integrity of our country.

The Communist Party has taken its due place in this popular upheaval for the defence of our soil. State and district committees, branches and units, individual members and supporters of the Party are contributing and collecting for the National Defence Fund, giving and registering donors of blood for the jawans, mobilising and organising

trade unions for increase in production and participating in all other national activities which are vital for the defence of the motherland.

Unprovoked by vicious slanders, by the violent attacks on Party offices and widespread arrests, Communists have remained at their posts of duty, giving their very best for national defence in every sphere of work.

The way the Chinese offensive and invasion were launched and carried out show long and careful preparations. A number of divisions equipped with heavy mortars and artillery of all types, automatic weapons and warm winter clothing and supplies, advancing swiftly with massive attacks into scores of miles of Indian territory right up to the borders of Assam with its rich oil fields and tea gardens, should dispel the last possible doubts, which some well-wishers of India abroad may have had as to the nature of the Chinese attack and their intentions. Mere 'frontier guards' 'defending' themselves against 'Indian aggression' as is suggested by Chinese propaganda could not have carried out such an advance and full-scale invasion. The truth of a long-prepared aggression was completely revealed.

Progressive mankind was deeply shocked by these events. The socialist and non-aligned countries were gravely concerned.

A full-scale war between two great powers in Asia was imminent and the threat of a world war following from it loomed large, as a result of the adventurism of the Chinese leadership and Government which were behaving in flagrant violation of all the policies and principles of the international communist movement.

This was the context in which the Chinese Government announced its unilateral cease-fire and withdrawal in its Note of 21 November.

The Government of India, while repudiating the slanderous statements which preface this Note, did not reject the Note out of hand, but decided to ask for clarifications of the ambiguities of the withdrawal proposal and to wait and see what it really meant.

At the same time the Government is correctly displaying utmost vigilance and continuing with zeal to strengthen the country's defence potential and economy. Prime Minister Nehru has spoken for the nation when he made it clear that India holds to the same view to which it has held all along, that we are willing to talk and negotiate if the positions of the two sides existing before the present aggression began on 8 September 1962 are restored.

The Central Executive Committee extends its full support to the positions taken by the Government of India in regard to the cease-fire and to the proposals contained in the Chinese Note of 21 November.

Since the moment the cease-fire was announced, elements opposed to the basic policies of the country have concentrated on attacking the Prime Minister and the Government on their attitude towards the case-fire. These elements are organising what they call 'No Negotiations' weeks and rallies to denounce the position of the Government of India in regard to the starting of talks if the present aggression is vacated.

The right reactionary forces want to demolish all the progressive policies, and particularly the policy of non-alignment pursued by the Government. They demand that not only non-alignment be given up but that the main author of that policy, that is, Prime Minister Nehru, be removed from the Government and leadership of the country.

They attack the policy of non-alignment as being responsible for the Chinese invasion, and they pretend to put forward their slogan of 'no negotiations' as an alternative to the alleged policy of 'surrender' by those who speak of negotiations to settle the dispute on the basis of honour and integrity of the country. They allege that the policy of negotiations means refusal to defend the country.

These allegations are totally unfounded. The policy of negotiations with honour and integrity of the country can be pursued only with complete preparedness to defend the country against aggression. The policy of negotiations with honour

and integrity of the country means to restore to our country the territory that is ours and bringing about peace on the basis of a just and honourable settlement.

Those who are taken in by the propaganda of the votaries of 'no negotiations' fail to see this. They also fail to see the fact that their policy would lead our country into a total war and even a world war, into militarism and ruin of all our plans of future development.

The Committee firmly believes that the policy of non-alignment, far from obstructing or weakening national defence is, on the contrary, vital for India's defence. It is the pursuit of this policy which enables India to mobilise the greatest strength and support in its cause. Non-alignment provides the conditions for obtaining the maximum military and economic assistance from all sides without political strings.

At the same time, this policy assists in the development of the maximum self-reliance and the consequent building up of our own defence and heavy industries which alone can be the sure basis of the country's military strength. It is the pursuit of non-alignment which enables India to rally the maximum moral and political support from all countries of the world without binding ourselves to any camp and consistent with our principles of anti-colonialism.

The Committee supports the stand of the Government of India in receiving arms and equipment without political strings from any country, while laying the utmost emphasis and stress on the necessity to build up our own strength. As Prime Minister Nehru has restated in Delhi this week, 'Aid is welcome, but if we forget our duty towards preserving freedom and depends on others to defend us, we lose half our freedom.'

The Central Executive Committee welcomes the sending by the Government of India of influential official missions to non-aligned countries of Asia and Africa to ask for support against Chinese aggression and to explain India's position in regard to the conditions which could create the basis for negotiations with China. The Committee is confident

that all progressive forces and countries will use their influence to urge the Chinese Government to accept the reasonable proposals of the Government of India so that the way to an honourable settlement can begin to be opened.

The Central Executive Committee wishes to draw the attention of all the democratic forces in the country and particularly the millions owing allegiance to the Congress and Prime Minister Nehru, to the fact that when India suffered a temporary set-back under the massive Chinese offensive, reactionary elements openly raised the slogan of removal of Nehru. It was a surprising thing that even a few leading Congressmen were found to lend support to such a slogan.

While the country was militarily facing the massive Chinese invasion, practically the fate of the country hung in the balance due to the advance of reactionary forces in the country. Strong, realistic measures for military defence of the country and moral political unification of the people were sought to be replaced by wild and unwise slogans of the removal of Nehru and scuttling of all progressive policies of the country. It was sad to note that a large number of Congressmen stood tongue-tied or neutral in the face of this dangerous offensive of reaction.

The Central Executive Committee is glad to find that now this situation is changing and the Congressmen and Congress organisations have begun to mobilise in support of the basic policies of the country.

The Central Executive Committee appeals to all Indian patriots—and in particular to Congressmen—to rally together in support of the Prime Minister's basic policies at this vital moment in the life of our country. Through the defence of these policies and of our sacred soil—the common task of all Indians today—our people are defending the great causes for which all humanity strives—peace, national independence—the struggle to eliminate hunger and poverty.

The Central Executive Committee appeals to all members and supporters of the Communist Party to redouble

their efforts to implement the National Council Resolution. Communists refuse to be provoked or confused by the dastardly attacks of interested forces and will continue with ever greater vigour to work for the defence of the motherland and for all those policies of peace-loving India which have won for it a high place in the hearts of millions in all lands.

Kerala and the Ugly Face of the Congress*

E. M. S. Namboodiripad

The main strength of the Parliamentary system of Government, it is claimed, is that the people are given an opportunity to choose their own rulers: two or more parties fight each other and try to convince the voters that it is only through a Government run by that party that the nation's problems will be solved.

This system has been in existence in our country for nearly twelve years. The term of the second parliament of the country elected for five years under the provisions of the Constitution will be over and the third parliament elected in February next. The present ruling party, the Congress, claims that it deserves to be supported by the people for another term at least, since no other party can take the country forward.

One of the claims put forward by the Congress is that it has given the people a democratic Constitution. Under the provisions of this Constitution, they may vote for any party and throw out the present ruling party if they wish. This, it is claimed, is the precious gift which the Congress has presented to the nation.

1952 and After

The same claim had been made in 1951 when the first general elections were taking place. The Congress told the people that they were free to vote for any party; and, if any non-Congress party did secure the support of the majority of the

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voters, then that party, rather than the Congress would be entitled to form the Government.

The voters in three States took the Congress at its word. Travancore-Cochin, Madras and Pepsu voted the Congress out. Securing 11,95,943, 69,98,667 and 3,83,332 votes respectively in the three States (which represented 36.35 and 27.4 per cent of the total votes polled), the Congress got 44, 152 and 26 seats in the legislature. It was thus reduced to the position of a minority party not only in relation to the number of votes polled but also to the number of seats secured in the three legislatures. The Congress, therefore, had no claim to continue to rule these States if the claims it had made before the elections were honest.

The Congress, however, refused to submit itself to the will of the people. It took advantage of the fact that in Travancore-Cochin and in Madras no other party had secured a majority of seats in the legislature.

The Congress being the biggest single party in Travancore-Cochin State, the Raj Pramukh called upon the leader of the Congress legislature party to form a Government. The leader of the Congress legislature party, in turn, came to an understanding with one of the opposition parties and formed its Government with the support of this party.

A manoeuvre of this type could not succeed in Madras, where the United Democratic Front had emerged as the biggest single party, being numerically bigger even than the Congress. The Governor, therefore had to abandon the principle adopted by the Raj Pramukh in Travancore-Cochin. He did not call upon the biggest single party, the UDF, but the second biggest party, the Congress. This step was justified on the ground that the UDF was not a party, but an amalgam of parties. But once this discriminatory treatment was accorded to the biggest single party and after the leader of the Congress Party was called upon to form the ministry, the tactics adopted was the same—the Congress allying itself with some groups in the opposition.

Even this was impossible in Pepsu where the United Front

of the Akalis and a few other rightist elements in the State's political life had an absolute majority in the legislature. They, therefore, had to be allowed to form their own Government. But a few months later, the Central Government dismissed this ministry and ordered mid-term elections.

The solution provided for the situation in Travancore-Cochin and Madras did not offer the two States stable Governments. The Congress Government formed in 1952 lost the confidence of the legislature in the latter half of 1953 and, therefore, a mid-term election had to be ordered in that State in 1954.

As for Madras, the Congress Government seemed somewhat stable for a while. But as soon as the state was bifurcated and a new state of Andhra formed, political instability began to plague the latter which had, as a matter of fact, contributed the major part of the Democratic Opposition in the composite state of Madras. Andhra, too, had the experience of the ministry losing the confidence of the legislature and, therefore, mid-term elections were ordered.

There were thus three mid-term elections during the term of life of the first Parliament. Two of these three mid-term elections—those of Pepsu and Andhra—resulted in Congress victory, but in the third, i.e., in Travancore-Cochin, the story of 1952 repeated itself. The Congress continued to be a minority, both in respect to the number of votes polled as well as to the number of seats secured. The Congress, however, had the advantage that no other party enjoyed absolute majority. But it was not quite certain of its old tactics succeeding this time: there was every danger that, if the Raj Pramukh was asked to call upon the leader of the Congress Party to form a ministry, all the other opposition parties would join together and show the Raj Pramukh that they and not the Congress could form the Government.

The Congress, therefore, adopted the unheard of procedure of allowing the Praja Socialist Party (which had no more than 19 members out of a total of 118) to form the Government and offered it its own support. We thus had the strange spectacle

of the Congress leader being the leader of the opposition of a Government which ruled on the basis of Congress support. Even this, however, was short-lived. As soon as the Congress found that the Praja Socialist Ministry had sufficiently discredited itself, it raised the bogey of insecurity under PSP Government and launched an attack on it. This ultimately led to the overthrow of the PSP ministry and to the formation of a Congress Government with the support of the Travancore Tamilnad Congress. Even this could not last longer than a few months. Once again President's rule was proclaimed.

In short, the Congress punished the people of the three States who had the audacity to vote it out in the 1952 elections by forcing on them mid-term elections and President's rule. Each of the three States had to go through one mid-term election and President's rule. Even this, however, could not secure the Congress an absolute majority in Travancore-Cochin where the Second General Elections were conducted under President's rule.

It was against this background that the 1957 general elections took place. The Congress which makes tall claims about the opportunity for the people to choose their rulers did not dare to give the people of Andhra that opportunity. Advancing the argument that the people of Andhra had gone through the process of a general election in 1955 and that those who were elected then had the right to continue for five years, it denied the people of Andhra the opportunity to elect their representatives in 1957. At the same time, they denied the people of Andhra the opportunity to elect their representatives in 1960 (when the five year term of the legislators elected in 1955 expired), but extended their term by another two years. They thus got their rule stabilised in two of the three States whose people had voted them out in 1952.

1957—A New Situation

This, however, did not save them in the third state i.e., Travancore-Cochin which, in the meanwhile, had been reorganised to form the new State of Kerala.

Here, the Congress did not only fail to stabilise itself but got still further weakened: while it was the biggest single party in the legislature both in 1952 and in 1954, it became the second biggest party in the new Kerala legislature. Furthermore, there was a party which had an absolute majority inside the legislature. That party had, therefore, full right to form its Government and continue to rule the State for the full five year term.

The Congress leaders apprehended and democratic elements in the country hoped that the formation of this non-Congress Government would be the beginning of putting into practice the principle preached by the Congress—the principle that any party which secures the support of the people is entitled to form and run its Government. But hardly had this non-Congress Government been formed than voices began to be heard that the continuation of this new Government was dangerous to person and property. No less a person than the General Secretary of the Congress, Sriman Narayan, discovered in less than a week's time that there was a sense of insecurity among the people of the State. It was taken up by the Congress organisation in the State and echoed and re-echoed by the vested interests (planters, landlords, etc.) who saw in the taxation, land reform, labour and police policies of the new Government a danger to their very existence.

They all hoped that the concerted political campaign launched by them, combined with pressures and temptations to individual members of the State's ruling party, would help in reducing the strength of that party inside the legislature and to the break up of the ministry. Facts came to light of how a legislator belonging to the ruling party was offered no less than Rs.2 lakhs. Confident predictions were made that the unity of the State ruling party would be disrupted and the Government forced to vacate the office.

It was when all these methods failed in their objective that a new technique was evolved—the technique of organising an unconstitutional and violent 'mass upsurge'. Originally

initiated by the Catholic hierarchy in its struggle against the reform of the educational system, it was carried forward and perfected by the Congress and the PSP in launching such violent 'mass action' as encroachment into Government land, students' agitation and strikes in factories with demands that are totally denied in States which are ruled by the Congress.

All these were perfected in the final 'liberation struggle' launched in June 1959—a struggle which included in its plan of action such methods as attacks on and damaging transport buses and boats, school building and furniture, Government offices, etc. and causing personal injury to Government servants and members of the State's ruling party. The leaders of the liberation struggle who included leaders of the all-India ruling party had no compunction in declaring that their objective was to 'paralyse the administration' of the State. They did not hesitate to call upon merchants, bankers, industrialists etc., not to contribute to the State Government's loans (which, it may be recalled, are part of the all-India plan of raising financial resources for developmental activities). They also resorted to such methods of action as organised boycott of Government auctions and tenders, organised withdrawal of money from Savings Bank account and Treasury Certificates, etc. They proclaimed from housetops that volunteers in thousands would march to the State's capital to seize the secretariat and force the Government to get out. It was nothing short of an open declaration of war against the legally constituted Government of the State.

All this was possible not because the 'liberators' had mass support behind them. They could do it because they had full confidence that the Central Government, led by their own all-India leaders, would supplement their 'liberation struggle' with intervention from above. For were they not fully supported by such all-India leaders of the Congress as Sriman Narayan, Indira Gandhi, U. N. Dhebar, Sucheta Kripalani, *et.al.*, all of whom were echoing their shrill cries of 'democracy in danger'?

Was it not Dhebar himself who after confidential talks with Shankar, the then President of the KPCC, gave him the blessings of the High Command? Did they not know that, however much the Prime Minister denounced in public the communal reactionary forces, such as the Muslim League and the Catholic Church, the Congress High Command has given its blessings to the Congress alliance with these communal and reactionary organisations? Had not the Prime Minister himself given a certificate of 'nationalism' and 'patriotism' to that arch-priest of Nair communalism, Mannath Padmanabhan? Create enough trouble for the State Government to force them to vacate their office; if they refuse to oblige, create enough trouble for the Central Government to get an opportunity to say that the State Government was unable to control the situation—such were the tactics. Evolved with the full concurrence of the High Command the 'liberation struggle' finally resulted in the President's order of 31 July 1959 dismissing the ministry and taking over the administration.

This was an extraordinary situation which exposed the tall claims made by the Congress. A Government duly elected according to the provisions of the Constitution and enjoying the confidence of the legislature; an opposition intent on 'paralysing the administration' run by this duly elected Government; the State unit of the all-India ruling party participating in such an unconstitutional agitation; the Congress which claims to be the most national and secular of all the political parties in the country showing no hesitation in allying itself with such forces of communalism and religious bigotry as the Muslim League, the Catholic Church and the Nair Service Society; the Central Government which, instead of helping the State Government in politically and administratively fighting and defeating these forces of disruption, help these very forces by dismissing the ministry.

And yet they have the audacity to declare that they have framed, and are working under, a Constitution which allows the electorate to choose whichever party they like at the

time of polling, and enables the party which has secured the support of the people to form its own Government.

Mass Upsurge—in Kerala and Elsewhere

The action of the Central Government was justified on the floor of Parliament by the Home Minister and the Prime Minister on the ground that constitutional Government had broken down in Kerala. The Governor's report on the basis of which this action was taken had also made a statement to that effect. It is, however, significant that no evidence was adduced, nor explanation offered to support this contention.

A breakdown of the Constitution in terms of parliamentary procedure means a situation in which there is no ministry which enjoys the confidence of the legislature. The adoption of a positive vote of censure by the legislature, failure on the part of the ministry to get a confidence vote from the legislature, a state of affair in which the ministry feels that it cannot carry on the administration—such are the circumstances in which one may legitimately say that the machinery of constitutional Government has broken down.

None of these eventualities had taken place in Kerala in July 1959. The Congress-PSP-Muslim League opposition did not dare to move a no-confidence motion against the ministry, nor did the ministry itself find it necessary to test its strength in the legislature by calling for a confidence vote.

The leaders of the Central Government themselves were aware of the basic weakness of the stand which they were taking. They themselves knew that central intervention could not be justified on the constitutional plane since the ministry was a properly constituted legal Government and continued to enjoy the confidence of the legislature. They, therefore, went out of the constitutional framework and resorted to certain political arguments.

It was Prime Minister Nehru, who gave the most effective leadership to his party and the Government in this respect. Ignoring the constitutional argument, he argued that a complicated situation having arisen in the State where a

great 'mass upsurge' has taken place against the Government, the proper solution for the problem is to make an appeal to the electorate. In other words, while the leaders of the Kerala Congress, in alliance with the leaders of the Muslim League, were organising an unconstitutional and violent direct action movement from below, the tallest of the all-India Congress leaders, who occupied the position of the Prime Minister of the country, demanded of the State Government that they quit the office. It was this slogan of a great appeal to the electorate given by the Prime Minister that gave impetus to the organisers of the 'liberation struggle'.

The Prime Minister sought to justify this demand for resignation of the ministry and fresh election on the ground that the people of the State were sharply divided into two hostile camps. It was necessary, according to him, to see that this polarisation was put an end to, or in his own words, to 'build a bridge' between the two hostile camps. Such a bridge could be built, according to him, only by a fresh appeal to the electorate.

It was clear even at that time that such a political argument was advanced only in relation to the State of Kerala, where a non-Congress party—the Communist Party at that—happened to enjoy the confidence of the legislature. Mass upsurges far bigger than that seen in Kerala have taken place in other States. The bilingual Bombay State, for example, witnessed such a big mass movement in favour of the bifurcation of the State that over hundred persons had to be shot down in the streets of Bombay and the boycott of Shri Morarji Desai in Ahamedabad was so complete that not a soul went to his meeting. Mass upsurges did also take place in Bengal on the issue of food scarcity and famine in which also nearly hundred persons were shot down in the streets of Calcutta. The anti-betterment levy campaign in the Punjab was also a much bigger mass upsurge than was seen in Kerala against the Communist-led Government. In none of these cases did the Prime Minister ask the State Government to, appeal to the electorate, nor did he find it necessary to 'build a bridge'

between the supporters and opponents of the State Government's policy.

One of the vital points of difference between these mass upsurges in the non-Congress States and the mass upsurge of Kerala was that in Kerala there was as big a mass upsurge in support of the Government as against it; it was this that led the Prime Minister to refer to the two hostile camps poised against each other. On the other hand, the opponents of the linguistic State movement in the bilingual Bombay State, the food and famine resistance movement in Bengal and the anti-betterment levy movement in the Punjab were in such a hopeless minority that they could not come out into streets and demonstrate their opposition to the mass movement and support for the Government.

Kerala and Assam

Even though opposition to the Government's policies in these Congress-governed provinces was thus much more widespread than in the Communist-governed State of Kerala, the Prime Minister did not deem it necessary to call the mass discontent in the Congress-governed States a mass upsurge. He gave his full support to the Governments that resorted to firing in Bombay, Calcutta and Punjab in order to suppress the Sumyukta Maharashtra, Maha Gujarat, food and famine resistance and the anti-betterment levy struggles. Yet, when it came to the only non-Congress-governed State of India, he not only refused to give the Government the support which it deserved, but joined his colleagues in the Congress in demanding the resignation of the ministry; on the latter's refusal, he used the authority of the Central Government to dismiss the ministry.

It should further be noted that, looked at from the point of view of a real breakdown of law and order, Kerala in June-July 1959 was nowhere near Assam a year later. The former had nothing more than organised defiance of the law of the land by the opposition which was being met with the use of the least possible amount of force by the Government.

In the latter, however, there were open clashes between two sections of the people, one of whom was forced to leave their homes in search of security and protection. The Prime Minister himself has had to openly bewail the fact that for the first time in independent India, scenes reminiscent of the post-partition communal clashes were being enacted—‘our people being turned into refugees in their own homeland’—and the State authorities looking on helplessly when they were not actually taking sides with one of the groups. Yet the Central Government which used the argument of breakdown of law and order to dismiss the non-Congress ministry in Kerala, thought it unnecessary to do the same in Assam.

Let me make it clear that I am not suggesting that the Central Government should have dismissed the Congress ministry of Assam and instituted President’s rule there. The solution for the situation which prevailed in Assam in July 1960 does not lie in the suppression of democracy but in tackling the crucial problems which gave rise to this struggle in a spirit of unity in diversity. The case of Assam has been cited as an example purely in order to show how baseless is the claim made by Congress leaders that central intervention in Kerala was justifiable on the ground of a breakdown of law and order in the State.

We have stated above that the situation in Kerala in June-July 1959 was nowhere near what took place in Assam a year later. Does this mean that we deny the existence of a tense situation Kerala in 1959? No. On the other hand, we are quite conscious that the opposition was intent on creating a serious situation and had partly succeeded in doing so. Why? Only because the Congress was determined to regain power by hook or crook.

Shri R. Shankar, the then President of the KPCC and the present Deputy Chief Minister of the State, stated on 5 June 1959: ‘The Congress under normal circumstances would have followed the normal path of constitutional agitation, but having regard to the circumstances explained above, it cannot be a

passive spectator to the developments.' Less than a fortnight later, he denied reports in the press that direct action of the KPCC against the Kerala Government was not approved by the Congress High Command. He called these reports baseless and mischievous.— *'All our accepted programmes are with the full support of the Congress High Command.'*

A few days before these statements of the then President of the KPCC were made, a telegram was sent by the then leader of the opposition in Kerala legislature and present Home Minister of the State, Shri P. T. Chacko, to Smt. Indira Gandhi :

'After mature consultation Congress along with other political parties started picketing of public offices. A statement dictated by Dhebar at Ooty permitted extra-constitutional methods in special circumstances in Kerala. I assure strict adherence to non-violence. Pray blessings.'

It was the blessings of the Congress High Command with which the Congress organisation in the State launched the direct action that gave confidence to the supporters of the opposition parties that the Central Government in any case would come to their rescue at some stage or other. Had this factor been absent, had the Central Government given the State Government the same amount of support which it had given to other State Governments, the direct action would have proved a damp squib. It was the open connivance of the central leadership of the Congress that gave the unconstitutional direct action launched by opposition parties the character of a mass upsurge.

Their 'Charges'

Such undemocratic and unconstitutional action on the part of the Congress was sought to be justified on the ground that the majority of the people of the state were opposed to the continuance of the Communist-led ministry. Even at the beginning, it was claimed the Communist ministry had no real mass support: the majority of two which it enjoyed in the legislature, it was said, was based on less than 40 percent

of the votes polled in the general elections. Furthermore, large sections of the people who had voted for the Communist Party in the general elections had shifted their allegiance from the Communist Party and towards the opposition. It was this shift in public opinion that was said to be the main motive force of the liberation struggle.

The thoroughly baseless character of this argument has been proved by subsequent developments. For, the percentage of votes polled by the Communist Party and its allies actually increased from less than 40 per cent in 1957 to nearly 44 per cent in 1960. *Shift in public opinion was thus in favour of, rather than against, the Communist Party and its allies.*

As for the Communist majority in the legislature being based on minority of votes polled in the election, that argument can easily be advanced against almost every State in India and, of course, against the Central Government itself. For, barring a couple of exceptions, the Congress obtained a majority of seats in all the state legislatures on a minority of votes polled; in some of these states, the Congress party secured larger number of seats in the legislature on smaller percentage of votes polled than secured by the Communist Party in Kerala in 1957. As for the Centre, there too, the Congress is able to control nearly 75 per cent of the seats in Parliament on the basis of 47 to 48 per cent of the votes polled.

If these arguments of minority vote and shift in public opinion were sincerely advanced, they should be used in relation to all the State and Central Governments regardless of the political complexion of the party that wields power. That, however, is not done. These arguments are used only when they become convenient instruments against a non-Congress Government.

Another argument advanced in order to justify central intervention was that the Communist Government was functioning in such a way that the spirit of the Constitution was being seriously violated. Charges such as applying double

standards, dividing the citizens of the State into two classes, utilising the Governmental machinery for strengthening the party, looting the treasury in the interest of the party, etc., were also freely made. These charges and arguments have been repeated *ad nauseam* and incorporated in the notorious charge sheet or 'memorandum' submitted by the President of the KPCC to the President of the Indian Union.

It is, however, significant that while these arguments were repeated several times in the agitational material of the Congress Party, they have never been incorporated in any official document of the Central Government. If there were any substance in these charges, the easiest and only honest course would have been to put them down in an official charge sheet, to give an opportunity to the State Government to answer these charges and to set up proper machinery to go into the charges levelled and explanations offered. The Central Government, however, did not think the charges serious enough to take recourse to this honourable method.

Leaders of the Central Government and of the Congress Party were probably afraid that, if this were done, it will be found that not only are the charges levelled against Communist Government false and baseless, but that these charges could legitimately be laid at the door of the Governments formed by their own party. The explanation offered by the Communist-led Government would have made it obligatory on the part of the Central Government, and of any other agency set up to go into the charges levelled and explanations offered, to make a comparison of the manner of functioning of the previous Congress and PSP Governments with that of the Communist-led Government. Chapter and verse would have been quoted to show how the boot is in reality on the other leg.

In any case, it is a fact that the charges levelled against the Communist-led Government have never been officially advanced as the ground on which the legally-constituted Government was dismissed by the Central Government. The arguments were advanced only in the agitational material

prepared by the Congress Party and repeated day by day by its leaders throughout the country. The so-called facts adduced by them in order to support their arguments were rebutted by the Government of Kerala and by the Communist Party in their own agitational material which, however, was drowned by the far more powerful agitation and propaganda carried on by the party which has been enjoying a monopoly of power continuously for 12 years. They were, however, rebutted for more effectively by the verdict of the people who would have reduced the Communist Party to a negligible minority, if these arguments were really based on truth. They, however, showed by their voting that a much bigger proportion of them did really have confidence in the Communist Party.

Guilty !

There was, however, one serious charge which has not been rebutted by the Communist Party and which the Party does not propose to rebut either. It is a charge to which the Party proudly pleads guilty. That charge is that the Party successfully challenged the monopoly of power enjoyed by the Congress for a full decade in the whole country. The Communist Party was guilty of breaking this monopoly. It was to avert the calamity of Kerala's example being followed by other States that the leaders of the Congress decided to launch a two-pronged attack—attack from below in the form of an unconstitutional and violent direct action and an attack from above in the form of central intervention.

Explicit provisions in the Constitution, unwritten conventions that have come to be established under similar circumstances, propriety of political behaviour—all demanded that the Central Government adhere strictly to the statement made by President Rajendra Prasad on 15 August 1957. He declared on that day in Trivandrum that the existence of a Communist Government in Kerala was an example in which the principle of peaceful co-existence is being applied in our country in internal relations, relations between different

political parties and different ideologies. They should have made the Congress leaders realise that it was necessary for them to wait till the people of the State get another opportunity of choosing between their party and the Communist Party on the basis of their own experience of ten-year-old Congress rule and five-year-old Communist rule. They should have sought confidence in the fact that, if the Communist Government were in reality as bad as they made it out to be, the people would not vote for them again in the next general elections. There would have been no harm if, in one out of the 14 States of India, another party ruled for five years within the strict provisions and the broad policies laid down by the Central Government.

The Congress leaders were afraid to take such a stand because they were afraid that the continuance of the Communist-led ministry for the full five-year term would seriously jeopardise the Congress monopoly of power in other States. For, however much they denounced the 'anti-democratic practices' of the Communist-led ministry, the people saw in actual practice that here was a ministry qualitatively different from previous ministries in the State as well as ministries in other States. As month after month passed, with the Communist ministry weathering the storm of the combined opposition of the Congress, PSP and the Muslim League and implementing the progressive policies which the Party had outlined in its election manifesto, the people everywhere began to draw the conclusion that the Congress can be removed from power if only the forces of democratic opposition are united.

Major Achievements

What were the main features of the Communist ministry which differentiated it from other ministries ?

Firstly, it was a ministry which was free from factionalism. Although it had only a very small majority of just two votes over the combined opposition, it stood like a rock against all the assaults mounted against it by the opposition. This

stands in sharp contrast with the previous ministries in this State and Congress ministries in other States which were and are notoriously faction-ridden. The former States of Travancore and Travancore-Cochin saw such a succession of ministerial crises that the people there had started despairing of having any ministry which continues for its full 5-year term. Here, however, was a ministry that stood a reasonable chance of remaining in the saddle for the full term. The hope of the people that a stable Government should come into existence was thus being at last realised.

Secondly, because of this stability of the ministry, the developmental activities in the State were being carried on more efficiently and fully than ever before. This can be seen if a comparison is made of the figures of fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan before, during and after the Communist-led Government's rule

The percentage of fulfilment of targets during the First Five-Year Plan was 83.4 per cent, while in the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan, it was 64.2 per cent. This was the position before the Communist-led ministry took office. It was in 1957-58 that the Communist-led ministry took office. It naturally took some time to familiarise itself with the problems of planning and go into it with promptness and efficiency. Yet the percentage of fulfilment in that year was 84.5 per cent. The next year, in 1958-59, the percentage rose to approximately 100 per cent. The impetus given in the two years of 1957-58 and 1958-59 to planning activities was such that, if the Communist-led ministry had been allowed to continue for its full 5-year term, fulfilment during the last 4 years of planning would have made up for the lag caused by the previous ministries.

The total financial target for Kerala's Second Plan was Rs.87 crores. Actual fulfilment in the first year (when the State was under President's rule) was 12.4 per cent. This rose to 17.4 per cent in the second and 21.3 per cent in the third year (when the State was under the Communist-led Government). Such a steady increase in the percentage of

expenditure is, of course, general for all the States. But a comparison of the percentage of the annual fulfilment to the total 5-year target for each State shows that, while Kerala took the 12th rank in 1956-57, it came up to the 2nd place for the 2-year period of 1957-59 when the Communist-led Government was in office.

Thirdly, a definite orientation towards industrialisation was being taken. Unfortunately for that Government, the details of all the projects to be included in the Second Plan had already been worked out by the Central Government by the time it assumed office, and there was no worthwhile scheme for industrialising the country. Much, therefore, could not be done during the plan period. Nevertheless, the Government took initiative to have at least a few industries in the private sector started. The result was the successful negotiation of a tyre plant and of a rayon pulp factory in the private sector. They are, of course, not much when the needs of the State are taken into account. They, however, are of sufficient magnitude to compare and contrast the earnestness of the Communist-led government in the matter of industrialisation with the indifference shown by previous Congress ministries. Furthermore, if only the Communist-led Government were allowed to continue for its full 5-year term, it could have done a good deal at the time when the Third Five Year Plan was being prepared. The premature disappearance of that Government from the scene, therefore, led to irreparable loss for the State in the matter of industrialisation.

Fourthly, a new orientation was given to the administration of the State in the direction of its democratisation. Although the Central Government and the Planning Commission have been speaking a lot about the need for people's participation in the formulation and implementation of developmental plans, nothing much has been done by them in practice. The principle of associating the people with planning and developmental activities has been accepted by the Central Government which has directed the State governments to form State Planning

Advisory Boards, District Development Councils and Block Advisory Committees. The Communist-led government of Kerala not only put these instructions into practice in the spirit in which they were made but applied and extended them to a much wider field of administrative activity.

It decided to set up people's food committees, whose function it was to supply the popular element in the discharge of such administrative tasks as are necessarily involved in the running of the Fair Price Shops—finding out which are the low income group families that require supply through Fair Price Shops; supervising the way in which identity cards are issued and used by them; checking up whether various agencies that are linked together in the system of distribution through Fair Price Shops are discharging their duties properly, etc. Such committees were formed at the village, taluk, district and State levels.

This was not confined to the administration of the food department alone. Similar committees were set up in the forest, education, health, PWD, land revenue and other departments as well, whenever and wherever they had to do some important work with people's co-operation, such as distribution of waste lands, fixing the location of a new school or hospital, roads to be constructed, etc.

In forming such committees, the government took particular care to see that the opposition was given the representation which was its due on the basis of the support which it received from the electorate during the general elections. As a matter of fact, in most of the districts and local committees, the opposition was given larger representation than it was strictly entitled to on the basis of the support it had received in the elections.

These, however, were only certain transitional measures calculated to associate people's representatives in administration which is essentially carried on by the permanent officials. The government went a step further and started working on a scheme of transferring more powers to people's representatives at the district, taluk and village levels.

Two Bills were prepared and introduced in the legislature—one vesting in the panchayat all the functions that are now discharged by the village revenue officials as well as officials of other departments of the village level; another transferring all the functions which are today discharged by the district officials (except the functions of the revenue department and of law and order) to an elected district council headed by an elected president. The much-talked of democratic decentralisation was thus being implemented in Kerala. If only that government had been allowed to function for its full term, Kerala would have had the widest, most representative and most authoritative elected popular administrative bodies at all levels.

Fifthly, the Communist-led Government of Kerala evolved what is popularly known as a 'new police policy'. The crux of that policy is that it is not the function of the police to suppress the trade union, peasant and other mass activities of any mass organisation, or political struggles waged by any political party; the function of the police is to track down and punish those who commit ordinary crimes. The settlement of the labour disputes is to be left to the labour department of the government and not to be taken over by the police; the police should arrive at the scene of any labour, agrarian or other mass or political struggle only in case these struggles led to an actual, or imminently threatened, breach of peace or violent action.

The implementation of this policy, of course, was by no means easy. For, it involved a thorough re-education of the entire cadre of the police who had been trained to function as despotic overlords. Furthermore, there were elements hostile to the government for class or political reasons who were intent on taking advantage of this liberal policy to create chaos in the State and difficulties for the government. The new policy, therefore, could not be fully worked out in the spirit in which it had been formulated. Nevertheless, the formulation of that policy and the earnestness with which the ministry sought to implement it made a big difference

for the day-to-day life of the common people who were now freed from the dreaded despotism of police officers and men.

Above all, the Communist-led government adopted such democratic policies in the fields of labour and agrarian relations, educational reform, taxation and government expenditure as are in full conformity with the democratic platform prepared by the entire national movement (including the Indian National Congress) during the anti-imperialist movement, but had not been implemented by the Congress Government after the country attained independence.

In the field of labour relations, the government accepted the principle of trade union democracy, union recognition, collective bargaining, full protection to labour in its struggle for securing legitimate demands, etc. Apart from formulating the new police policy which helped labour to talk to the employer on terms of equality, the government energetically carried out a positive policy of helping labour in collective bargaining. With regard to the recognition of trade unions, the government adopted the policy of recognising all the unions that existed in an industry and tried to solve labour disputes in consultation with, and on the advice of all the unions. The result was a much more widespread activity of the labour movement and substantial gains for the working class.

In the field of agrarian relations, the Communist-led Government functioned strictly within the framework of the policy directives of the Central Government and the Planning Commission on agrarian reforms. It applied those policies in a more earnest and efficient manner. It introduced a foolproof anti-eviction ordinance prohibiting the eviction of all those who were in actual occupation of the land at the time, regardless of the legal right of such occupation. Having thus secured the peasantry against any organised attack on the part of the landlord (as happened in Congress governed States), the government proceeded to frame a more permanent Agrarian Relations Bill. This bill plugged as many loopholes as could then be thought of and went to the

furthest limit in defining the right of various classes of tenants including share-croppers. The measure was, in other words, the most radical that could be framed within the broad framework of the policy laid down by the Central Government and the Planning Commission.

In the field of education, the State had notoriously been under the thumb of private managers who had made a business of starting and managing schools. Rank and shameless corruption in the matter of appointment and treatment of teachers had been the order of the day for several decades. Demands have, therefore, been made, both by teachers as well as by the general public, that some control should be established on the managements and that the teachers should be given reasonable terms of service. It was to this end that an Education Bill was framed by the Government and piloted through the legislature.

With regard to taxation and expenditure policy of the Government, the principles of taxing the rich and of improving the service conditions of government employees were adopted. In the very first year of the Communist-led government, taxation policies were so revised that the incidence of taxation on plantation owners and other big landlords was raised. The scales of salary to be paid to government servants were also revised in such a way that low-paid government officials had their emoluments enhanced. There were, of course, serious limits to the extent to which this double process of taxing the rich and enhancing the emoluments of low-paid government officials could be carried out. There is, however, no doubt that the Government of Kerala went to the farthest limit in this respect.

Reforms sought to be made in the State's administration by the Communist-led government had serious limitations. Bound as it was by the various directives and instructions issued by the Central Government from time to time, a State Government could not go very far in that direction. However, what was done was sufficiently indicative of the trend. It was this that earned the government the affection and

confidence of the common people everywhere. At the same time, it enraged the vested interests who saw in the activities of this government a danger to themselves. It was this sense of danger felt by them that was called 'sense of insecurity' in the State. The all-India leaders of the Congress knew that if the Government of Kerala were allowed to continue for its full 5-year term and to implement its policies of agrarian reforms, reform of the educational system, of administration, etc., not only will the Communist Party be again returned with a bigger majority in the next general elections but the contagion may spread to other States as well. It is this that made them strike a blow against that government.

The Communist-led government of Kerala remained in office only for 28 months; but these were months packed with events of tremendous import. They have taught lessons which the people of Kerala and of the whole country will always remember. They have also laid bare, for all to see, the ugly face of the Congress.

On Need for A New World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties

**Resolution adopted by the
Central Executive Committee of the C.P.I.,
New Delhi, November 29–December 1, 1962**

The Conference of 81 Parties which met in 1960 fulfilled a great historic task which was first initiated by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the 1957 Declaration of 12 Parties.

After very deep and prolonged exchange of opinion and deliberations, the Conference came to conclusions which were unanimously accepted and signed by all the participants. Fundamental propositions of Marxism-Leninism as creatively applied in the new epoch had been subject of severe difference of opinion within the world communist movement. The import of such propositions as the nature of the epoch, the decisive role of the socialist countries, war and peace, peaceful coexistence, disarmament, forms of transition to socialism, role of national liberation movement and the newly-liberated non-aligned countries, revisionism and dogmatism—was defined in the new historic period opening after the Second World War. The Conference resolved these differences.

Even at the Conference, the Communist Party of China took positions which challenged the main propositions as enunciated by the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the 12 Parties' Declaration or gave its own interpretations of these propositions which were not acceptable to the overwhelming majority of the participants.

Experience since the Conference has shown that the unity and unanimity arrived at has broken down and the world

communist movement has once again come to be divided on the same issues and on which unity had been achieved.

These differences have once again come out in the open and on the initiative of the Chinese Communist Party in all international mass organisations such as the Peace Council, Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, Youth, Women and trade union organisations. The differences were sharply revealed when the CPSU broke with the Albanian Party of Labour and the Chinese Party supported the Albanians. The repeated assertions by the Communist Party of China that the Albanian Party of Labour is upholding the purity of Marxist-Leninist principles and their endorsements of the positions of the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour underscore these differences.

Differences have also appeared more or less openly between the CPSU and other Communist Parties on the one hand and the Chinese Communist Party and Albanian Party and a few other on the other on the events in Cuba, in which the CPSU is being maligned very viciously.

Another manifestation of these differences and the most serious violation of the understanding of the 81 Parties' agreement came before the world when China launched an aggressive invasion of India and the Indian Party and the Chinese Party openly differed on this very vital question which threatened to endanger world peace and anti-imperialist role of non-aligned countries.

The differences between the Indian Party and the Chinese Party have been broadcast to the whole world. The effect of the Chinese invasion on the Indian Party and the democratic forces in India need not be stated here.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India in its resolution on India and Chinese aggression has already stated as follows:

“The behaviour of Socialist China towards peace-loving democratic India has most grossly violated the common understanding in the communist world arrived at in the 81 Parties' Conference in 1960 in relation to peaceful coexistence

and attitude to newly-liberated countries and the question of war and peace. Socialist China has fallen a victim to narrow nationalistic considerations at the cost of the interests of world peace and anti-imperialism, in its attitude towards India”

Hence the Central Executive committee resolves to request the CPSU, which is the vanguard of the world communist movement, which took the initiative to call the 1960 Conference, to consult the world Parties and call another conference in the immediate future before the situation worsens further.

On the Initiative of Colombo Powers and the Threat Posed by Imperialism and Domestic Reaction

Resolution adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the C.P.I., New Delhi, 15–17 January, 1963

The Communist Party of India joins the Government of India and our people in welcoming the initiative of the Colombo Conference of six non-aligned Afro-Asian countries to provide a basis for the consolidation of the cessation of hostilities, as a first step for the opening of negotiations with China.

While details of the proposals and clarification have not been made public, a government spokesman has told the press that the Colombo proposals 'come close to the Indian stand', and that 'by and large, they accept the principle that the latest Chinese aggression must be undone before talks begin.'

The Communist Party extends its full support to Prime Minister Nehru in his constructive approach to the Colombo proposals, expressing India's readiness to take all necessary measure for ensuring peace, consistent with the honour and self-respect of the country.

With these events, the perspective of reverting to the path of peaceful negotiations, for which India has always stood, opens up once again.

Our Party notes with satisfaction the developments in the country since the Central Executive Committee's last meeting at the end of November. Apprehensions regarding the implementation of the cease-fire and the recrudescence of armed conflict have been considerably allayed. A vital part in bringing about this situation was played by the decision

of the Government of India to accept the cease-fire and withdrawal as a fact. The reactionary offensive against India's national policies and the leadership of the Prime Minister has received a setback. The prospects of a mutually, agreed plan of disengagement have improved. The nation faces the task of bringing about a satisfactory and honourable settlement of the border dispute in a cooler and more confident atmosphere.

The Communist Party notes that, despite these favourable developments, the path to a negotiated settlement is not an easy one. Much naturally depends on how the Chinese Government responds to the Colombo proposals and to India's legitimate demands and strivings for a peaceful settlement. The recent aggression by China since 8 September and the massive invasion from 20 October to 20 November have created a crisis of confidence, which cannot be easily dispelled. It can only end when a mutually agreed plan of disengagement is brought into operation and further negotiations begun in a proper atmosphere.

It is now fervently hoped that once these talks start, every effort will be made in order to avoid protracted negotiations and to bring about a speedy settlement of this tragic development in the true Bandung spirit and in keeping with the dignity and honour of our country. Protracted negotiations in the present case and a cold war atmosphere between India and China are fraught with harmful consequences for both countries. It is no accident that the imperialists abroad and reaction at home are now interested in keeping alive a cold war climate, so that they can pursue their nefarious ends to the detriment of our people and their future. Continuation of cold war would seriously damage the independent growth and advance of our national economy.

The Communist party has always stood for strengthening of our national defence as an integral part of strengthening our country's independence itself. The Government of India, while doing everything to restart negotiations consistent with the honour of the country is, at the same time, rightly not

relaxing its efforts to strengthen the defence potential of the country to make it capable of facing any new aggression from any quarter.

In this respect, our Party entirely agrees with the approach of Prime Minister Nehru when he cautions against reliance on foreign countries for arms supplies and urges the construction of our own defence factories on our own industrial base. Our Party agrees with the policy of building up a powerful defence industry and of modernising our armed forces in every way. It is from these considerations also, apart from those of national economy, that our Party is of the view that the Five-Year Plan must not only be carried out but further strengthened, especially in respect of the vital projects of heavy engineering, power, oil and transport.

The Communist Party warns the Indian people of the grave dangers to India's honour and integrity, which arise from the blackmail and pressures exerted against our country by the Western imperialist powers and reactionary politicians in India.

This blackmail and pressure have reached the zenith during the last month round the question of Kashmir. Taking advantage of our difficulties in the matter of defence, the USA and UK Governments are laying down terms which virtually amount to the handing over of the Kashmir Valley to the present rulers of Pakistan who are tied, through military pacts, to the imperialist aggressive war plans. In this manner, Kashmir is sought to be transformed into a military base of U.S. imperialism against India and the neighbouring countries.

Our Party has always stood for peaceful settlement of all outstanding problems between India and Pakistan through bilateral talks and shall continue to support the Government of India in every effort it may take to this end. But the Party is firmly of the view that no quarter should be given to any dictation or proposal designed to alter the status of Kashmir and impinge on India's sovereign rights. The present status of Jammu and Kashmir as a constituent State of the Indian

Union is by no means negotiable. Any contrary attempt, no matter from which quarter it comes, should be considered as gross interference in the internal affairs of our country.

At this crucial moment in our national life, utmost vigilance is called for against the forces of right reaction which, taking advantage of the Chinese aggression, have considerably grown in strength and have become active. It is they who launched a vicious campaign in the critical days of November for the removal of Prime Minister Nehru. It is they who have been systematically attacking the policy of non-alignment which has brought glory and strength to our country and immensely contributed to progressive developments in every walk of our national life. The policy of non-alignment which has remarkably stood the test of the present crisis, is being attacked by these dark forces of reaction with a view to drive India into the arms of the West. These forces again are opposing the cease-fire as well as the Government's wise attitude towards it. They have been violently opposed to the Colombo Conference and the peace efforts initiated by it.

Right reaction wants to keep the tension alive in order that it can gain an upper hand in the political life of the country. It is in reality opposed to all negotiations. But our Party is confident that once the forces of democracy and progress are united, this challenge from the right can be effectively met and their design completely defeated.

The Communist Party notes with satisfaction that during the last few weeks, Congressmen in increasing number have come forward to defend the accepted national policies from the attacks made on them by pro-imperialist right-wing reactionary forces.

The Communist Party, in co-operation with Congressmen and all other democratic elements, will conduct a united nation-wide campaign,

—to support the Prime Minister and the Government of India in their efforts to consolidate the cease-fire and to create conditions for an honourable settlement through negotiations;

-to support the nation's basic policies of non-alignment, peaceful coexistence, Afro-Asian solidarity and anti-colonialism, democracy and strengthening the economy of the country through planned economic development with main emphasis on heavy industries and the public sector;

- to strengthen the defence capacities of our country through increasing rapidly our own industrial potential and expanding defence industries;

-to mobilise resources for building a strong and independent Indian economy by placing the burden mainly on those classes which can afford to pay and not on the poorer sections;

-to strengthen national unity and national integration and oppose all communal, disruptive and fissiparous tendencies;

--to defend the economic interests and the democratic right of the people.

The possibilities which open up with the Colombo initiative and the Government of India's reaction to it must be made a reality. The Communist Party pledges itself to do all in its power to this end.

Debate in Lok Sabha (Lower House of the Indian Parliament) on January 23–24, 1963 on Colombo Conference Proposal

Speech delivered by A. K. Gopalan in the course of this debate*

FROM PRINTED PROCEEDINGS OF THE LOK SABHA DEBATE
JANUARY 23, 1963. 12.18 HRS.

(PAGE NO. 5978 OF THE PRINTED PROCEEDINGS OF LOK SABHA)
MOTION RE. COLOMBO CONFERENCE PROPOSALS

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Sir, I beg to move:

“That the proposals of the Conference of six non-aligned nations held at Colombo between the 10th and 12th of December, 1962, with the clarifications given by the Delegations of Ceylon, U.A.R. and Ghana in the meetings with the Prime Minister of India and his colleagues on the 12th and 13th of January, 1963 laid on the Table of the House on the 21st January, 1963 be taken into consideration.”

(Page No. 5983)

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Prime Minister.

*The debate was initiated in the Lok Sabha on 23.1.1963 by the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. The full speech of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru is given here along with the full speech of A. K. Gopalan and P. C. Borooah. It is not the reproduction of the full debate on Colombo Conference Proposal. The Colombo Conference countries were: Ceylon(now Sri Lanka), Burma(now Myanmar), Indonesia, Cambodia, Ghana and U.A.R.(Egypt).

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, on the last occasion Parliament discussed this question of Chinese aggression on the 10th of December, 1962 and expressed approval of the measures and policy adopted by Government to meet the situation resulting from the invasion of India by China. Since then a number of events have taken place which I should like to mention to the House.

On the 15th December the Consulates-general of India and China in the respective countries were closed. The withdrawal of Chinese forces from the NEFA area continued during this period. There were, however, reports of violation of the unilateral cease-fire by the Chinese army. 716 sick and wounded Indian soldiers and 13 dead bodies of prisoners were returned by the Chinese forces. On the 17th December Mr. G. S. Peiris, envoy of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandarnaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, brought the Colombo Conference proposals to New Delhi and handed them over to the Prime Minister.

A joint communiqué was issued by Pakistan and China on complete agreement in principle in regard to the alignment of their border on 26th December, 1962.

China and Mongolia signed border treaty in Peking on the 26th December, 1962.

Premier Chou En-lai sent a reply dated 30th December 1962 to Prime Minister's letter of December 1, 1962.

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Prime Minister's reply to Premier Chou En-lai's letter of 30th December, 1962 was sent on January 1, 1963.

Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike visited Peking from 31st December to 8th January.

Ghana delegation led by Mr. Kofi Asante Ofori-Atta, Minister of Justice, arrived on 9th January in Delhi.

Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike arrived in New Delhi on 10th January.

U.A.R. delegation led by Mr. Ali Sabry arrived in Delhi on 12th January.

Discussions with the three delegations took place on 12th and 13th January, 1963.

A joint communiqué was issued at New Delhi on 13th January.

The Chinese forces started withdrawing from 10th December, 1962. The latest position of Chinese withdrawals and restoration of civil administration is as follows in NEFA.

Kameng Frontier Division: Political officer reached Tawang on 21st January. Adviser arrived on 22nd January.

Subansari Frontier Division: Chinese are reported to have withdrawn from all areas. We have not received reports about the reoccupation by us of Limeking, Naba and Taksing. The delay may be due to the fact that bridges to Limeking and Taksing have been destroyed or washed away.

Siang Frontier Division: Chinese are reported to have withdrawn from all areas and civil administration has been restored in Manigong and Mechuka. Tuting remained in our possession throughout.

Lohit Frontier Division: Walong has been reoccupied. A patrol sent from there found the Chinese near Thochu stream within our territory near Kibithoo. Restoration of civil (*Page No. 5985*) administration in Kibithoo has been deferred until the complete withdrawal of the Chinese from the area.

Indian administration has not yet been extended to areas between Tawang and the frontier, and in the Kibithoo area along the frontier as the Chinese have not fully withdrawn from these areas.

We have repeatedly stated in this House in answer to the Chinese proposals that we were unable to enter into any talks or discussions with them so long as the Chinese did not agree at least to the restoration of the status quo prior to their aggression since the 8th September, 1962. The whole House expressed its agreement on this. (*interruptions*).

Shri Kishan Pattanayak: On a point of order, Sir. The Parliament has never agreed to this proposal.

Mr. Speaker: What is the point of order in this?

Shri Priya Gupta: He is making a wrong statement.

Mr. Speaker: He can correct it when he speaks. He will have that opportunity. There is no point of order.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The Chinese proposals first came on the 24th October, which we rejected. In rejecting them we had stated then that we can only consider any relevant proposal when the position which existed on 7th September, 1962 was restored. That has come up before the House repeatedly. (*interruptions*).

Shri Priya Gupta: It is imposed upon us.

Mr. Speaker: It cannot be imposed if he has the freedom to say something and he goes on saying in spite of... (*interruptions*). Order, order.

Shri Priya Gupta: I am sorry, sir.

Mr. Speaker: What the Members object to is that there was no mention about the line or the situation on the (*Page No. 5986*) 8th of September in the resolution which Parliament adopted.

An Hon. Member: No, not at all.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It was not mentioned because the question had not arisen. The resolution of November stands and must stand; there is no question of one's going behind it.

Shri Priya Gupta: Then do not get irritated.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. If he cannot contain himself, then I will have to help him.

Shri Priya Gupta: Thank you, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: Should I? Does he* want that I should assist him in that?

Shri Priya Gupta: No. He gets irritated, that is what I submitted to you.

Mr. Speaker: I will only ask the Leader of the Party...

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): I am sorry, Sir, for what has happened.

Mr. Speaker: That expression of being sorry has been expressed so many times by the Hon. Member.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I hope he will bear in mind,

*It is printed in the Lok Sabha proceedings as "Does the want that I should assist him in that?"

certainly, all that has happened to-day and in future he will act as any disciplined Member of our party in the House will do.

Mr. Speaker: Thank you. I expect this from the leaders at least.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I was recounting, Sir, the course of events in the last few weeks, and I venture to say—it may be that an Hon. Member may not agree with what I say, but I think it is a correct recount—that we passed a resolution in November and by that the House was undoubtedly bound till the House said something else. I do not think any occasion has arisen for us to consider even that that resolution should be changed in (*Page No. 5987*) any respect. That resolution dealt with how this problem should be settled finally, and our position is exactly the same.

Then, as I said, firstly, on the 24th October the Chinese made a proposal called the “three-point proposal” To that proposal we did not agree and we said then that we cannot consider this even as a temporary matter, that is, even for purposes of discussing it, not for the purpose of putting aside the November resolution but for the purpose of discussing it till the position of the 8th September is restored. That was the position. That came up repeatedly before this House, and it is perfectly true, if the Hon. Member wants to lay stress on it, that that point was not formally adopted by resolution by this House. But there are many things which happen in this House, which are stated in this House and stated repeatedly with regard to Government policy and which are then admitted as the Government’s policy. My point is that the November resolution was not in any sense affected by subsequent happenings; it remains still and it will remain. The position taken in this House repeatedly, and also on the last occasion when this was discussed, was that we cannot consider this matter and discuss it with the Chinese Government until the position on the 8th September is restored. That has been the position. Therefore, subsequent happenings have to be considered by us on that basis.

Now, Sir, when we met last time on the 10th December and discussed this, the Colombo Conference was at the point of meeting or was meeting that very day. It was to have met on 1st December, but then it was postponed and it met on the 10th December—10th, 11th, 12th or thereabouts—and this House happened to meet and discuss this question. Then we did not know what the Colombo proposals were going to be. But we know that they were meeting and a (*Page No. 5988*) reference was made to it in the course of the debate. A reference was also made by us, on behalf of the Government, to the effect that we can only consider this matter after the position on 8th September is restored.

Well, the Colombo Conference met and put forward some proposals. They went to Peking—some of their representatives and then later came to Delhi. Their proposals as originally framed were not clear in regard to one or two matters and were liable to one or two different interpretations. So the first thing we did when they came to us was to ask them to clarify their proposals and to make us understand exactly what they were so that they might avoid any misinterpretation or different interpretations, and it was only when they had done that would we be in a position to express our opinion in regard to them.

In considering that matter the issue before us then was how far these were in conformity with what we had said repeatedly, that the position prior to 8th September be restored. Also it must be remembered that it was stated all along that any response that we may give or the Government of the People's Republic of China may give to it or any steps we may take in regard to their proposals would not prejudice in the slightest position of either of the two Governments as regards their conception of the final alignment of the frontier.

The whole purpose of this exercise was to create a situation when something could be considered by the two parties. Before creating that situation, I repeat, we had said that something should be done, that is, the Chinese should

vacate the aggression they had indulged in after 7th September. There is no question, therefore, of our going behind or varying in the slightest the resolution passed by this House in November.

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The merits of the dispute were not considered by the Colombo countries or any other. It was only to pave the way for discussion between the representatives of both the parties and, as I said, we can only discuss them if certain conditions were created and certain aggression committed by the Chinese was vacated.

Now, these proposals as explained and amplified by them in answer to our questions related to these three sectors: the western, middle and eastern sectors of our border. In regard to the eastern sector the position prior to the 8th September was that the Chinese forces were to the north of the international boundary and the Indian forces were to the south of this boundary—that is, what is normally called the McMahon Line for facility; it is not named McMahon line officially nor did Mr. McMahon or whatever his title was, lay down that. He recognised it as the existing boundary. Therefore, I refer to it as McMahon Line for facility. The boundary is said to be the high ridge of the Himalayas there and it continues into Burma. In fact, the Chinese Government has recognised this boundary of the high ridge in Burma. So, before the 8th September no Chinese forces or elements had come across that boundary there except—there is one exception in Longju, as the House well knows, Longju being a village just on the frontier. In regard to this the position that was taken some time ago was that for the present nobody, neither party, should occupy it. The Chinese had forcibly occupied it previously and later it was suggested that neither party should occupy it. The Colombo Conference proposals, as clarified by the visiting delegations, confirm this position except as regards the Thag La Ridge area, which the Chinese call Chadong area, where we have border post known as the Dhola post. The Colombo proposals and the

clarifications refer to these areas Thag La Ridge and Longju, as "remaining areas, arrangements in regard to which are to be settled between the Governments of India and (Page No. 5990) the People's Republic of China by direct discussion." That is to say, in regard to the Eastern sector, the 8th September position was, according to the Colombo Conference proposals, entirely restored, except in regard to Thag La Ridge area and the Dhola post. These are within three miles of the McMahon line. About this the Colombo proposals stated that this matter may be left undecided. They left it to the parties to decide by direct discussion. That is the position, so far as the eastern sector is concerned.

With regard to the middle sector, the Colombo Conference proposals required the status quo to be maintained and neither side should do anything to disturb the status quo. This conforms to the Government of India's position that the status quo prior to the 8th September, 1962 should be restored as there has been no conflict in this area and the existing situation has not been disturbed.

Coming to the western sector, i.e. Ladakh sector, the restoration of the status quo as it obtained prior to 8th September would result in re-establishment of all the Indian posts shown in blue in the maps circulated to Members. We have circulated a large number of maps to Hon. Members as well as the Colombo Conference. Therefore, I am not reading them out because they have already obtained enough publicity. If we went back to the 8th September position in the western sector, this would have resulted in the re-establishment of all the Indian posts shown in blue in the maps circulated to Members. This will also mean that the Chinese will maintain the old Chinese posts at the locations shown in red in the same map. The Colombo Conference proposes that a 20 kilometre area will be cleared by the withdrawal of Chinese forces, and this area is to be administered by civilian posts of both sides, Indian and Chinese. The House will observe that this area which is to be administered by civilian posts (Page No. 5991) on both sides covers the

entire area in which Indian posts existed prior to the 8th September except for two or three posts to the west of Sumdo. On the other hand, the 20-kilometre withdrawal by the Chinese forces entails the Chinese forces going several kilometres beyond the international boundary in the region of Spanggur and further south. The Colombo conference proposals and the clarifications thus satisfy the demand made for the restoration of the status quo prior to the 8th September. The slight variation is about two or three Indian posts west of Sumdo. This is, however, compensated by Chinese withdrawals in the region of Spanggur and further south; also, by the fact that many Chinese military posts have to be removed from the withdrawal area. If Hon. Members consider this matter with the help of maps, they will observe that this position as indicated by the Colombo Conference proposals, has certain advantages over the one which we had previously indicated, that is, the restoration of the 8th September position. In the 8th September position the Chinese were there in strength, in very large strength, in that area and we had also some posts. In that particular area it was obviously much to the advantage of the Chinese, because of their large strength etc. Now, if this Colombo Conference Proposal is accepted in regard to the western sector, it removes the Chinese strength from that sector and makes that sector a demilitarised area, with our posts as well as Chinese posts, by agreements being civil posts, in equal number with equal number of people and similarity of arms. It would be civil arm, police arm or small arm. This, I think, is definitely better than the restoration of Chinese posts in that area in a big way with large arms.

On full consideration of these matters as contained in the Colombo Conference resolutions and their clarifications we came to the conclusion that these proposals fulfilled the essence (*Page No. 5992*) of the demand made for a restoration of the status quo prior to the 8th September. I, thereupon, sent a letter to the Ceylon Prime Minister, stating that the Government of India accept in principle the Colombo

Conference proposals in the light of the clarification given and will take further action to place them before the Indian Parliament for consideration before the Government of India can finally accept them.

I had told the Ceylon Prime Minister and her colleagues that we would like to know the attitude of the Government of the People's Republic of China to the Colombo Conference proposals and clarifications as this would facilitate the consideration of the proposals and the clarifications by our own Parliament. I have just this morning received a message from the Ceylon Prime Minister, conveying the Chinese attitude to the Colombo Conference proposals. The telegram from Mrs. Bandaranaike reads as follows:

"In response to my telegram of January 14th I have received today a reply from Prime Minister Chou En-lai. Prime Minister Chou En-lai has reiterated his earlier acceptance in principle of proposals of Colombo Conference as a preliminary basis for the meeting of Indian and Chinese officials to discuss the stabilisation of cease-fire and disengagement and to promote Sino-Indian boundary negotiations.

"The Chinese Government, however, maintains two points of interpretation in their memorandum that I handed over to you but they hope that difference in interpretation between the Chinese and Indian sides will not prevent the speedy holding of talks between the Indian and Chinese officials. They hope these differences will be resolved in their talks."

Perhaps Hon. Members may have seen yesterday the report of what was (*Page No. 5993*) stated by the Chinese Foreign Minister, Marshal Chen Yi, more or less to this effect; that is to say, while they repeat that they have accepted the Colombo Conference proposals in principle, they raise some vital matters in which they differ from them. It is obvious that the Chinese Government do not accept the Colombo Conference proposals as "a definite basis providing conditions for the acceptance of both parties", nor do they accept the Colombo proposals and the clarifications given by the three Colombo Conference delegations who

visited Delhi. The Chinese Government maintain certain points of their own interpretation of the Colombo proposals. This obviously means that they have not accepted the Colombo proposals as a whole. We on our part are, however, clear that there can be no talk and discussions between officials as stated in the Colombo Conference proposals to settle the points left for decision by direct discussions between the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China by the Colombo Conference, unless the Government of the People's Republic of China accept in toto the Colombo Conference proposals and their clarifications.

I should like to call the attention of the House to this fact that Colombo Conference was, of course, held not at our instance. In fact, the Conference was organised and people were invited without any reference to us except when this fact was decided upon. Then the Ceylon Government was good enough to inform us that this was being done by the Prime Minister of Ceylon. Thereafter, in regard to these things, we have communicated with the Ceylon Government and not with the Chinese Government. Throughout this period we have not conferred with the Chinese Government in regard to the Colombo proposals. It is for the Chinese Government to communicate with Colombo and for Colombo to tell us, or for us to communicate to the Ceylon Government and for them to tell the Chinese. (Page 5994)* So, now it is fairly clear from what Marshal Chen Yi has said and from the message received by us through the Prime Minister of Ceylon, it appears that the Chinese Government have not accepted the Colombo proposals in regard to certain important matters. Therefore there has not been any acceptance in toto. The Government of India, therefore, cannot decide about doing anything unless the position is quite clear. But we have to decide and we have to say something definite in regard to the Colombo proposals. Whether they lead to any

*In the printed proceedings of the Lok Sabha Debates this page no given as 5964

further steps in the direction of talks with the Chinese Government depends upon the Chinese Government accepting them.

The Government of India have always maintained that they are in favour of settling differences by peaceful talks and discussions. In spite of the massive Chinese aggression they were prepared to undertake talks and discussions in regard to the difference between India and The People's Republic of China in one or several stages as may be necessary. I even mentioned in this House previously that we would be perfectly prepared to refer the matter to the International Court of Justice or to arbitration if it is agreed to. Anyhow, we were perfectly prepared to follow any peaceful method for the solution of this matter provided that the conditions for such discussions arise and the basis for these talks is created.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We have always been willing and are willing (*Page No. 5995*) to take to peaceful methods for the solution of any dispute provided the conditions for such talks are created. We had pointed out repeatedly that the conditions would be created by their vacating the new aggression that they had indulged in since the 8th September. When we made that proposal first in October the Chinese Government did not respond to it. Subsequently they added to their own proposal the fact of their unilateral withdrawal and a cease-fire. Now the Colombo Conference powers have put forward their own proposals which essentially bring about the restoration of the status quo prior to the 8th September. We indicated our acceptance in principle of these proposals and their clarifications to the Ceylon Prime Minister without any attempt to vary them or make exceptions to them, because we felt that these proposals have either to be accepted as a whole or rejected. Any attempt to accept them in part will mean a rejection of them as a whole. We feel, therefore, that both the Governments concerned must express their willingness to accept these proposals and clarifications in toto before the next stage of settling the remaining issues left for decision

by the two Governments can be taken in direct talks and discussions. That is the position we have taken up and I submit to the House that that would be the correct position. I trust that the House agrees with this approach to the question, so that we may proceed on this basis.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

An Hon. Member: Shame !

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The Hon. Member is ashamed of something. He need not shout out his shame here... (*interruption*).

(*Page No. 5996*)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Therefore to put it succinctly, the position before us is that, *firstly*, we cannot have any kind of talks, even preliminary talks, unless we are satisfied that the condition we had laid down about the 8th September, 1962 position being restored, is met; *secondly*, even if it is met and even if talks take place, they have to be about various preliminary matters. Then they may lead to other matters. On no account, at the present moment or in these preliminary matters, do we consider the merits of the case. They are not changed.

When we asked for the restoration of the 8th September line, that had nothing to do with our accepting that line as a settlement; of course, not.

(*Page No. 5997*)

Shri Bade (Khargone): How can the Chair request the Hon. Member to leave the Party? That is objectionable.

An Hon. Member: It is a suggestion for action.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I regret, Sir, that this matter that we are discussing, which as the whole House realises is one of high importance not only in the present but for the future also, should be reduced occasionally to a very much lower level by these interruptions.

I submit that the present question although this is a complicated matter and we have to consider it in all its (*Page No. 5998*) aspects and it may have far-reaching results, first of all, is that in keeping fully with the Resolution that we

passed in November—that is a Resolution passed in all seriousness and in all determination; and we are determined to carry it out however long it may take and however it may end—and realising that, anything that happens in between will be governed by that Resolution. Certainly, we have often said, and I hope that we shall continue saying it and acting accordingly, that our basic policy is of adopting and pursuing peaceful methods, and at the same time to maintain our determination to preserve our freedom and integrity. These are basic policies. I do not think that there is any conflict between them; there should be none. But some people...

13 hrs.

Shri Priya Gupta: After changing the definition of freedom and integrity.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jammu and Kashmir): We seek your guidance, Sir. It is very difficult for us to follow what is happening here, if every time there are interruptions like this.

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav: Interruptions are also part of the proceedings.

Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara): May I submit that the foreign affairs debates have been conducted by us with great dignity in the past? It is not quite fair to interrupt the Hon. Prime Minister in this fashion.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Interruptions are relevant. I do not think that all interruptions are taboo.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Therefore, the present question before us is to be viewed in this context. First of all. (Page No. 5999) our firm determination to carry out what we have said in our November resolution, our firm determination; at the same time, we cannot, I feel, reject any peaceful method; in fact, we should definitely pursue peaceful methods where they do not come in the way of our firm determination, in the way of our integrity and freedom, in the way of anything that is honourable to India.

Shri Priya Gupta: Determined to violate.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Some Hon. Members perhaps do not agree with our general outlook, to preserve and to carry on with peaceful methods. It is open to them to disagree. But I think that that has been our policy for a long time and I do not think that that policy should be interfered with. Otherwise our policy is a useless one, and that policy becomes one of...

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav: It has been useless, and it has been proved.

Mr. Speaker: Every word that is being uttered should be listened to and appreciated, so that all the implications may be studied by the Hon. Members when they have to make speeches; instead of that, if they make interruptions, they miss certain words and then perhaps shout or interrupt, without fully realising what the implications would be. I would rather request them to listen patiently, to see what it means and then to reply in the debate. That would be much better.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Thank You.

What I was venturing to say was this. I was not saying anything against any Member or any party. I was venturing to say that there are two basic policies, or rather two aspects of the same policy that we pursue and we have always pursued. One is to pursue peaceful methods for the solution of anything; and we think that such peaceful methods should be applied everywhere; we have said so repeatedly, and when we tell others to do so, we cannot obviously reject (*Page No. 6000*) them because then we are hypocrites. But the second part that we must preserve, and we must be determined to preserve, our freedom and integrity, is an equally important part. In fact, I was saying in regard to the first part, that is, peaceful methods, that if it is demonstrated that they do not preserve our freedom and integrity, then they have failed in their purpose. We have to take them, because in any event, the objective is to preserve our freedom and integrity. But if there are any aggressors, as there are today, we push them out of India, to preserve this freedom and integrity. Therefore, we have taken such steps, and

we are taking steps to strengthen our Army or our Defence Forces, our economic position and all that for that purpose, and we shall continue to strengthen them, because, apart from the fact that if some such preliminary talks take place, they are very preliminary and nobody can say whether they will lead to anything or not. I regret to say that we find it very difficult to believe in the *bona fides* of the Chinese Government. Nevertheless, whether one believes in it or not, one has to deal with people, because if you believed in it, then all would be well, therefore, we have to pursue certain methods.

And I do submit that keeping all this, that is, keeping this close that we are going to continue strengthening ourselves to the best of our ability and proclaiming what we said in our November Resolution that we shall never submit to coercion and military pressure. Yet, we cannot rule out peaceful methods of approach, and that is right not in the moral sense only but even in a diplomatic sense, in a political sense, because the world is rather tired of the attitude that sometimes nations take up of solving difficulties by military means, by military coercion.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): We are not sure that the Chinese are tired of these methods.

(Page No. 6001)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is the reason why the Chinese aggression has created a great deal of opposition in the world. There is no doubt about it. A large part of the world, even many persons who normally would approve of what they do, many countries, I mean, have objected to it they have criticized it in a lower measure or a higher key; that is a different matter. Anyhow we who have stood for such methods, peaceful methods, cannot possibly say that peaceful methods are bad; we can say and we shall be justified in saying that we tried peaceful methods, but they did not achieve the results hoped for, and, therefore, we have to adopt other methods. We are not rejecting other methods; we are preparing for other methods, but we cannot reject

them, and, therefore, we have to consider any approach at the present moment, not by the Chinese Government but by other countries, other countries which are friends of ours, and we have to give it every consideration, and it would be bad both from the point of view of our policy and from the point of view of any diplomatic approach to this problem for us to treat the approach of these friendly countries without due consideration.

And I do submit that we are not, I would repeat, we are not at the present moment dealing with what position China takes up or not, as I have stated; the present position of the Chinese Government is, as far as I can see, one of rejection of the proposals of the Colombo Conference as a whole. We are, therefore, dealing with the Colombo proposals and ourselves, what our reaction is, not the Chinese, and I do submit that these Colombo proposals fulfil the test we have laid down of restoring the position as it was on the 7th September. They do not fully do that, I admit, as I have said; in two or three matters, they do not, but while they do not do so there, in other matters, they go a little beyond it in our favour, and on the whole, I think that it is a matter, (*Page No. 6002*) an adequate matter, for favourable consideration.

I would submit that we cannot take any step unilaterally in this matter, because it is for the Chinese Government to do so also, but so far as we are concerned, I have to reply to the Ceylon Prime Minister, and I wish to tell her and the Colombo Conference people that we agree to their proposals with the clarifications that they have given us because that is important, because it is those clarifications to which the Chinese Government has objected or some factors that flow out of these clarifications. I want to say that, and I trust that I shall have the approval of the House to say that to her (*Page no. 6006*).

Shri.A.K.Gopalan (Kasergod): We have before us the Colombo Conference proposals with clarifications, the motion moved by the Prime Minister and also the speech that

the (*Page No. 6007*) Prime Minister has just now made. We have to consider first who made the proposals and come to conclusions which are in broader interests of the nation and the future of our people. We should not be swept off by the current of resentment nor should we be victims of momentary emotions.

When a proposal like this is made, we have to consider first who made the proposal, what the proposals are, and when and how the proposals were made. When we look at the problem in this manner, we find that the Colombo Conference proposals with the clarifications constitute a reasonable basis for starting negotiations, consistent with our honour and our vital interests.

The Colombo Conference countries—Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia, Ghana and the U.A.R.—are important non-aligned countries. They follow more or less a policy of non-alignment and promotion of peace. In all vital respects, the philosophy of peace and non-alignment had its origin and development in this country under the leadership of Prime Minister Nehru. Our Parliament has played a role in shaping and strengthening that policy and its implementation in various fields of international activities on different occasions. We have given our whole-hearted support to our Prime Minister in carrying forward this policy of peace and non-alignment. The six participants of the Colombo Conference are, so to say, countries which share by and large our own views and follow by and large our own methods and also share our own opinions. Thus, they are our friends, and proposals made by such people, we can be sure, will not go against our vital interests. They have no axe to grind, they have nothing to gain by bringing us down. The fact that we must bear in mind is that their stature also will increase to the extent our stature increases in the world. It is, therefore, necessary that we take their proposals seriously and (*Page No. 6008*) in a spirit of goodwill and understanding.

Secondly, the proposals have been made in response to an urge which we ourselves have on different occasions felt,

faced with serious international crises. The Chinese aggression on our soil had created a very serious situation and even danger to world peace. No matter how some try to minimise it, it was clear that if the war on our borders had prolonged, we would have been embroiled in a world conflict. Sides would have been taken by the mighty Powers and our land would have been perhaps turned into a prey of thermo-nuclear holocaust. Both peace in Asia and peace in the world would have been at stake. It is in these circumstances that the six non-aligned Colombo Powers, realising the seriousness of the impending catastrophe, took upon themselves the responsibility of bringing the raging war to an end and getting the two countries to sit at the negotiating table. We should be thankful to them for this and appreciate their sincerity and goodwill.

After five days of continuous discussion, they have produced a formula. They have weighed the claims of both sides. True, we could not get all that we wanted. We are sorry for that. But should we not think of the consequences of rejecting off-hand their proposals? After all, in today's world no country can exist on its own, alone, isolated from other countries. Considering the background of decades of colonial domination, recent attainment of independence and the immense problems of developing their economy and culture, these countries are our natural allies. Thus, from the point of view of the credentials of the sponsors as well as from the point of view of their time of sponsoring, the proposals are definitely to be taken up seriously, and the spirit in which they are made should be appreciated sincerely.

Now, let us take the gist of the proposals themselves. The Prime Minister (*Page No. 6009*) has explained to us the proposals and the clarifications. We know precisely what they amount to. I am sure that this House will appreciate that they substantially conform to our original stand of withdrawal to the pre-September 8 position. True, they may not be completely in accordance with our demand, but what we

have to consider is this, that in a situation in which the two great countries of Asia are locked in combat, it is rather immature on our part to say that we will not speak to the other party unless we get what we want. In the modern world, the essence of international relations is the spirit of compromise. Recent events in other parts of the world have demonstrated this. In Laos and Cuba, for example we have found that no international conflict today can be settled on the basis of complete victory for one party or the other. If world peace is to be safeguarded and if the fate of humanity is to be saved from a terrible thermo-nuclear catastrophe, the nations with conflicting claims have to adjust to each other and must learn to coexist in a spirit of compromise and give and take.

Our Prime Minister himself, during the last debate in Parliament, has emphasized that it will be foolish to think that the border dispute between India and China can be settled by war. He said that in a war, neither China nor India could be victorious, and the possibility is that both countries will be ruined. So, we have to look at these proposals and approach them in an objective, dispassionate and sober manner.

There are some people who say: let us wait till we are strong and are in a position to throw them out. I should think that this argument has no substance. If we can wait till we are strong, so the other country can also wait. While we make ourselves strong, it will be futile to think the other side would be keeping quiet. Time will work for both sides. It is not particularly favourable to us alone. Actually, the same theory was put forward in other places, and (Page No. 6010) experience has shown that the advance of time does not mean any superiority to either side. What has happened is that it has become more difficult for either side to negotiate and settle the issue. So, this doctrine of waiting for military superiority is an empty doctrine. It will only end in perpetuating the cold war atmosphere within the country and tension on the borders.

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has two days ago spoken about the consequences of the policy of military superiority with China. I am quoting the report:

“Rapid technical progress would have to be made if India were to develop its defence ability. He estimated that India would have to spend Rs. 2,000 crores a year on defence to protect itself against Chinese attacks. A defence expenditure of that size would be possible only if the people reduced food consumption to one-fourth and gave up all essential things.”

To those who argue that we can get military aid for strengthening our defence, Shri Narayan replied:

“Even if the USA gave without strings, India would have to bow to it and submit to its pressure”.

This is the consequence of large-scale military aid from imperialist countries. This has been said not by a communist, but by a confirmed anti-communist. So, those who argue in favour of building up our military strength against China with U.S. help should think of the consequences. Are we to fight for our security on the borders and barter away our freedom in the process?

In fact, even the small amount of military aid which we have received from Britain and the USA has brought us sufficient pressure on the issue of Kashmir. Taking advantage of our adversities on the border, the U.S. and British imperialists have been trying to stampede us into a (*Page No. 6011*) surrender of Kashmir. Therefore, those who talk of building our strength on the basis of military aid should think of the serious consequences to our country, its liberty and its future. If our people have to cut down one-fourth of their meagre offtake of foodgrains in order to build up our *military strength*, you can imagine the consequences of such

a drastic situation

At the same time, we must not relax our efforts to strengthen the defence potential of the country, to make it capable of facing any new aggression from any quarter. We must construct our own self-reliant defence potential. We must build

up a powerful defence industry and modernise our armed forces in every way. We must depend upon our own strength.

These proposals have come at a time when the Chinese have effected a unilateral cease-fire and have respected it. The proposals are meant to stabilise the cease-fire in order to create conditions necessary for starting negotiations, but they do not affect our claims. This has been made clear to us. All right-thinking people in the country demand negotiations. That is why Acharya Vinoba Bhave Says:

"We must not say that we are not willing to talk with China".

If our opponents give us the smallest opening for talks we should seize the opportunity and meet them half-way. That is what he says. He goes on to say:

"It is those who have no self-confidence who lay down conditions and insist on the letter rather than the spirit. These matters cannot be resolved on the basis of conditions. We must be bold enough to enter upon negotiations as soon as there is the slightest opportunity. That is the demand of our times".

(Page No. 6012)

To those who say that entering into negotiations is a sign of weakness I would commend what Acharya Bhave has to say on this question:

"Now it takes as much courage to leap into the area of peace as to leap into the battlefield of war. The timid and the cowardly can have no place either on the field of battle or in the councils of peace—they are doomed to defeat alike in both. It is the brave who go forward boldly to play their part in peace negotiations."

I agree with Acharya Vinoba Bhave when he says that not seizing the opportunity for negotiations when it arises is not a sign of strength but of weakness.

It is not only necessary to satisfy ourselves that we are just and correct but it is also necessary to show to the world that we are just and correct and to put our opponent wrong in the eyes of the world. This is the essence of state-craft.

Let us hope that the Government of China will accept these proposals with the clarifications and come to the negotiating table. If they do not do so, the world will blame them and they will have to bear the consequences. I would, therefore, strongly urge this House to see that the proposals of the non-aligned nations with the clarifications are taken as the basis for negotiations with the People's Republic of China and leave the hands of the Government free to discuss and settle the disputes.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): Mr. Speaker, it is my duty to dissociate myself from the suggestion made by my hon. friend, the leader of the Communist Party and also the stand taken by the Prime Minister in regard to the Colombo proposals. I do not consider these proposals to be honorable, just or fair to us. My Hon. Friend the leader of the Communist Party has gone into the credentials of these non-aligned countries and their governments which (*Page No. 6013*) have thought it fit to intervene and help us to achieve a correct solution and smoothen the relationship between India and China. They have failed to live up to the expectation of being fair in this conflict, as between the countries that are involved in this conflict. Nowhere have they been willing to say that India has been just in her approach. Nowhere have they showed the moral courage to declare China to be an aggressor. My Hon. Friend wants us to believe that everyone is completely non-aligned. If that is so, why was it that the dictator or the President of Ghana took exception to England's offer of support to our efforts in self-defence?

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: They are non-aligned between India and China.

Shri Ranga: Why is it that he had to be brought round after a lot of coaxing from various countries, including the U.A.R., as was suggested by my Hon. Friend the Prime Minister? Are these countries completely non-aligned? With whom are they non-aligned? The whole world knows how *so many of them* have come to be impressed with the established might, the demonstrated might of China. My Hon.

Friend is not even prepared to say in this House, even today, that Communist China committed aggression on our country and is an aggressor. He is anxious that the House should consider them both as non-aligned countries.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: So many resolutions have been passed. Why should he say that we have not said it?

Shri Ranga: Is he saying it now?

Shri A. K. Gopalan: Not only now.

Shri Ranga: If he has said so, then it is very strange for him to say that here are these two countries which are fighting and they have got to be treated fairly, justly and equally, on (Page No. 6014) a par and all the rest of it. The whole purport of his speech is very clear. Here are these two countries which have been at war with each other. Is it not clear which one is on the right side and which one is on the wrong side? He says: we are not concerned with that at all; we only want peace and therefore let them come to terms.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: I am sorry he has not followed my speech.

January 24, 1963

(Page No. 6344)

Shri. P. C. Borooh (Sibsagar): Sir, at the outset, I offer my tribute to the six Colombo Powers who have met and made an earnest attempt to bring India and China together and settle their dispute, round a conference table. Having said that, I would like to give a little bit of background to make out the point I want to impress in this debate.

The Prime Minister issued orders to the Army on the eve of his departure for Colombo. The people were emboldened and thought that the aggressors will be pushed back beyond the borders. Then came the massive attack of the Chinese on 20th of October. People took up the challenge and rose as one man to save the (Page No. 6345) honour and prestige of the motherland. Then there was a little bit of set-back when it was learnt over the BBC that we had to go begging to the world for even small arms on the sixth day of the attack. *This set-back was, however, overcome when Parliament*

passed the solemn resolution to the effect that we would not rest content until the aggression was vacated. Since then, the situation began to deteriorate and it came to a climax by the middle of November when one after another of our posts began to fall to the Chinese, thousands of lives were lost, thousands were injured, maimed and crippled for life and thousands were taken captive by the Chinese against none by our side.

We, coming from Assam, spent sleepless nights, thinking violently as to what should be done and what advice we should give to our people. On the 19th November the Prime minister broadcast a speech. The situation was so tense that the Prime Minister's speech was misunderstood and was taken to be a farewell speech to the people of Assam. It was in such circumstances that the Prime Minister called a meeting of the Congress Members on the 20th November. In that meeting I put forward two suggestions. The first suggestion I made was that we should make some of our friendly countries influence the Chinese to accept a cease-fire proposal and negotiate for a settlement. I did so because that would give us some respite during which we could get ourselves prepared to fight the Chinese, if necessary. This was in perfect accord with the basic principles of Panch Sheel which we are wedded to. Failing that, my second proposal, was that we should take full scale help in all forms, including men, material and money from the country or countries which want to come to our rescue and fight the Chinese. Of course, that will mean ultimately a global war and that global war will mean letting the last battle of the world to be fought on this land of Buddha and Gandhi.

(Page No. 6346)

Although I was shouted down in that meeting, I was gladdened to find next morning cease-fire proposals coming from the Chinese themselves. This, in a way, was the realisation of my first proposal.

I might be misunderstood as one going back on our pledge that we took on 14th November. But I would like to recall

those days when the Chinese troops were advancing towards Assam, practically without encountering any resistance, in two prongs, that is, Bomdi La from the north and Walong from the east, and it was considered to be a matter of days only for the Chinese to over-run the whole State of Assam. The suggestion was made in full realisation of the situation and to my judgment, had the cease-fire not come about, we the members of Assam, NEFA and Nagaland, including Manipur and Tripura, would not have been here today.

I hold the same view even today, and being a sponsor of the idea of a cease-fire, I heartily welcome the Colombo proposals, which have provided us the opportunity to discuss and decide, failing which we have to exploit the last avenue available, namely to come out with full force to fight out the aggressor, the Chinese. It is heartening to note that both India and China have accepted the Colombo proposals, in principle, though in details they are still far off. But the good atmosphere created by these proposals should not be allowed to deteriorate.

HAVING said so, I want to stress that there should be no complacency allowed to creep in and slacken our defence preparations, for strength is the only thing that will save our independence and help us uphold the prestige and honour of the motherland.

It is paining to note when we find Government agencies going slow in their defence efforts. It is gathered that some 3000 and odd Northern Railway experienced employees belonging (*Page No. 6347*) to the territorial army were withdrawn from their work to be posted in the Railway in Assam. It is about three months that these personnel have not been sent to their assigned jobs so far and are sitting idle for reasons not known.

So far as recruitment to the army is concerned, I feel it is not going on at the pace the situation demands. There should be more recruitment centres opened throughout the country so that the aspirants can get themselves recruited easily. It would be in the fitness of things if more centres are opened and spread evenly over the country.

So far as production of defence material is concerned, all the engineering industries in the country which can be gainfully engaged in production of defence articles should be commissioned for that purpose.

It is shocking to find that defective roads are built in the border regions. A lot has been said about Tusker organisation. I need not elaborate it. I feel that such lapses should be strictly dealt with and the persons responsible held for treason.

Then, there is no co-ordination between the administration of NEFA and the administration of Assam. They are going in different ways. The NEFA administration was separated from Assam with the object that the area should be speedily developed and gradually integrated with the State of Assam. Now a Chinese Wall has been built and the two administrations are kept separately. I wonder when that wall will be demolished, because NEFA has to be strengthened as it is vulnerable to Chinese attacks.

Last but not the least, I will refer to the floods in Assam. Flood is an annual feature, so far as Assam is concerned. No defence preparation on a permanent basis will be possible to be set up if the flood is not controlled in this border state. So, I (*Page No. 6348*) would request the Hon. Prime Minister to give this matter top priority so that we can go on with our defence preparations alright. I feel that the flood control measures should be tackled right from the Centre because it is a gigantic task much beyond the capacity of the State Government.

With these few words, I commend the proposals of the Colombo Powers for the acceptance of the House.

On Western Proposal of Military Assistance to India

**Resolution adopted by the National Council
of the C.P.I., New Delhi, 5-12 February, 1963**

The National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its serious concern at the reported terms and conditions alleged to have been recently stipulated by the Government of USA and UK with regard to their arms supplies to meet India's requirements.

According to these reports, which have been widely publicised in leading Indian dailies and have not yet been contradicted by the Government of India, the Western proposals include the following :

(1) That the operational control of certain types of military equipment and specialised weapons given to India should remain, not in Indian but in foreign hands;

(2) That an 'air umbrella' should be provided over India by foreign air force, employing foreign pilots and technicians, but based on Indian airfields and installations; and

(3) That India should permit such foreign air forces or aircraft carriers to be based on the Andaman and Nicobar islands.

The National Council is strongly of the opinion that such proposals, if correctly reported, are inconsistent with India's declared policy, as repeatedly explained by the Prime Minister, of developing our own independent defence potential in consonance with the country's sovereignty instead of becoming dependent on foreign agencies. Further, the reported Western proposals contain within themselves the danger of foreign military bases being established on Indian soil and

of India getting involved, willy-nilly, in certain types of military agreements inconsistent with the policy of non-alignment and our national interests.

The National Council considers such proposals to be dangerous and, therefore, objectionable. Development and strengthening of our country's defences should not deviate from the principles of purchasing arms without strings, operational control in Indian hands, no foreign bases or foreign military forces on Indian soil, independent development of India's basic defence potential, and non-involvement in military pacts.

The National Council urges upon the Government of India to allay the fears and suspicions aroused on this score in the public mind by the spate of inspired reports regarding Western proposals brought by the U.S.-UK-Canada Defence Mission to New Delhi. The National Council resolves to send a deputation to the Prime Minister to seek further clarification in this regard and to explain the Party's point of view thereon.

On Violation of Inter-Party Norms by Communist Party of China

**Resolution adopted by the National Council
of the C.P.I., New Delhi, 5–12 February, 1963**

The National Council of the Communist Party of India puts on record its grave concern at the unwarranted violation of inter-Party norms by the leadership of the Communist Party of China vis-a-vis the Communist Party of India.

In recent months, the public attack launched on the Communist Party of India by the Chinese press and radio have crossed the bounds of honest expression of differences between two Communist Parties. The Chinese Party press, the Hsinhua News Agency and the Peking Radio have been carrying on a slander campaign against our Party, its leadership and particularly against the Chairman of our Party, Comrade S.A. Dange, by name.

They are denouncing the leadership of our Party as a 'revisionist clique' and as 'self-styled Marxist-Leninist'.

They are encouraging a split in the Communist Party of India by constantly referring to one section of the Party as 'internationalist' and 'militant', and another section as 'nationalist' and 'agents of the bourgeoisie'

They are accusing the leadership of our party of having got Party comrades arrested and of exploiting the emergency for factional ends.

The National Council indignantly repudiates these allegations which, apart from being slanderous, are directed at creating split and disruption in our Party.

The National Council earnestly appeals to the leadership of the Communist Party of China to put a stop to this wrong and factional method which violates the agreed mandate of the 1960 Moscow Statement on relations between fraternal Parties.

On the Political Situation

Resolution adopted by the National Council of the C.P.I., New Delhi, 5–12 February 1963

Over three months ago, when the National Council met and our country was gravely concerned over the question of the border conflict, the aggressive actions of the U.S. imperialists against Cuba led to a crisis which brought mankind to the brink of a thermo-nuclear disaster. The world was faced with the gravest crisis of the recent period. The Caribbean crisis became the most crucial issue and its peaceful solution became imperative for averting the impending world catastrophe.

After the failure of their Bay of Pigs invasion to overthrow the Socialist government of Cuba led by Dr. Fidel Castro, the American imperialists, despite Soviet warning that it would help Cuba at all costs and with all means, prepared for another invasion, this time a full-scale one, with regular American armed forces.

Anticipating this, the Soviet Union had fully equipped the Cuban army with modern weapons and trained it. And in order to build effective defence, a Soviet missile force was also stationed in Cuba.

The imperialists made the presence of Soviet missiles and the supply of Soviet arms to Cuba the pretext for the new invasion. If the invasion had really begun and the atomic weapons on either side had gone into action, a thermo-nuclear world war would have become inevitable, bringing death and destruction of millions of lives throughout the world. To avoid a thermo-nuclear world war and at the same time,

to bridle the adventures of the warmongers was the key question before the world. On 27 October, Fidel Castro informed the Soviet Union that the crisis had reached its peak and the invasion and war may begin any moment.

At this crucial moment, sense dawned on the U.S. imperialists. If the missiles were withdrawn, they would not invade Cuba. The Soviet Union replied that if the U.S. imperialists gave the promise that they would not invade Cuba themselves or through any Latin American country, the Soviet Union had no need to keep the missiles there and would withdraw them. President Kennedy gave the promise, the missiles were withdrawn and the invasion of Cuba and world war were averted. The whole world felt relieved and thanked the Soviet Union for it.

The Government of Soviet Union, and Premier N.S. Khrushchov in particular, displayed remarkable initiative and wisdom in meeting the American challenge and solving the Caribbean crisis in the interest of peace and freedom. The world war which seemed imminent was averted and the policy of peaceful coexistence once again triumphed mainly because of the wise Soviet initiative.

The defeat of the U.S. imperialists over Cuba has immensely strengthened peace and freedom-loving forces in every country. The imperialist camp was in disarray and the contradictions of imperialism further accentuated.

At the same time, the Caribbean crisis also emphasised the need for vigilance against imperialism and for developing the struggle of the masses on the widest possible scale for defence of world peace.

When the Chinese forces launched their massive offensive, violated the Indian borders and thus committed aggression, the National Council of the Communist Party of India considered the grave situation and adopted its resolution of 1 November 1962. The Council affirmed its full support to Prime Minister Nehru's appeal for national unity in defence of the country. The Council notes with satisfaction the great positive role this resolution has played at a most critical period in the life of the nation and of the Party.

It was more or less at the same time as the Caribbean crisis that the military operations on our borders, which the U.S. and other imperialists were assiduously trying to exploit in order to enlarge the conflict and embroil India and China in a prolonged war, came to an end following the Chinese cease-fire and the *de facto* acceptance of it by the Government of India. This opened new prospects for a peaceful solution of the border question so that our country could devote all its energies for development of our economy and for promoting the well-being of our people.

After the cease-fire, the Central Executive Committee of the Party met twice to review the situation and it adopted its resolution and statement. These have enabled the Party, in the changed situation, to intervene in favour of a peaceful solution of the border question and against imperialism and the forces of Right reaction which openly intensified their attacks against India's basic policy of non-alignment and her peaceful approach to the India-China border problem. The Council congratulates all those Congressmen and other patriots who have courageously defended non-alignment, despite pressures and provocations, and thus upheld the honour and the independence of our country.

Since the National Council last met in November, the situation has radically changed, warranting a new orientation in popular patriotic efforts. The unilateral cease-fire by the Chinese forces and their withdrawals, the acceptance in fact, of this cease-fire by the Government of India and finally, the acceptance by the latter of the Colombo proposals of the six friendly non-aligned Powers for direct talks between the representatives of India and China have brought about a new, favourable turn in the whole situation and created favourable prospects for a peaceful settlement through negotiations. In this connection, the National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep admiration and gratitude in the name of all peace-loving humanity to the six friendly non-aligned nations and particularly to the Ceylonese Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, for

their great initiative and efforts so that this tragic conflict between India and China comes to an end. The Council also attaches particular significance to Prime Minister Nehru's statement that, should direct talks between India and China fail, the Government of India would be prepared to refer the border dispute to the Hague Court or some other form of adjudication. This should emphasise the desire of the Government of India for a peaceful solution.

The National Council extends its full support to the Colombo proposals and welcomes their acceptance in toto by the Government of India. The stand of the Government in this respect is wholly consistent with the dignity of the nation and with its fundamental interests and as such it deserves the whole-hearted active support of all patriotic Indians. When Prime Minister Nehru and his government are being viciously attacked by reactionaries for this wise and honourable stand, it becomes the duty of progressive forces and all right-minded men to rally in support of these policies.

It is hoped that the Chinese Government will take due note of India's position and find its way to an early acceptance of the Colombo proposals together with the clarifications. This step is urgently called for in order to further consolidate the cease-fire and promote negotiations between the two countries. Any further delay in accepting the proposals in full on the part of China only facilitates the manoeuvres of imperialism and the forces of Right reaction which are interested in keeping the conflict and tension alive and who are stubbornly opposed to negotiations.

At the present moment, the prospects of early negotiations naturally depend on the Chinese acceptance of the Colombo proposals. It passes one's comprehension that the Government of the People's Republic of China which had publicly signified its 'positive response' to and 'acceptance in principle' of the Colombo proposals should have now thought fit to put forward certain reservations which cannot but cause disappointment and anxiety as they delay peaceful

negotiations and speedy settlement of the dispute. The National Council urges upon the Government of the People's Republic of China to reciprocate India's acceptance of the Colombo proposals by a similar act on its part without any further delay.

The National Council is of the view that not only must negotiations begin immediately, but once they begin, every effort must be made to avoid protracted negotiations and arrive at a speedy settlement in keeping with the honour of our country and in consonance with the Bandung spirit. Protracted negotiations and cold war atmosphere are fraught with harmful consequences for both the countries. It has been amply demonstrated how imperialists and reaction within the country thrive on such atmosphere and seek to destroy India's basic policies and deal a blow to the democratic and progressive forces. The continuation of this tension and cold war climate cannot but seriously hinder the independent growth of our national economy and our democracy.

The Council regrets that sometimes even the top government leaders indulge in speeches of a bellicose nature. This goes to help the reactionaries to keep up the tension. It fervently appeals to all concerned to bring about an end to this ruinous cold war atmosphere. It is confident that the resumption of negotiations would immensely contribute to clearing up this climate.

During the crisis created by the Chinese aggression, India's policy of non-alignment was put to a severe strain. It has been viciously attacked by imperialism and Right reaction, which see in the abandonment of this policy, the fulfilment of their dreams. Non-alignment has brought honour and glory to our country; it has strengthened our independence and helped the independent development of our economy; it has helped the growth of our democracy and facilitated the struggles of the masses for their rights and interests. Non-alignment has been India's most powerful shield in defence of her national independence against imperialist pressures and machinations. It has won India the love and sympathy of all peace-loving peoples throughout the world.

This policy has stood the test of even the present crisis. It is precisely for these very reasons that the imperialists abroad and reaction at home have today singled out non-alignment as the main target of their attacks. In such a situation, the defence of the policy of non-alignment becomes naturally the most vital issue for the whole nation and its future. The struggle to uphold this policy and defeat all attacks against it is a part and parcel of the struggle for our national independence and national honour, for the interests of our working people and for democracy. The National Council of the Communist Party of India regards this as the key task in the present political situation and will play its due part in building the unity of all democratic forces for further strengthening the policy of non-alignment. The Council is confident that once the supporters of non-alignment are united, there is no power on earth which can swerve India from this policy and thus undermine its independence and future.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India draws the attention of our people to the grave threat posed today by Right reaction to India's independence and democracy and, indeed, to the entire gains of our democratic movement. During the past three months, these forces have grown in strength and become very active in the political life of the country. Forces of Right reaction which are also entrenched in the State apparatus and the administration have also grown stronger and improved their position to carry on subversive activity. Not only did they, inspired by U.S imperialism, bring about the removal of Defence Minister Krishna Menon but they even went to the length of demanding, both openly and covertly, the removal of Prime Minister Nehru from the Government and leadership of the nation. These forces are today violently opposing the Colombo proposals and advocating India's virtual surrender to the Western camp. They demand the 'liberation' of Tibet and work up war hysteria. Their tall talk about defence is only a camouflage for furthering such patently anti-national, anti-democratic

ends. Our people can ignore this danger of Right reaction only at the nation's gravest peril.

These Right reactionary forces today are, however, represented not merely by such parties as the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party and the powerful groups of Rightist elements within the Congress itself. In this period when the future of the country and of our democracy hung in the balance, the leaderships of the Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party betrayed the democratic movement and unashamedly went over to the side of Right reaction. Together with the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh, they formed a joint front to attack Prime Minister Nehru and his policy of non-alignment, as well as against the country's democratic movement. This political defection of the Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party leaderships has added strength to Right reaction and damaged our democratic movement. The inglorious role of the leaderships of the PSP and Socialist Party deserves condemnation by all those who stand for democracy and socialism.

The National Council of the C.P.I. earnestly appeals to all sections of our patriotic people, to all forces of democracy, especially those within the Congress, to exert the utmost vigilance against this challenge and unite in common struggles to meet it with all our might. Only such unity and united struggles can defeat the ambitions and plans of Right reaction.

The recent experience has revealed some serious deficiencies in our national defence. These deficiencies must naturally be overcome and our defence potential reinforced and improved. The Communist Party has always viewed the strengthening of our national defence as an integral part of strengthening our independence itself so that the security of our land becomes invincible. The Council disapproves all proposals that seek to leave India's defence at the mercy of other countries. It generally agrees with the approach of Prime Minister Nehru and his warnings against dependence on foreign countries for supplies of arms and equipments.

Modern defence industries must be built within our country and our armed forces equipped with requisite weapons manufactured in our own factories. It is from these considerations also that the Five-Year Plan must not only be carried out but further strengthened, especially in respect of the vital projects like heavy engineering, power, oil, transport, etc. Without a strong modern industrial base, no country can ever venture to have a self-reliant powerful modern defence.

In this connection, the National Council cannot but take the most serious note of the latest manoeuvres of U.S. and British imperialists to entangle India into their systems of military aids, etc. and exploit her difficulties to put pressures on her foreign and domestic policies. The reported proposals about the so-called 'air umbrella', for the use of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands by them for this purpose, and their demand for retaining in their own hands operational control of certain types of weapons and equipment supplied to India—all these cannot but cause grave concern. For, all these impinge on India's sovereignty and her national interests and the Government of India should outright reject all such proposals. The imperialists hope that once India gets involved with them through military aids, they will be able to undermine her foreign policy of non-alignment and her independence. Experience of all countries has shown that imperialist military aid is never disinterested or without evil designs.

Further, their designs are once again demonstrated over the crude U.S. and British pressures on the Government of India to hand over Kashmir. They even went to the length of demanding that Kashmir Valley be handed over to Pakistan. It is regrettable that the Government of India is displaying certain vacillations and weaknesses in the face of such pressures, instead of taking a firm line against these imperialists who are primarily responsible for the unhappy Indo-Pak relations. Time and again the U.S. and Britain returned to the Kashmir issue in the Security Council to malign India and provoke Pakistan against our country. It is

the Soviet veto and the stand taken by the Soviet Government in the Security Council which have foiled that imperialist game.

As far as the Kashmir issue is concerned, the National Council is of the view that the status of Jammu and Kashmir as a constituent State of the Indian Union is not negotiable. The U.S. and other imperialists are interested in turning Kashmir into their military base against India and other neighbouring countries and it is these sinister considerations that lie behind all their pretended solicitude for Indo-Pak accord. The Communist Party of India has always stood for Indo-Pak friendship and for the honourable settlement of all problems between the two countries through bilateral talks and peaceful methods.

Faced with Chinese aggression, the Government proclaimed national emergency, suspended certain fundamental rights under our Constitution and enacted the Defence of India Act. The Government assured and it was also thought by people, that these emergency and other extraordinary powers would be used solely for defence purposes. Experience of the past three months has belied this hope. For, there is enough evidence to show that these powers have been wantonly used for launching an all-out attack against the Communist Party as a whole, which constitutes the main Opposition in our parliamentary system, the trade unions, Kisan Sabhas and other democratic organisations.

About 800 Communists including about 50 members of the Party's National Council, 10 Members of Parliament and about 40 members of different State legislatures, trade unionists and other leaders of the democratic movement have been arrested and detained without trial under the Defence of India Rules. These extraordinary powers are further used to intimidate the workers and employees, victimise them and subject them to harsh rules and regulations. In some cases, they have been used to paralyse the work of the trade unions and kisan sabhas despite their vigorous support to defence efforts. In a number of States, emergency powers

and the Defence of India Rules have been invoked to cripple the Communist Party.

The National Council strongly protests against these arrests and use of the Defence of India Rules and other emergency powers against the democratic movement. The Council demands the immediate release of all Communists, trade unionists and others who have been detained without trial. It demands the end of the use of the emergency powers against democratic organisations of the people in order to intimidate and harass them. Although workers and other sections of the toiling people have voluntarily contributed in labour and cash to the Defence Fund, the emergency powers are used even against them to make compulsory collections. Small trade and industry have been made to suffer as a result of dislocations and abnormalities created in trade and commerce under the impact of emergency.

At the same time, the National Council recognises that powers under the emergency have been used for some positive purposes also, such as curbs on forward trading, speculation, etc.

When the Government failed to mobilise private gold hoards of the rich under the Gold Bond Scheme, it did not use the emergency powers to take over the well-known gold hoards of even ex-rulers such as the Nizam of Hyderabad. While the Communist Party does stand for drastic measures against gold smuggling and the use of such smuggled gold to conceal black-market profit by speculators and monopolists, it cannot, however, approve some of the measures under the Gold Control Order which cause harassment of the small artisans, jewellers and goldsmiths and come in the way of small savings by poor and middle-class families.

It is necessary for the Government, in view of all this, to reconsider the whole question of the emergency, instead of continuing it indefinitely so that the normal functions of the Constitution, as well as the rights under it, are not kept in abeyance indefinitely. In this connection, the Council cannot but take serious note of the fact that the emergency has, in

fact, invested the executive and the bureaucracy with extraordinary powers which are being abused, causing serious damage to our Constitution and our democratic life. Advantage has been taken in the name of emergency by big business to make further inroads into our economy and to secure new concessions. In the name of emergency, financial and other assistance to cultural activities have been reduced.

The National Council expresses its concern at the Government pronouncements which indicate the additional economic burdens are going to be placed on the common people. The Communist Party is conscious that the requisite resources must be found for defence and economic development. The budget proposals and the economic policies of the Government need to be so formulated that the resources lying with the rich can be adequately and effectively tapped. Measures such as review by the States of their costly prohibition schemes, suspension of privy purses to the wealthy ex-rulers, etc. should be adopted. The present situation emphasises the urgency of nationalising banks, which alone can enable the state to effectively mobilise and use the financial resources for planned development of the country. To meet the crisis in the development of our economy, as also for augmenting resources, it is necessary to nationalise such industries as mining, sugar and jute.

When imperialist pressures and machinations against India are growing and the forces of Right reaction, backed by imperialism, have become such a potent threat, the country's democratic movement naturally needs a political and practical orientation to meet this dangerous situation. Such orientation lies in uniting all progressive and democratic forces and, above all, the forces supporting the Communist Party with those that are with the Congress and take an anti-imperialist and democratic position. The defence of non-alignment has become a rallying ground for all such progressive and patriotic forces.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India
note: with satisfaction and confidence that more and more

Congressmen are coming forward to actively fight for the cause of non-alignment and against the forces of Right reaction. By all accounts, this is a very encouraging and positive development in our political life. Further, this also underlines the great possibilities, given the correct orientation and approach, of building up united struggles, the fulfilment of all national tasks at all levels and throughout the country. The Council fully recognises that no powerful movement in defence of non-alignment against Right reaction can be built in today's conditions without bridging the gulf that divides the democratically-minded Congressmen on the one hand and other democratic forces such as are represented by our Party on the other. In the supreme interests of the nation, it will be the constant endeavour of the Communist Party of India to overcome this division.

In co-operation with all democratic forces, including, in particular, the democratic-minded Congressmen and supporters of the Congress, the Communist Party will in the coming period strive to build nationwide united campaign:

To support the Colombo proposals and the stand of the Government of India in regard to them and for settlement of the India-China border question consistent with the honour and self-respect of the nation;

To support the nation's basic policies of non-alignment, peaceful coexistence, Afro-Asian solidarity and anti-colonialism, democracy and strengthening the economy of the country through planned economic development with main emphasis on heavy industries and the public sector;

To expose the policies of Right reaction and mobilise the people in unremitting united struggles against them in every sphere of our public life;

To resist all imperialist pressures on India and all attempts to entangle India with the Western systems of military aid in the name of strengthening defence;

To strengthen the defence capacities of our country through increasing rapidly our own industrial potential and expanding defence industries;

To mobilise resources for building a strong and independent Indian economy by placing the burden mainly on those classes which can afford to pay and not on poorer sections;

To strengthen the national unity and national integration and oppose all communal, disruptive and fissiparous tendencies;

To defend the economic interests and democratic rights of the people;

To prevent use of emergency powers and Defence of India Rules against the democratic movement;

To secure the release of the Communists, trade unionists and others who are detained without trial.

In order to discharge these responsibilities, it is imperative to strengthen the Communist Party and its work among all sections of the people and also to strengthen the mass organisations.

Political Resolution

**Adopted in the National Council
of the Communist Party of India,
New Delhi, 14–19 October, 1963**

The National Council of the Communist Party of India notes with satisfaction certain important developments that have taken place in the national and international field which have positive significance for the wellbeing of the people.

The partial test ban treaty has been a valuable step towards the reduction of international tension and a victory for the forces of peace against the forces of war. It has created a new climate for the further strengthening of the movement for disarmament and peace.

On the national scene, the imperialist intrigues and machinations which developed in a big way immediately after the Chinese aggression and which initially found a favourable soil are now getting increasingly exposed and meeting with democratic resistance. The failure of imperialist powers to barter away Kashmir to Pakistan, their failure to impair seriously India's policy of non-alignment, their inability to draw India under their own air umbrella or even to clinch successfully the VOA deal are significant facts.

Although Right reactionary forces are still well-entrenched, both inside and outside the Congress, these forces have received a setback and the progressive forces have begun to gain ground. The removal of the two outstanding pillars of reaction, Morarji Desai and S.K.Patil from the Union Cabinet, has a significance for the democratic movement that should not be underestimated.

The substantial modification in the CDS (Compulsory

Deposit Scheme) and the Gold Control Order and the cancellation of surcharges on land revenue in certain States have been positive gains for the exploited masses.

These changes have taken place in the background of mass popular actions against high taxes, soaring prices and against the growing attacks of monopoly vested interests, actions which were symbolised by the Great Petition and the March, the Bombay Bandh and the Calcutta hartal.

Signs of differentiations on political and economic issues have begun to appear within the Congress. This is a significant development.

It would, however, be a serious mistake to assume that the setback received by the forces of reaction means the end of the menace of the Right. Unless there is a genuine and decisive shift away from the policies which help to strengthen monopolists and other vested interests to the detriment of the country's development and people's well-being, the menace of Right reaction would continue.

The present national scene offers great opportunities to the Communist Party to intervene more effectively in the situation and bring about decisive shifts in favour of the forces of progress and against reaction.

To realise these opportunities and carry forward the improvement in the situation, the following tasks have to be fulfilled:

1. *Rout the Right.* Indian Right reaction has only suffered a setback but it is not routed.

Successful struggle against Right reaction demands that all the patriotic and democratic forces also unite despite their own ideological and party difference. The C.P.I. will continue to campaign for such unity in action, on issue to issue and in any democratic form acceptable to others.

The Communist Party, in unity with all other democratic forces, will continue to campaign against imperialist intrigues and manoeuvres and in defence of the basic national policies of non-alignment, secular democracy, planning, state sector and welfare of the people.

The Communist Party will continue to campaign for a peaceful settlement of the India-China border dispute on the basis of the acceptance of the Colombo proposals.

2. *Change reactionary policies.* The reactionary elements grew strong because for years they succeeded in winning concession after concession in the interests of the vested interests. This spread frustration and demoralisation among the common people whose righteous indignation has been demagogically exploited by forces of reaction.

Successful struggle against the Right, both outside and inside the Congress, demands that a clean break is made from reactionary policies and progressive policies adopted in line with accepted national aims.

The Communist Party will not only campaign for such changes but will welcome and support all such moves from inside the Congress and from other democratic forces.

The Communist Party will campaign for the ending of the emergency and the release of the Communist detenus.

3. *Defend the people.* In order to further defend the interests of the working masses in a positive way, it is necessary to undertake big mass campaigns on certain vital issues affecting the welfare of the people. The National Council hopes that all mass organisations will unite and strive to carry out such campaigns.

The realities of life of the working people, their constant urge to improve their lot is inexorably driving the workers and peasants of India into new great battles against the burdens heaped on them by the monopolists.

In order to weaken this concentrated power of monopoly and prevent it from further aggrandisement, struggles in defence of the working people have become essential.

The unprecedented rise in prices is not compensated by commensurate rise in dearness allowance and wages. As a result, the monopolists are making huge super profits.

The Indian working class, in several organised industrial sectors, has won dearness allowance linked to the 'cost of living index on a sliding scale. That has acted as a restraint

on the price in some areas where D.A. is linked to cost of living index. But in order to destroy this gain of the workers and the general economy, the monopolists have succeeded, by influencing the official machinery, in keeping a cost of living index which is fraudulent and does not faithfully reflect the changes in prices. Thereby the workers have been robbed of crores of rupees in wages.

Where the wages are frozen and there is no sliding D.A., the terrible expropriation of the workers and the vast super profits of the monopolists are still going unchallenged.

There is now a growing and strong demand that everywhere there should be a D.A. linked to cost of living and the index, where it is shown to be fraudulent, must be corrected. This was one of the demands in the Bombay Bandh strike and Government has already set up a committee to examine the problem. Even the INTUC has announced the policy that it demands a sliding scale in every industry to be given to the worker immediately.

The realisation of this demand would not only curb the power of the monopolists and their super profits; it would also raise the whole wage structure of the country to a higher level. It would contribute to better production and to the gain of national economy as a whole.

Therefore, the trade union movement must be moved into an all-India action on this question. Our trade union workers must explore the possibility, in united front with others, of bringing about all-India one-day protest strike on the demand of D.A. linked to cost of living and correction of the fraudulent indices where they exist.

In this, the state sector industries are the most blameworthy. In spite of good production, even exceeding the targets in some cases, in spite of the workers' willingness to help the state sector and its growth as a national political asset, the deal given to the workers by the Government and the state sector bureaucrats is on the whole highly injurious for the workers' living conditions.

For example, the state sector steel industry pays only

governmental wages scale of the D.A. as if steel production and government office work are of the same importance in the national economy.

Hence, all workers in state sector industries must combine with those in private sector industries and act to win better wages and a sliding scale of D.A.

No doubt there are many other demands of the working class, but *this one is the most urgent*.

Along with this, an annual bonus on a minimum basis must be introduced from this year and in all industries.

Nothing short of an all-India united action will help in this.

Along with the working class, the peasantry also must be brought into action in defence of its interests and against the same offensive leading to growing burdens. The non-application of the CDS to the peasant population was a gain no doubt; but there are revenue surcharges and rising taxation by Zilla Parishads for the withdrawal of which struggles would have to be conducted in many States.

The common demands which affect all sections of the landholding peasants, tenant-cultivators and land labourers are connected with the question of prices.

The peasant must be assured a fair price for the food crops and the main commercial crops he grows, e.g. jute, cotton, sugarcane. etc. The inadequate growth of foodgrain production, coupled with profiteering and blackmarketing by the monopolist private traders, has resulted in great hardships for the peasantry. While the grower is robbed of his produce at low prices, the consumer is faced with unavailability and high prices of foodgrains. Rice crisis in West Bengal is a case in point.

In the case of cash crops such as jute, cotton, sugarcane, tobacco, etc., which form the main source of income for a large number of peasant growers, the situation is even worse. The cash crops are the biggest source of super profits for the bankers and monopolists. Monopoly private traders in these crops rob the grower of his fruits of labour by artificially

lowering the prices when the peasant is forced to sell. They reap high profits by cornering the stock and by speculating. The entry of the State Trading Corporation in this field has not had any effect so far.

Struggles for securing just prices for the peasants producing cash crops must be led and organised. The following demands have to be focussed in this connection:

1. *abolish* forward market in foodgrains and stop the speculation in the *mandis*;
2. state should *take over* the wholesale trade in foodgrains and also bulk trade in jute, cotton, tobacco, oil-seeds, etc.
3. *fix* fair floor prices for the main money crops such as cane, cotton, etc., ensuring a reasonable return to the grower;
4. *nationalise* the banks, without which advances to the speculators would not stop and investments for the Plan and for industrial and agricultural development would not be available.

In the case of rural population, the rise in the price of consumer goods has to be counteracted by the state opening a chain of fair price consumer goods shops, supplying these goods in adequate quantities to the peasants and agricultural labour population at reasonable prices and thus acting as a check on the profiteering by private traders.

The demands which affect most vitally the interests of the landless labourers and poor peasantry are:

- i) distribution of fallow lands to the landless labourers and poor peasantry and making available adequate subsidies and technical aid to them and to their co-operatives.
- ii) minimum living wages for the agricultural labourers on State and other agricultural farms.

The Communist Party should also organise a broad-based mass campaign in support of the 17th Amendment which is being opposed by the reactionary forces.

The Communist Party will support these campaigns with all its might as its elementary duty towards the toiling people from where it has arisen and whose cause it is pledged to advance.

The Communist Party earnestly hopes that all progressive elements will support the people in their just struggles, which would help to knock out the mass base of the Right and create the climate for progressive advance.

On the New Kerala Land Reforms Bill

**Resolution adopted by the National Council
of the C.P.I., New Delhi, 14–19 October, 1963**

The National Council of the Communist Party of India strongly protests against the attempt of the Government of Kerala to thrust upon the people of the State a totally new and utterly reactionary Land Reforms Bill.

The Kerala Agrarian Relations Act, which is sought to be replaced by the new Bill, was first sponsored by the Communist-led Government of Kerala in December 1957. It was welcomed by the vast majority of the peasants in the State and acclaimed as a progressive piece of legislation in the interests of the peasants.

The Act was strictly in accordance with the principles of reform of land relations as laid down by the Planning Commission in the Second Five-Year Plan. It was with the prior concurrence of the Central Government (in the Ministry of Home Affairs) and the Planning Commission that the then Kerala Government introduced the Bill in Kerala State Assembly. It was thoroughly discussed in the State Assembly and was referred to a Select Committee. The Select committee held sittings throughout the State and gathered voluminous evidence on the various clauses of the Bill. Again it was discussed in the Assembly and passed. It was only after such elaborate and thorough discussion that the Bill was finally passed in June 1959.

Even after the Bill was passed, the reactionary landlord interests tried their utmost to sabotage it. Several deputations waited upon the President of the Indian Union, urging

him not to give his assent to the Bill. The President, after a detailed and thorough examination of the various provisions of the Bill, returned it to the newly-elected Assembly with directives to make certain amendments which, in effect, went against the interests of the toiling peasants. The State Legislative Assembly again discussed the Bill and finally in October 1960 adopted it, with the amendments suggested by the President. Thereafter, President's assent was given and the Act came into force in February 1961.

The Agrarian Relations Act of Kerala was thus not a hasty piece of legislation, nor was it a partisan legislation. It was a piece of legislation thoroughly discussed and approved by two successive elected legislatures in the State. The Communist-led Ministry, as well as the Coalition Ministry which succeeded it after the mid-term elections, had a hand in shaping it. It had got also the approval of the Central Government and the Planning Commission. No other piece of legislation in the whole of India could claim such thorough scrutiny and such universal approbation.

And yet the present Congress Ministry in Kerala wants to bury it and bring in a new legislation. In order to justify their totally indefensible act, they assert that they were compelled to do so because of the judgement of the Kerala High Court and the Supreme Court, holding certain provisions of the Act unconstitutional. The Central Government has come forward with the 17th Constitutional Amendment Bill, proposing to include the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act in the 9th Schedule to the Constitution, to remove the legal difficulties following from the Supreme Court judgement. Despite this, the Kerala State Government persists in bringing forward a new piece of legislation

The persistence of the Kerala Government for bringing a new Bill to replace the Agrarian Relations Act, despite the 17th Amendment Bill, can only be explained by their determination to deprive the tenant-cultivators of the benefits bestowed upon them by the Act and thus help the interests of landlords and capitalist cultivators.

The new Kerala Land Reform Bill is an utterly reactionary and anti-peasant measure which seeks to deprive the peasants of Kerala of very valuable rights they had won through decades of heroic struggle, like fixity of tenure, reasonable fair rent and the right to purchase ownership of land. The net result of the new Bill, when passed into Act will be: (a) to enable the landlords to effect large-scale eviction of tenants under various pretexts; (b) to enable the landlords to enhance rent up to 100 per cent; (c) to deprive the *kudikidappukars* of their hutments in which they are living today; (d) to make the provisions for fixing a ceiling a mere farce.

The new Bill has already given rise to a wave of resentment among all sections of people and the peasants are preparing for a struggle to defend their interests. The Communist Party, the R.S.P., the K.T.P. (i.e. Peasant-Labour Party) have joined in a common front of struggle. The P.S.P., although not joining in the front, has expressed its opposition to the new Bill in no uncertain terms. Various kisan organisations are coming out in opposition to the Bill. Even sections of Congressmen have reacted very violently against some of the provisions of the new Bill. Several of them have jointly and separately submitted memoranda to the Planning Commission against the Bill.

The National Council of the C.P.I. calls upon the Kerala Government, even at this late hour, to retrace their steps in view of the universally expressed opposition to the new Bill, to drop the Bill and proceed to bring the old Agrarian Relations Act alive again and get it included in the 9th Schedule of the Constitution.

It calls upon all the political parties and mass organisations and all democratic-minded people, including Congressmen, to unite in a mighty struggle to bring pressure upon the Kerala Government to drop the Bill and revive the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act.

The National Council takes note of the fact that, while keeping the 17th Constitution Amendment Bill on the agenda,

the Central Government has given permission to the Kerala Government to frame their new anti-peasant Bill and proceed with it. There is every reason to believe that the game behind their step is to have the new legislation ready by the time Parliament takes up the 17th Amendment Bill and include it in the 9th Schedule in place of the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act. By allowing the Kerala Government to proceed with the new Bill, the Central Government has succumbed to the pressure of the landlords and vested interests and thus betrayed their own declared policies and programmes on the land reform question. The National Council calls upon the Central Government to direct the Kerala Government to drop the new Bill and to implement the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act without any delay.

The National Council of the C.P.I. extends its full support to the struggle being waged by the heroic peasants of Kerala in defence of their rights.

The National Council instructs the Central Executive Committee to appoint a delegation to meet the Home Minister and Planning Commission to represent the Party's viewpoint on the Kerala Land Reforms Bill.

The Food Crisis in West Bengal

**Resolution adopted by the National Council
of the C.P.I., New Delhi, 14–19 October, 1963**

The National Council of the Communist Party of India views with grave concern the serious food crisis in the State of West Bengal, expressed in the acute scarcity of rice and unprecedentedly high prices of Rs.50 and over per maund, on the one hand and an almost complete breakdown of the Government's modified rationing scheme on the other.

Conditions of near-famine distress are reported to be prevalent throughout the West Bengal countryside, while even in the Calcutta industrial area rice has become practically unobtainable during the past two or three weeks except in the black-market and at prices far beyond the reach of the overwhelming mass of the population .

For this state of affairs, the Central and State Governments are now engaged in blaming each other, while the people are starving. The Food Ministry of the Government of India claims to have allotted large rice supplies to West Bengal during August and September and implies that it is the State Government's faulty administration and distribution system which have led to malpractices and cornering of rice by wholesalers for profiteering. The State Chief Minister, on the other hand, pleads absolute deficit in rice as his defence, confesses his total inability to replenish Government stocks so as to maintain even the modified rationing scheme.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India is of the firm opinion that the present crisis in West Bengal is an acute manifestation of the basically anti-people food policy

pursued for years by the Congress Governments at the Centre and in the States under the direction of Shri S. K. Patil. So long as these policies continue even though Shri Patil no longer holds the portfolio, there can be no relief for the people. Open patronage of big traders and wholesale dealers in foodgrains, giving them unfettered opportunities to hoard, speculate and profiteer, refusal to go in for State purchase of foodgrains, particularly in deficit areas, and overall State-trading, refusal to adopt firm legislative and administrative measures for unearthing hidden stocks and punishing the big hoarders and profiteers, reluctance to associate popular and democratic parties and organisations with the execution of food policy—all these have combined to make West Bengal the unfortunate victim of today's alarming crisis.

The National Council, therefore, demands that the following measures be adopted without a moment's delay to cope with the West Bengal situation, particularly as during October and November scarcity conditions are likely to get aggravated. Central intervention must be directed to:

1. Rush stocks of rice as an emergency assistance measure to West Bengal from all available sources, indigenous as well as by importing if necessary from Burma, Nepal and other friendly countries.

2. Tighten up the entire machinery of distribution inside West Bengal to ensure a guaranteed minimum weekly supply of rice to the entire population through the modified rationing and fair price shops at Rs.22 per maund.

3. Institute effective check up and control over the stocks of wholesale dealers and traders and take all necessary measures, including use of the Defence of India Rules, to unearth hidden stocks and drastically punish the big hoarders and profiteers.

4. Immediately make a public policy declaration of Government's firm intention to go in for large-scale State purchase of rice from the next 'aman' crop at fair prices for the peasants.

5. Invite all popular bodies like political parties and mass

organisations to co-operate in setting up People's Food Committees to be actively associated with the execution of the above and other measures.

6. Nationalise all banks in order to stop speculative trade and to finance State-trading in foodgrains; immediate ban on bank advances against foodgrains and on forward trading in the next crop's paddy.

The National Council realises that to get the Government's present food policy reversed or even substantially modified is no easy task. It is, therefore, essential that the people of West Bengal should themselves carry on a massive, united movement for ventilating their demands and compelling their acceptance by the Government. The Council greets all the parties and organisations in West Bengal which, acting together or separately, have conducted such recent mass actions on the food issue as the successful statewide hartal of 24 September 1963 and numerous big rallies and demonstrations. It also congratulates the Calcutta citizens who have been taking initiative to locate rice stocks and get them distributed at Rs. 35.00 per maund and condemns the use of police repressive measures against them by the State Government. It is the democratic and inalienable right of the people to conduct peaceful struggles for their burning demands and the National Council hopes that even more effective broad-based united and militant mass actions will be organised in West Bengal in the coming days so that the Government is compelled to heed the people's voice and to discharge its fundamental responsibility of feeding them, instead of protecting and encouraging the anti-social hoarders, profiteers and speculators in foodgrains.

On the Ideological Controversy in the International Communist Movement

Resolution Adopted by the National Council of the C.P.I., New Delhi, 14–19 October, 1963*

The National Council of the Communist Party of India notes with deep concern and anxiety the serious turn which the ideological differences in the international Communist movement have lately taken. The world Communist movement is today not only armed with a common ideology—Marxism-Leninism. It has common goals and is also equipped with a common programme, brilliantly set forth in the November 1957 Moscow Declaration and the November 1960 Moscow Statement. Moreover, the international Communist movement, which has registered stupendous success and victories is enriched by the living experience of the international working class and all other world revolutionary forces. Under these circumstances, there is no reason why the differences in the ranks of the Communist movement should have at all reached the present critical stage, threatening a split in the movement.

The National Council of the C.P.I. considers it necessary to state here that this present disturbing situation has arisen primarily because the leadership of the Communist Party of China has now moved far away from the collective, general line of the international Communist movement, launched an all-out offensive against this unanimously agreed line and confronted the entire movement with its own so-called general line, particularly elaborated in the 14 June Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the

*Documents on Ideological Controversy in the International Communist Movement are given in the Appendix of this Volume.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This alternative line, unilaterally decided by one single party, runs counter to the Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Further, the leadership of the Communist Party of China has chosen to push its own line through methods which defy the norms laid down in the Moscow Statement and violate the international discipline of the revolutionary working class.

For a long time now the international Communist movement and its general line have not been faced with such a challenge from within its ranks. Beginning with the divergent views on some separate questions, the leadership of the Communist Party of China has extended its differences to a wide range of principles, raised new questions and elaborated a dogmatic, sectarian and adventurist platform which is being pressed forward as the only correct line for the world Communist movement.

The National Council of the C.P.I. is of the opinion that when the collective view of the world Communist movement is so challenged and assailed, it becomes the internationalist duty of all Marxist-Leninist parties to defend the common line and unwaveringly uphold it. Without this the fraternal parties cannot discharge their responsibilities towards the working people of their own countries and to the international working-class movement. For, adherence to the general and the collective decision of the world Communist movement are inseparable from the tasks of determination by the fraternal parties, their concrete policies and tactics—in short the political line—for their respective countries. In view of these considerations, the National Council deems it necessary to briefly examine the so-called general line of the CPC leadership and state the views of the Communist Party of India on it.

The National Council of the C.P.I. is fully conscious that a correct, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the character of our present epoch is essential for working out the strategy and

tactics of the international working class and world revolutionary movement. This task has been magnificently discharged by the November 1957 and November 1960 Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the conclusions are set forth in the Declaration and the Statement.

The main content of our epoch is that it is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. The most distinctive feature is that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. These factors eminently signify the great change in the balance of world forces, giving rise to real opportunities for solving the cardinal problems of our time in a new way. The CPC leadership discounts, if not virtually ignore, these two highly important aspects of the present epoch. It appears that the CPC leadership still understands the epoch as one of only imperialism and proletarian revolution. Naturally it almost passes over the real opportunities which are the offspring of the epoch and this incorrect appraisal would seem particularly pronounced when it comes to the questions of concrete policies and practice. This departure of the Chinese leaders would perhaps explain the root of their dogmatic and sectarian position on many other important questions of both theory and practice.

The National Council of the C.P.I. notes that the CPC leadership has radically revised the collective, Marxist-Leninist standpoint about the main contradiction in modern society. According to the CPC leaders, the principal contradiction is not between capitalism and socialism but between imperialism and national liberation. This departure on the question of main contradiction leads to another erroneous conclusion. The Chinese leaders contend that the focal points of the contradiction in the world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the national liberation struggles are being conducted. The Chinese leaders have gone to the length of saying that the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles in these areas. All

this is a complete misinterpretation of the contradictions in the modern world and is contrary to the propositions of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

Even before the world socialist system came into existence, the contradiction between capitalism and socialism was regarded by Marxists-Leninists as the main contradiction. With the emergence of the world socialist system and the tremendous manner in which it is influencing the world developments, as well as the advance of the international working-class movement, this contradiction has immensely sharpened. It is astonishing that the CPC leadership should have abandoned the correct Marxist-Leninist understanding now of all times.

The National Council of the C.P.I. fully acknowledges the great revolutionary role of the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the shattering blows they are delivering to imperialism. There must be no underestimation of this great revolutionary force. But with all these, the decisive role in the development of human society and the world revolutionary process is not played by the national liberation struggles but by the international working class and its chief creation—the world socialist system. It is not difficult to see that the national liberations by themselves do not end the socio-economic basis of imperialism—state-monopoly capital—in the imperialist countries. This is a task for the revolutionary working class of these countries to accomplish. Further, it is the international working-class movement and the socialist camp which ensure the success of national liberation.

The Chinese view of the focal points of contradictions is again wrong and contrary to Marxism-Leninism. The National Council is of the opinion that the focal points are precisely those where the main contradictions of our epoch are being resolved—that is, the contradictions between capitalism and socialism. These are being resolved, first and foremost where the most organised and powerful forces of socialism stand face to face with the forces of imperialism.

This means that the contradictions between the world socialist system and the world capitalist system are focal points, if one would prefer this description. The line of the CPC seeks to replace the social class standpoint by a geo-political approach. The National Council naturally rejects this view of the Chinese leaders.

The National Council notes the new proposition of the so-called 'intermediate zone' which the Chinese leaders have advanced. At the very outset, the Council considers it necessary to point out that such concept does not find even a mention in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

The Chinese leaders put the USA in one bracket and all the other imperialist powers, advanced capitalist countries and the newly liberated nations in another bracket to describe them as constituting the so-called 'intermediate zone'. This is a perverse and politically misleading picture of the present-day world. No one will deny the inter-imperialist contradictions between the USA and other imperialist powers, nor the U.S. designs of world domination. But it is highly misleading to present the other imperialist powers as if they are mere objects of such designs of the US imperialists.

The Moscow Statement, which the CPC leaders have revised even on this point, however, lays stress on the imperialist military blocs such as NATO, CENTO and SEATO which are first and foremost spearheaded against the socialist camp, as also against other countries, especially those in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Chinese concept of 'intermediate zone' is liable to lead to an underestimation of dangers posed by the imperialist blocs and to the blunting of vigilance against them. This thesis of the CPC underplays the neo-colonialism of Britain, France, West Germany, Japan and so on. It underplays the grave threat arising from the revenge-seeking West German imperialism to which the Moscow Statement draws particular attention. The National Council cannot accept this wholly wrong and harmful thesis of 'intermediate zone'

In this connection, the National Council cannot but point out that, while inventing an unrealistic and harmful thesis about the so-called 'intermediate zone', the Chinese leaders and the 14 June Letter do not say a word about the vast peace zone, comprised of the socialist countries and the non-aligned, newly liberated nations pursuing the broad policy of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism in the world arena. Their contributions are highly appraised by the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement but the CPC leaders seem to have written them off.

The Moscow Statement regards the fight for peace as the prime task of all Communists. The Communist and Workers' parties, in their Declaration and Statement, firmly hold the view that the real possibility has arisen for averting a world war by the combined efforts of all peace forces. To fight for preventing world war demands, above all, active struggles and efforts in all directions for peaceful coexistence. General and complete disarmament is a principal way of ensuring peaceful coexistence.

From their various theses and pronouncement, as well as from their concrete policies and actions, it is apparent that the Chinese leaders, while verbally recognising the possibility of preventing war, do not look upon the struggle for peace and for peaceful coexistence in the confident spirit of the Declaration and the Statement or from the standpoint of these programmatic documents of the world Communist movement. In the first place, they put more or less equal emphasis on the possibility of averting war and on the possibility of its breaking out, whereas the clear position of the world Communist movement is that the possibility for the prevention of war is already greater and is growing day by day. The Chinese view is that war cannot be eliminated from the life of the society so long as imperialism exists. This is in flat contradiction with the line of the Statement which recognises the possibility of eliminating war, even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world. The position

of the CPC in effect amounts to the acceptance of inevitability of war so long as imperialism remains.

The Moscow Statement says that the only alternative to a destructive war is peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and calls upon all Communists, especially the Communists in socialist countries, to conduct resolute struggles for the victory of the policy of peaceful coexistence, for compelling the imperialists by such struggles to accept peaceful coexistence. In their view of the burning problem of war and peace facing mankind, the November 1960 Appeal and the Statement regard peaceful coexistence as the 'cornerstone' and the 'foundation' of the foreign policy of the socialist countries. The Chinese leaders repudiate this approach and declare that it 'is wrong to make peaceful coexistence the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries.' The National Council of the C.P.I. considers that this departure from the common line not only greatly weakens the role of the socialist countries in the world affairs, but complicates the struggle for peace.

General and complete disarmament is regarded by the international Communist movement as a principal way of ensuring peaceful coexistence. There exists the real possibility for the realisation of this objective, although the task is by no means easy. The Moscow Statement presents this as a 'fighting slogan of the masses' but the Chinese leaders say that it is 'illusion' to expect general and complete disarmament so long as the system of imperialism and of exploitation of man by man exists. Even while conceding that there may be 'some kind of agreement on disarmament', the CPC leaders understand the struggle for disarmament not as a question of principle but only as a means to expose imperialism. The line of the CPC leaders on such a vital issue is thus clearly a repudiation of the Moscow Statement. The National Council of the C.P.I. is of the view that the Chinese position can only weaken the struggle for disarmament and minimise the importance of concrete steps in this direction.

In this connection, the National Council of the C.P.I.

cannot but take serious note of the line of the Chinese leaders on the Moscow nuclear test ban treaty. Although the 14 June CC CPC Letter ostensibly recognises the possibility of banning nuclear weapons, they have nonetheless chosen to attack this important constructive step which, in addition to restricting nuclear tests and hindering the nuclear arms race, brightens the prospects for further struggles for total ban on all tests and for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. Although the rocket-nuclear shield created by the Soviet Union ensures the security of all socialist countries, including the People's Republic of China, the CPC leaders would like the People's Republic of China and other socialist countries equipped with nuclear weapons. But this can only help the acceleration of the nuclear arms race on the part of the imperialists. For taking the initiative and signing the treaty, the Soviet Union is equated with the imperialist powers—USA and Britain and all these are indiscriminately described as a 'nuclear monopoly'. Further, the leadership of the CPSU is accused of 'allying with the forces of war to oppose the forces of peace, allying with the United States to oppose China, and allying with the reactionaries of countries to oppose the peoples of the world.' These slanderous and absurd statements would lay bare the real attitude of the Chinese leaders towards the struggle for resisting the nuclear arms race, the banning of such weapons of mass destruction, for disarmament. The National Council of the C.P.I. repudiates the stand of the CPC leaders and acclaims the test ban treaty as one of the most significant, constructive steps in the direction of nuclear disarmament. This step has already contributed to some palpable relaxation of international tension and strengthened the forces of peace. The test ban treaty eminently conforms to the interests of all peace loving people.

The National Council would like to recall here the attitude of the CPC leaders in the critical days of the Caribbean crisis. When the Soviet Union first took all practical steps for the defence of the Cuban Republic against an impending invasion and then, after foiling it, took wise measures to

prevent a thermo-nuclear flare up, the Chinese leaders assumed the role of critics. They called the delivery of missiles to Cuba, which was an important factor in thwarting the imperialist invasion plan as 'adventurism', and they decried the withdrawal of the missiles which averted the nuclear war as 'capitulationism.' The international Communist movement rightly criticised the behaviour of the CPC leaders in relation to the Caribbean crisis, for from the beginning to the end it was highly irresponsible and contrary to the line of the world Communist movement.

The National Council of the C.P.I. has already stated its views on the policy of the CPC leaders in regard to the India-China border question and has always considered the Chinese line as contrary to the spirit and letter of the Declaration and the Statement, as contrary to the guiding principles of peaceful coexistence. The National Council has also pointed out the great damage the Chinese leaders have done by their nationalistic and adventurist policy, to the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity, to the common front against imperialism and to the democratic movement within India. Only beneficiaries of this policy have been imperialism and reaction; democratic and progressive forces suffered all along the line. The National Council would only like here to add that in the case of India, the Chinese leaders have demonstrated how not to work for Afro-Asian solidarity or for the success of the policy of peaceful coexistence. The attitude of the Chinese leaders on the India-China border question had given a foretaste of some of their theses now elaborated in their so-called general line.

The policy of peaceful coexistence calls for purposeful and painstaking efforts in all directions for mobilising all peace forces in a common struggle against imperialism and war. In this context, the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement highly evaluate the positive role of the newly liberated, non-aligned nations. It is in particular the task of the socialist countries to draw these nations closer to the socialist camp. But the so-called general line of the CPC

leadership discounts the role of these non-aligned countries in the struggle for world peace, against imperialism and colonialism. It is no wonder that the CPC leadership should have adopted such a negative and harmful attitude towards India in clear violation of the line of the world Communist movement.

Further, an active policy of peaceful coexistence is inconceivable without negotiations and even, on occasions, without certain concessions and compromises. But the CPC leadership more often than not denounces the moves for the relaxation of international tension and against cold war, for improving the East-West relations, etc., as 'embellishing imperialism', 'cowardice', 'surrender to nuclear black-mail', 'betrayal of revolution' and so on. These groundless accusations not only underline the special, divergent line of the CPC leaders but are apparently aimed at discrediting the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The National Council further notes that in putting themselves against the line of the Declaration and the Statement, the CPC leaders often ascribe views to the leaderships of the CPSU and of other fraternal parties which they, in fact, never hold at all. For example, the CPSU leadership and others are accused of renouncing class struggle in pursuance of the policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. But they have always maintained that, far from renouncing class struggle, peaceful coexistence presupposes intensified ideological, political and economic struggles between socialism and capitalism in the world arena. Further, peaceful coexistence also implies sharp class struggles within the capitalist countries, which indeed are also facilitated by the struggle for peace. It is a pure invention on the part of the Chinese leaders that some people in the international Communist movement have proposed peaceful coexistence between the oppressed peoples fighting for national liberation and the oppressors, the imperialists. On the contrary, the CPSU and other fraternal Communist parties have always held that the national liberation struggles

should be intensified and that they help the struggle for peace just as the latter creates favourable conditions for the success of national liberation movements. Policy of peaceful coexistence only means that the debate between socialism and capitalism in the world arena must not be settled through war. As far as the world Communist movement is concerned, it regards peace as an ally of socialism—a conclusion which one altogether misses in the Chinese statements.

On the question of 'local wars', the CPC leadership confuses the issues by mixing up the local wars started by the imperialists with the just national liberation wars which are not only necessary but inevitable so long as imperialism and colonialism remain. The Communists have always supported such just wars of national liberation and will continue to do so. But it is the confirmed view of the international Communist movement that the possibilities have arisen today for bridling the imperialists and preventing them even from starting local wars.

The National Council is with the rest of the world Communist movement in taking a very serious view of such aggressive local wars, for a local war in the present thermo-nuclear age, may easily touch off a nuclear conflagration. It is evident from the Chinese statements that they do not take the same view about the possibility of preventing local wars but on the contrary, are at pains to explain how some local wars in the recent years have not led to a world war. This is a dangerous approach and is contrary to the standpoint of the Moscow Declaration and Statement.

The National Council also disagrees with the attitude of the CPC in regard to the assessment of the nuclear weapons and the character of a thermo-nuclear war. The Council is of the definite opinion that in order to rouse and activate the masses against nuclear weapons and a thermo-nuclear war, it is absolutely essential to inform them of the destructive powers of these weapons. Hence the Council is of the view that the declarations such as 'atom bomb is a paper tiger' or 'atom bomb is not terrible at all' can only mislead the people

and disorientate the active struggle for nuclear disarmament and against nuclear war. Equally does the National Council disagree, with the statement that a civilisation thousand times superior will be built on the ruins of imperialism destroyed by a nuclear war. The Communists want to build a better civilisation not on such ruins but without having to go through a nuclear destruction. The National Council is of opinion that such statements do not help to rouse the masses with the boundless confidence that war can be prevented and imperialism wiped off the face of the earth without a world war. Such observations are liable to create wrong impression about Communists and are not in conformity with their historic mission to save mankind from a nuclear catastrophe.

The National Council of the C.P.I. finds that on the question of national liberation struggles, the CPC leadership has advanced a number of formulations and theses contrary to the Declaration and the Statement. They manifestly contradict the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In their latest theses, the Chinese leaders do not recognise that it is the international working class and world socialist system which ensure rapid and decisive victories for national liberation struggles and the consolidation of the newly won independence. The Chinese leaders also ignore the Marxist-Leninist appraisal of the Moscow Statement which highlights the fact that the struggles of the working people building socialism and communism in the socialist countries, the revolutionary movement of the working people in the capitalist countries, the national liberation struggle of the oppressed nations and the general democratic movement merge into the powerful current that undermines and destroys world capitalism. The CPC leaders view the national liberation struggles not as component of this integrated world revolutionary process but in isolation from the socialist camp and the international working class movement. They counterpose the national liberation struggles to the struggle for peaceful coexistence, to the democratic struggles of the working people

in the capitalist countries as well as to the policies pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in defence of world peace. The Chinese leaders minimise the great role of the socialist camp and of the working class in the imperialist countries in supporting and quickening the process of national liberation. This line of the CPC leaders can only lead to the isolation of the national liberation struggles and weaken them. From the theses of the Chinese, the most urgent task of strengthening the bonds of national liberation movement with the socialist camp and the working class and democratic movements in the capitalist countries does not at all emerge. The National Council of the C.P.I. cannot but feel deeply concerned at such an erroneous approach and such theses.

The national liberation is not completed with the attainment of political independence. It is continued in the newly liberated countries in the manifold anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic tasks for winning economic independence and generally for national rebirth. All these tasks are a part of the worldwide national emancipation process, undermining the very foundations of imperialism and colonialism. In fulfilling these tasks, the friendship and co-operation between the socialist countries and the newly liberated nations, especially the disinterested economic assistance by the socialist countries to the latter are of decisive importance. Such assistance, as has been seen, plays a great anti-imperialist role. The international Communist movement attaches great importance to this aspect of national liberation struggles. But the 14 June CC CPC Letter simply ignores all this. The National Council of the C.P.I. takes it as a serious deviation from the common line of the world Communist movement. In this connection, the Council repudiates the irresponsible criticism of the Chinese leaders against the Soviet assistance to India. The Council would like to emphatically state that economic assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has played a singularly useful part in consolidating India's independence

and in resisting imperialism and domestic reaction on the part of the Indian people. It is surprising the CPC leaders should have guided themselves by some exclusive, narrow considerations, which have nothing in common with proletarian internationalism.

The November 1960 Moscow Statement outlines the prospects of non-capitalist development as the best way to abolish age-long backwardness and improve the living standards of the people in the countries which have newly won their political independence. The Statement, however, elaborates the concept of the state of national democracy which, given the correct political line and militant struggles of the people, may serve as a form of transition to the road to socialist development. But the 14 June CC CPC Letter and the so-called general line it adumbrates brush aside this concept and prescribe the slogan of 'people's democracy' for all newly liberated countries, irrespective of their stage of development. The Chinese leaders do not explain as to how people's democracy which is a form of dictatorship of the proletariat, can be established in those newly liberated underdeveloped countries where there is no working class or a Communist Party. The slogan of people's democracy for these countries cannot but lead to the weakening of the national democratic front.

The National Council of the C.P.I. thoroughly disagrees with the one-sided, dogmatic approach of the Chinese leaders in regard to the question of form of transition to socialism. While fully taking into account the possibility of both peaceful and non-peaceful transition, the Declaration and the Statement explain what is particularly new in the situation. They explain that in the present epoch with its great change in the relation of world forces in favour of socialism, possibilities have arisen in a number of countries to win state power by the working people through peaceful means and without a civil war. No one has, of course, suggested that the ruling classes are going to relinquish power voluntarily or capitalism will 'automatically disappear'. The Marxist-

Leninist view is that, whatever the form of transition peaceful or non-peaceful, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are essential for transition to socialism. And it goes without saying that a socialist revolution cannot be accomplished without sharp class struggles and without a militant mass revolutionary movement. It is, therefore, entirely wrong for the CPC leaders to suggest that the leadership of the CPSU and of some other parties have given up the concept of class struggle or socialist revolution.

The departure of the Chinese leaders from the Declaration and the Statement lies in the fact that they do not recognise the possibility of the peaceful way and all their arguments are precisely aimed at justifying their own view that non-peaceful means is the only way and negating the line of the Moscow Documents. According to them, the thesis about peaceful transition is based on 'historical idealism' and they argue that there are no historical precedents for peaceful transition. It should be stated here that Marxists-Leninists never guide themselves by mere historical precedents. Nor can an advanced theory be developed only on the basis of what happened yesterday.

In this connection, the National Council would like to state that what form the transition will take in this or that country depends on a whole complex of objective and subjective factors, both external and internal—mainly internal. It is for the Communist Parties of the countries concerned to decide the question of form and not for other fraternal parties to dictate. The Chinese polemics against the fraternal Communist Parties like the Italian and the French Communist Parties on the question amount to interference in their internal affairs.

The National Council of the C.P.I. notes with amazement the denunciation by the CPC leadership of conclusions of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, including the great CPSU Programme adopted by the latter. The Communist Party of India had welcomed and acclaimed these two historic CPSU Congresses and once again records its highest appreciation of them.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU was highly appraised as a historic event by the Communist and Workers' Parties, including the Communists of China not only severally but also collectively. This unanimous appraisal is embodied in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. These two Moscow documents fully appreciate the historic significance of the decisions of the 20th Congress as well as their contributions to the cause of Communist construction and in initiating a new stage in the world Communist movement. It is further put on record in these documents of the world Communist movement that the decisions of the 20th Congress have promoted development of the entire movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The CPC leadership has now come out against all the major conclusions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and characterised it as 'the first step along the road to revisionism'.

The CPC leadership is particularly up in arms against the struggle against Stalin's personality cult, which the 20th Congress initiated and which has been crowned with great success not only for the CPSU and the Soviet people, but for the entire international Communist movement. Despite certain reservations, the CPC leadership had earlier publicly supported, in the main the struggle against the personality cult. Now it has made a complete *volte face* and is decrying the struggle for combating the harmful consequences of the personality cult as something which is 'in effect directed against Marxism-Leninism'. The National Council stands solidly in support of the struggle against the personality cult. This is another crying evidence of the Chinese leaders' break from the collective positions of the world Communist movement—from the Declaration and the Statement. Any concessions to the ideology and practice of the personality cult would be extremely harmful and indeed dangerous for the international Communist movement. There is no need to revive this question which has already been settled.

The polemics and attacks of the CPC leaders against the historic 22nd Congress, which summed up the great expe-

rience of building socialism and chartered the course for full-scale Communist construction would again seem incomprehensible. The Council considers it necessary once again to state here that the Programme of the CPSU faithfully embodies the conclusions of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and upholds the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The National Council of the C.P.I. is in full agreement with the fraternal parties that what unites the Communist movement is far greater than what divides it. The Council also shares the view that if there is a firm adherence to the general line and the guiding principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the differences that may occasionally arise for a variety of reasons in the ranks of the Communist movement can be overcome. But the Council is, at the same time, conscious that if the general line is repudiated side by side with efforts to push an alternative line by one or other major Party which is in power, the task of overcoming the differences becomes extremely complicated and difficult. The National Council has, therefore, no illusion that the present differences are going to be resolved either easily or at an early date.

However, the National Council of the C.P.I. still hopes that the fundamental loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism will ultimately prevail over the departures from them. With this hope, the National Council expresses its full agreement with the CPSU and other fraternal parties which have repeatedly proposed to the CPC leadership for the ending of the open polemics. Here the National Council wishes to put on record its high appreciation of the constructive proposal for ending polemics, which the CPSU leadership made at the bilateral talks last July and which has been since repeated. The Council, at the same time, expresses its regret that the CPC leadership should have turned down the proposal. It is, however, hoped the leadership of the CPC will see reason and agree to ending open polemics in the interests of the entire world

Communist movement and of its unity. This step is both urgent and essential for further constructive efforts with a view to solving the internal problems of the international Communist movement through resumption of bilateral talks between the CPSU and the CPC and if necessary, by holding another conference of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties.

Campaign for Release of Communist Detenus

**Resolution adopted by the National Council
of the C.P.I., New Delhi, 14–19 October, 1963**

The National Council of the Communist Party of India fully endorses the call given by the last meeting of the Central Executive Committee for a sustained and vigorous mass campaign for the release of the Communist detenus, for the mobilisation of all sections of the people for this campaign.

The Council welcomes the steps taken in several States to intensify this campaign, and in particular the mass rallies organised this month by the Party in Bombay and Calcutta.

The Council, while noting with satisfaction the recent further release of a number of Communist detenus in Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, draws the urgent attention of the Indian people to the fact that several detenus still remain behind the bars in West Bengal, Maharashtra, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, Tripura and Manipur.

The issue involved is a vital one of the personal freedom and fundamental rights of the Indian citizens. Eminent jurists of the country have given their unequivocal opinion that the Defence of India Act under which these Communists are being detained is against the provisions of the Constitution, guaranteeing fundamental rights. Even the Supreme Court has recently held that the Act is contrary to the provisions of the Constitution on fundamental rights. Despite this, however, the Supreme Court has expressed its inability to grant any remedy because of suspension by Presidential order of the right of the detenus to go to court for enforcing their fundamental rights.

The National Council demands the immediate repeal of these provisions and the release of all those detained under this unconstitutional law. The Council calls for the further intensification of the release campaign all over the country and particularly in those States where Communist leaders still continue to be in detention.

On Comrade A. K. Gopalan's Open Defiance of the Party

**Resolution adopted by the National Council
of the C.P.I., New Delhi, 14-19 October 1963**

The National Council of the Communist Party of India takes a very serious view of Comrade Gopalan's recent activities in defiance of Party directives and public slander of the Party by him.

The Central Executive Committee in its meeting held from 14 to 17 September had adopted a resolution on the Democratic Convention in West Bengal in which it held that 'calling of such democratic convention was an attempt at setting up a parallel centre of the mass movement, which would inevitably cause disruption in the Party and the existing mass organisations in the State.' The Central Executive Committee in its resolution had, therefore, given the clear directive to all Party members 'to dissociate themselves forthwith from the preparatory committee set up by the Convention and all its activities.'

In defiance of this clear directive, Comrade Gopalan went and addressed a rally organised by the Preparatory Committee at Calcutta on 28 September 1963.

When asked whether in his speech at the rally, Comrade Gopalan did not publicly damage the Party by the way in which he explained policy differences, Comrade Gopalan in a statement to the Central Executive Committee said: 'In the mass rally I did say that it is untrue to say that there is a pro-Dange and an anti-Dange group inside the C.P.I. I further stated that inside the communist parties, differences arise over policies, whether a policy would lead to being pro-Government

or anti-Government, whether its effect would be pro-imperialist or anti-imperialist...'

Later, in the National Council meeting, Comrade Gopalan started as follows: 'I had refuted the widespread slander that there is inside the party a pro-Dange or anti-Dange group. I had stated also how difference in *communist parties*—not the Indian Communist Party—arise not on the basis of individuals but over policies—that whether a particular policy would lead to being pro-Government or anti-Government, etc.'

Comrade Gopalan publicly called for the restoration of the State Council in West Bengal, in opposition to the resolution of the National Council and thus openly defied the Party.

Comrade Gopalan publicly stated in Calcutta that he was unaware of any Central Executive Committee resolution on the Democratic Convention. But when asked to explain, Comrade Gopalan admitted in the Central Executive Committee that he was aware of such a directive and that he had seen the Central Executive Committee resolution before he left for Calcutta. He has also admitted having made the above-noted statements.

Comrade Gopalan has shown no regret for such open and willful defiance and public slander of the Party. He has, on the contrary, defended and justified his conduct.

Comrade Gopalan's justification is that such action on his part was necessary for the sake of the mass movement on people's demands and for the release of our prisoners.

The National Council completely rejects this contention. The Party, on a national scale and in the various States was already leading mass movements on people's demands and release of our detenu comrades. What Gopalan did was to associate with a rival and parallel centre of the movement, a step which inevitably disrupts and harms the mass movement. This becomes all the more clear from the fact that even though the POC in West Bengal was organising and leading a 'Release Prisoners Fortnight' campaign commencing from

the 1st of October and in course of which it had given a call for a mass demonstration on 7 October 1963 for the release of our detenu comrades, the organisers of the rally, which Comrade Gopalan attended and addressed on 28, in the rally itself gave a call for a rival demonstration on the same issue on the 5th of October and even led a separate deputation to the Government.

It is clear, therefore, that Comrade Gopalan's conduct is not only a clear, open, wilful defiance of the Party and flouting of its authority but also an act disruptive of the mass movement.

Such conduct has to be firmly put down and punished howsoever senior may the comrade be. Not to do so would only paralyse and disorganise the Party and weaken the struggle for popular demands.

The National Council, therefore, decides that Comrade Gopalan be censured publicly.

On Party Organisation in West Bengal

**Resolution adopted by the National Council
of the C.P.I., New Delhi, 14–19 October, 1963***

The National Council of the C.P.I., took over the authority of the West Bengal State Council in February and appointed a POC to carry on Party activity in the State under the guidance of the Central Secretariat. This was done in view of the special situation in the State in which a large number of members of the State Council were not available to carry on its work due to arrests and other reasons.

A proposal was put forward in the June meeting of the National Council for the restoration of the State Council.

The National Council, however, after due deliberation, decided that the time had not yet arrived for taking such a step. Comrades in jail had not yet been released. Besides, the activity and conduct of a number of party members in West Bengal, including some prominent comrades and Party units had given cause for serious anxiety and apprehension. During the visit of the Chairman and the General Secretary of the Party to Calcutta, a large number of comrades had indulged

*After 20 October 1962 a large number of Communist leaders and active workers were arrested by the Congress Government and kept in detention for a long time. The overwhelming majority members of the State Council of C.P.I. in West Bengal were in detention; the Dange Group of leaders of the National Council of the C.P.I. captured the State Council organisation of C.P.I. in West Bengal and tried their utmost to keep the West Bengal State Council under their control. Any agitation or movement for release of the Communist leaders and active workers kept in detention, were discouraged by the Dange Group and also treated as 'anti-Party work'.

in rowdy and anti-Party behaviour. A clandestine circular emanating from an underground centre styled as PCZ had openly challenged the authority of the POC appointed by the National Council and of the National Council itself. A lady member of the Party had been shockingly insulted in a public meeting. The National Council had to assure itself that the campaign for the Great Petition and March to Parliament would be properly organised in the State.

Under the circumstances, and considering that some of the State Council members who were out of jail were not able to assure the National Council that its policies would be implemented in full, the National Council decided to postpone the consideration of the question of the restoration of the West Bengal State Council to its next session.

Meanwhile, it called upon the members of the West Bengal State Council, as also the District Committees to openly repudiate the PCZ circular, to denounce the Party members who had insulted a woman Party member and also to wholeheartedly participate in the campaign for the Great Petition and the March.

The National Council notes that many of the DCS in West Bengal as also a majority of members of the State Council who are out of jail have neither denounced the PCZ Circular nor the behaviour of the rowdies who insulted the woman Party member. Not merely this. The National Council further cannot fail to take note of the fact that a number of prominent members of the Party took part in organising the so-called Democratic Convention which the Central Executive Committee had correctly characterised as an attempt to set up a rival centre for organising mass movements independently of the Party. On being asked to give an explanation of their conduct, some have given extremely arrogant replies. In fact they advanced further and took part in organising a public rally in Calcutta on 28 September, as also other public meetings.

At the same time, the great majority of the arrested State Council members are still in jail.

Considering all these factors, the National Council had no alternative but to postpone the restoration of the State Council and continue the POC appointed by it for West Bengal.

The National Council wants to assure all Party members in West Bengal that it has not the remotest desire to perpetuate the existing ad hoc arrangement or to prevent them from having a State Committee of their own choice. The National Council took upon itself the responsibility of party affairs in West Bengal under very difficult and critical circumstances and when the Party's very existence in Bengal was threatened by mass arrests and anti-Party hooliganism. The POC in West Bengal has rendered great service to the Party in undertaking its responsibility under trying circumstances.

Considering the fact that the arrested members of the State Council are still in jail and it is necessary for the National Council to be assured of the execution of its policies in West Bengal, the National Council defers the question of restoration of the State Council until the arrested leaders are released and authorises the Central Executive Committee to take steps to restore the State Council immediately thereafter.

The Threatening Disruption And Split of the Party— How to Avert the Disaster?*

M. Basavapunniah

1. We, the Communists of India, have no other pressing and urgent problem on hand to immediately attend to and solve than that of inner-Party unity. Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad is completely correct when he, in his document on 'Revisionism and Dogmatism in the C.P.I.' states that 'the unity of the Party has been completely broken', 'that we are in the midst of the most serious inner-Party crisis in history' 'and that the Party is on the verge of complete disruption and split.' He made these incisive observations some nine months ago, with an earnest appeal to the central leadership of the Party to take necessary steps to restore inner-Party unity.

Nothing effective has been done during these nine months to arrest the deterioration in the inner-Party situation and improve it. On the contrary, the attitude adopted by the central leaders on a number of political-organisational issues facing the Party and the steps they have taken have only helped to further aggravate the inner-Party crisis. As a matter of fact, looked at from the angle of political, ideological and emotional unity, our Party is already split. The apparent and formal organisational unity that still exists is also hanging on by a thin thread.

*This document, circulated in December 1963 by the Central Secretariat of the C.P.I., was also signed by : K. Ramani, P. Ramamurti, M R. Venkatraman, N. Sankariah, A.K. Gopalan, E.K. Imbichibava, C.H. Kanaran, V.S. Achutanandan, E.K. Naynar, P. Sundarayya, M. Hunarhantha Rao, N. Prasad Rao, P. Negi Reddy, Vajubhai Shukla, M. Poonamiya and R P. Saraf.

The great majority of our Party members and well-wishers are extremely worried and agitated over this alarming state of inner-Party affairs. They feel depressed and demoralised in face of the threatening prospect of disruption of our Party, the Party built with the sweat, toil, tears and blood of our Party members and common people during the last three decades. They rightly look to and demand of the central leadership of our Party that they awaken to this danger and take immediate steps to arrest the present drift towards a devastating rift. Future history would not forgive us, if we do not earnestly address ourselves to this task and do everything in our power to maintain inner-Party unity and evolve proper ways and means to restore the differences that exist in our Party today.

2. While addressing ourselves to this highly complicated and difficult problem of inner-Party unity, none of us can afford to lose sight of the fact that this phenomenon of inner-Party differences and disunity is not of recent origin, but goes back to the period of the Second Party Congress in 1947-48, when we attempted to assess the class meaning and content of the Mountbatten Award. Since then many other problems of a very complex nature which cropped up during the course of building the revolutionary movement in India have added to it. Despite the repeated attempts to solve these differences, at different CC, CEC and National Council meetings and Party Congresses, we could not solve any single basic question satisfactorily. Consequently, instead of resolving the inner-Party differences, as and when they arise, they went on constantly piling up. They got accentuated to such an extent that sharp division and disruption became a chronic malady in our Party. To add to our misfortune the acute controversy and conflict that has, of late, engulfed the international communist movement, on a number of political-ideological questions is superimposed on our Party which is already strife-ridden.

In view of this background, it would be totally wrong to think that the achieving of inner-Party unity is an easy task.

The whole issue has to be comprehensively and concretely analysed and precisely formulated, so that we can tackle the problem in a patient and systematic manner. We should, first of all, strive to take some immediate steps to put a stop to the further deterioration of the situation and proceed, step by step, to achieve complete political-ideological unity of the Party. If there still remain certain issues on which we may not succeed in arriving at satisfactory solutions, we shall have to aim at a type of working agreement while deferring the final clinching of those issues for the future. All this may look like 'conciliating and compromising'. We should like to emphasise in this connection that howsoever tortuous and prolonged this struggle for unity might be, there is no alternative to it except that of a disastrous split, which we should avoid at all costs. There can be no price we should hesitate to pay for the unity of our Party, which unity, of course, is not of an 'unprincipled and opportunistic' type but one based on Marxism-Leninism and unflinching loyalty to the cause of the working class.

3. The inner-Party struggle for unity is further complicated also by the direct and open intervention of the government and the monopoly, anti-Communist press of India. There has been a persistent and systematic slander campaign against the leadership of the C.P.I. at different levels, labelling one section as anti-national, unpatriotic, pro-China, etc., while characterising the other as national, patriotic, anti-China, etc. The national emergency that was imposed in the wake of the large-scale Sino-Indian border armed clashes during the September-October months of 1962 was fully exploited by the government to strike at our Party, of course, directing its main blows on one section of the leadership, maligning it as pro-China, etc. One thousand Communists were detained under the draconian DIR in different parts of the country. Even today, after one full year, there remain as many as 400 of them in jails. Big sections of the leaderships in States like West Bengal, Punjab, Tripura and Bombay and some prominent leaders in U.P. and Assam are still

under detention. As nearly as 20 members of the National Council, including six leading members of the CEC, continue to languish in different jails. This in itself imposes enormous difficulties and serious limitations in the way of a free, fair and democratic inner Party discussion to resolve our differences. Add to all this, several dailies such as Goenka's *Indian Express* and *Andhra Prabha* together with other dailies like *Patriot* and *Jugantar* have started a fresh round of vicious campaign through their editorial and feature columns, openly urging the government not to release the Communists in West Bengal, Punjab, Bombay, etc., and also demanding that the government throw back into prison some more leaders who have been released in recent months on the alleged ground that the security of the nation is in danger. Weeklies like *Blitz* and *Mainstream* have joined hand with notorious rags like *Indian Observer* in the same vicious campaign of slander as described above. (The material is separately collected to be given as an information document). These calumnious writers through their press are also emboldened to openly taunt central leaders like Comrade S. A. Dange to discipline and expel some communist leaders, as, according to them, they are pro-Peking, 'splitters', 'dissidents', etc., and thus prove their 'nationalistic' and 'patriotic' bonafides.

The avowed enemies of our Party and the communist movement in India are resorting to every conceivable strategy to divide, disrupt and destroy our Party. One should bear in mind all these dangerous conspiracies and conduct the inner-Party struggle for unity in a principled and constructive manner, giving no quarter whatsoever to the machinations of our opponents. To put it bluntly we are of the firm opinion that the success or otherwise of the inner-Party struggle for unity is closely linked with and very much dependent upon the success or otherwise of our united struggle against the foul attempts of disruption by our class enemies.

‡. All of us are aware that the inner-Party differences that sharply divide us today cover a fairly wide range of subjects

of ideological, political, theoretical and organisational character. They pertain not only to the national sphere but are closely mixed up with the international arena. It is not our purpose to try to deal with all of them in this document. Probably it would take a fairly long time to satisfactorily tackle all those stupendous problems that face our Party and revolutionary movement. We propose to confine ourselves here to solving the problem of urgent and pressing issues which, in our opinion, constitute the first minimum necessary steps in the arduous struggle for achieving inner-Party unity.

5. On ideological differences: It is clear to all students of Marxism-Leninism that the sharp differences in the world communist movement are not of recent origin but date back to the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Its deliberations and decisions have introduced certain basic and far-reaching departures in some of the fundamental propositions concerning war and peace, forms of transition to socialism, assessment of the role of Stalin and the cult of personality, etc. This resulted in great confusion in the ranks of Communists all over the world. Since then there have been repeated discussions at different levels within each Communist Party as also between different brother Communist Parties. The international gathering of Communists in 1957 and again in 1960 in Moscow attempted to thrash out these differences and the two documents of historic importance, namely the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement embody the decisions arrived at these meetings. Then again sharp differences have arisen in the interpretation and implementation of these decisions. The international communist movement today is in the midst of a furious ideological-political debate which is increasingly assuming serious proportions threatening the very foundations of world communist unity. It is obviously wrong to think that the whole affair is only a dispute between the two biggest Communist Parties representing the two mighty socialist states of the USSR and the People's Republic of China. The fact that these two communist giants occupy the central place in

the whole debate representing two sharply opposed viewpoints cannot hide the truth that the issues under discussion are of such a vital character as concern every Communist and the entire international communist movement. Naturally, the Communist Party of India can neither afford to be indifferent nor neutral in the debate as the issues under discussion have a direct bearing on the revolutionary movement in India, besides their international significance. It is, of course, equally wrong for us either to remain as passive spectators of this historic debate or to uncritically line up behind one or the other of the two sharply polemised positions of the CPSU and the CPC. In order to arrive at definite conclusions on all these matters, a thorough and well-organised inner-Party discussion is an immediate necessity. Those decisions independently arrived at after a democratic discussion throughout the Party will not only go a long way to unifying our Party but they also will enable us to play our humble role in assisting the unity of the world communist movement.

6. It may be asked, have there not been discussions and decisions on all these matters in our Party and are they not independent decisions of our Party? Certainly, there had been discussions and decisions on the 20th Congress of the CPSU, on the 1957 Moscow Declaration, on the 1960 Moscow Statement and the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. But all these discussions, in the first place, had often been of a cursory nature and confined to top committees such as the CEC, NC and in some cases, State Committees. Secondly, many decisions over these questions were taken amidst sharp divisions in the Party Committees concerned. There has not so far been a well-organised inner-Party discussion drawing all the rank and file Party members into it. The decisions taken in the top committees amidst the sharpest divisions and violent disagreements have not helped to unify the Party but only aggravated the differences and disunity. Now a stage has been reached when the acute differences on ideological-political questions are no more confined to some top committees and senior cadres but embrace the entire Party

from top to bottom. It cannot be dismissed as an exaggeration if we were to state that the inner-Party division is so deep that the Party is, more or less, evenly divided, though the depth and breadth of the division may vary from State to State and at different levels of the Party. Hence the urgency and necessity of conducting organised inner-Party discussions without hurriedly forcing on the Party decisions which smack of toeing either the line advocated by the CPSU or the CPC. We should realise that the faith in a great many of our comrades that certain parties or individual leaders are infallible Marxists-Leninists is, now, completely shattered. Some of our Party members are strongly of the opinion that the ideological-political line advocated by the CPSU is departing from scientific Marxism-Leninism and deviating in the direction of revisionism while others are equally emphatic in asserting that the CPC's line is nothing but dogmatic and sectarian. There are still others who consider that the open debate and polemics are causing immense damage to the world communist movement, that both the sides are distorting the real positions held by the other and the level of the debate is daily deteriorating in its stature and dignity as to cause dismay and depression in our political following. People ask: what remains of the thesis of the 'new epoch' if the world communist movement is divided and disrupted and above all, if the Soviet Union and People's China fall apart as is happening today? Terrific confusion and consternation is caused when the entire monopoly bourgeois press in India jubilantly gives in its columns wide publicity to the Sino-Soviet differences while at the same time, pretending sympathy for the Soviet side and unconcealed hostility to the Chinese point of view. This display of 'affection' to Soviet communism and hatred for the Chinese version of it are terribly intriguing. In view of all this, it is futile and harmful, too, to impose hasty decisions by the top committees on the Party, as they would be neither implemented properly nor contribute to building the unity of the Party. Our Party, as an independent, sovereign unit of the

international communist movement, shall arrive at its own independent decisions after a full and democratic discussion in the entire Party. No question of either 'pro-Peking' or 'pro-Moscow' shall arise whatever our enemies shout to slander the cause of communism. We should not resort to open criticism and attacks either on the positions of the CPSU or the CPC until our Party concludes its inner-Party discussions to arrive at its own conclusions.

7. The second biggest question that is badly dividing our Party is that of the Sino-Indian border conflict and the correct Marxist-Leninist approach to the whole question. It is now more than four years since this issue began being discussed repeatedly at CEC or National Council meetings and certain resolutions were adopted. These discussions revealed serious differences on the political evaluation of the whole border dispute and its character, on its genesis and growth, on levelling certain criticism for this or that incident against one of the two governments, on endorsing or opposing specific moves for negotiated settlement, etc. But all of us have been unanimous all through on one point, i.e., this border dispute, its continuation and aggravation are all extremely harmful for both India and China, it endangers Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace, comes handy for right reactionary and imperialist forces, and results in weakening the popular and democratic forces in the country. Similarly, we are also united in categorically asserting that the only correct solution of the dispute lies in a peaceful and negotiated settlement and that the talks of resorting to military means to decide the issue is futile as well as dangerous to both.

8. It is unfortunate that our Party could not and did not mobilise public opinion around the latter correct aspect on which we are united. We got stuck in discussing the differences from time to time and allowed the situation to be exploited by all sorts of chauvinistic and right reactionary forces in the country to fan the flames of hatred against China and do everything possible to prevent the formation of the climate for a peaceful and negotiated settlement of

the dispute. The overall developments during the entire four-year period of border tension and more particularly the experience during the last one year after the large-scale military clashes in October-November confirm the truth that it is the extreme right that has gained in the country and the democratic forces have suffered heavily. It is coming to be increasingly realised by the people that the perpetuation of the Sino-Indian border dispute and the heavy military burdens that it entails is harming national advance, weakening democratic movement, strengthening the hands of Indian monopolists and their foreign collaborators, causing terrible suffering and immense misery to the common people. Not merely that, greater and greater dependence on the imperialists for military and economic assistance is threatening our independence. The independent foreign policy of peace and non-alignment is greatly affected. The continuation of the national emergency and the increasing growth of right reaction are threatening the foundations of democratic life and institutions in the country.

9. It is imperative that our Party awakens to this growing danger and strives to build popular movement to arrest the shift to the right and to register the growth and advance of the democratic forces. The most important issue that can bring about a radical change in the situation is the peaceful and negotiated settlement of the Sino-Indian border dispute. Whether we succeed or not in bringing about a negotiated settlement as speedily as we wish it, one thing is certain, that is, the further advance of the democratic and revolutionary movement is very much dependent upon the systematic and persistent struggle we carry on to bring about such a settlement.

Right reaction in the country is advocating a military solution to the dispute and if necessary to join the alliances of Western imperialism to achieve it while scorning any talk of peaceful negotiations. The Government and its main spokesman, Nehru, have been stating that they basically stand for a peaceful and negotiated settlement while not ruling out

military methods if necessary. In actual practice, the Government is left without any independent initiative in the matter, is often bullied by the Right reaction and is drifting on the path of daily-growing defence expenditure.

Our Party cannot play any effective role by merely giving support to the declared intentions of the Nehru Government for peaceful settlement, etc., without mobilising popular opinion independently with its main stress on peaceful settlement and for a fresh initiative by our Government to that effect, while, of course, taking all necessary steps to strengthen the defence of the country. To do this, our Party should re-orientate its whole agit-prop line and evolve correct slogans of action from time to time, instead of being swayed by anti-Chinese propaganda of the Rightist forces in the country, as is now often done. The unbridled criticism of the Chinese Government and the open and vituperative attacks on them, irrespective of the correctness or otherwise of their contents, are not conducive to creating a climate of peaceful negotiations in the country. The increasing stress on peaceful negotiations and for a fresh initiative to break the deadlock by our Party, will not only bring about greater unity among us, but also unite the broadest democratic opinion behind the slogan of negotiated and speedy settlement of the border dispute. We should defer the discussion on those aspects that divide us and concentrate on the pressing and urgent issue of negotiations. The details cannot be worked out here and the CEC and NC will have to undertake that task if the party leadership takes on hand, and in right earnest, the unification of our Party.

10. The current political line of the Party and how to implement it while the inner-Party struggle for correct political-organisational line and unification continues is the third important issue we should address ourselves to. We are fully aware of the fact that the political report adopted by the Vijayawada Congress was a line advocated neither by the so-called Right nor the so-called Left. After a prolonged and bitter controversy in the Party at different levels, the

late Comrade Ajoy Ghosh put forward a document which embodied in it broadly agreed points by different schools of thought, while leaving issues like 'non-capitalist path' and 'national democracy' for future discussion and decision. To implement the broadly agreed and unified decisions of the Vijaywada Congress, we did also elect a united and composite leadership. As things stand now, this entire position is changed. First of all, big developments have taken place inside the country and the world, which demand of us a serious reassessment of the situation to work out a tactical line. Secondly, the unified and composite leadership that was expected to truthfully interpret and implement the Vijaywada political line got shattered completely.

The so-called Left comrades are no more represented in the Central Secretariat. So-called neutral and centrist comrades like E.M.S. Namboodiripad who is supposed to command the confidence of all as the General Secretary has left the seat. Only the Chairman, Comrade Dange, who got elected to the post (which post itself was created by the unanimous vote of the National Council as a part of the attempt to set up a composite leadership at the centre together with some other like-minded comrades) remain in the Secretariat. Naturally, under these circumstances, it is difficult to do justice either to the political line of the Vijaywada Congress or to command the confidence of all comrades holding different viewpoints. Any attempt to enforce the Vijaywada line as interpreted by one section of comrades who now occupy the leading positions, through organisational methods such as disciplining individual leaders for their political views, the dissolution of elected committees and appointing of organising committees, will not pave the way for either effectively implementing the line or keeping the Party united, leave alone helping the process of further unification.

11. The sharp division inside the Party on political-ideological questions, the attempt to resolve them through organisational methods would only result in aggravating the

differences and weaken the discipline. This is precisely the reason why our Party Constitution which is based on 'Democratic Centralism' not only enjoins on all its members that 'minority shall carry out the decisions of the majority' but also directs that 'when serious differences arise in a Party Committee, every effort should be made to arrive an agreement. Failing this, decisions should be postponed with a view to resolving differences through further discussions unless an immediate decision is called for by the needs of the Party and the mass movement.' In view of such specific directions and the critical inner-Party situation prevailing now, we should concentrate on the pressing and urgent problems of the mass movement and desist from attempting to rush through political-ideological decisions arrived at under conditions of sharp differences and divisions. It is precisely on pressing mass issues that we can attain maximum unity amongst us and such united work in turn will pave the way for greater unity and understanding. While abiding by and implementing the political line as adopted at Vijayawada, we shall have to organise the inner-Party discussion on the following subjects without delay:

a) Reassessment of the Vijayawada line in the light of developments since then and particularly during the last one year;

b) 'National Democracy' and 'Non-Capitalist Path' as applied to Indian realities;

c) The Party Programme.

12. It has been already explained how inner-Party discussion is required on the ideological questions in the international communist movement, as well as problems connected with the revolutionary movement in our country. To conduct organised and principled inner-Party discussion, the National Council should set up a small body of seven comrades who represent and command the confidence of all comrades in conducting free and fair discussion. Similar bodies may be set up at different State centres wherever it is found necessary. Pending final decisions at the appropriate

Party conferences and Congress, the dates of which will have to be decided keeping in view the nature and intensity of Government's repression on our Party, the Party press should not act as a vehicle to propagate views held by one or the other sections of comrades on the accepted policy of the Party. The Party press also should decisively come out in defence of all Communists, while sharply refuting the slanderous attacks of the bourgeois press which constantly vilifies some as 'pro-Peking' and 'anti-national', urges on the Government to arrest them, appeals to the Central Party leadership to expel them, etc. The Party has to fight back this blatant and open intervention of the bourgeoisie in the inner-Party struggle and demonstrate its unity and solidarity despite ideological-political differences, which can and will be solved.

13. To restore mutual confidence and promote the cause of inner-Party unity, certain organisational measures taken during the last one year by the National Council in the midst of an acute inner-Party crisis have to be reviewed and revised. The same has to be undertaken by all the State, district and other local committees and they will have to amend disciplinary actions, if any, which have arisen because of political-ideological differences.

a) The Provincial Organising Committee appointed should be dissolved and the State Council in West Bengal should be restored.

b) In Punjab an extraordinary Provincial conference was hurriedly convened in the wake of large-scale arrests of most of the leading comrades following the declaration of emergency in 1962 and it elected a new State Council. Irrespective of the merit of the issue, the newly-elected Council should immediately give place to the one duly elected by the regular Punjab Party Conference when the majority of the detained leaders are released from prison.

c) All moves for constituting enquiries into the conduct of leaders like Comrades Gopalan and Sundarayya should be withdrawn and the Central Control Commission should

be directed to stop further activities relating to the issues mentioned above.

14. *Party conferences and the Party Congress:* After full inner-Party discussion the National Council should plan out a programme of conferences in districts and States where leaders are released and some normal conditions have come to prevail. As for the all-India Party Congress, we should await the release of many prominent leaders from Bengal., Punjab, Assam, Maharashtra, Tripura, Manipur and U.P. All the outstanding issues under discussion have to be thrashed out at this Congress and decisions taken. As for actual holding of the Congress, even in normal times a very unsatisfactory state of affairs exists in our Party as regards membership enrolment and its renewal. It has been very irregular and not checked up properly. But when the party leadership at different levels was united, all such omissions and commissions could be dispassionately judged and decided without much difficulty. But due to large-scale arrests of leading comrades in several States and at the Centre, neither the renewal of the old members nor the recruitment of the new could be satisfactorily done. In order to conduct the Congress in a fair and democratic manner so that it might help our Party's genuine unification and advance, the National Council should remove all apprehensions of inflated membership or unjust denial of opportunity for renewal. With this in view we propose:

a) That the membership rolls on the basis of which we had held the Vijayawada Congress should form the basis for the next Party Congress, too, as that was accepted by all unquestionably.

b) That full opportunity should be given to all Party members to renew their cards within a specified time. Where repression is not relaxed, time may be extended to do it.

c) Wherever new membership recruitment has taken place, that has to be scrutinised by agreed sub-committees to be set up at the State and national level to scrutinise it and recommend to the appropriate bodies whether it is genuine

or not and whether they should be accepted as full members for the purpose of participation as delegates in the conferences and the Congress. In no case should this issue be allowed to lead to violent differences and disagreement.

Comrades, we have placed our views so as to form the basis for discussion in the National Council regarding the question of inner-Party unity, how to restore it and the immediate initial steps in that direction. We do not claim that it is either adequate or exhaustive. Many other suggestions can be made and the draft improved upon. We hope that the Council will give serious consideration to this earnest appeal of ours and save the party from threatened disunity and disruption.

A Reply to the Statement of Comrade M. Basavapunniah And Others on Party Unity by S. A. Dange

When the resolution on the ideological questions was introduced and the National Council proceeded to discuss it, in accordance with the agenda, on 15 October, Comrade Basavapunniah, supported by 16 members of the National Council, placed before the Council a written statement. The Council had to postpone the discussion of the resolution and gave consideration to the statement of the 17 comrades, as it contained very serious propositions regarding threat to the unity of the Party and the future work of the Party.

The statement of the 17 Council members says that 'as a matter of fact, looked at from the angle of political, ideological and emotional unity, our Party is already split. The apparent and formal organisational unity that still exists is also hanging by a thin thread.'

The National Council is aware that a serious threat to the unity of the party has come into existence. It stated at its last meeting that it has reasons to believe that a parallel Party Centre is functioning and asked the Control Commission to look into it, as to what comrades in what way are concerned with it.

The above statement bears out the seriousness of the situation and in a way confirms the National Council's previous resolution.

While expressing anxiety about the situation and its readiness to do everything to prevent a split, whether formal or spiritual, the National Council does not accept that the Party is *evenly* split between two lines of thinking and has become only a bunch of 'factions' or 'groups' as the statement of 17 would like to convey. Nor is the party in that completely paralysed and divided condition as they would like the people to believe.

While no doubt differences exist, the Party is leading people's battles for better living and better organisation of the life and politics of the country. The overwhelming majority of the Party has firm faith in the ideological positions of the Party based on Marxism-Leninism and the programme of world communism as laid down by the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960 adopted by the world conference of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties.

Nor is the Party so divided as to be completely paralysed in its work. The Great Petition and the Great March of 13 September 1963 show what the Party is capable of and what its strength is, despite the attempts of some sections which worked against that great mobilisation.

Not only did that Great March show the strength and mass following of the Party; it played a positive role in bringing very significant gains to the people, and in curbing the growing strength of Right reaction in the country. If the Party were so hopelessly divided, demoralised and paralysed and so wrongly led by the present central leadership, all these gains and movements would have been impossible. Hence the National Council is unable to agree with the hopelessly pessimistic picture of the Party as represented by the statement of the seventeen.

Even then, it would not be correct to ignore the propositions of these members of the National Council because

even that disunity that exists, even that functioning of the Parallel Centre that goes on, even that defiance of the Party line and directives that is taking place, whether by well-known leaders or committees is harmful to the further development of the Party and the mass movement. Hence, we have paid serious attention to the proposals of the seventeen to see if they can take the Party forward.

Our examination shows that the proposals not only will not unify the Party, they will paralyse the work of the Party and prevent it from leading exactly those mass campaigns which the National Council, including these seventeen comrades want to carry forward. We give below the reasons for this conclusion.

The authors of the statement wish to trace the roots of the disunity in the Party back to 1947-48 and to state that during all these fourteen years, despite Party Congresses, etc., 'we could not solve any single basic question satisfactorily.'

Here we do not wish to join issue with these comrades on the causes and progress of the differences and disunity in the Party in all these fourteen years. We may reserve that for another occasion.

At the same time, we cannot ignore the fact—and the Party Congresses so far have taken note of the fact—that during all these years the Party has led mighty mass movements, won big election battles, had formed the Kerala Government, won rights and relief for the working people, etc.

We may not have solved 'a single basic question satisfactorily', as the authors say, but we have solved many questions, if not quite satisfactorily, at least in some way as to make quite some progress. We do not agree with the sweeping and pessimistic picture which the authors of the statement want to put before the Party and the people about the Party's work in the last 14 years. We have committed many mistakes, but we have also many achievements to our credit in the last 14 years.

The authors then proceed to say that the state of 'sharp division and disruption became a chronic malady in our Party'. And now to add to this, the fact that the international communist movement was engaged in the ideological-political controversy which has superimposed 'another misfortune on our already strife-ridden Party.'

The other misfortunes that they mention are the differences on India-China border question, the arrests of hundreds of Party members, the provocations of the bourgeois reactionary press (in which, by the way, they bracket the *Blitz, Patriot, Mainstream*) as factors which have further worsened the situation.

We do not wish to undertake a political discussion on these points because they have been discussed and resolutions of the National Council are on record on all these questions. The point, therefore, is what do the authors propose to do about these problems in so far as they affect the work and unity of the Party?

According to them, 'some of our Party members are strongly of the opinion that the ideological political line advocated by the CPSU is departing from scientific Marxism-Leninism and deviating in the direction of revisionism, while others are equally emphatic in asserting that the CPC's line is nothing but dogmatic and sectarian.'

It is true that in the National Council and the Party, there is an opinion which holds that the CPSU, and not only the CPSU but the overwhelming majority of the world's Communist Parties who agree with the CPSU, have become 'revisionist'—and not only revisionist but agents of American imperialism. And this is the opinion which was first propagated by the CPC.

The National Council in its resolutions has made its stand clear on this question. It does not hold the CPSU to be revisionist, it agrees with the 1960 Programme, it agrees that the 22nd Party Congress of the CPSU lays down a programme of communism in the Soviet Union and not that of capitalism and so on.

It is also true that the National Council has from time to time and particularly from November 1962 onwards disapproved of the line of the CPC.

It is also true that some comrades do not agree with this but agree with the alternative line as enunciated by the CPC. We, however, have no knowledge as to what line on this question the authors of the statement hold.

They, however, say that, while our Party cannot remain 'indifferent or neutral' on these issues, 'it is equally wrong for us to remain as passive spectators of this historic debate or to uncritically line up behind one or the other of the two sharply polemised positions of the CPSU and the CPC.'

We have no objection to agreeing to this general proposition. But we do not accept that the whole controversy is as between the CPSU and the CPC or that the National Council is uncritically lining up behind the CPSU. It is between the world communist movement, of which the CPSU is the vanguard as stated in the unanimously adopted 1960 Statement to which the CPSU was a party, on the one hand, and the CPC on the other. When the National Council adopted its resolutions repudiating the charges of revisionism against the world communist movement led by the CPSU, when it hailed the 22nd Party Congress Programme which now is denounced by the CPC as a programme of restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, when it endorsed the Test Ban Treaty as a step forward in easing world tension and reduction of the danger of world war, it was not lining up behind the CPSU as such at all. We are taking up positions in terms of the unanimously accepted propositions of the 1960 Conference and positions which since then are endorsed by the overwhelming majority of the world's Communist Parties, positions which are based on Marxism-Leninism.

At the other end is the fact that the opposition to these positions is initiated and led by the Communist Party of China and supported by that of Albania.

The statement of the seventeen does not, of course, tell

us where the authors stand on these most crucial issues of the international communist movement.

They, however, admit that these issues were discussed in the National Council and other committees. Then what do they want to do now?

They say that those discussions were of 'a cursory nature'. So, the whole subject should be thrown open for discussion in the Party because there has not been a 'well-organised inner-Party discussion drawing all the rank and file members into it.' This, they say, is necessary because the Party is sharply divided on these issues. That is one.

'The second biggest question that is badly dividing the Party is that of Sino-Indian border conflict and the correct Marxist-Leninist approach to the whole question.'

On this question, the assessment of the 17 wants the Party to conduct a national campaign for a peaceful settlement, coupled with an inner-Party discussion.

What is new in this? The Party has all along worked for peaceful settlement and we agree to do more. But the authors do not at all mention whether in this campaign we support the Colombo Proposals as a way to open peaceful talks. In fact, the total absence of any mention of this point in the statement shows that the authors do not agree with the National Council position on this question also. They want the Marxist-Leninist approach on the India-China border issue to be thrown open for discussion in the party and also conduct a campaign without acceptance of Colombo Proposals being mentioned. That is two.

On the internal political situation and the Party's line of work, the statement of the seventeen takes the position that the situation in which the Vijayawada Congress laid down Party policy has changed. First of all, big developments have taken place inside the Party and the world, which demand of us serious reassessment of the situation to work out a tactical line. Secondly, the 'unified and composite leadership' that was expected to truthfully interpret and implement the Vijayawada political line got shattered completely.'

So, the third question that is to be thrown open for discussion is the Vijayawada Congress political line and its interpretation. The changes in the objective situation in India and the world demand a political reassessment of the Vijayawada Congress, which is said to be no longer valid. And the truthful interpretation even of that line has become untruthful because the 'composite leadership' (made up of various trends?) composed at the Congress has been shattered. The present leadership not being 'composite' cannot be expected to interpret and implement Vijayawada correctly and cannot expect its interpretation being accepted as correct by those who differ with it.

We have no hesitation in admitting that the situation in India and the world has changed since the Vijayawada Congress and that the evaluation done at Vijayawada should be reviewed.

It is a fact that a 'composite leadership' was elected at Vijayawada, after the famous crisis of resignations and boycott that was created by well-known leaders (many of whom are among the present authors of the statement) at the Congress. It is also true that another crisis which arose after the death of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh was overcome by agreement at the Delhi meeting of the National Council and another 'composite leadership', that is the Secretariat, came into being.

It is also a fact that this 'composite secretariat' no longer exists. But the 'composite' National Council and the composite Central Executive Committee which were elected at Vijayawada do exist and have not been changed. So when the authors say that the 'composite leadership' got shattered, they are not quite correct. The leadership of the Party is not the Secretariat, nor the Chairman nor the General Secretary. It is the National Council and it continues to be composite, as also the CEC.

The Secretariat changes did not take place because some majority sections of the 'composite secretariat' threw out the minority.

The change took place when, following the crisis ushered in by the India-China events of October-November, the National Council adopted the November resolution. The resolution was adopted when all trends in the composite leadership were present. It is after the adoption of that resolution that three comrades there and then and the General Secretary later on resigned from the Secretariat though they were requested not to do so.

So, if the composite leadership, meaning thereby the Secretariat only, has changed, and if today it is not 'composite' according to the authors of the statement, the present Secretariat cannot be blamed for it.

So also we cannot admit that because of this change, the interpretation and implementation of the Vijayawada line has ceased to be truthful. While not ruling out the fact that mistakes may have occurred, we have to state that all decisions of the Secretariat have been subject to the criticism and sanctions of the CEC and the National Council. So, the assumption that just because four comrades have left the Secretariat following the India-China crisis of November 1962, all the work of the leadership of the Party has ceased to truthfully represent the Vijayawada understanding is wholly without foundation.

What are the concrete proposals of the seventeen comrades in order to correct the situation and prevent the 'disaster of split' in the Party? That part is the most important part of the statement. The proposals that the Comrades make are of a very far-reaching character and it is our considered opinion that, if we accept them, *in toto*, it will lead to a complete paralysis of the Party, will not bring about Party unity, will prevent all mass work and lead to total disruption of whatever progress has been made so far. In fact, we shall be legalising two or three Party Centres at the same time. We will give reasons for our conclusion.

The first proposal is that all ideological-political questions of the national and international situation be thrown open for discussion to all party units.

In principle, we have no objection to the proposal. It is an established principle of Party organisation that when differences of a serious nature arise and if a section of the Party membership demands open discussion, it may be conceded.

There are, however, limitations to this principle. The situation must be such as to demand and permit such a discussion. The time, the method, etc., has to be properly weighed.

We are quite agreeable to throwing open for discussion all the four issues framed by the authors of the statement:

- (1) The ideological-political questions and the general line of the world communist movement, as adopted by the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Statement and Declaration and their subsequent application in national and international questions.
- (2) The assessment of the situation in India since the Vijayawada Congress and the tactical line of the party.
- (3) The Marxist-Leninist approach on the India-China dispute.
- (4) Proposals for a Party Programme. These four may cover all the ideological-political questions affecting the international situation and the national.

In order to frame the issues and conduct the discussion, the Party must first adopt some basic positions to initiate the discussion.

Hence, we propose that the resolutions of the National Council adopted so far and to be adopted now, should become the basis of the discussions, as they are already the documents and decisions of the Party and its leadership (except the Programme).

The Opposition to these positions and decisions should place before the National Council or the CEC their viewpoint in the form of one or more documents. The issues should then be framed, taking into consideration both sets of documents and discussion initiated in the Party Press.

In order to do this, the National Council must adopt a line on these propositions as it already has done and is doing now.

The discussion, as according to Party principles, has to be conducted under the guidance and control of the central leadership.

They propose that 'to conduct organised and principled inner-Party discussion, the National Council set up a small body of seven comrades who represent and command the confidence of all comrades in conducting free and fair discussions. Similar bodies may be set up at different State centres wherever it is found necessary.'

We cannot agree to such a procedure. Apart from the difficulty of finding seven comrades who represent and command the confidence of all comrades, when according to their own reading, the Party is sharply divided, we cannot agree to scrap the existing leadership and its authority as determined by the National Council from control over the discussions. We do not want to bog down into perpetual argument inside a sharply divided body, as proposed by them, the issues and documents of the discussion. We agree, of course, that all views be presented before the Party, without in any way holding back principled points of discussion.

For this, the Secretariat should be the controlling body. But we agree that the Opposition should be associated with the Secretariat to organise the discussion. We propose that two members chosen by the Opposition of the seventeen and one who may not agree with them or with the Secretariat should be associated with the Secretariat in conducting the discussion. Any differences that may arise among these eight can be reviewed by the CEC.

The time of opening the discussion is also important. The discussion cannot be allowed to interfere with the development of the mass campaigns or the work of the Party and must not be prolonged over a long period of time. As the discussions have to be clinched by the Party Congress, they should begin *four months* before the Party Congress, when its date is fixed. The issues for discussion have already been under discussion though not stamped with that

name. A long period of discussion will only immobilise the Party and mass work.

In the meanwhile, what is the line of Party work? Just because a discussion is opened, the Party cannot be left without a binding line, permitting anyone to express any opinion and do anything he or any unit likes.

Hence, it is absolutely necessary, according to established Party principles that even when discussions are opened and Party Congress is visualised, the work of the Party is carried on, on the basis of the accepted decisions of the National Council and its directives.

It follows from this that those who violate these decisions and directives must be brought under the discipline of the Party and its organs.

But the organisational proposals of the seventeen just on this question are such that not only ideological-political questions are thrown open for discussion but all organisation, all authority of the National Council, the CEC, the Secretariat and Party Committees is brought to a standstill. The Party organisation as such gets virtually liquidated and anarchy reigns supreme.

They propose that 'organisational measures taken by the National Council during the last year in the midst of an acute inter-Party crisis' be reviewed and revised—that is, cancelled.

The measures of the special Punjab Provincial Conference held after the arrests should be annulled.

The Bengal POC be scrapped and replaced by the old State Council.

'All moves for constituting inquiries into the conduct of leaders like Comrades Gopalan and Sundarayya be withdrawn.'

'The Control Commission be directed to stop further activities relating to issues mentioned above.'

We cannot accept these proposals as they would lead to complete defiance of all Party norms and to liquidation of all Party work and authority.

What is their proposal on the Party Congress?

They want conferences of States to be held where leaders are released and normal conditions have come to prevail.

As for the Party Congress, it must wait until all the leaders are released. That is conferences are held where leaders are released and not held where they are not. But the discussions are held in the Party even without these leaders or their participation.

Thus we will have States which have held conferences and elected delegates and States which have done nothing but discussions. In that condition, we wait for the Congress and also for State conferences where leaders are not released.

Then what is the sense in talking of a Party Congress time-table or holding Party Conferences in some States?

It means that Andhra, Tamilnad, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Gujarat hold the conferences for the Congress and elect delegates and new State committees. The others wait. And the Congress waits for all.

We fail to understand the import of such a proposal. We have not the least objection to wait for the release of the comrades in jail and hold the Party Congress after their release. In that case, the party conferences should be held simultaneously in all States. But if any State wants to hold them after the discussions even without a time table of the Congress, we will not disapprove of it.

This naturally raises the question of membership roll.

On this the Opposition comrades want the rolls of the Vijayawada Congress alone to be held valid, as it was 'accepted by all unanimously.'

We cannot agree to this proposal. Just as the political situation has undergone a change since Vijayawada, the Party membership also has undergone a change. New members have come and are coming to the Party in thousands and they cannot be barred from the Congress.

We have no objection to the National Council evolving a suitable machinery to resolve genuine disputes regarding membership where they arise.

These are the views of the National Council on the several points raised by the statement of the seventeen.

Reading the document, one can see clearly that these comrades are making some very vital demands on the majority in the National Council. We have already said that the nature of their proposals is such that if accepted as they are, they will virtually paralyse all political, ideological work of the Party, will not help unification and disrupt the Party and mass work further. So, we have accepted in principle only their demand to open discussions in the Party, under controlled direction and to prepare for the Party Congress.

But we cannot agree to stop taking disciplinary actions and to stop the Control Commission from functioning. We cannot agree to let the Party remain without any line or authority and guidance from the National Council because the Opposition does not agree. At the same time, all opportunity for free and fair discussion is given to all, consistent with the work of the Party and the mass campaigns.

There is one aspect of the document and the attitude of the seventeen comrades which requires series attention from all. They have, so to say, made all the demands on the majority but they have failed to assume any single obligation on their part. We may, therefore, put to them and their supporters, certain points:

Do they and will they disown unequivocally the slander propogated by the CPC that Communist Party of India (of which these comrades are themselves members) is no longer a Communist Party but is merely a clique?

Do they and will they disown unequivocally and condemn those who make the statement that it is the present leadership and its adherents, who handed over lists of PMs to Government for arrest and that it is this leadership which is responsible for the arrests?

Do they accept the authority and discipline of the National Council and the Party organs, irrespective of their differences with it?

Do they agree to abide by the ideological-political resolution

of the National Council until they are changed by the Party Congress?

Do they and will they denounce the call for organising separately the so-called 'pure' as apart from the 'impure' Communists, inside and outside the Party, which, in effect, is nothing but a call to split the Party and is given by the CPC, since its differences with the international-communist movement and was addressed to those in India also?

Do they agree to stop the chain of papers that have recently appeared as rival to the Party papers and preach a line contrary to that of the Party?

It is regrettable that when these comrades wrote their well-thought-out points for unity, they forgot to notice these things which foment the split and feed disunity. Hence we have put them for their attention and answer.

In short, to put it bluntly, do they really wish to bring about unity or only make manoeuvres under the guise of unity proposals? We consider that the statement of the seventeen is actuated by a desire to prevent a split. But the measures proposed in their actual effect will lead to exactly the opposite effect.

Hence, we have accepted some and rejected others and made our concrete proposals to prevent a split which, they say, exists in fact. We wish to do all we can to unify the Party and take the country and the working people forward.

A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement*

**To the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union**

Dear Comrades:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has studied the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of 30 March 1963.

All who have the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement at heart are deeply concerned about the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and hope that our talks will help to eliminate differences, strengthen unity and create favourable conditions for convening a meeting of representatives of all the Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is the common and sacred duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries to uphold and strengthen the unity of the international communist movement. The Chinese and Soviet Parties bear a heavier responsibility for the unity of the entire socialist camp and international communist movement and should of course make commensurately greater efforts.

A number of major differences of principle now exist in the international communist movement. But however serious

*Under the headline "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement", the *People's Daily* published on 17th June the 14th June reply of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dated 30 March. This is the full text of the reply which was delivered to the Central Committee of the CPSU on 15 June.

these differences, we should exercise sufficient patience and find ways to eliminate them so that we can unite our forces and strengthen the struggle against our common enemy.

It is with this sincere desire that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approaches the forthcoming talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties.

In its letter of 30 March, the Central Committee of the CPSU systematically presents its views on questions that need to be discussed in the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties, and in particular raises the question of the general line of the international communist movement. In this letter we too would like to express our views, which constitute our proposal on the general line of the international communist movement and on some related questions of principle.

We hope that this exposition of views will be conducive to mutual understanding by our two Parties and to a detailed, point-by-point discussion in the talks.

We also hope that this will be conducive to the understanding of our views by the fraternal Parties and to a full exchange of ideas at an international meeting of fraternal parties.

1. The general line of the international communist movement must take as its guiding principle the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory concerning the historical mission of the proletariat and must not depart from it.

The Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960 adopted the 'Declaration and the Statements' respectively after a full exchange of views and in accordance with the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation. 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.

It is true that for several years there have been differences within the international communist movement in the

understanding of, and the attitude towards, the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960. The central issue here is whether or not to accept the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement. In the last analysis, it is a question of whether or not to accept the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, whether or not to recognise the universal significance of the road of the October Revolution, whether or not to accept the fact that the people still living under the imperialist and capitalist system, who comprise two-thirds of the world's population, need to make revolution, and whether or not to accept the fact that the people already on the socialist road, who comprise one-third of the world's population, need to carry their revolution forward to the end.

It has become an urgent and vital task of the international communist movement resolutely to defend the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement.

Only by strictly following the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the general road of the October Revolution is it possible to have a correct understanding of the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement and a correct attitude towards them.

2. What are the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement? They may be summarised as follows:

Workers of all countries, unite; workers of the world, unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations; oppose imperialism and reaction in all countries; strive for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism; consolidate and expand the socialist camp; bring the proletarian world revolution step by step to complete victory; and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man.

This, in our view, is the general line of the international communist movement at the present stage.

3. This general line proceeds from the actual world situation

taken as a whole and from a class analysis of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world, and is directed against the counter-revolutionary global strategy of U.S. imperialism.

This general line is one of forming a broad united front, with the socialist camp and the international proletariat as its nucleus, to oppose the imperialists and reactionaries headed by the United States; it is a line of boldly arousing the masses, expanding the revolutionary forces, winning over the middle forces and isolating the reactionary forces.

This general line is one of resolute revolutionary struggle by the people of all countries and of carrying the proletarian world revolution forward to the end; it is the line that most effectively combats imperialism and defends world peace.

If the general line of the international communist movement is one-sidedly reduced to "peaceful coexistence", "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition", this is to violate the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, to discard the historical mission of proletarian world revolution, and to depart from the revolutionary teachings of Marxism.

The general line of the international communist movement should reflect the general law of development of world history. The revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the people in various countries go through different stages and they all have their own characteristics, but they will not transcend the general law of development of world history. The general line should point out the basic direction for the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and people of all countries.

While working out its specific line and policies, it is most important for each Communist or Worker's Party to adhere to the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution and construction in its own country.

4. In defining the general line of the international communist movement, the starting point is the concrete class

analysis of world politics and economics as a whole and of actual world conditions, that is to say, of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world.

If one avoids a concrete class analysis, seizes at random on certain superficial phenomena, and draws subjective and groundless conclusions, one cannot possibly reach correct conclusions with regard to the general line of the international communist movement but will inevitably slide on to a track entirely different from that of Marxism-Leninism.

What are the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world? Marxists-Leninists consistently hold that they 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 contradictions among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups.

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 Marxists-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.

The international balance of forces has changed and has become increasingly favourable to socialism and to all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world, and most unfavourable to imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries. Nevertheless, the contradictions enumerated above still objectively exist.

These contradictions and the struggles to which they give rise are interrelated and influence each other. Nobody can obliterate any of these fundamental contradictions or subjectively substitute one for all the rest.

It is inevitable that these contradictions will give rise to popular revolutions, which alone can resolve them.

5. The following erroneous views should be repudiated on the question of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world:

a) The view which blots out the class content of the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps and fails to see this contradiction as one between states under the dictatorship of the proletariat and states under the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists;

b) The view which recognises only the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps, while neglecting or underestimating the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist world, between the oppressed nations and imperialism, among the imperialist countries and among the monopoly capitalist groups, and the struggles to which these contradictions give rise;

c) The view which maintains with regard to the capitalist world that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie can be resolved without a proletarian revolution in each country and that the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism can be resolved without revolution by the oppressed nations;

d) The view which denies that the development of the inherent contradictions in the contemporary capitalist world inevitably leads to a new situation in which the imperialist countries are locked in an intense struggle, and asserts that the contradictions among the imperialist countries can be reconciled, or even eliminated, by "international agreements among the big monopolies"; and

e) The view which maintains that the contradiction between the two world systems of socialism and capitalism will automatically disappear in the course of "economic competition", that the other fundamental world contradictions will automatically do so with the disappearance of the contradiction between the two systems, and that a "world without wars", a new world of "all-round cooperation", will appear.

It is obvious that these erroneous views inevitably lead to erroneous and harmful policies and hence to setbacks and losses of one kind or another to the cause of the people and of socialism.

6. The balance of forces between imperialism and socialism has undergone a fundamental change since World War II. The main indication of this change is that the world now has not just one socialist country but a number of socialist countries forming the mighty socialist camp, and that the people who have taken the socialist road now number not two hundred million but a thousand million, or a third of the world's population.

The socialist camp is the outcome of the struggles of the international proletariat and working people. It belongs to the international proletariat and working people as well as to the people of the socialist countries.

The main common demands of the people of the countries in the socialist camp and the international proletariat and working people are that all the Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist camp should:

adhere to the Marxist-Leninist line and pursue correct Marxist-Leninist domestic and foreign policies;

consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat and carry the socialist revolution onward to the end on the economic political and ideological fronts;

promote the initiative and creativeness of the broad masses, carry out socialist construction in a planned way, develop production, improve the people's livelihood and strengthen national defence;

strengthen the unity of the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and support other socialist countries on the basis of proletarian internationalism;

oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war, and defend world peace;

oppose the anti-communist, anti-popular and counter-revolutionary policies of the reactionaries of all countries; and

help the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed classes and nations of the world.

All Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist camp owe it to their own people and to the international proletariat and working people to fulfil these demands.

By fulfilling these demands the socialist camp will exert a decisive influence on the course of human history.

For this very reason, the imperialists and reactionaries invariably try in a thousand and one ways to influence the domestic and foreign policies of the countries in the socialist camp, to undermine the camp and break up the unity of the socialist countries and particularly the unity of China and the Soviet Union. They invariably try to infiltrate and subvert the socialist countries and even entertain the extravagant hope of destroying the socialist camp.

The question of what is the correct attitude towards the socialist camp is a most important question of principle confronting all Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is under new historical conditions that the Communist and Workers' Parties are now carrying on the task of proletarian internationalist unity and struggle. When only one socialist country existed and when this country was faced with hostility and jeopardised by all the imperialists and reactionaries because it firmly pursued the correct Marxist-Leninist line and policies, the touchstone of proletarian internationalism for every Communist Party was whether or not it resolutely defended the only socialist country. Now there is a socialist camp consisting of thirteen countries—Albania, Bulgaria, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Under these circumstances, the touchstone of proletarian internationalism for every Communist Party is whether or not it resolutely defends the whole of the socialist camp, whether or not it defends the unity of all the countries in the camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and whether or not it defends

the Marxist-Leninist line and policies which the socialist countries ought to pursue.

If anybody does not pursue the correct Marxist-Leninist line and policies, does not defend the unity of the socialist camp but on the contrary creates tension and splits within it, or even follows the policies of the Yugoslav revisionists, tries to liquidate the socialist camp or helps capitalist countries to attack fraternal socialist countries, then he is betraying the interests of the entire international proletariat and the people of the world.

If anybody, following in the footsteps of others, defends the erroneous opportunist line and policies pursued by a certain socialist country instead of upholding the correct Marxist-Leninist line and policies which the socialist countries ought to pursue, defends the policy of split instead of upholding the policy of unity, then he is departing from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

7. Taking advantage of the situation after World War II, the U.S. imperialists stepped into the shoes of the German, Italian and Japanese fascists, and have been trying to erect a huge world empire such as has never been known before. The strategic objectives of U.S. imperialism have been to grab and dominate the intermediate zone lying between the United States and the socialist camp, put down the revolutions of the oppressed peoples and nations, proceed to destroy the socialist countries, and thus to subject all the peoples and countries of the world, including its allies, to domination and enslavement by U.S. monopoly capital.

Ever since World War II, the U.S. imperialists have been conducting propaganda for war against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. There are two aspects to this propaganda. While the U.S. imperialists are actually preparing such a war, they also use this propaganda as a smokescreen of their oppression of the American people and for the extension of their aggression against the rest of the capitalist world.

The 1960 Statement points out:

“U.S. imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter”.

“The United States is the mainstay of colonialism today.”

“U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war.”

“International developments in recent years have furnished many new proofs of the fact that U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, that it has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world.”

U.S. imperialism is pressing its policies of aggression and war all over the world, but the outcome is bound to be the opposite of that intended—it will only be to hasten the awakening of the people in all countries and to hasten their revolutions.

The U.S. imperialists have thus placed themselves in opposition to the people of the whole world and have become encircled by them. The international proletariat must and can unite all the forces that can be united, make use of the internal contradictions in the enemy camp and establish the broadest united front against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

The realistic and correct course is to entrust the fate of the people and of mankind to the unity and struggle of the world proletariat and to the unity and struggle of the people in all countries.

Conversely, to make no distinction between enemies, friends and ourselves and to entrust the fate of the people and mankind to collaboration with U.S. imperialism is to lead people astray. The events of the last few years have exploded this illusion.

8. 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.

The national democratic revolutionary movement in these

areas and the international socialist revolutionary movement are the two great historical currents of our time.

The national democratic revolution in these areas is an important component of the contemporary proletarian world revolution.

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.

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.

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 one of overall importance for the whole cause of proletarian world revolution.

Certain persons now go so far as to deny the great international significance of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and, on the pretext of breaking down the barriers of nationality, colour and geographical location, are trying their best to efface the line of demarcation between oppressed and oppressor nations and between oppressed and oppressor countries and to hold down the revolutionary struggles of the peoples in these areas. In fact, they cater to the needs of imperialism and create a new "theory" to justify the rule of imperialism in these areas and the promotion of its policies of old and new colonialism. Actually, this "theory" seeks not to break down the barriers of nationality, colour and geographical location but to maintain the rule of the "superior nations" over the oppressed nations. It is only natural that this fraudulent "theory" is rejected by the people in these areas.

The working class in every socialist country and in every capitalist country must truly put into effect the fighting slogans,

“Workers of All Countries, Unite!” and “Workers and Oppressed Nations of the World, Unite!”; it must study the revolutionary experience of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, firmly support their revolutionary action and regard the cause of their liberation as a most dependable support for itself and as directly in accord with its own interest. This is the only effective way to break down the barriers of nationality, colour and geographical location and this is the only genuine proletarian internationalism.

It is impossible for the working class in the European and American capitalist countries to liberate itself unless it unites with the oppressed nations and unless those nations are liberated. Lenin rightly said, “The revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would actually be a sheer fraud if, in their struggle against capital, the workers of Europe and America were not closely and completely united with the hundreds upon hundreds of millions of ‘colonial’ slaves who are oppressed by capital.”¹

Certain persons in the international communist movement are now taking a passive or scornful or negative attitude towards the struggles of the oppressed nations for liberation. They are in fact protecting the interests of monopoly capital, betraying those of the proletariat, and degenerating into social democrats.

The attitude taken towards revolutionary struggles of the people in the Asian, African and Latin American countries is an important criterion for differentiating those who want revolution from those who do not and those who are truly defending world peace from those who are abetting the forces of aggression and war.

9. The oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are faced with the urgent task of fighting imperialism and its lackeys.

History has entrusted to the proletarian parties in these areas the glorious mission of holding high the banner of struggle against imperialism, against old and new colonialism and for national independence and people’s democracy,

of standing in the forefront of the national democratic revolutionary movement and striving for a socialist future.

In these areas, extremely broad sections of the population refuse to be slaves of imperialism. They include not only the workers, peasants, intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie, but also the patriotic national bourgeoisie and even certain kings, princes and aristocrats, who are patriotic.

The proletariat and its party must have confidence in the strength of the masses and, above all, must unite with the peasants and establish a solid worker-peasant alliance. It is of primary importance for advanced members of the proletariat to work in the rural areas, help the peasants to get organised, and raise their class consciousness and their national self-respect and self-confidence.

On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance the proletariat and its party must unite all the strata that can be united and organise a broad united front against imperialism and its lackeys. In order to consolidate and expand this united front it is necessary that the proletarian party should maintain its ideological, political and organisational independence and insist on the leadership of the revolution.

The proletarian party and the revolutionary people must learn to master all forms of struggle, including armed struggle. They must defeat counter-revolutionary armed force with revolutionary armed force whenever imperialism and its lackeys resort to armed suppression.

The nationalist countries which have recently won political independence are still confronted with the arduous tasks of consolidating it, liquidating the forces of imperialism and domestic reaction, carrying out agrarian and other social reforms and developing their national economy and culture. It is of practical and vital importance for these countries to guard and fight against the neo-colonialist policies which the old colonialists adopt to preserve their interests, and especially against the neo-colonialism of U.S. imperialism.

In some of these countries, the patriotic national bourgeoisie continue to stand with the masses in the struggle

against imperialism and colonialism and introduce certain measures of social progress. This requires the proletarian party to make a full appraisal of the progressive role of the patriotic national bourgeoisie and strengthen unity with them.

As the internal social contradictions and the international class struggle sharpen, the bourgeoisie, and particularly the big bourgeoisie, in some newly independent countries increasingly tend to become retainers of imperialism and to pursue anti-popular, anti-Communist and counter-revolutionary policies. It is necessary for the proletarian party resolutely to oppose these reactionary policies.

Generally speaking, the bourgeoisie in these countries have a dual character. When a united front is formed with the bourgeoisie, the policy of the proletarian party should be one of both unity and struggle. The policy should be to unite with the bourgeoisie, in so far as they tend to be progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, but to struggle against their reactionary tendencies to compromise and collaborate with imperialism and the forces of feudalism.

On the national question the world outlook of the proletarian party is internationalism, and not nationalism. In the revolutionary struggle it supports progressive nationalism and opposes reactionary nationalism. It must always draw a clear line of demarcation between itself and bourgeois nationalism, to which it must never fall captive.

The 1960 Statement says, "Communists expose attempts by the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie to represent its selfish, narrow class interests as those of the entire nation; they expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans for the same purpose..."

If the proletariat becomes the tail of the landlords and bourgeoisie in the revolution, no real or thorough victory in the national democratic revolution is possible, and even if victory of a kind is gained, it will be impossible to consolidate it.

In the course of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples, the proletarian party must put

forward a programme of its own which is thoroughly against imperialism and domestic reaction and for national independence and people's democracy, and it must work independently among the masses, constantly expand the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and isolate the reactionary forces; only thus can it carry the national democratic revolution through to the end and guide the revolution on the road of socialism.

10. In the imperialist and the capitalist countries, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are essential for the thorough resolution of the contradictions of capitalist society.

In striving to accomplish this task the proletarian party must under the present circumstances actively lead the working class and the working people in struggles to oppose monopoly capital, to defend democratic rights, to oppose the menace of fascism, to improve living conditions, to oppose imperialist arms expansion and war preparations, to defend world peace and actively to support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations.

In the capitalist countries which U.S. imperialism controls or is trying to control, the working class and the people should direct their attacks mainly against U.S. imperialism, but also against their own monopoly capitalists and other reactionary forces who are betraying the national interests.

Large-scale mass struggles in the capitalist countries in recent years have shown that the working class and working people are experiencing a new awakening. Their struggles, which are dealing blows at monopoly capital and reaction, have opened bright prospect for the revolutionary cause in their own countries and are also a powerful support for the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and for the countries of the socialist camp.

The proletarian parties in imperialist or capitalist countries must maintain their own ideological, political and organisational independence in leading revolutionary struggles. At the same time, they must unite all the forces that can be

united and build a broad united front against monopoly capital and against the imperialist policies of aggression and war.

While actively leading immediate struggles, Communists in the capitalist countries would link them with the struggle for long-range and general interests, educate the masses in a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit, ceaselessly raise their political consciousness and undertake the historical task of the proletarian revolution. If they fail to do so, if they regard the immediate movement as everything, determine their conduct from case to case, adapt themselves to the events of the day and sacrifice the basic interests of the proletariat, that is out-and-out social democracy.

Social democracy is a bourgeois ideological trend. Lenin pointed out long ago that the social democratic parties are political detachments of the bourgeoisie, its agents in the working class movement and its principal social prop. Communists must at all times draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and social democratic parties on the basic question of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and liquidate the ideological influence of social democracy in the international working class movement and among the working people. Beyond any shadow of doubt, Communists must win over the masses under the influence of the social democratic parties and must win over those Left and middle elements in the social democratic parties who are willing to oppose domestic monopoly capital and domination by foreign imperialism, and must unite with them in extensive joint action in the day-to-day struggle of the working class movement and in the struggle to defend world peace.

In order to lead the proletariat and working people in revolution, Marxist-Leninist parties must master all forms of struggle and be able to substitute one form for another quickly as the conditions of struggle change. The vanguard of the proletariat will remain unconquerable in all circumstances only if it masters all forms of struggle—peaceful and armed, open and secret, legal and illegal, parliamentary

struggle and mass struggle, etc. It is wrong to refuse to use parliamentary and other legal forms of struggle when they can and should be used. However, if a Marxist-Leninist party falls into legalism or parliamentary cretinism, confining the struggle within the limits permitted by the bourgeoisie, this will inevitably lead to renouncing proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

11. On the question of transition from capitalism to socialism, the proletarian party must proceed from the stand of class struggle and revolution and base itself on the Marxist-Leninist teachings concerning the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Communists would always prefer to bring about the transition to socialism by peaceful means. But can peaceful transition be made into a new world-wide strategic principle for the international communist movement? Absolutely not.

Marxism-Leninism consistently holds that the fundamental question in all revolutions is that of state power. The 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement both clearly point out, "Leninism teaches and experience confirms that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily." The old government never topples even in a period of crisis, unless it is pushed. This is a universal law of class struggle.

In specific historical conditions, Marx and Lenin did raise the possibility that revolution may develop peacefully. But, as Lenin pointed out, the peaceful development of revolution is an opportunity "very seldom to be met with in the history of revolutions".

As a matter of fact, there is no historical precedent for peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

Certain persons say there was no precedent when Marx foretold that socialism would inevitably replace capitalism. Then why can we not predict a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism despite the absence of a precedent?

This parallel is absurd. Employing dialectical and historical materialism, Marx analysed the contradictions of capitalism, discovered the objective laws of development of

human society and arrived at a scientific conclusion, whereas the prophets who pin all their hopes on “peaceful transition” proceed from historical idealism, ignore the most fundamental contradictions of capitalism, repudiate the Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle, and arrive at a subjective and groundless conclusion. How can people who repudiate Marxism get any help from Marx?

It is plain to everyone that the capitalist countries are strengthening their state machinery—and especially their military apparatus—the primary purpose of which is to suppress the people in their own countries.

The proletarian party must never base its thinking, its policies for revolution and its entire work on the assumption that the imperialists and reactionaries will accept peaceful transformation.

The proletarian party must prepare itself for two eventualities—while preparing for a peaceful development of the revolution, it must also fully prepare for a non-peaceful development. It should concentrate on the painstaking work of accumulating revolutionary strength, so that it will be ready to seize victory when the conditions for revolution are ripe or to strike powerful blows at the imperialists and the reactionaries when they launch surprise attacks and armed assaults.

If it fails to make such preparations, the proletarian party will paralyse the revolutionary will of the proletariat, disarm itself ideologically and sink into a totally passive state of unpreparedness both politically and organisationally, and the result will be to bury the proletarian revolutionary cause.

12. All social revolutions in the various stages of the history of mankind are historically inevitable and are governed by objective laws independent of man’s will. Moreover, history shows that there never was a revolution which was able to achieve victory without zigzags and sacrifices.

With Marxist-Leninist theory as the basis, the task of the proletarian party is to analyse the concrete historical conditions, put forward the correct strategy and tactics, and guide

the masses in bypassing hidden reefs, avoiding unnecessary sacrifices and reaching the goal step by step. Is it possible to avoid sacrifices altogether? Such is not the case with the slave revolutions, the serf revolutions, the bourgeois revolutions, or the national revolutions; nor is it the case with proletarian revolutions. Even if the guiding line of the revolution is correct, it is impossible to have a sure guarantee against setbacks and sacrifices in the course of the revolution. So long as a correct line is adhered to, the revolution is bound to triumph in the end. To abandon revolution on the pretext of avoiding sacrifices is in reality to demand that the people should forever remain slaves and endure infinite pain and sacrifice.

Elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism tells us that the birth pangs of a revolution are far less painful than the chronic agony of the old society. Lenin rightly said that "even with the most peaceful course of events, the present (capitalist) system always and inevitably exacts countless sacrifices from the working class".²

Whoever considers a revolution can be made only if everything is plain sailing, only if there is an advance guarantee against sacrifices and failure, is certainly no revolutionary.

However difficult the conditions and whatever sacrifices and defeats the revolution may suffer, proletarian revolutionaries should educate the masses in the spirit of revolution and hold aloft the banner of revolution and not abandon it.

It would be "Left" adventurism if the proletarian party should rashly launch a revolution before the objective conditions are ripe. But it would be Right opportunism if the proletarian party should not dare to lead a revolution and to seize state power when the objective conditions are ripe.

Even in ordinary times, when it is leading the masses in the day-to-day struggle, the proletarian party should ideologically, politically and organisationally prepare its own ranks and the masses for revolution and promote revolutionary

struggles, so that it will not miss the opportunity to overthrow the reactionary regime and establish a new state power when the conditions for revolution are ripe. Otherwise, when the objective conditions are ripe, the proletarian party will simply throw away the opportunity of seizing victory.

The proletarian party must be flexible as well as highly principled, and on occasion it must make such compromises as are necessary in the interests of the revolution. But it must never abandon principled policies and the goal of revolution on the pretext of flexibility and of necessary compromises.

The proletarian party must lead the masses in waging struggles against the enemies, and it must know how to utilise the contradictions among those enemies. But the purpose of using these contradictions is to make it easier to attain the goal of the people's revolutionary struggles and not to liquidate these struggles.

Countless facts have proved that, wherever the dark rule of imperialism and reaction exists, the people who form over ninety per cent of the population will sooner or later rise in revolution.

If Communists isolate themselves from the revolutionary demands of the masses, they are bound to lose the confidence of the masses and will be tossed to the rear by the revolutionary current.

If the leading group in any Party adopt a non-Marxist line and convert it into a reformist party, then revolutionary Leninists inside and outside the Party will replace them and lead the people in making revolution. In another kind of situation, the bourgeois revolutionaries will come forward to lead the revolution and the party of the proletariat will forfeit its leadership of the revolution. When the reactionary bourgeoisie betray the revolution and suppress the people, an opportunist line will cause tragic and unnecessary losses to the Communists and the revolutionary masses.

If Communists slide down the path of opportunism, they will degenerate into bourgeois nationalists and become ap-

pendages of the imperialists and the reactionary bourgeoisie.

There are certain persons who assert that they have made the greatest creative contributions to revolutionary theory since Lenin and that they alone are correct. But it is very dubious whether they have ever really given consideration to the extensive experience of the entire world communist movement, whether they have ever really considered the interest, the goal and tasks of the international proletarian movement as a whole, and whether they really have a general line for the international communist movement which conforms with Marxism-Leninism.

In the last few years the international communist movement and the national liberation movement have had many experiences and many lessons. There are experiences which people should praise and there are experiences which make people grieve. Communists and revolutionaries in all countries should ponder and seriously study these experiences of success and failure, so as to draw correct conclusion and useful lessons from them.

13. The socialist countries and the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations support and assist each other.

The national liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the revolutionary movements of the people in the capitalist countries are a strong support to the socialist countries.

It is completely wrong to deny this.

The only attitude for the socialist countries to adopt towards the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations is one of warm sympathy and active support; they must not adopt a perfunctory attitude, or one of national selfishness or of great-power chauvinism.

Lenin said, "Alliance with the revolutionaries of the advanced countries and with all the oppressed people against any and all the imperialists—such is the external policy of the proletariat."³

Whoever fails to understand this point and considers that

the support and aid given by the socialist countries to the oppressed peoples and nations are a burden or charity is going counter to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The superiority of the socialist system and the achievements of the socialist countries in construction play an exemplary role and are an inspiration to the oppressed peoples and the oppressed nations.

But this exemplary role and inspiration can never replace the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations. No oppressed people or nation can win liberation except through its own staunch revolutionary struggle.

Certain persons have one-sidedly exaggerated the role of peaceful competition between socialist and imperialist countries in their attempt to substitute peaceful competition for the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations. According to their preaching, it would seem imperialism will automatically collapse in the course of this peaceful competition and that the only thing the oppressed peoples and nations have to do is to wait quietly for the advent of this day. What does this have in common with Marxist-Leninist views?

Moreover, certain persons have concocted the strange tale that China and some other socialist countries want "to unleash wars" and to spread socialism by "wars between states". As the Statement of 1960 points out, such tales are nothing but imperialist and reactionary slanders. To put it bluntly, the purpose of those who repeat these standards is to hide the fact that they are opposed to revolutions by the oppressed peoples and nations of the world and opposed to others supporting such revolutions.

14. In the last few years much—in fact a great deal—has been said on the question of war and peace. Our views and policies on this question are known to the world, and no one can distort them.

It is a pity that although certain persons in the international communist movement talk about how much they love

peace and hate war, they are unwilling to acquire even a faint understanding of the simple truth on war pointed out by Lenin..

Lenin said, "It seems to me that the main thing that is usually forgotten on the question of war, which receives inadequate attention, the main reason why there is so much controversy, and, I would say, futile, hopeless and aimless controversy, is that people forget the fundamental question of the class character of the war; why the war broke out; the classes that are waging it; the historical and historio-economic conditions that gave rise to it."⁴

As Marxists-Leninists see it, war is the continuation of politics by other means, and every war is inseparable from the political system and the political struggle which give rise to it. If one departs from this scientific Marxist-Leninist proposition which has been confirmed by the entire history of class struggle, one will never be able to understand either the question of war or the question of peace.

There are different types of peace and different types of war. Marxists-Leninists must be clear about what type of peace or what type of war is in question. Lumping just wars and unjust wars together and opposing all of them indiscriminatingly is a bourgeois pacifist and not a Marxist-Leninist approach.

Certain persons say that revolutions are entirely possible without war. Now which types of war are they referring to—is it a war of national liberation or a revolutionary civil war, or is it a world war?

If they are referring to a war of national liberation or a revolutionary civil war, then this formulation is, in effect, opposed to revolutionary wars and to revolution.

If they are referring to a world war, then they are shooting at a non-existent target. Although Marxists-Leninists have pointed out, on the basis of the history of the two world wars, that world wars inevitably lead to revolution, no Marxist-Leninist ever has held or ever will hold that revolution must be made through world war.

Marxists-Leninists take the abolition of war as their ideal and believe that war can be abolished.

But how can war be abolished?

This is how Lenin viewed it: "...our object is to achieve the socialist system of society, which, by abolishing the division of mankind into classes, by abolishing all exploitation of man by man, and of one nation by other nations, will inevitably abolish all possibility of war."⁵

The Statement of 1960 also puts it very clearly, "The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars."

However, certain persons now actually hold that it is possible to bring about "a world without weapons, without armed forces and without wars" through "general and complete disarmament" while the system of imperialism and of the exploitation of man by man still exists. This is sheer illusion.

An elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism tells us that the armed forces are the principal part of the state machine and that a so-called world without weapons and without armed forces can only be a world without states. Lenin said: "Only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historical mission, to throw all armaments on the scrap heap; and the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before."⁶

What are the facts in the world today? Is there a shadow of evidence that the imperialist countries headed by the United States are ready to carry out general and complete disarmament? Are they not each and all engaged in general and complete arms expansion?

We have always maintained 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. Furthermore, it is possible to compel imperialism to accept some kind of agreement on disarmament, through the combined struggle of the socialist countries and the people of the whole world.

If one regards general and complete disarmament as the fundamental road to world peace, spreads the illusion that imperialism will automatically lay down its arms and tries to liquidate the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations on the pretext of disarmament, then this is deliberately to deceive the people of the world and help the imperialists in their policies of aggression and war.

In order to overcome the present ideological confusion in the international working class movement on the question of war and peace, we consider that Lenin's thesis, which has been discarded by the modern revisionists, must be restored in the interest of combating the imperialist policies of aggression and war and defending world peace.

The people of the world universally demand the prevention of a new world war. And it is possible to prevent a new world war.

The question then is, what is the way to secure world peace? According to the Leninist viewpoint, world peace can be won only by the struggles of the peoples in all countries and not by begging the imperialists for it. World peace can only be effectively defended by relying on the development of the forces of socialist camp, on the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and working people of all countries, on the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and on the struggles of all peace-loving people and countries.

Such is the Leninist policy. Any policy to the contrary definitely will not lead to world peace but will only encourage the ambitions of the imperialists and increase the danger of world war.

In recent years, certain persons have been spreading the argument that a single spark from a war of national liberation or from a revolutionary people's war will lead to a world conflagration destroying the whole of mankind. What are the facts? Contrary to what these persons say, the wars of national liberation and the revolutionary people's wars that have occurred since world War II have not led to world

war. The victory of these revolutionary wars has directly weakened the forces of imperialism and greatly strengthened the forces which prevent the imperialists from launching a world war and which defend world peace. Do not the facts demonstrate the absurdity of this argument?

15. The complete banning and destruction of nuclear weapons is an important task in the struggle to defend world peace. We must do our utmost to this end .

Nuclear weapons are unprecedentedly destructive, which is why for more than a decade now the U.S. imperialists have been pursuing their policy of nuclear blackmail in order to realise their ambition of enslaving the peoples of all countries and dominating the world.

But when the imperialists threaten other countries with nuclear weapons, they subject the people in their own country to the same threat, thus arousing them against nuclear weapons and against the imperialist policies of aggression and war. At the same time, in their vain hope of destroying their opponents with nuclear weapons, the imperialists are in fact subjecting themselves to the danger of being destroyed.

The possibility of banning nuclear weapons does indeed exist. However, if the imperialists are forced to accept an agreement to ban nuclear weapons, it decidedly will not be because of their "love for humanity" but because of the pressure of the people of all countries and for the sake of their own vital interests.

In contrast to the imperialists, socialist countries rely upon the righteous strength of the people and on their own correct policies, and have no need whatever to gamble with nuclear weapons in the world arena. Socialist countries have nuclear weapons solely in order to defend themselves and to prevent imperialism from launching a nuclear war.

In the view of Marxists-Leninists, the people are the makers of history. In the present, as in the past, man is the decisive factor. Marxists-Leninists, attach importance to the role of technological change, but it is wrong to belittle the role of man and exaggerate the role of technology.

The emergence of nuclear weapons can neither arrest the progress of human history nor save the imperialist system from its doom, any more than the emergence of new technique could save the old systems from their doom in the past.

The emergence of nuclear weapons does not and cannot resolve the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world, does not and cannot alter the law of class struggle, and does not and cannot change the nature of imperialism and reaction.

It cannot, therefore, be said that with the emergence of nuclear weapons the possibility and the necessity of social and national revolutions have disappeared, or the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and especially the theories of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and of war and peace have become outmoded and changed into stale "dogmas".

16. It was Lenin who advanced the thesis that it is possible for the socialist countries to practise peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries. It is well known that after the great Soviet people had repulsed foreign armed intervention the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, led first by Lenin and then by Stalin consistently pursued the policy of peaceful coexistence and that they were forced to wage a war of self-defence only when attacked by the German imperialists.

Since its founding, the People's Republic of China too has consistently pursued the policy of peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems, and it is China which initiated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

However, a few years ago certain persons suddenly claimed Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence as their own "great discovery". They maintain that they have a monopoly on the interpretation of this policy. They treat "peaceful coexistence" as if it were an all-inclusive, mystical book from heaven and attribute to it every success the people of the world achieve by struggle. What is more, they label all who disagree with their distortions of Lenin's views as opponents of

peaceful coexistence as people completely ignorant of Leninism, and as heretics deserving to be burnt at the stake.

How can the Chinese Communists agree with this view and practice? They cannot, it is impossible.

Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence is very clear and readily comprehensible by ordinary people. Peaceful coexistence designates a relationship between countries with different social systems, and must not be interpreted as one pleases. It should never be extended to apply to the relations between oppressed and oppressor nations, between oppressed and oppressor countries or between oppressed and oppressor classes, and never be described as the main content of the transition from capitalism to socialism, still less should it be asserted that peaceful coexistence is mankind's road to socialism. The reason is that it is one thing to practise peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. It is absolutely impermissible and impossible for countries practising peaceful coexistence to touch even a chair of each other's social system. The class struggle, the struggle for national liberation and the transition from capitalism to socialism in various countries are quite another thing. They are all bitter, life-and-death, revolutionary struggles which aim at changing the social system. Peaceful coexistence cannot replace the revolutionary struggles of the people.

The transition from capitalism to socialism in any country can only be brought about through the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in that country.

In the application of the policy of peaceful coexistence struggles between the socialist and imperialist countries are unavoidable in the political, economic and ideological spheres, and it is absolutely impossible to have "all-round co-operation".

It is necessary for the socialist countries to engage in negotiations of one kind or another with the imperialist countries. It is possible to reach certain agreements through negotiation by relying on the correct policies of the socialist countries and on the pressure of the people of all countries.

But necessary compromises between the socialist countries and the imperialist countries do not require the oppressed peoples and nations to follow suit and compromise with imperialism and its lackeys. No one should ever demand in the name of peaceful coexistence that the oppressed peoples and nations should give up their revolutionary struggles.

The application of the policy of peaceful coexistence by the socialist countries is advantageous for achieving a peaceful international environment for socialist construction, for exposing the imperialist policies of aggression and war and for isolating the imperialist forces of aggression and war. But if the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries is confined to peaceful coexistence, then it is impossible to handle correctly either the relations between socialist countries or those between the socialist countries and the oppressed peoples and nations. Therefore it is wrong to make peaceful coexistence the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries.

In our view, the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries should have the following content: to develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation among the countries in the socialist camp in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism; to strive for peaceful coexistence on the basis of the Five Principles with countries having different social systems and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war; and to support and assist the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations. These three aspects are inter-related and indivisible, and not a single one can be omitted.

17. For a very long historical period after the proletariat takes power, class struggle continues as an objective law independent of man's will, differing only in form from what it was before the taking of power.

After the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out a number of times that:

a) The overthrown exploiters always try in a thousand

and one way to recover the "paradise" they have been deprived of.

b) New elements of capitalism are constantly and spontaneously generated in the petty-bourgeois atmosphere.

c) Political degenerates and new bourgeois elements may emerge in the ranks of the working class and among government functionaries as a result of bourgeois influence and the pervasive, corrupting atmosphere of the petty bourgeoisie.

d) The external conditions for the continuance of class struggle within a socialist country are encirclement by international capitalism, the imperialists' threat of armed intervention and their subversive activities to accomplish peaceful disintegration.

Life has confirmed these conclusions of Lenin's.

For decades or even longer periods after socialist industrialisation and agricultural collectivisation, it will be impossible to say that any socialist country will be free from those elements which Lenin repeatedly denounced, such as bourgeois hangers-on, parasites, speculators, swindlers, idlers, hooligans and embezzlers of state funds; or to say that a socialist country will no longer need to perform or be able to relinquish the task laid down by Lenin of conquering "this contagion, this plague, this ulcer that socialism has inherited from capitalism".

In a socialist country, it takes a very long historical period gradually to settle the question of who will win—socialism or capitalism. The struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism runs through this whole historical period. This struggle rises and falls in a wave-like manner, at times becoming very fierce, and the forms of the struggle are many and varied.

The 1957 Declaration rightly states that "the conquest of power by the working class is only the beginning of the revolution, not its conclusion".

To deny the existence of class struggle in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the necessity of thoroughly completing the socialist revolution on the economic,

political and ideological fronts is wrong, does not correspond to objective reality and violates Marxism-Leninism.

18. Both Marx and Lenin maintained that the entire period before the advent of the higher stage of communist society is the period of transition from capitalism to communism, the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this transition period, the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is to say the proletarian state, goes through the dialectical process of establishment, consolidation, strengthening and withering away.

In the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx posed the question as follows.

“Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat”.⁷

Lenin frequently emphasised Marx’s great theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and analysed the development of this theory, particularly in his outstanding work, the *State and Revolution*, where he wrote:

“...the transition from capitalist society—which is developing towards communism—to a communist society is impossible without a ‘political transition period,’ and the state in this period can only be the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat”.⁸

He further said:

“The essence of Marx’s teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a single class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also the entire historical period which separates capitalism from ‘classless society’, from communism.”⁹

As stated above, the fundamental thesis of Marx and Lenin is that the dictatorship of the proletariat will inevitably continue for the entire historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism, that is, for the entire

period up to the abolition of all class differences and the entry into a classless society, the higher stage of communist society.

What will happen if it is announced, halfway through, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary?

Does this not fundamentally conflict with the teachings of Marx and Lenin on the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

Does this not license the development of "this contagion, this plague, this ulcer that socialism has inherited from capitalism"?

In other words, this would lead to extremely grave consequences and make any transition to communism out of the question.

Can there be a "state of the whole people"? Is it possible to replace the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat by a "state of the whole people"?

This is not a question about the internal affairs of any particular country but a fundamental problem involving the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.

In the view of Marxists-Leninists, there is no such thing as a non-class or supra-class state. So long as the state remains a state, it must bear a class character; so long as the state exists, it cannot be a state of the "whole people". As soon as society becomes classless, there will no longer be a state.

Then what sort of thing would a "state of the whole people" be?

Anyone with an elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism can understand that the so-called "state of the whole people" is nothing new. Representative bourgeois figures have always called the bourgeois state a "state of all the people", or a "state in which power belongs to all the people".

Certain persons may say that their society is already one without classes. We answer : No, there are classes and class struggle in all socialist countries without exception.

Since remnants of the old exploiting classes who are trying to stage a comeback still exist there, since new capitalist elements are constantly being generated there, and since there are still parasites, speculators, idlers, hooligans, embezzlers of state funds, etc., how can it be said that classes or class struggles no longer exist? How can it be said that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary?

Marxism-Leninism tells us that in addition to the suppression of the hostile classes, the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the course of building socialism necessarily include the correct handling of relations between the working class and peasantry, the consolidation of their political and economic alliance and the creation of conditions for the gradual elimination of the class differences between worker and peasant.

When we look at the economic base of any socialist society, we find that the difference between ownership by the whole people and collective ownership exists in all Socialist countries without exception, and that is individual ownership too. Ownership by the whole people and collective ownership are two kinds of ownership and two kinds of relations of production in socialist society. The workers in enterprises owned by the whole people and the peasants on farms owned collectively belong to two different categories of labourers in socialist society. Therefore, the class difference between worker and peasant exists in all socialist countries without exception. This difference will not disappear until the transition to the higher stage of communism is achieved. In their present level of economic development all socialist countries are still far, far removed from the higher stage of communism in which "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" is put into practice. Therefore, it will take a long, long time to eliminate the class difference between worker and peasant. And until this difference is eliminated, it is impossible to say that society is classless or that there is no longer any need for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In calling a socialist state the "state of the whole people", is one trying to replace the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state by the bourgeois theory of the state? Is one trying to replace the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat by a state of different character?

If that is the case, it is nothing but a great historical retrogression. The degeneration of the social system in Yugoslavia is a grave lesson.

19. Leninism holds that the proletarian party must exist together with the dictatorship of the proletariat in socialist countries. The party of the proletariat is indispensable for the entire historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The reason is that the dictatorship of the proletariat has to struggle against the enemies of the proletariat and of the people, remould the peasants and other small producer, constantly consolidate the proletarian ranks, build socialism and effect the transition to communism; none of these things can be done without the leadership of the party of the proletariat.

Can there be a "party of the entire people"? Is it possible to replace the party which is the vanguard of the proletariat by a party of the entire people"?

This, too, is not a question about the internal affairs of any particular party, but a fundamental problem involving the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.

In the view of Marxists-Leninists, there is no such thing as a non-class or supra-class political party. All political parties have a class character. Party spirit is the concentrated expression of class character.

The party of the proletariat is the only party able to represent the interests of the whole people. It can do so precisely because it represents the interests of the proletariat, whose ideas and will it concentrates. It can lead the whole people because the proletariat can finally emancipate itself only with the emancipation of all mankind, because the very nature of the proletariat enables its party to approach problems in terms of its present and future interests,

because the party is boundlessly loyal to the people and has the spirit of self-sacrifice; hence its democratic centralism and iron discipline. Without such a party, it is impossible to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and to represent the interests of the whole people.

What will happen if it is announced halfway before entering the higher stage of communist society that the party of the proletariat has become a "party of the entire people" and if its proletarian class character is repudiated?

Does this not fundamentally conflict with the teachings of Marx and Lenin on the party of the proletariat?

Does this not disarm the proletariat and all the working people, organisationally and ideologically, and is it not tantamount to helping restore capitalism?

Is it not "going south by driving the chariot north" to talk about any transition to communist society in such circumstances?

20 Over the past few years, certain persons have violated Lenin's integral teachings about the inter-relationship of leaders, party, class and masses, and raised the issue of "combating the cult of the individual"; this is erroneous and harmful.

The theory propounded by Lenin is as follows:

- a) The masses are divided into classes;
- b) Classes are usually led by political parties;
- c) Political parties 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 are called leaders.

Lenin said, "All this is elementary."

The party of the proletariat is the headquarters of the proletariat in revolution and struggle. Every proletarian party must practice centralism based on democracy and establish a strong Marxist-Leninist leadership before it can become an organised and battle-worthy vanguard. To raise the question of "combating the cult of the individual" is actually to counterpoise 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.

Lenin criticised the erroneous views which counterpoise the leaders to the masses. He called them "ridiculously absurd and stupid".

The Communist Party of China has always disapproved of exaggerating the role of the individual, has advocated and persistently practised democratic centralism within the Party and advocated the linking of the leadership with the masses, maintaining that correct leadership must know how to concentrate the views of the masses.

While loudly combating the so-called "cult of the individual", certain persons are in reality doing their best to defame the proletarian party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time, they are enormously exaggerating the role of certain individuals, shifting all errors onto others and claiming all credit for themselves.

What is more serious is that under the pretext of "combating the cult of the individual", certain persons are crudely interfering in the internal affairs of other fraternal Parties and fraternal countries and forcing other fraternal Parties to change their leadership in order to impose their own wrong line on these Parties. What is all this if not great-power chauvinism, sectarianism and splittism? What is all this if not subversion?

It is high time to propagate seriously and comprehensively Lenin's integral teachings on the inter-relationship of leaders, party, class and masses.

21. Relations between socialist countries are international relations of a new type. Relations between socialist countries, whether large or small, and whether more developed or less developed economically, must be based on the principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and must also be based on the principles of mutual support and mutual assistance in accordance with proletarian internationalism.

Every socialist country must rely mainly on itself for its construction.

In accordance with its own concrete conditions, every socialist country must rely first of all on the diligent labour and talents of its own people, utilise all its available resources fully and in a planned way, and bring all its potential into play in socialist construction. Only thus can it build socialism effectively and develop its economy speedily.

This is the only way for each socialist country to strengthen the might of the entire socialist camp and enhance its capacity to assist the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat. Therefore, to observe the principle of mainly relying on oneself in construction is to apply proletarian internationalism concretely.

If, proceeding only from its own partial interests, any socialist country unilaterally demands that other fraternal countries submit to its needs, and uses the pretext of opposing what they call "going it alone" and "nationalism" to prevent other fraternal countries from applying the principle of relying mainly on their own efforts in their construction and from developing their economies on the basis of independence, or even goes to the length of putting economic pressure on other fraternal countries—then these are pure manifestations of national egoism.

It is absolutely necessary for socialist countries to practise mutual economic assistance and cooperation and exchange. Such economic cooperation must be based on the principles of complete equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance.

It would be great-power chauvinism to deny these basic principles and, in the name of "international division of labour" or "specialisation", to impose one's own will on others, infringe on the independence and sovereignty of fraternal countries or harm the interests of their people.

In relations among socialist countries it would be preposterous to follow the practice of gaining profit for oneself at the expense of others, a practice characteristic of relations

among capitalist countries, or go so far as to take the "economic integration" and the "common market", which monopoly capitalist groups have instituted for the purpose of seizing markets and grabbing profits, as examples which socialist countries ought to follow in their economic cooperation and mutual assistance.

22. The 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement lay down the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties. These are the principle of solidarity, the principle of mutual support and mutual assistance, the principle of independence and equality and the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation—all on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We note that in its letter of 30 March the Central Committee of the CPSU says that there are no "superior" and "subordinate" Parties in the communist movement, that all Communist Parties are independent and equal, and that they should all build their relations on the basis of proletarian internationalism and mutual assistance.

It is a fine quality of Communists that their deeds are consistent with their words. The only correct way to safeguard and strengthen unity among the fraternal Parties is genuinely to adhere to, and not to violate, the principle of proletarian internationalism and genuinely to observe, and not to undermine, the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties—and to do so not only in words but, much more important, in deeds.

If the principle of independence and equality is accepted in relations among fraternal Parties, then it is impermissible for any Party to place itself above others, to interfere in the internal affairs, and to adopt patriarchal ways in relations with them.

If it is accepted that there are no "superiors" and "subordinates" in relations among fraternal Parties, then it is impermissible to impose the programme, resolutions and line of one's own Party on other fraternal Parties as the "common programme" of the international communist movement.

If the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation is accepted in relations among fraternal Parties, then one should not emphasise "who is in the majority" or "who is in the minority" and bank on a so-called majority in order to force through one's own erroneous line and carry out sectarian and splitting policies.

If it is agreed that differences between fraternal Parties should be settled through inter-Party consultation, then other fraternal Parties should not be attacked publicly and by name at one's own congress or at other Party congresses, in speeches by Party leaders, resolutions, statements, etc.; and still less should the ideological differences among fraternal Parties be extended into the sphere of state relations.

We hold that in the present circumstances, when there are differences in the international communist movement, it is particularly important to stress strict adherence to the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as laid down in the Declaration and the Statement.

In the sphere of relations among fraternal Parties and countries the question of Soviet-Albanian relations is an outstanding one at present. Here the question is what is the correct way to treat a fraternal Party and country and whether the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries stipulated in the Declaration and the Statement are to be adhered to. The correct solution of this question is an important matter of principle in safeguarding the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

How to treat the Marxist-Leninist fraternal Albanian Party of Labour is one question. How to treat the Yugoslav revisionist clique of traitors to Marxism-Leninism is quite another question. These two essentially different questions must of no account be placed on a par.

Your letter says that you "do not relinquish the hope that the relations between the CPSU and the Albanian Party of Labour may be improved", but at the same time you continue to attack the Albanian comrades for what you call "splitting activities". Clearly this is self-contradictory and

in no way contributes to resolving the problem of Soviet-Albanian relations.

Who is it that has taken splitting actions in Soviet-Albanian relations?

Who is it that has extended the ideological differences between the Soviet and Albanian Parties to state relations?

Who is it that has brought the divergences between the Soviet and Albanian Parties and between the two countries into the open before the enemy?

Who is it that has openly called for a change in the Albanian Party and state leadership?

All this is plain and clear to the whole world.

Is it possible that the leading comrades of the CPSU do not really feel their responsibility for the fact that Soviet-Albanian relations have so seriously deteriorated?

We once again express our sincere hope that the leading comrades of the CPSU will observe the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries and take the initiative in seeking an effective way to improve Soviet-Albanian relations.

In short, the question of how to handle relations with fraternal Parties and countries must be taken seriously. Strict adherence to the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries is the only way forcefully to rebuff slanders such as those spread by the imperialists and reactionaries about the "hand of Moscow".

Proletarian internationalism is demanded of all Parties without exception, whether large or small, and whether in power or not. However, the large Parties and the Parties in power bear a particularly heavy responsibility in this respect. The series of distressing developments which have occurred in the socialist camp in the past period have harmed the interests not only of the fraternal Parties concerned but also of the masses of the people in their countries. This convincingly demonstrates that the large countries and Parties need to keep in mind Lenin's behest never to commit the error of great-power chauvinism.

The comrades of the CPSU state in their letter that "the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has never taken and will never take a single step that could sow hostility among the peoples of our country towards the fraternal Chinese people or other peoples". Here we do not desire to go back and enumerate the many unpleasant events that have occurred in the past, and we only wish that the comrades of the CPSU will strictly abide by this statement in their future actions.

During the past few years, our Party members and our people have exercised the greatest restraint in the face of a series of grave incidents which were in violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal parties and countries and despite the many difficulties and losses which have been imposed on us. The spirit of proletarian internationalism of the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people has stood a severe test.

The Communist Party of China is unswervingly loyal to proletarian internationalism, upholds and defends the principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement guiding relations among fraternal parties and countries, and safeguards and strengthens the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

23. In order to carry out the common programme of the international communist movement unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties, an uncompromising struggle must be waged against all forms of opportunism, which is a deviation from Marxism-Leninism.

The Declaration and the Statement point out that revisionism, or, in other words, Right opportunism, is the main danger in the international communist movement. Yugoslav revisionism typifies modern revisionism.

The Statement points out particularly : "The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist 'theories' in concentrated form."

It goes on to say :

"After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed

obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the League of Communists of Yugoslavia against the international communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called 'aid' from U.S. and other imperialists..."

The Statement says further :

"The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries."

Therefore, it draws the following conclusion :

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

The question raised here is an important one of principle for the international communist movement .

Only recently the Tito clique have publicly stated that they are persisting in their revisionist programme and anti-Marxist-Leninist stand in opposition on the Declaration and statement.

U.S. imperialism and its NATO partners have spent several thousand millions of U.S. dollars nursing the Tito clique for a long time. Cloaked as "Marxists-Leninists" and flaunting the banner of a "socialist country", the Tito clique has been undermining the international communist movement and the revolutionary cause of the people of the world, serving as a special detachment of U.S. imperialism.

It is completely groundless and out of keeping with the facts to assert that Yugoslavia is showing "definite positive tendencies", that it is a "socialist country", and that the Tito clique is an "anti-imperialist force".

Certain persons are now attempting to introduce the

Yugoslav revisionist clique into the socialist community and the international communist ranks. This is openly to tear up the agreement unanimously reached at the 1960 meeting of the fraternal Parties and is absolutely impermissible.

Over the past few years, the revisionist trend flooding the international working class movement and the many experiences and lessons of the international communist movement have fully confirmed the correctness of the conclusion in the Declaration and the Statement that revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement at present.

However, certain persons are openly saying that dogmatism and not revisionism is the main danger, or that dogmatism is no less dangerous than revisionism, etc. What sort of principle underlies all this?

Firm Marxists-Leninists and genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties must put principles first. They must not barter away principles, approving one thing today and another tomorrow, advocating one thing today and another tomorrow.

Together with all Marxists-Leninists, the Chinese Communists will continue to wage an uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism in order to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the principled stand of the Declaration and the Statement.

While combating revisionism, which is the main danger in the international communist movement, Communists must also combat dogmatism.

As stated in the 1957 Declaration, proletarian parties "should firmly adhere to the principle of combining.....universal Marxist-Leninist truth with the specific practice of revolution and construction in their countries".

That is to say :

On the one hand, it is necessary at all times to adhere to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. Failure to do so will lead to Right opportunist or revisionist errors.

On the other hand, it is always necessary to proceed from reality, maintain close contact with the masses, constantly

sum up the experience of mass struggles, and independently work out and apply policies and tactics suited to the conditions of one's own country. Errors of dogmatism will be committed if one fails to do so, if one mechanically copies the policies and tactics of another Communist Party, submits blindly to the will of others or accepts without analysis the programme and resolutions of another Communist Party as one's own line.

Some people are now violating this basic principle, which was long ago affirmed in the Declaration. On the pretext of "creatively developing Marxism-Leninism", they cast aside the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. Moreover, they describe as "universal Marxist-Leninist truths" their own prescriptions which are based on nothing but subjective conjecture and are divorced from reality and from the masses, and they force others to accept these prescriptions unconditionally.

That is why many grave phenomena have come to pass in the international communist movement.

24. A most important lesson from the experience of the international communist movement is that the development and victory of a revolution depend on the existence of a revolutionary proletarian party.

There must be a revolutionary party.

There must be a revolutionary party built according to the revolutionary theory and revolutionary style of Marxism-Leninism.

There must be a revolutionary party able to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in its own country.

There must be a revolutionary party able to link the leadership closely with the broad masses of the people.

There must be a revolutionary party that perseveres in the truth, corrects its errors and knows how to conduct criticism and self-criticism.

Only such a revolutionary party can lead the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism

and its lackeys, winning a thorough victory in the national democratic revolution and winning the socialist revolution. If a party is not a proletarian revolutionary party but a bourgeois reformist party;

If it is not a Marxist-Leninist Party but a revisionist party;

If it is not a vanguard party of the proletariat but a party tailing after the bourgeoisie;

If it is not a party representing the interests of the proletariat and all the working people but a party representing the interests of the labour aristocracy;

If it is not an internationalist party but a nationalist party;

If it is not a party that can use its brains to think for itself and acquire an accurate knowledge of the trends of the different classes in its own country through serious investigation and study, and knows how to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and integrate it with the concrete practice of its own country, but instead is a party that parrots the words of others, copies foreign experience without analysis, runs hither and thither in response to the baton of certain persons abroad, and has become a hodgepodge of revisionism, dogmatism and everything but Marxist-Leninist principle;

Then such a party is absolutely incapable of leading the proletariat and the masses in revolutionary struggle, absolutely incapable of winning the revolution and absolutely incapable of fulfilling the great historical mission of the proletariat.

This is a question all Marxists-Leninists, all class-conscious workers and all progressive people everywhere need to ponder deeply.

25. It is the duty of Marxists-Leninists to distinguish between truth and falsehood with respect to the differences that have arisen in the international communist movement. In the common interest of the unity for struggle against the enemy, we have always advocated solving problems through inter-Party consultations and opposed bringing differences into the open before the enemy.

As the comrades of the CPSU know, the public polemics in the international communist movement have been provoked by certain fraternal Party leaders and forced on us.

Since a public debate has been provoked, it ought to be conducted on the basis of equality among fraternal Parties and of democracy, and by representing the facts and reasoning things out.

Since certain Party leaders have publicly attacked other fraternal Parties and provoked a public debate, it is our opinion that they have no reason or right to forbid the fraternal Parties attacked to make public replies.

Since certain Party leaders have published innumerable articles attacking other fraternal Parties, why do they not publish in their own press the articles those Parties have written in reply?

Latterly, the Communist Party of China has been subjected to preposterous attacks. The attackers have raised a great hue and cry and disregarding the facts, have fabricated many charges against us. We have published these articles and speeches attacking us in our own press.

We have also published in full in our press the Soviet leader's report at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet on 12 December 1962, the *Pravda* Editorial Board's article of 7 January 1963, the speech of the Head of the CPSU delegation at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on 16th January 1963 and the *Pravda* Editorial Board's article of 10th February 1963.

We have also published the full text of the two letters from the Central Committees of the CPSU dated 21 and 30 March 1963.

We have replied to some of the articles and speeches in which fraternal Parties have attacked us, but have not yet replied to others. For example, we have not directly replied to the many articles and speeches of the comrades of the CPSU.

Between 15 December 1962 and 8 March 1963, we wrote sever articles in reply to our attackers. These articles are entitle i :

“Workers of All Countries, Unite, Oppose Our Common Enemy!”

“The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us”;

“Leninism and Modern Revisionism”;

“Let us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement”;

“Whence the Differences?—A reply to Thorez and Other Comrades”;

“More on the Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and us—some Important Problems of Leninism in the Contemporary World”;

“A Comment on the Statement of the Communist Party of the USA”.

Presumably, you are referring to these articles when towards the end of your letter of 30 March you accuse the Chinese press of making “groundless attack” on the CPSU. It is turning things upside down to describe articles replying to our attackers as “attacks”.

Since you describe our articles as “groundless” and as so very bad, why do you not publish all seven of these “groundless attacks”, in the same way as we have published your articles, and let all the Soviet comrades and Soviet people think for themselves and judge who is right and who wrong? You are of course entitled to make a point-by-point refutation of these articles you consider “groundless attacks”.

Although you call our articles “groundless” and our arguments wrong, you do not tell the Soviet people what our arguments actually are. This practice can hardly be described as showing a serious attitude towards the discussion of problems by fraternal Parties, towards the truth or towards the masses.

We hope that the public debate among fraternal Parties can be stopped. This is a problem that has to be dealt with in accordance with the principles of independence, of equality and of reaching unanimity through consultation among fraternal parties. In the international communist movement, no one has the right to launch attacks whenever he wants,

or to order the "ending of open polemics" whenever he wants to prevent the other side from replying.

It is known to the comrades of the CPSU that, in order to create a favourable atmosphere for convening the meeting of the fraternal Parties, we have decided temporarily to suspend, as from 9 March 1963, public replies to the public attacks directed by name against us by comrades of fraternal Parties. We reserve the right of public reply.

In our letter of 9 March, we said that on the question of suspending public debate "it is necessary that our two Parties and the fraternal Parties concerned should have some discussion and reach an agreement that is fair and acceptable to all".

* * *

The foregoing are our views regarding the general line of the international communist movement and some related questions of principle. We hope, as we indicated at the beginning of this letter, that the frank presentation of our views will be conducive to mutual understanding. Of course, comrades may agree or disagree with these views. But in our opinion, the questions we discuss here are the crucial questions calling for attention and solution by the international communist movement. We hope that all these questions and also those raised in your letter will be fully discussed in the talks between our two Parties and at the meeting of representatives of all the fraternal Parties.

In addition, there are other questions of common concern, such as the criticism of Stalin and some important matters of principle regarding the international communist movement which were raised at the 20th and 22nd Congress of the CPSU and we hope that on these questions, too, there will be a frank exchange of opinion in the talks.

With regard to the talks between our two Parties, in our letter of 9 March, we proposed that Comrade Khrushchov come to Peking; if this was not convenient, we proposed that another responsible comrade of the Central Committee of the CPSU lead a delegation to Peking or that we send a delegation to Moscow.

Since you have stated in your letter of 30 March that Comrade Khrushchov cannot come to China, and since you have not expressed a desire to send a delegation to China, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has decided to send a delegation to Moscow.

In your letter of 30 March, you invited Comrade Mao Tse-tung to visit the Soviet Union. As early as 23 February, Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his conversation with the Soviet Ambassador to China clearly stated the reason why he was not prepared to visit the Soviet Union at present time. You were well aware of this.

When a responsible comrade of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China received the Soviet Ambassador to China on 9 May, he informed you that we would send a delegation to Moscow in the middle of June. Later, in compliance with the request of the Central Committee of the CPSU, we agreed to postpone the talks between our two Parties to 5 July.

We sincerely hope that the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties will yield positive results and contribute to the preparations for convening the meeting of all Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is now more than ever necessary for all Communists to unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and of the Declaration and the Statements unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties.

Together with Marxist-Leninist Parties and revolutionary people the world over, the Communist Party of China will continue its unremitting efforts to uphold the interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the cause of the emancipation of the oppressed people and nations, and the struggle against imperialism and for world peace.

We hope that events which grieve those near and dear to us and only gladden the enemy will not recur in the international communist movement in the future.

The Chinese Communists firmly believe that the Marxists-

Leninists, the proletariat and the revolutionary people everywhere will unite more closely, overcome all difficulties and obstacles and win still greater victories in the struggle against imperialism and for world peace, and in the fight for the revolutionary cause of the people of the world and the cause of international communism.

Workers of all countries, unite! Workers and oppressed peoples and nations of the world, unite! Oppose our common enemy!

With communist greetings.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

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Statement of CPSU Central Committee

It will be recalled that in January 1963, at the 6th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the CPSU Central Committee made a proposal for halting open polemics within the ranks of the international communist movement. This proposal won broad support from the fraternal Parties. On 9 March this year the CPSU Central Committee received a letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China expressing agreement with our proposals on the discontinuance of open polemics and on the holding of the meeting between the representatives of CPSU and Chinese Communist Party.

On 30 March this year the Central Committee of the CPSU sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party which in a positive way expounded its views in connection with the coming bilateral meeting. In the opinion of the CPSU Central Committee, such a meeting must promote better understanding between our countries on major problems of present world development and the creation of a favourable climate for preparing and holding a meeting of representatives of all Communist and Workers' Parties.

The letter of the CPSU Central Committee emphasised the determination to uphold firmly and consistently the platform of the world communist movement, its general line which found expression in the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings of Marxist-Leninist Parties. In full

conformity with these programme documents, the CPSU Central Committee, in its letter of 30 March this year, set out its view on the major problems of our time, the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement. The Central Committee of the CPSU urged the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to overcome the existing divergences through a comradely exchange of opinion, to concentrate efforts on the exploration of avenues leading to the consolidation of the unity of all fraternal Parties and the strengthening of Soviet-Chinese friendship and co-operation.

On 15 June 1963, Comrade Pan Tzu-li, the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the Soviet Union was received at the CPSU Central Committee by Comrades M. A. Suslov, O. V. Kussinen, Y. V. Andropov, and B. N. Ponomarev. The Ambassador handed the CPSU Central Committee one more letter from the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, dated 14 June.

This letter gives an arbitrary interpretation to the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow Conferences of Marxist-Leninist Parties, distorts the major theses of these historic documents and contains unwarranted attacks on the CPSU and other fraternal Parties. All this gives rise to deep regret.

The CPSU Central Committee believes that the publication at present in the Soviet press of the letter of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, dated 14 June 1963, would call for a public reply, which would lead to a further aggravation of the polemics, would not accord with the understanding reached and would run counter to the opinion of the fraternal Parties on this question. This should not be done, all the more, in view of the forthcoming meeting between the representatives of the CPSU and the Chinese Communist Party, on 5 July this year.

The CPSU Central Committee once again expresses the hope that in the interests of strengthening the unity of the ranks of the world communist movement the Chinese comrades would display readiness to concentrate efforts on what

unite the CPSU and the Chinese Communist Party, all fraternal Parties, in their great struggle against imperialism, for the victory of socialism and communism throughout the world.

Moscow, 18 June 1963.

Appendix III

Workers of All Countries Unite, Oppose Our Common Enemy

Editorial in "People's Daily", 15 December 1962

At the very time when imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries are using every conceivable method to oppose the socialist countries, to disrupt the international communist movement and to suppress the revolutionary struggles of all peoples, and when the Communists of all countries urgently need to strengthen their unity and oppose the enemy together, it is distressing to find an adverse current appearing in the ranks of the international communist movement, a current which is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, opposed to the Communist Party of China and other Marxist-Leninist parties and which is disrupting the unity of the international communist movement.

In the past month or so, the Eighth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Eighth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party and the Twelfth Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party were held in Europe one after another. Unfortunately, the rostrums of these party congresses were used as platforms for attacking fraternal parties. This adverse current, which is disrupting unity and creating splits, reached a new high at the Italian and Czechoslovak Communist Party Congresses. Comrades of certain fraternal parties not only continued their attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour, but also openly attacked the Communist Party of China by name, and they even censured the Korean Workers' Party for disagreeing with the attacks on the Chinese Communist Party.

This is an utterly outrageous violation of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement, which had been unanimously adopted by the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries. It is an event of the utmost gravity in the international communist movement.

The Chinese Communist Party Delegation which was invited to attend the Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress solemnly pointed out in its statement of December 8:

"A practice of this kind is not in conformity with the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, is not in the interest of the unity of the socialist camp and the unity of the international communist movement, is not in the interest of the struggle against imperialism is not in the interest of the struggle for world peace, and is not in conformity with the fundamental interests of the people of the socialist countries... An erroneous practice of this kind can only deepen differences and create splits; it can only grieve those near and dear to us and gladden the enemy."

The Communist Party of China has consistently held that the unity of the socialist camp and the unity of the international communist movement are fundamental interests of the people of the whole world. It is at all times the sacred duty of all Communists to defend and strengthen this internationalist unity unswervingly. The occurrence of different opinions among fraternal parties is often unavoidable, because the problems of common concern are extremely complicated and the circumstances of various parties very different, and also because the objective situation is constantly changing. And the occurrence of such differences of opinion is not necessarily a bad thing. In order that unity may be securely guaranteed, the important thing is that we must start from the position of defending and strengthening internationalist unity and of standing together against the enemy, we must abide by the guiding principles for relations among fraternal parties and countries, as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and we must reach unanimity through consultation.

The erroneous practice of using the Congress of one party to launch an attack on another fraternal party first emerged a year ago at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Chinese Communist Party resolutely opposed this erroneous practice at that time. At that Congress and subsequently too, the Chinese Communist Party made many earnest appeals to the fraternal parties having disagreements and differences to reunite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of respect for each other's independence and equality, and made the special point that the party which launched the first attack ought to take the initiative. However, it is to be regretted that this sincere effort on our part has not succeeded in preventing a continued deterioration in the situation. Instead of giving thought to changing this erroneous practice, the leaders of certain fraternal parties have intensified it and gone further along the road towards a split, and as a result this erroneous practice recently occurred at four successive Congresses of fraternal parties in Europe.

Here we wish to say something about what happened at the Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

At that congress, some comrades of the Czechoslovak Party and comrades from certain other fraternal parties wantonly vilified and attacked the Communist Party of China for its "adventurism", "sectarianism", "splittism", "nationalism", and "dogmatism". The Chinese Communist Party Delegation in its statement resolutely opposed this practice that creates splits. The statement pointed out that "this erroneous practice has already produced serious consequences, and if continued, it is bound to produce even more serious consequences". However, the attitude of the Chinese Communist Party, an attitude treasuring unity, has not yet succeeded in causing a change of heart in those persons who are persisting in this erroneous practice. Certain leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party stated that they "cannot agree" with the view of the Chinese Communist Party Delegation, insisted on "going further" in this practice, even

went so far as to ask the Chinese Communist Party to "reconsider" its position on major international problems and they made their slanders and attacks on China public to the whole world. In these circumstances, we have no alternative but to make the necessary reply.

Some comrades of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and comrades from certain fraternal parties attacked the Chinese Communist Party for having committed what they called errors of "adventurism". They charged that on the Cuban question China had opposed a "sensible compromise" and wanted the whole world "plunged into a thermonuclear war". Are matters really as they charged ?

Like the people of all the socialist countries and all countries in the world, the Chinese people love peace. China has always followed a foreign policy of peace. We have vigorously and unswervingly fought for the relaxation of international tension and in defence of world peace. China was an initiator of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We have consistently advocated the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems in accordance with the Five Principles, we have advocated the settlement of international disputes through negotiation, and we have opposed recourse to force.

The Communist Party of China has always maintained that in order to preserve world peace, to realise peaceful coexistence and to relax international tension, it is necessary, above all, to oppose resolutely the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to mobilize the masses of the people to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism. We believe, as the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement point out, that the U.S. imperialist plans for aggression and war can be frustrated and that world war can be prevented by the joint struggle of the forces of socialism, the forces of national liberation, the forces of democracy and all the forces of peace.

On the question of how to deal with imperialism and all reactionaries, the Chinese Communist Party has always

maintained that one should despise them strategically but take full account of them tactically. That is to say in the final analysis, strategically, with regard to the long term and to the whole, imperialism and all reactionaries are sure to fail, and the masses of the people are sure to triumph. Without this kind of understanding, it would not be possible to encourage the masses of the people to wage resolute revolutionary struggles against imperialism and the reactionaries with full confidence nor would it be possible to lead the revolution to victory. On the other hand, tactically, on each immediate, specific problem, it is necessary to deal seriously with imperialism and the reactionaries, be prudent and carefully study and perfect the art of struggle. Without such understanding, it is impossible to wage successful revolutionary struggles, there is the danger of incurring setbacks and defeats and, again, it is impossible to lead the revolution to victory. This viewpoint of despising the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically, which the Chinese Communist Party has adhered to throughout its history, is precisely our oft-stated viewpoint that the imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers; it is entirely Marxist-Leninist. We are opposed both to capitulationism and to adventurism. Everyone who wants to make a revolution and win victory must adopt this attitude, and no other, when dealing with the enemy. The reason is that if one does not dare despise the enemy strategically, one will inevitably commit the error of capitulationism. And if one is heedless and reckless tactically in any specific struggle, one will inevitably commit the error of adventurism. If one dares not despise the enemy strategically and at the same time, one is heedless and reckless tactically, then one will commit both the error of capitulationism in strategy and the error of adventurism in tactics.

As far as the question of how to cope with nuclear weapons is concerned, we Chinese Communists have always stood for a complete ban on nuclear weapons, which are enormously destructive, and have always opposed the imperialists' criminal

policy of nuclear war. We have always held that in a situation in which the socialist camp enjoys great superiority, it is possible to reach an agreement on banning nuclear weapons through negotiations and through the constant exposure of and struggle against U.S. imperialism. But Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people have never been paralysed with fear by the nuclear weapons in the imperialists' hands and so abandoned their struggle against imperialism and its lackeys. We Marxist-Leninists do not believe either in the theory that weapons decide everything, nor do we believe in the theory that nuclear weapons decide everything. We have never believed that nuclear weapons can determine man's fate. We are convinced that it is the masses of the people who are the decisive force in history. It is they alone we can decide the course of history. We are firmly opposed to the imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail. We also hold that there is no need whatsoever for socialist countries to use nuclear weapons as counters for gambling or as means of intimidation. To do so is really committing the error of adventurism. If one blindly worships nuclear weapons, does not recognize or trust in the strength of the masses of people, and so becomes scared out of one's wits when confronted by the imperialists' nuclear blackmail, then one may jump from one extreme to the other and commit the error of capitulationism.

We maintain that in their struggle against U.S. imperialism the heroic Cuban people have committed neither the error of capitulationism nor the error of adventurism. Like all other peoples in the world, the Cuban people ardently love peace and are working energetically for it. But as Comrade Fidel Castro has said: "The way to peace is not the way of sacrifice of or infringement upon the people's rights, because that is precisely the way leading to war." The National Directorate of the Cuban Integrated Revolutionary Organizations and the Cuban Revolutionary Government solemnly declared in their joint statement of November 25: "The best form of settlement is through peaceful channels and discussions between governments. But we reiterate at the same

time that we will never defect in the face of the imperialists. We will oppose the imperialist position of strength with our firmness. We will resist the imperialist attempt to humiliate us with our dignity. We will oppose the imperialist aggression with our determination to fight to the last man."

Under the firm leadership of the Cuban Integrated Revolutionary Organisations and the Cuban Government headed by Fidel Castro, the Cuban people have waged in unity a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism under the most complex and difficult conditions; far from being terrified by U.S. nuclear blackmail, they have insisted on their five just demands; and, with the righteous support of the people of the whole world, they have won another great victory in the struggle against U.S. aggression.

The Communist Party, the Government and the people of China resolutely support the correct line of the Cuban Integrated Revolutionary Organizations and Government, the five just demands and the heroic struggle of the Cuban people. In so doing, China is fulfilling its bounden duty under proletarian internationalism. If China's support for the Cuban people's just struggle against the U.S. aggressor is "adventurism", we would like to ask: Does this mean that the only way for the Chinese people not to be called 'adventurist' is to abstain from doing everything in their power to support Cuba in its struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression? Does this mean that the only way to avoid being called adventurist and capitulationist would have been to force Cuba to surrender its sovereignty and independence and to give up its five just demands? The whole world has seen that we neither requested the transport of nuclear weapons to Cuba nor obstructed the withdrawal of "offensive weapons" from that country. Therefore, as far as we are concerned there can be absolutely no question of "adventurism", still less of "plunging (the whole world) into a thermonuclear war."

At the Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, some people made many violent attacks on the Albanian

Party of Labour again, alleging that its leaders were "anti-Soviet", that they were disrupting unity, and that they were 'splittists' and 'sectarians' These people also condemned the Chinese Communist Party for its correct stand in opposing attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour and in upholding the guiding principles for relations among fraternal parties, and they charged the Chinese Communist Party too, with the crimes of "splittism", "sectarianism", and "nationalism". But slanders and attacks of this kind, calling white black, can be of no avail whatsoever.

The criteria for deciding who upholds unity and who is guilty of splittism and sectarianism consist of the principles for guiding the mutual relations among fraternal parties and among fraternal countries which were set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement unanimously adopted at the Meeting of the Representative of the Communist and Workers' Parties. These are the principle of complete equality, the principle of uniting with each other while retaining independence and autonomy, and the principle of reaching unanimity through comradely consultation on the basis of equality. Experience has proved that so long as these correct principles are followed, the unity of the fraternal parties and of the fraternal countries can be consolidated, and that even when this or that kind of difference occurs, a reasonable settlement can be reached. Conversely, if these principles are violated and if, in the mutual relations among fraternal parties and countries, pressure is used to impose one's own views on others, or if the method of slander and attack is substituted for that of reaching unanimity through consultation, then unity will inevitably be impaired and mistakes of splittism and sectarianism will be committed.

A year ago, at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Delegation of the Chinese Communist Party stated:

"We hold that should a dispute or difference unfortunately arise between fraternal parties or fraternal countries, it should be resolved patiently in the spirit of proletarian

internationalism and according to the principles of equality and of unanimity through consultation. Public one-sided censure of any fraternal party does not help unity and is not helpful in resolving problems. To bring a dispute between fraternal parties or fraternal countries into the open in the face of the enemy cannot be regarded as a serious Marxist-Leninist attitude."

It is precisely for the sake of upholding the principles which guide the relations among fraternal parties and fraternal countries and of upholding the unity of these parties and countries that the Chinese Communist Party is firmly opposed to attacks at the congress of one party on another fraternal party. What is wrong with our taking such a stand? Is it possible that it is we, who have done everything in our power to defend unity and oppose actions that are not in the interest of unity, who are guilty of "splittism" and "sectarianism" and that on the contrary, it is those who launched the first attack and disrupted unity who are not guilty of splittism and sectarianism? At the Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the Delegation of the Korean Workers' Party was censured for disagreeing with the attacks certain people made on the Chinese Communist Party. Is it possible that the position of the Korean Workers' Party in upholding unity is a crime? Is it possible that those who uphold the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are in the wrong and that those who violate the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are in the right?

The principles for guiding the relations among fraternal parties and countries set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement did not grant to any party, large or small, any right whatsoever to launch an attack at its own congress on another fraternal party. If such an erroneous practice is accepted, then one party can attack another party—this party today and that party tomorrow. If this continues, what will become of the unity of the international communist movement?

The principles guiding the relations among fraternal parties

and countries set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are the very embodiment of the principles of proletarian internationalism concerning relations among fraternal parties and fraternal countries. If these guiding principles are violated, one will inevitably fall into the quagmire of great-nation chauvinism or other forms of bourgeois nationalism. But have those very people who have accused the Chinese Communist Party of committing the error of 'nationalism' ever given a thought to the question of the position in which they have been placing themselves in their relations with fraternal parties and countries? It is obviously they who have violated the principles guiding relations among fraternal parties and countries, who have launched attacks on another fraternal party and fraternal country and have followed the erroneous practices of nationalism and great-nation chauvinism. Yet they insist that everybody else should do as they do, and those who do not listen and follow the conductor's baton are accused of "nationalism' Can it be that this conforms with the principles of proletarian internationalism? Is not such an erroneous practice exactly what splittism and sectarianism are? Is not this erroneous practice the worst manifestation of nationalism and great-nation chauvinism?

Those who accuse the Albanian Party of Labour of being "anti-Soviet" and of disrupting unity should ask themselves who it was who first provoked the dispute; who first attacked the Albanian Party of Labour at their own congress? Why does one give only oneself the right to wanton attacks on another fraternal party, while that party does not even have the right to reply? If the Albanian comrades are said to be "anti-Soviet" because they answered the attacks levelled at them, what should one call those who first launched the attack on the Albanian Party of Labour and have attacked it time and time again? And what should one call those who have arbitrarily attacked the Communist Party of China?

For a Communist the minimum requirement is that he should make a clear distinction between the enemy and

ourselves, that he should be ruthless towards the enemy and kind to this own comrades. But there are people who just turn this upside-down. For imperialism it is all 'accommodation' and "mutual concessions", for the fraternal parties and fraternal countries it is only implacable hostility. These people are able to adopt an attitude of "sensible compromise" and "moderation" towards the sabre-rattling enemy, but are unwilling to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards fraternal parties and fraternal countries. To be so "kind" to the enemy and so "ruthless" towards fraternal parties and countries is certainly not the stand a Marxist-Leninist should take.

The Moscow Statement affirms that revisionism is the main danger in the world communist movement at the present time. It points out: "After betraying Marxism-Leninism...the leader of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (L.C.Y.) ...set the L.C.Y. against the international communist movement as a whole... carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement." In addition, the Statement calls on the Communists of all countries actively to combat the influence of the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav modern revisionists. Certain Communists, however, praise the renegade Tito to the skies and they are carrying on so intimately with the Tito group. At the recent Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress, some people even opposed the Chinese Communist Party's exposure of the Yugoslav modern revisionists. In a word, these persons want to unite with those one should oppose and they oppose those one should unite with. May we ask, isn't this an open and crass violation of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement? Where will such line lead to?

All the facts show that the Chinese Communists, like true Communists everywhere in the world, have consistently abided by Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. Those who are attacking the Chinese Communist Party are pressing the label of "dogmatism" on us. This only proves that the "dogmatism" they oppose is the very

bastion of Marxist-Leninist theory and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, which the Chinese Communists and all other true Communists are steadfastly upholding. These people think that they just put up the signboard of 'anti-dogmatism' and bellow about what they call 'creativity', they can distort Marxism-Leninism and tamper with the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement as they like. This is absolutely impermissible. We would like to question these people: Are these two historic documents of the international communist movement, unan- imously adopted and signed by all the Communist and Workers Parties, still valid? Do they still have to be observed?

Some people say: "We are the majority and you are the minority. Therefore, we are creative Marxist-Leninists and you are dogmatists; we are right and you are wrong." But anyone with a little common sense knows that the question of who is right and who is wrong and who represents the truth, cannot be determined by the majority or minority at a given moment. Truth exists objectively. When all is said and done, the majority at a given moment cannot turn falsehood into truth; nor can the minority at a given moment make truth turn into falsehood. History abounds with instances in which, at certain times and on certain occasions, truth was not on the side of the majority, but on the side of the minority. In the period of the Second International, Lenin and the Bolsheviks were in the minority in the international workers' movement, but truth was on the side of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. In December 1914, after the outbreak of World War I, when a vote was taken on the war budget in the German Reichstag, the majority of the deputies, of the German Social Democratic Party voted for it, and only Karl Liebknecht voted against it, but truth was on the side of Liebknecht. Those who dare to uphold truth are never afraid of being in the minority for the time being. Conversely, those who persist in error cannot avoid ultimate bankruptcy even though they are temporarily in the majority.

Marxism-Leninism holds that the one and only majority that is reliable in this world is the people who decide the course of history and who constitute more than 90 per cent of the world's population. Those who go against the interests of more than 90 per cent of the world's population may raise a hue and cry at a certain place or meeting for a while, but they definitely do not represent a genuine majority. Their "majority" is only a fictitious, superficial phenomenon, and in essence they are in the minority, while the "minority" they are attacking is in essence the majority. Marxist-Leninists always penetrate phenomena in order to see a problem in its essence. We submit only to truth and to the fundamental interests of the people of the world; we will never obey the baton of an anti-Marxist-Leninist. However much the imperialists, the reactionaries and the modern revisionists curse and oppose us, we will never be shaken in our stand of upholding Marxism-Leninism and truth.

We would like to remind those attacking the Chinese Communist Party that unjustified abuse serves no useful purpose. Abuse, however scurrilous or violent, cannot detract from the glory of a Marxist-Leninist Party. From the very first day that a Communist Party came into existence, no one has ever heard of a genuine Communist Party which was not subjected to abuse, nor has anyone ever heard of a genuine Communist Party which was toppled by abuse. The Chinese Communist Party has grown, tempered itself and won victory after victory amid the curses of the imperialists, the reactionaries, the revisionists and all kinds of opportunists. Their curses have never hurt us in the least. On the contrary, this abuse merely shows that we are doing the right thing, that we are upholding Marxist-Leninist principles, and that we are defending the fundamental interests of the people of the world. We also wish to remind those persons who are attacking the Chinese Communist party that U.S. imperialism is now conducting an anti-China chorus, and Kennedy has come out in person to declare that a major problem now facing the Western world is how to cope

with "the regime of Communist China." At a time like this, don't you think you should draw a line of demarcation between yourselves and U.S. imperialism and its lackeys?

The erroneous practice of creating splits which has appeared in the international communist movement can be beneficial only to the imperialists and the reactionaries. Don't you see that the imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries and the modern revisionists of Yugoslavia are applauding, gloating over misfortunes and looking forward to a split in the international communist movement? Recently Dean Rusk said publicly that the disagreements between the Communists "are very serious and very far reaching...the confusion that has been thrown into Communist Parties all over the world...has been helpful to the free world." Those persons who are attacking the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist Parties should think this over: the enemy is hailing this practice as a great help to the "free world"; is this something to be proud of?

It is not at all surprising that there should be twists and turns of one kind or another in the road along which the international communist movement is advancing. From the beginning Marxism-Leninism has continuously developed through struggles to overcome opportunism of every type. From the beginning the international communist movement has constantly advanced by surmounting all sorts of difficulties. All imperialists, reactionaries and modern revisionists are destined to become the debris of history and the torrent of the international communist movement amid the torrent of great revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the whole world.

Communists of all countries share the same great ideal and the same noble cause and face a common enemy; we have a thousand and one reasons to unite, but not a single reason to create splits. Those comrades who are creating splits should come to their sense! The Communist Party of China sincerely hopes that the Communist Parties of all countries, who should value highly the interest of the

international communist movement and of the common struggles of the international proletariat and the peoples of the world against the enemy, and who should value highly our glorious historic tasks and the ardent expectations of the revolutionary peoples of the world, will abide by the principles guiding the relations among fraternal parties and countries, set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and will adopt the correct method for eliminating differences and safeguarding unity.

If only we all have the desire to settle problems, it is not difficult to find the correct method for doing so. The Statement of the Delegation of the Chinese Communist Party at the Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party said:

“With the object of settling the differences in the international communist movement on certain important questions of principle, the Communist Party of China and a number of other fraternal parties have proposed the convening of a Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers’ Parties of all countries of the world in order to clarify what is right from what is wrong, to strengthen unity and to stand together against the enemy. We consider that this is the only correct method of settling problems.”

The Communist party of China desires to do its utmost together with the fraternal parties of other countries and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism to strengthen unity and to oppose splits, and to strive for new victories in the cause of world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. Let us unite and spare no effort to fight unremittingly in defence of the great unity of the international communist movement, the great unity of the socialist camp, and the great unity of the revolutionary peoples of the world and of all peace-loving peoples! Let us raise once again the great slogan of Marx and Engels:

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

Strengthen Unity of the Communist Movement for the Triumph of Peace and Socialism

Editorial in "Pravda", 7 January 1963

Mankind is now in one of the most crucial stages of its development. This stage is packed with major developments and sharp clashes between the forces of socialism and peace and the forces of imperialism, reaction and war. The new world—the world of socialism, freedom and happiness, the real springtime of mankind—is gaining in strength and growing, pressing on the old world, the world of capitalism, violence and exploitation. And the results of the year 1962 are new and clear evidence of this.

The main result of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries of socialism, the heroic struggle of the Cuban people and all the peace-loving forces in the past year, was that the attack on Cuba, carefully prepared by the aggressive imperialist circles of the United States, was thwarted. Socialist Cuba has been defended and is confidently continuing her triumphant advance. The threat of a world thermonuclear war has been warded off from mankind. It has been proved once again that the forces of socialism and peace are capable of curbing imperialist aggressors.

The main result of the creative endeavours of the Soviet people has been a powerful upsurge of their economies and cultures, a strengthening of the might of the socialist community, a growth of its international authority and influence.

The main result of the national liberation movement has been the triumph of liberating anti-imperialist revolutions in

vast areas of the former colonial world and the rise of this movement to a new and higher stage.

The main result of the working class movement in the capitalist countries has been the fact that new sections of the working people have joined in the sharpest class battles, an intensification of the struggle against the oppression and inequity of monopoly capital, the growth of the influence of the Communist Parties and of the ideas of socialism.

The international communist movement has achieved magnificent successes. And this has been due, above all, to the fact that, at all stages in its struggle, it has remained unswervingly loyal to the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and has been guided by this victorious teaching in all its activities. At the Moscow meetings in 1957 and 1960 the communists worked out a new strategic and tactical line, in keeping with the new historical conditions. The course of world development irrefutably confirms that loyalty to this line and unity of the communist movement are the guarantee of all victories.

It has been on the basis of the documents of the Moscow meetings, embodying and developing the Leninist line of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was supported by the fraternal parties, that the world communist movement has made striking advances in every direction. The Leninist strategy of active struggle against imperialism, for world peace and the triumph of socialism, has raised the ideology of communism to unprecedented heights. Communism and peace have become inseparable in the minds of the peoples. The main thesis of the imperialists—the thesis concerning the Soviet Union's alleged aggressiveness, which they have used for the arms race, for preparing war—has been refuted.

The Soviet Union has demonstrated by all its actions, by its entire policy, that it is the main stronghold of peace and an implacable fighter against imperialism. The peoples realise on the basis of numerous examples that communism is saving the world from thermonuclear war and that the communists

are the most resolute and consistent defenders of peace. And this, in present-day conditions, is one of the main factors for the spread of communist influence.

The recent congresses of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Italy have convincingly demonstrated what beneficial results unswerving implementation of the strategic and tactical line of the international communist movement brings to the Communist Parties of both socialist and capitalist countries.

The congresses of the fraternal parties of Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia have determined the roads for completing the building of socialism and a gradual transition to the laying of the material and technical foundation of communism. The congress of the fraternal Communist Party of Italy, outlined extensive measures for intensifying the struggle against monopoly capital, for peace, democracy and socialism. These congresses have made an important contribution to the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the transition of the peoples' democracies to the completion of the building of socialism, a contribution to the consolidation of the communist movement.

The congresses of the fraternal parties have rallied the broad masses of the working people for resolute struggle for the victory of socialism, against imperialism.

The international communist movement is on the correct Marxist-Leninist road. Magnificent prospects lie before it. The main thing required of the communists is loyalty to the Leninist course that has been adopted, and the cohesion of their ranks.

Unfortunately, views are being spread in the ranks of the international communist movement which are directed against a number of the principal propositions of Marxism-Leninism and are designed to undermine the cohesion of the fraternal parties. The most outspoken exponents of these dogmatic, splitting views, which are profoundly hostile to Leninism, are the top leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour.

At the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union, and subsequently at the congresses of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy and Czechoslovakia, the delegations of the Communist Party of China claimed that it was a mistake to criticise openly the line of the Albanian leaders, and tried to place on the fraternal parties the responsibility for the differences which had arisen. Making such claims, however, means going against irrefutable facts and absolving from responsibility those who are in fact fighting against the common line of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The international communist movement knows that the Albanian leaders openly attacked the line of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the propositions of the 1957 Declaration already at the meeting of 81 Communist Parties in November 1960. Already at that time they expressed their disagreement with the policy of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, with the struggle for disarmament and the peaceful settlement of disputed questions through negotiation, with the proposition concerning the variety of forms of transition to socialism.

The 1960 meeting administered a vigorous rebuff to the anti-Leninist line of the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour. The Albanian leaders, however, did not heed the voice of reason. Instead of paying attention to the warnings of experienced, tried and tested Marxist-Leninist parties, the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour launched an open and violent campaign against Marxism-Leninism, against the Statement of the 81 Parties, and showered the fraternal parties with slander and fabrications which even many open anti-communists are not employing at the present time.

Already at the Fourth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour, in February 1961, the Albanian leaders came out openly against the principal propositions of the Statement and the Message to the Peoples of the World adopted by the meeting of the Communist Parties, and countered it with a position of their own.

This position soon became known to the entire world.

International reaction was quick to realise whom the Albanian leadership is really serving, and began to praise its course of breaking with the communist movement, with the camp of socialism, and in the first instance with the Soviet Union. Already on May 19, 1961, that is to say, a long time before the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a British newspaper, *The Scotsman*, wrote that the Albanian government had burnt its bridges in its relations with the Soviet Union, and apparently for ever. Another British paper, the *Daily Telegraph*, wrote on June 3, 1961, that the anti-Soviet campaign in Albania had reached its peak in the previous weeks.

The stand taken by the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour caused great concern in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in all the Communist Parties which hold dear the unity of our ranks. Firmly abiding by the principle that disputes in the international communist movement should be settled through an exchange of views and mutual consultations between parties, the central committee of the CPSU, as early as August, 1960, twice approached the central committee of the Albanian Party of Labour proposing that a meeting be arranged between representatives of the two parties. In a letter to the central committee of the Albanian Party of Labour of August 13, 1960, the central committee of the CPSU wrote in part:

“It would be right to extinguish in good time the spark of misunderstanding that has arisen so as to prevent its kindling... If the central committee of the Albanian Party of Labour shares our view and does not object to an exchange of opinions, we are prepared to meet a delegation of your party at any level, at a time convenient to you.”*

The Albanian leaders turned down these proposals. They rejected all attempts by the central committee of the CPSU to normalise relations.

Who, then it may be asked, has violated the principle of consultations? Who started the attacks on the communist

*All quotations are retranslations from Russian.

movement, on the programmatic documents worked out collectively by it? And who has been indulging in those attacks for a number of years? How can one describe the claims of those who substitute untruth for truth and, ignoring the will of the international communist movement, clearly encourage the splitters by propagating their views and protecting them from just criticism?

Comrade Nikita Khrushchov said at the 22nd Congress of CPSU:

“We share the anxiety of our Chinese friends, we appreciate their concern for strengthening unity. If the Chinese comrades wish to apply their efforts to normalising the relations between the Albanian Party of Labour and the fraternal parties, then scarcely anyone can help to accomplish this task better than the Communist Party of China. This would indeed benefit the Albanian Party of Labour and meet the interests of the entire community of socialist countries”

Unfortunately, the situation, far from improving, has further deteriorated. The Albanian leaders are openly breaking with the communist movement, with Marxism-Leninism, and are sinking more and more deeply into the morass of dogmatism, sectarianism and vicious nationalism, and are making increasing use of the methods of the cult of the individual, which are alien to Marxism.

It is only natural that Marxist-Leninists could not and cannot resign themselves to the violation of the provisions of the Declaration and Statement, that they could not and cannot fail to rise up with the utmost determination in defence of communist principles. It is therefore obvious that one should not be distressed by the fact that the anti-Leninist position of the Albanian leaders has come in for criticism at the recent congresses of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy and Czechoslovakia, but by the fact that there are people who gird up their loins against the parties which defend the banner of the Moscow meeting.

The dispute as to what line the communist movement should

follow is not an abstract one, but a deeply principled dispute of prime importance. The Marxist-Leninist line of consolidating the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the line of economic competition between socialism and capitalism and the guarantee of the victory of communism in these conditions is imparting an unprecedented power of attraction to our movement, and is drawing the broadest masses of the people to its side, whereas the line which the dogmatists are trying to impose is a line of lack of faith in the forces of communism, of the masses of the people, lack of faith in the possibility of the victory of socialism in new countries without war between states, without a world war.

Such a line, should it assert itself, would repel the peoples of the capitalist countries from the countries of socialism, would repel millions of people from the communist movement, would place the communists in isolation, and would put a brake on the entire liberating process of the struggle of the peoples.

The most important, the most vital problem of our time is the problem of war and peace. In real life the choice is: Either peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems or devastating war. There is no other alternative. The question arises: What position should the communist take? Only one position—the position of peaceful coexistence. The international working class and liberation movement is waging a great offensive struggle against imperialism in the conditions of peaceful coexistence. The socialist countries do not need war. They are successfully developing in peaceful conditions and will be victorious in the peaceful economic competition with capitalism, a fact which will be of exceptional importance for making the peoples choose the socialist way as the only correct one.

The Albanian leaders—for instance, Enver Hoxha—boast that they do not agree with those who “regard peaceful coexistence as the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries.”

But what, then, is the general line? War? If so, where,

then, is the difference between such an approach to the solution of the question of the victory of communism or capitalism and the point of view held by the adventurist circles of imperialism? In point of fact, the only difference is that the frenzied imperialists have lost faith in the ability of capitalism to hold its own in the competition with socialism, while the dogmatists do not believe in the possibility of the victory of communism in the conditions of peaceful competition between states with different social systems. But would any Marxist-Leninist agree that the way to the victory of communism lies through thermonuclear war?

In our times, even the imperialists find it difficult to come out openly against peaceful coexistence. It is all the more difficult for people who regard themselves as communists to do so. Therefore, the Albanian dogmatists also say, gritting their teeth, that they "do not object" to the concept of peaceful coexistence.

But, then and there, they declare that the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems means a "*line of rapprochement* and fusion with imperialism" and that the question of whether or not there is to be a war is settled by the chiefs of the general staffs of the imperialist countries; they allege that world peace can be preserved in one way only—by burying imperialism. This is a direct and open deviation from the Statement of the Communist Parties which reads:

"A real possibility will have arisen to exclude world war from the life of society even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world," and that "the time has already come when the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to start a world war can be curbed."

The most important thing in the struggle for peace is to curb the aggressors in good time, to avert war, to prevent it from flaring up. This is particularly necessary in the light of the unprecedented destructive force of modern weapons. The Statement says:

"Monstrous means of mass annihilation and destruction

have been developed which, if used in a new war, can cause unheard of destruction to entire countries and reduce key centres of world industry and culture to ruins. Such a war would bring death and suffering to hundreds of millions of people, among them people in countries not involved in it.”

In contrast to these propositions, the dogmatists insist the nuclear war is not to be feared, the modern weapons are monstrous only “in the view of the imperialists and reactionaries,” and that “the atom bomb is a paper tiger.” This is nothing but a renunciation of the main goal in the struggle for peace indicated in the Statement, a renunciation of the whole policy of peaceful coexistence.

The dogmatists present peaceful coexistence as “renunciation of the struggle to expose imperialism,” as “halting the struggle against imperialism.” They do not understand that competition in peaceful conditions is one of the most important battle-grounds between socialism and capitalism. As for the struggle against imperialism which is proclaimed by the dogmatists, it boils down to just high-sounding condemnation in words and bad language. But should the activities in the struggle against imperialism of a Marxist-Leninist party in power be confined merely to that?

For the socialist countries, to fight against imperialism in reality, to safeguard peace, to promote in every way the development of the world liberation movement means above all:

To develop socialist society successfully and, in the first place, steadily to promote the advance of their economy. The more effective is the economic development of the socialist countries, the stronger they are economically and politically, then the greater will be their influence on the direction and pace of the development of history, the more resolutely and effectively will they defend peace;

To pursue firmly and consistently a peaceful foreign policy which will undermine the foundations of imperialism, helping to rally the peace forces and facilitating the struggle of the working masses and the oppressed peoples for their freedom

and independence; to pursue a policy which deprives the enemies of socialism of the slightest chance of trying to split the forces of peace, democracy and socialism;

To show the utmost vigilance with regard to imperialism; to strengthen in every way the might and defence potential of the whole socialist camp; to take all the measures necessary to ensure the security of the people and to preserve peace;

Tirelessly to expose the policy of imperialism, to keep a vigilant eye on the intrigues and machinations of the warmongers; to arouse the sacred anger of the peoples against those who steer a course towards war; to work for the better organisation of all the peace forces, constantly intensifying the actions of the masses of the people in defence of peace; to strengthen co-operation with all states which are not interested in new wars;

To strengthen the relations of fraternal friendship and close co-operation with the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America which are fighting for national independence and its consolidation; to give help and support to the national liberation movements;

To work in every way to strengthen the fighting solidarity of all detachments and organisations of the international working class.

It is this kind of effective struggle against imperialism that is being waged by the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties which stand firmly behind the position taken by both the Declaration and the Statement.

The prototype of the future of all mankind is being created in the countries of socialism. The peoples of our countries are called upon to make this prototype ever more attractive by all their deeds, so that every worker, getting to know the life of any socialist country, can say: "Here is my wonderful future for which it is worth while fighting unsparingly!"

"The communists," the Statement says, "regard it as their mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty on a

world scale and rule out for all time the possibility of any kind of war in the life of human society, but also to deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time. The communist parties of all countries will devote all their strength and energy to the accomplishment of this great historical mission." The communists of the Soviet Union, all the Soviet people are sparing no efforts in fulfilling this great mission in practice.

Historically, it has fallen to the lot of the Soviet people to bear the burnt of the struggle against the imperialist warmongers. It is not an easy task to bear such a burden. The Soviet people have been, not infrequently, to deny themselves things they need. But the Soviet people consciously accept this, realising that it is necessary for the peoples of the whole world, for this and for future generations, for the victory of communism.

The peoples know that the active struggle of the Soviet Union, its strength, have played a decisive role in preventing the world war which bellicose imperialist circles have tried to touch off many times in recent years, and also in promoting the liberation struggle against imperialism.

Who was it that extinguished the raging flames of war in the Suez Canal zone in 1956 by compelling the British-French-Israeli aggressors to beat a retreat? Who was it that in 1957 prevented the invasion of Syria which the imperialists had prepared? Who was it that in 1958 prevented war from flaring up in the Middle East and in the area of Taiwan Strait?* It was the Soviet Union and all the countries of the socialist camp, the forces of peace. They—and, above all, the strength and vigorous actions of the USSR—compelled the imperialist warmongers to retreat. The entire activity of the Soviet state, of the CPSU, in the international arena is a struggle against imperialism, and in practice a tireless struggle to strengthen and expand the positions of socialism, to give real help to the peoples which are defending freedom and fighting for freedom.

*The (Formosa) Strait.—Ed.

The wide support given to the liberation struggle of the Algerian people against the French colonialists; the defence of the national independence and freedom of the people of Laos; the support given to India and Indonesia in their just actions in destroying the strongholds of colonialism and in liberating Goa, Diu, Daman and West Irian; all-our assistance in the consolidation of the independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America—these are only a few instances which show how consistently the Soviet Union is fighting against the imperialist colonialists, for the national liberation of the peoples. It was very recently that the Soviet Union gave substantial help to the people of Yemen, help which played a big role in ensuring their independence and in foiling the machinations of imperialism. Our country takes actions in international organisations which echo throughout the world, helping to rally all the world's progressive forces in defence of the national liberation movements. The Soviet Union was the initiator of the historic declaration of the United Nations on the granting of independence to all peoples, and is pressing for this declaration to be put into effect at the earliest possible moment.

The Soviet Union's tireless efforts to explain all the catastrophic danger of the thermonuclear war which has been prepared, the efforts which, together with all the fraternal parties, and with all defenders of peace, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is taking to strengthen the vigilance of the peoples in the face of the intrigues of warmongers—all this is helping to multiply the forces fighting for peace.

This is the way in which, unswervingly and consistently, the Communist Party of Soviet Union is conducting an offensive on all fronts against the forces of imperialism and war. Let those who are trying to cast aspersions on the Soviet Union's consistent struggle against imperialism ask themselves in all sincerity: Why and for what reason are they casting a slur on the principal force of peace and socialism? Whom do they help by so doing?

The post war years have not seen a sharper international crisis, fraught with the danger of thermonuclear world conflagration, than the recent crisis American imperialism created in the area of the Caribbean Sea. What was the position assumed in that crucial hour by those who shout from Tirana? Did they support the Soviet Union, which was the main force defending revolutionary Cuba and barring the road against the atomic maniacs? No, they didn't do that. What is more, they actually helped the imperialist instigators to kindle the conflict, to set the USSR and the United States at loggerheads, thereby pushing the entire world towards the abyss of war.

Fortunately for mankind, however, this did not happen. The all-devouring holocaust of atomic and hydrogen bombs did not hit the peoples. The whole world admits that credit for this goes to the Soviet Union. The firm and flexible policy of the Soviet government and of its leader, Comrade Nikita Khrushchov, which prevented a thermonuclear catastrophe, is highly valued by a grateful mankind as an example of wisdom, reason, genuine peaceableness and concern for the destinies of the peoples.

The dogmatists disagree with this. Now that the height of the crisis is behind us, representatives of the "leftist phrasemongers" are slanderously striving to present the case as if the Soviet Union had capitulated to imperialism and had even agreed to a "second Munich." But everyone who analyses the results of the elimination of the crisis in the area of the Caribbean Sea without bias sees that there is not a grain of truth in the accusations of the dogmatists and that the phrases they utter are actually calculated to provoke war.

The crisis in the area of the Caribbean Sea was settled through the resolute actions of the Soviet Union and of the people of Cuba against the aggressors, due to the support given to the just cause of the Cuban people by all the socialist community and by all fighters for peace. At the same time the crisis was settled on the basis of mutual concession and mutual compromise. The solution of disputed questions

between states without wars, by peaceful means—this is precisely the policy of peaceful coexistence in action.

Those who declare that they support the policy of peaceful coexistence, while at the same time criticising the method by which the Cuban crisis was solved, are actually rejecting the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Critics of the peaceful settlement of the conflict say that one cannot trust agreements with imperialists. But if we proceed on this basis alone, it would be tantamount to admitting that disputed questions can be settled only by war. Marxists-Leninists consider that the strength of the socialist countries has grown so much that the imperialists are compelled to reckon with it and, consequently, they can be made to observe the commitments they assume. At the same time, Marxists-Leninists never forget the perfidy of the imperialists and urge the peoples always to be vigilant and to intensify the struggle against the aggressive intrigues of the warmongers.

What are the main results of the elimination of the crisis in the Caribbean area? The sovereignty and independence of socialist Cuba has been consolidated. The ruling circles of the United States, who insulted Cuba and prepared aggression against her, have declared for the first time through their President that they will not undertake an attack on Cuba.

Of course, the struggle still continues, and precisely for this reason the Soviet Union resolutely supports the well-known five demands of the Cuban Republic and is rendering it tremendous all-round assistance.

It is obvious to everyone that Cuba's position has become much stronger and that her international authority has grown. The Cuban people and their militant leaders, with Comrade Fidel Castro at their head, have displayed great courage, firmness and determination to defend their socialist achievements and have made an immense contribution to the cause of safeguarding peace. The beacon of freedom in the western hemisphere is burning still brighter. Is this a "Munich?" Is this a retreat? The authors of the term "second

Munich" are obviously at odds with elementary history and don't know what they are talking about.

Life itself and the practical struggle of hundreds of millions of people have confirmed that the policy of peaceful coexistence meets the vital interests of the peoples of all countries. It has been proved that in conditions of peaceful coexistence favourable opportunities are created for promoting the class struggle in capitalist countries, the national liberation movement, democratic movements, socialist revolutions. It is a fact that the biggest upsurge of the national liberation movement and the biggest strikes in the capitalist countries have taken place in the post-war years, that is to say, in conditions of peaceful coexistence. It is also a fact that the numerical strength of the communist parties and their influence have grown most in these years. In turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national liberation struggle contribute to the consolidation of peaceful coexistence. And this is understandable, because an active struggle for peace, democracy and national liberation weakens and reduces the position of imperialism.

When Marxists-Leninists speak of the possibility of preventing a world war, they do not forget for a single moment that the essence of imperialism and its aggressive nature have not changed. This is taken into account by our party in the whole of its policy. At the same time it reckons with the changes in the world arena which have brought about a situation in which imperialism can no longer dictate its will to everybody and pursue its aggressive policy unimpeded. The correlation of the forces in the world is now such that the camp of socialism and peace is able to curb the aggressive forces of imperialism.

Of course, one cannot give a guarantee against "madmen" appearing in the camp of imperialism who may plunge headlong into a war venture. This why a high level of vigilance, a strong economy and good armaments are necessary, so as to be ready to administer a crushing rebuff to an aggressor at any moment. By defying imperialism from the

strategic point of view it is impossible to tame its predatory nature or stop a war if it is started.

A modern war cannot be approached with the old yardsticks. A world war, if we fail to prevent it, will immediately become a thermonuclear conflict, will lead to the death of millions upon millions of people, to the destruction of tremendous material values and to the devastation of whole countries. Those who do not consider the consequences of a modern war, who underestimate or simply discount nuclear weapons as being something secondary to manpower, are making a big mistake.

Can there be any doubt that, if the socialist camp had not had mighty weapons, and, above all, nuclear rocket weapons, its position in the modern world would have been absolutely different? What would the security of socialism be based upon in that case? Not, surely, on some magic incantations? Is it not clear that even those who now revile the Soviet Union so vehemently would not have held out without its backing, without its might, against imperialism which is armed to the teeth?

In their cynical gamble with human lives, certain people dare to scoff at those who defend the lives of hundreds of millions of people, accusing these fighters of "cowardice" and "spinelessness." But communists, and still less so communist statesmen and political leaders, cannot act like these irresponsible hack scribblers. After all, when they are in power they are responsible for the destinies of peoples and states, and moreover, for the fate of the world socialist system. They are in duty bound to approach in a sensible way, with the utmost sense of responsibility, the evaluation of the inevitable consequences of a modern thermonuclear war and not to repeat the elements of past centuries or resort to bombastic phrases.

Lenin severely criticised and mercilessly ridiculed the "leftist" phrasemongers as people who are unable to take into account the objective circumstances at a given turn of events and in a given state of affairs. He wrote:

"We must fight against the revolutionary phrase, we have

to fight, yes, fight without fail, so that some day the bitter truth shall not be said of us: 'The revolutionary phrase about a revolutionary war has ruined the revolution' (*Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p.10. Russian edition)".

The international communist movement knows Lenin's definition of imperialism and has been guided by it for decades. Lenin's definition of imperialism is profound and all-embracing, it contains neither an overestimation nor an underestimation of the forces of imperialism. This definition, like the analysis of capitalism given by Marx, has long ago instilled in the ranks of politically conscious working people the conviction that they are bound to triumph over the forces of capitalism and imperialism. What need was there to counter these definitions of Marx and Lenin with a different, home-made "paper tiger" thesis, which is an underestimation of the forces of imperialism?

To impose on the communist movement their definition of modern imperialism and to ignore its atomic fangs, some people claim that "paper tiger" thesis is tantamount to Lenin's definition of imperialism as "a colossus with feet of clay." It is common knowledge, however, that the figurative expression does not cover or substitute for the whole substance of Lenin's all-round definition of imperialism. Moreover, this expression stresses that imperialism is still strong ("colossus"), but it stands on an unstable basis and is rent by internal contradictions ("with feet of clay").

The "paper tiger" definition of imperialism speaks only of its weakness. The main point, however, is that what we need are not paper definitions, stubbornly thrust upon us, but a genuine analysis of contemporary imperialism: the disclosure of its vices, weaknesses and laws which lead to its ruin, and at the same time a sober assessment of its forces, including its huge atomic and other military potential.

The expression "paper tiger" actually leads to the demobilisation of the masses, because it conditions them to the thought that the strength of imperialism is a myth and must not be taken into account. Such phrases can only sow

complacency among the peoples, and blunt their vigilance. The sowers of these phrases also say that it is necessary to despise the enemy from the strategic point of view, and approach him with all seriousness from the tactical point of view. But this "double entry" is in contradiction with Marxism-Leninism. From the Marxist viewpoint, strategy and tactics are linked by a profound inter-connection. Tactics are called upon to serve the purpose of achieving the strategic goal: strategy is not in contradiction with tactics, but is aimed at achieving more important historical goals.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us to approach the enemy with a sober evaluation both of his historical prospects and his actual forces today, and to work out strategy and tactics on this basis. The international communist movement is well aware that imperialism is on the decline, that it has, historically speaking, outlived its day, but the movement is also aware that it has atomic fangs, to which it may resort.

A nuclear war would lead to the annihilation of hundreds of millions of people and to vast destruction of productive forces. This would complicate exceedingly the building of a new society on the ruins left after a world nuclear conflict. Communists must not keep silent about this, but must tell the masses frankly and openly about this threat. This contributes to the rousing of the peoples to struggle against imperialism and for lasting world peace.

The communist movement holds that if the imperialists unleash a war, that will signify the final end of the rotten capitalist system. But the socialist revolution has no need to pave its way with atom and hydrogen bombs.

Is it or is it not possible to prevent a world war? Is it possible or not to consolidate peace? Is it or is it not possible to carry out a programme of general and complete disarmament, to implement the ideals of the masses of the people and create a just society, a "world without weapons, without armies, without wars?"

These are questions of cardinal importance. Those who say that to put forward slogans in defence of peace means

spreading "illusions", are coming out against the positions of the international communist movement, are demobilising the masses, and are telling them, so to speak, that efforts to prevent a world war are doomed to failure, and are thereby helping the forces of war. The true revolutionary optimism of communists is manifested by the fact that they are confident that a world war can be averted and the aggressive forces can be curbed, that they urge the broad masses of the people to active steps against the warmongers, and by the fact that they believe that all revolutionary processes develop and can make further progress in conditions of peaceful coexistence and that socialism can triumph throughout the world without a devastating nuclear war.

This is the optimism of revolutionary fighters; the opposite view is nothing but a philosophy of suicides. The struggle for peace and for the prevention of a destructive thermonuclear war meets the vital interest of the working class, the peasantry and all working people, the absolute majority of mankind.

Communists consider it their duty, to quote Marx, to "see to it that the simple laws of morality and justice, by which individuals should be guided in their relations, become supreme laws in the relations among nations too." (*Collected Works*, vol. 16 p. 11. Russian edition).

The banner of peace gives communism an opportunity to rally round themselves the broadest masses of the people, and to create a mass political army of which the bourgeoisie and its parties cannot even dream. Communists are called upon to continue to bear this banner high.

Marxist-Leninists have held and continue to hold that the destinies of mankind are determined by the masses of the people. That is why they do not elevate the might of armaments, including nuclear weapons, to the absolute. One must not, however, artificially counterpose the might of the masses to the might of armaments. In order to safeguard peace, to prevent a world war, we must bring all the forces into play: the struggle of the masses of the people and the defensive might of the socialist camp.

The correct foreign policy of the socialist countries must be firm, based on principle, and must at the same time take into account the correlation of forces, must be flexible, and not rule out—depending on conditions—the method of “spear against spear” or the method of talks. To support one of these methods and arrogantly reject the other, is a senseless un-Leninist policy. Lenin wrote:

“It would be absurd to formulate a recipe or general rule (‘No compromise!’) to serve all cases. One must use one’s own head and be able to find one’s bearings in each separate case. That, in fact, is one of the functions of a party organisation and of party leaders worthy of the title, namely, through the prolonged, persistent, varied and comprehensive efforts of all thinking representatives of the given class, to evolve the knowledge, the experience and—in addition the knowledge and experience—the political instinct necessary for the speedy and correct solution of complicated political problems.” (*Collected Works*, vol. 31, p. 50)

Only the combination of all forces, all methods and forms of struggle for peace, offers the opportunity to prevent a new war. And this is a task of primary importance. After all, the end goal of the working class is not to die “spectacularly,” but to build a happy life for all mankind.

As long as the military danger from the imperialist camp persists, as long as there is no general and complete disarmament, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union considers it to be its sacred duty to maintain the defensive might of the Soviet Union and the combat readiness of its armed forces at a level which guarantees the complete rout of any enemy. Mankind knows what great military might is wielded by the Soviet Union and this steadily growing force is placed wholly at the service of the cause of peace.

If war is forced upon us, the Soviet Union will be able to stand up for itself and for its allies. No one can have any doubts about that. But we, communists, genuine humanists, are called upon by history to create the most just society and this is why we must do everything in our power to

ensure peace for the peoples and favourable conditions for their struggle for a bright future for communism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union maintains that true happiness can be achieved by the peoples only on the lines of socialism and communism. The CPSU, like the whole international communist movement, maintains that for the working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist parties—it would be desirable to carry out the social revolution by peaceful means. At the same time the CPSU always stresses that in conditions in which the exploiting classes resort to violence, it is necessary to bear in mind the possibility of a non-peaceful transition to socialism, of the needs for an armed struggle. In his report to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, Comrade Nikita Khrushchov said:

“The possibility is not to be ruled out that the monopoly bourgeoisie may fall back on the most extreme and sanguinary means of retaining its domination. In these circumstances Lenin’s words are more significant today than ever before. The working class, he said, must ‘gain mastery of all forms or aspects of social activity without exception,’ and must be prepared for the ‘most rapid and sudden replacement of one form by another’.”

Those who, like the Albanian dogmatists, allege that the CPSU “elevates the peaceful way of taking power by the working class to the absolute” and “orientates itself only towards it,” are simply engaged in stubbornly disseminating an untruth that is contrary to the facts. Rejecting, in fact, the possibility of a working class take-over by peaceful means, the dogmatists do not see real life, do not see the growing might and organisation of the working class movement, the growing attraction of the masses of the people to socialism, and deny the growing influence of the socialist system on the world revolutionary process. But this means that, far from advancing the cause of the world revolution, they are actually throttling it.

In their opposition to the thesis of the variety of forms of transition to socialism, the dogmatists usually invoke the

following argument: "Up to our days, history has not yet known a single instance of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism." But had Marx and Engels proceeded from such "argumentation," they could not have drawn the conclusion concerning the inevitability of the victory of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, because it did not then exist anywhere in the world.

The strength of Marxist-Leninist theory lies in its ability to make a profound analysis of the key features of an epoch, and to draw from this analysis conclusions which light the way for the revolutionary forces for decades to come. The dogmatists seek to orient the fraternal parties, in all circumstances and in all conditions, only towards an armed struggle for power.

These views deviate from Leninism. Criticising the "left-wing communists," Lenin wrote in the article "Strange and Monstrous":

"May be the authors believe that the interests of the world revolution require that it should be prodded, and that it can be prodded only by war—and in no case by peace, which might give the masses the impression that imperialism was being 'legalised'?"

Such a "theory" would be completely at variance with Marxism, which has always been opposed to 'prodding' revolutions, which develop as the acuteness of the class antagonisms which engender revolution ripens. Such a theory would be tantamount to the view that armed uprising is a form of struggle which is obligatory always and under all conditions." (*Collected Works*, vol. 27, p. 19).

Of course, revolutionary theory can provide only orientation, and it is up to the proletariat of each country, and above all its communist vanguard, itself to determine the forms and methods of struggle to be chosen by the proletariat of the given country in the specific historical conditions. To believe that a recipe for a socialist revolution can be invented to suit all times and all countries, and to thrust it upon the fraternal parties operating in the specific conditions of their own

countries, is to do a harmful thing, to display an arrogance that is foreign to communists, to set oneself up as a teacher of all communist parties, and a teacher divorced from life at that, and therefore incapable of offering anything but dogmatic formulas.

The Soviet Union does its best to promote the development of revolutions of national liberation and to achieve the earliest abolition of the shameful colonial system. It has invariably extended, as it is doing now, a helping hand to all peoples rising up against imperialism and colonialism. The programme of the CPSU says that the party and the entire Soviet people "regard it as their duty to support the sacred struggle of the oppressed peoples, their just wars of liberation against "imperialism." And this is real, not just verbal support. The USSR is rendering considerable political, diplomatic and economic assistance, including aid in arms, to states which ask for support in the struggle against the imperialists and colonialists, in the struggle to consolidate their independence.

The young national states as a rule come out for peace, and form an important link in the zone of peace. It is of the utmost importance to extend this zone of peace, to strengthen the militant alliance of the socialist and the newly independent states, to solve patiently—through negotiation—the disputes which arise, and prevent all actions which might undermine the positions of the progressive forces in these states and weaken the friendship between the states that have newly achieved their freedom and the countries of socialism. It would be extremely harmful to try to fit revolutionary processes in this extremely varied world into ready-made moulds, as the dogmatists are trying to do.

What is the conclusion that emerges from a consideration of all these questions? It is obvious: The Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics worked out collectively by the fraternal parties at their meeting in 1957 and 1960 are the only correct strategy and tactics.

The consistent implementation of this strategy and tactics guarantees to the communists and to all the

revolutionary forces decisive victories in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation and in the struggle for socialism. At the same time it means that struggle against all attempts to blunt, to weaken the weapons of the communists of the world is now becoming a most important condition for the further successes of our revolutionary cause.

The struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism and for the cohesion of the ranks of the international communist movement is the international duty of each Communist Party. The Statement by the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out that revisionism is the chief danger in the world communist movement. At the same time, the statement stressed that "dogmatism and sectarianism in theory and practice can also become the main danger at some stage of the development of individual parties unless combated unrelentingly." This is a correct and farsighted conclusion.

The CPSU has steadfastly fought, as it does now, both against revisionism and against dogmatism and sectarianism. But some people lay one-sided emphasis on the struggle against revisionism only, and moreover at times decry creative Marxism-Leninism as "revisionism," introducing obvious confusion into the Communist movement. Marxists-Leninists are duty bound to analyse the specific situation and see who, at each specific moment is retarding the advance of the common revolutionary cause. Approaching the matter from this, the only correct position, one cannot fail to acknowledge that the dogmatic approach to the solution of the key problems of the communist movement is the source of the gravest mistakes.

The disease of the leftist sectarianism is fed by nationalism and in turn, feeds nationalism. As is shown by experience it becomes particularly intolerable when it manifests itself in the activities of a party in power. It becomes especially dangerous also because it is directed against the line of the communist movement on such vital questions as those of war and peace, which affect the destinies of all mankind.

This is why left-wing opportunism, dogmatism and sectarianism are increasingly emerging as a grave danger in the world communist movement. The fraternal parties have amassed a wealth of experience of combating revisionism, which, by the way, is easier to discern. Left-wing opportunism, on the other hand, is more difficult to expose, because it hides its essential trend towards capitulation behind an "ultra-revolutionary" phraseology, playing on the feelings of the masses. In these conditions, there can only be one correct line for communists: resolute struggle against both right-wing and left-wing opportunism, against both revisionism and dogmatism and sectarianism, implacable struggle against any distortion of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, like the other Marxist-Leninist parties, considers it its international duty to abide scrupulously by the propositions of the documents of the Moscow meetings, and to build its relations in accordance with the principles established in them. This is why communists cannot but feel gravely concerned over the thesis launched recently that there is a "temporary majority" in the international communist movement which "persists in its mistakes," and a "temporary minority" which "boldly and resolutely upholds the truth." To insist on this thesis would in effect mean to lead matters to the fragmentation of the international communist movement, to undermine the ideological and organisational principles on which it is built and which have provided the foundation for the historic victories of socialism. This thesis only serves to justify a spilt in the communist movement and the abandonment of the common position of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

This contention is especially harmful in that it is associated with an incredible pretension to proclaim one party the true heir of Lenin, and all other parties to be apostates from Marxism-Leninism. To proclaim to the whole world that a situation has now developed in the international communist movement similar to that in the period of the Second

International, on the eve of its split, and similar to that in the ranks of the Social Democratic Party of Germany in December 1914, when its leadership stood on positions of chauvinism, means in effect to say to the entire international communist movement that it has sunk in the morass of opportunism and social democratic revisionism, and to set oneself up as the only party which stands on correct Marxist-Leninist positions. Who has the right to put himself in the place of the great Lenin who upheld the principles of revolutionary Marxism and raised high the banner of struggle against opportunism?

There is no doubt that the communist parties will reject these inordinate pretensions of people to put themselves in the place of Lenin, and to proclaim themselves to be the sole guardians of the "truth." These pretensions are not only basically wrong, but absolutely unwarranted. Who does not realise that an attempt to draw an analogy with Lenin's struggle against the opportunism of the Second International, and thereby justify any splitting activities among the communists, is completely out of keeping with the historical realities and the real state of affairs in the international communist movement, which is advancing steadily along the revolutionary, Leninist road? It also bespeaks of incredible arrogance, a complete absence of any sense of respect or desire to heed the unanimous view and the appeals of the overwhelming majority of the fraternal parties, each of which has done great services to the international proletariat, and has great revolutionary experience.

Lenin regarded the creative activities of the fraternal parties with great respect, understanding full well their difficulties and the grim conditions in which they fought against the yoke of capital. And when he needed to form a picture of the situation in this or that country he first of all carefully studied and attentively regarded the opinion and conclusions of the communist party of the country concerned. The CPSU, the Soviet communists, firmly abide by this, Lenin's method. Those who criticise the communist parties which

for decades have fought courageously against imperialism, who criticise their leaders who have deservedly won the profound respect of all the revolutionaries of the world, act in anything but Lenin's way. Was it in Lenin's way, for instance, that foreign guests acted recently at the congress of a big fraternal party when they used its platform to accuse that party of opportunism and of betraying the interests of the people of its country?

In the opinion of the Albanian "theoreticians" only "cliques of revisionists" have now remained in the world communist movement. In vain they appeal to the "rank and file communists," now of this, now of that communist party, urging them to "overthrow" these "cliques." And there are people who offer their services to distribute such writings throughout the world.

The methods used by the Albanian leaders and by those who support them in the struggle against the international communist movement are methods alien to Leninism. They consist in essence of misrepresenting, distorting and falsifying the views of the CPSU and other fraternal parties, ascribing to them positions which they have never held, as, for instance, allegations that in their opinion the peoples of the capitalist countries should not make revolutions, the oppressed nations should not fight for their liberation, and the peoples of the whole world should not fight against imperialism, etc. It must be said that since the time of Trotskyism no other opportunist trend has ever resorted to such a monstrous method which completely distorts truth, and misleads the people of its country and world opinion.

Is it worthy of a communist to allege that the glorious fraternal parties of France, the United States, Italy, Spain, Britain, Greece, Belgium, Denmark, Portugal, Iran, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and many other countries, which are in the fire of class battles and daily wage truly heroic battles against capitalism, for which they are subjected to persecution and reprisals by the police machine of the imperialist states, keep aloof from the struggle of the masses of the

people and support imperialism? But this is slander of selfless fighters! In fact this is aid to the enemy against whom the communists are fighting!

The Albanian leaders and those who support them try to cover up their subversive actions against the positions of the international communist movement with the cry about defence of the Declaration and the Statement. But actually, as is evident to everyone, they have departed from the letter and spirit of these programmatic Marxist-Leninist documents.

Take such a most important question as the unity of the communist movement. The Statement declares:

The interests of the struggle for the working-class cause demand of each communist party and of the great army of communists of all countries, ever closer unity of will and action. It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist party to work continuously for greater unity in the world communist movement.

Is there anything in common between this Marxist-Leninist provision and the thesis about a "temporary majority," and "a minority defending truth"? Absolutely nothing. This thesis, unworthy of communists, means an unceremonious attack on the unity of the communist movement, on splitting it. The authors of this anti-Marxist and anti-internationalist thesis, against facts, are trying to assure everybody, that they are defending the Declaration and the Statement!

As has been shown by the results of an objective analysis, the dogmatists grossly trample upon the conclusions of the Declaration and the Statement also on such cardinal questions as the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, the form of transition to socialism, the principles of mutual relations between the fraternal parties. And no matter how the Albanian leaders and their backers may try to pose as supporters of the documents of the Moscow meetings, the facts and their deeds show that on all the most important questions they are following a line which is directed against the agreed positions of the international communist movement—the Declaration of 1957, the Statement

of 1960, against the Peace Manifesto and the Message to the Peoples of the World.

The pretension of a single communist party to lay claim to infallibility and to ignore at the same time the opinion of other communist parties is entirely wrong and extremely damaging to the interests of the communist movement. This is impermissible in assessing the situation in some particular country where another fraternal party is working and fighting. It is all the more impermissible in respect of most important questions which concern not only one party or the parties of several countries, but all the communist parties of the world and the general question of the struggle of the international working class and communist movement against the forces of international reaction, imperialism and war.

The positions of the communist movement of the whole world on these questions are set forth in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings. Every communist party must fully take into consideration and stand by this unanimous opinion of the world communist movement. There is no other way.

Lenin was in favour of recognising international proletarian discipline. He wrote:

We take pride in the fact that we solve the great questions of the workers' struggle for their liberation, obeying the international discipline of the revolutionary proletariat, taking into consideration the experience of the workers of the different countries, taking into account their knowledge and their will, thus realising in practice (and not in oratory as the Renners, Fritz Adlers and Otto Bauers did) the unity of the class struggle of the workers of communism throughout the world. (*Collected Works*, vol. 31, p. 244.)

Lenin taught that every politically conscious worker must feel himself a member of the international family of Marxists and must not for one minute dissociate himself from the international army of workers.

The communist parties do not have rules common for all, but they do have the decisions of the Moscow meetings,

which are common and compulsory for all of them. Devotion to these decisions is an international duty of every communist party. Not to carry out in the present conditions the collectively drafted decisions of the Moscow meetings would mean to disrupt the unity of the communist movement, to withdraw each into its own "national house," would mean, in the final analysis, to help imperialism in carrying out its plans and to put a brake on the liberation struggle of the peoples.

What the communists need is not a division into a "majority" and a "minority," but unity, unity and once more unity. The supreme law of the communist movement, its important distinguishing feature from reformists of all hues, is the sacred safeguarding of the cohesion and unity.

"Unity," Lenin wrote, "is needed by the working class. Unity is effected only through a single organisation whose decisions are carried out scrupulously by all politically aware workers. To discuss a question, pronounce and hear various views on it, find out the view of the majority of organised Marxists, express this view in a decision by vote, and carry out this decision conscientiously—that is what unity means all over the world, among all sensible people. And such unity is endlessly dear, endlessly important for the working class. Disunited workers are nothing. United workers are everything." (*Collected Works*, vol. 19, p.470)

These words of Lenin should never be forgotten.

In the period of the Second International, the world bourgeoisie acclaimed the treason of the social democratic leaders and proclaimed war on Lenin and Leninism. And today the world bourgeoisie fights against the Communist Parties with no less fury than it fought in its time against Lenin and the Bolsheviks, for it justly sees in the Communist Parties its principal adversaries, the staunchest fighters for the interests of the people, for the elimination of capitalism and of the exploitation of the popular masses. To describe a great army which daily wages a real, truly heroic struggle against imperialism, for the happiness and freedom of the

peoples, and for the victory of socialism, as a "temporary majority" which "persists in its mistakes" and, like the leaders of the Second International, allegedly follows the way of revisionism, means to strike a blow at the main force of the revolution and to hamper the victory of the cause of the revolution.

The whole of progressive mankind is now deeply aware that the Soviet Union, the socialist camp, the international communist, working class, and national liberation movements are waging a great historical battle against imperialism, and for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. The policy-makers and ideologists of imperialism see their principal adversary primarily in the Soviet union, in the socialist camp, in the Communist Parties and the forces supporting them. The entire vast machine of imperialism directs its main blows against communism, against the ideas emanating from the countries which are victoriously building socialism and communism, and against their policy.

One cannot fail to see that the imperialists seek to gain an advantage for themselves from the differences which have appeared among the communists. They openly say that this is "to the advantage of the West" and that it "hampers communist success." It is highly indicative that simultaneously calls are made for the "strengthening of the free world," the "consolidation of the western alliance," and so on. To these attempts by the leaders of the imperialist camp to weaken the forces of peace, democracy and socialism and thereby strengthen the positions of reaction and aggression, the international communist movement must reply by further consolidating and strengthening the unity of its ranks.

The communist movement is faced with extremely complex and responsible tasks. The vital interests of the masses of the people, the development of successful struggle against imperialism, for the abolition of the disgraceful system of exploitation and national oppression, for the triumph of socialism and communism insistently, require consolidation

of the international alliance of the Communist Parties, and its solid, indestructible unity.

History will not forgive any leader who, in this crucial period of history, fails to recognise the main thing which is required of him—persistently to strengthen in every way the unity of the Communist Parties—and acts contrary to the vital interests of the peoples. The existing differences between the world communist movement and the Albanian leaders and their supporters cannot be allowed to obscure from the communists of the world the tasks of the struggle against imperialism, for national independence, peace, democracy, socialism and communism.

The differences between individual communist parties on this or that matter do not have deep roots in the social system of the socialist countries. Whereas in the conditions of capitalism the contradictions have an objective foundation, and are therefore antagonistic in character, the differences between Communist Parties are primarily subjective. Consequently there are all the conditions for successfully overcoming these differences. One must proceed from the higher aims and interests of the international communist movement, and seek ways of drawing closer together, ways of co-operation and unity. If one does not persist on one's special position, if one is guided by Marxism-Leninism, proceeds on the basis of the higher interests, common to all, and finds the "strength of mind" to march in step with the whole movement, then the cause of the international cohesion of the communist movement will be guaranteed.

The 1960 meeting, in the interests of the cohesion and unity of the ranks of the international communist movement defined the principles of mutual relations between the parties by which they are called upon to be guided in their activities. These principles have two interconnected aspects: examination of all questions on the basis of equality, through meetings: at the same time it was emphasised that the "resolute defence of the unity of the world communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and

the prevention of any actions which may undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism.”

It is impermissible to separate from one another these closely interconnected laws of our movement. Splitting activities must not be tolerated in the ranks of the international communist movement. Disregard of this demand is tantamount to under-mining the very foundations of the fraternal unity of the communist parties, to encroaching on the very principles of proletarian internationalism. It may lead, first of all, to the appearance of a “minority” trend and then to the emergence of the danger of a split in the international communist movement, to the joy of its common enemy—international imperialism.

The course of the CPSU, defined by its 20th and 22nd Congresses, is a course aimed at rallying all the forces of socialism, at consolidating the unity of all the fraternal parties, and at rallying all the forces of the anti-imperialist front. This course underlines our position in the development of our relations with socialist Yugoslavia.

The steps taken recently by the Yugoslav communists and their leaders in their home and foreign policy have removed much of what was erroneous and damaging to the cause of building socialism in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav communists have taken steps towards *rapprochement* and unity with the entire world communist movement. Those who allege that “capitalism has been restored” in Yugoslavia, that “bourgeois elements” have occupied a dominant position there, are deliberately lying, refusing to analyse facts and phenomena, substituting fabrications for them, and trying to expel the people of a whole country from the ranks of the fighters for socialism. The CPSU declares openly that there still exist differences with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on a number of ideological questions. But the *rapprochement* between Yugoslavia and the country that is building

communism can, without doubt, help to overcome the differences on a number of ideological questions much more quickly. Is the consolidation of the forces of socialism in the interests of the communist movement? Undoubtedly it is! What the CPSU is striving for is the rallying, not the division of the countries of socialism and of all communist parties.

There are no "superior" and "inferior" parties in the communist movement. The communist parties are fraternal parties. They have one and the same ideology—Marxism-Leninism, one and the same aim—struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of communism. All communist parties are equal and independent. All are responsible for the destinies of the communist movement, for its victories and setbacks. Our party was the first to put forward these propositions. The CPSU, on its own initiative, proposed that the Statement and other documents of the communist movement should not say that the Soviet Union stands at the head of the socialist camp, or the CPSU at the head of the communist movement. This is but one of the indications of how scrupulously the CPSU observes the principles of the equality and solidarity of the fraternal parties, how boundlessly loyal it is to the principles of proletarian internationalism. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism has become the lifeblood of our party, and the peoples of all countries see this daily in numerous examples.

The party of Lenin, which was the first to blaze the trail to socialism, which is now the first to scale the heights of communism, which is rendering all-round fraternal assistance to the builders of socialism in other countries and to the fighters for national liberation, and which is tirelessly rallying the communist movement, which has raised high the banner of the struggle for peace, for saving mankind from the horrors of thermonuclear war, is fulfilling its international duty with honour by these and other actions. And those who, in defiance of the facts, seek to discredit the internationalism of the CPSU and its great contribution to the world movement for liberation, are harming the liberation struggle of all peoples.

The Communist Parties have a tried and tested method for settling contentious issues by means of collective discussion. Our party has always advocated this method. The CPSU is deeply convinced that collective discussion of the most important questions of modern world development makes it possible to ensure the cohesion of the international communist movement.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to fight tirelessly for the unity of the great socialist community of nations, against all splitting actions, for strengthening the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of the great principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Appendix V

The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti And Us

Editorial in "People's Daily", 31 December 1963

The Communist Party of Italy is a party with a glorious history of struggle in the ranks of the international communist movement. In their valiant struggles both during the dark years of Mussolini's rule and during the difficult years of World War II and after, the Italian Communists and the Italian proletariat have had admirable achievements to their credit. The Chinese Communists and the Chinese people have always held the comrades of the Italian Communist Party and the Italian people in high esteem.

In accordance with its consistent stand of strengthening friendship with fraternal Parties, the Communist Party of China sent its representative to attend the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy, which was held in early December, at the latter's invitation. We had hoped that this Congress would help to strengthen not only the common struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace, but also the unity of the international communist movement.

But, at this Congress to our regret and against our hopes, Comrade Togliatti and certain other leaders of the C.P.I. rudely attacked the Communist Party of China and other fraternal Parties on a series of important questions of principle. They did so in violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and in disregard of the interests of the united struggle of the international communist movement against the enemy.

The representative of the Communist Party of China at

the Congress was thus compelled to declare solemnly in his address that we disagreed with the attacks and slanders levelled at the Communist Party of China by Togliatti and certain other leaders of the C.P.I. Nevertheless, Togliatti and certain other leaders of the C.P.I. "very firmly rejected" the views put forward by the representative of the CPC, continued their attacks upon the CPC and other fraternal Parties, and persisted in conducting "the debate in public"

Thus, the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy became a salient part of the recently emerged adverse current which runs counter to Marxism-Leninism, and which is disrupting the unity of the international communist movement.

In such circumstances we cannot remain silent but must publicly answer the attacks on us by Comrade Togliatti and other comrades. Nor can we remain silent about the views they expressed in contravention of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and of the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, but we must publicly comment on these views. We wish to say frankly that on a number of fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism there exist differences of principle between Comrade Togliatti and certain other C.P.I. leaders on the one hand and ourselves on the other

After reading Togliatti's general report and his concluding speech at the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy and the theses of the Congress, one cannot help feeling that he and certain other C.P.I. leaders are departing further and further from Marxism-Leninism. Although Comrade Togliatti and certain others have, as usual, covered up their real views by using obscure, ambiguous and scarcely intelligible language, the essence of their views becomes clear once this flimsy veil is removed.

They cherish the greatest illusions about imperialism, they deny the fundamental antagonism between the two world systems of socialism and capitalism and the fundamental antagonism between the oppressed nations and oppressor

nations, and, in place of international class struggle and anti-imperialist struggle they advocate international class collaboration and the establishment of a "new world order" They have profound illusions about the monopoly capitalists at home, they confuse the two vastly different kinds of class dictatorship, bourgeois dictatorship and proletarian dictatorship, and preach bourgeois reformism, or what they call "structural reform", as a substitute for proletarian revolution. They allege that the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism have become "outmoded", and they tamper with the Marxist-Leninist theories of imperialism, of war and peace, of the state and revolution, and of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. They discard the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, they repudiate the common laws of proletarian revolution or, in other words, the universal significance of the road of the October Revolution, and they describe the "Italian road", which is the abandonment of revolution, as a "line common to the whole international communist movement".

In the final analysis the stand taken by Togliatti and certain other C.P.I. leaders boils down to this—the people of the capitalist countries should not make revolutions, the oppressed nations should not wage struggles to win liberation, and the people of the world should not fight against imperialism. Actually, all this exactly suits the needs of imperialists and the reactionaries.

In this article we do not propose to discuss all our differences with Comrade Togliatti and certain other C.P.I. comrades. Here we shall set forth our views on only a few of the important questions at issue.

I

Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades differ with us, first of all, on the question of war and peace. In his general report to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy, Togliatti declared: "This problem was widely discussed at the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties

held in Moscow in the autumn of 1960. The Chinese comrades put forward some views, which were rejected by the meeting." He spoke in deliberately vague terms and did not mention what were the views put forward by the Chinese comrades, but went on to speak of the inevitability of war as the source of the disputes, which made it apparent that he was accusing the Chinese Communists of having no faith in the possibility of averting a new world war, and accusing China of being "warlike".

This accusation levelled against the Communist Party of China by Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades is completely groundless and trumped up.

The Communist Party of China has consistently taken the stand of opposing the imperialist policies of aggression and war, of preventing imperialism from launching a new world war, and of defending world peace. We have always held that as long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression. The danger of imperialism starting a world war still exists. However, because of the new changes that have taken place in the international balance of class forces, it is possible for the peace forces of the world to prevent imperialism from launching a new world war, provided that they stand together, form a united front against the policies of aggression and war pursued by the imperialists. Should imperialism dare to take the risk of imposing a new world war on the peoples of the world, such a war would inevitably end in the destruction of imperialism and the victory of socialism. We stated these views at the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings. The two Moscow meetings included these views of ours in the joint documents which were adopted, and did not reject them as Togliatti alleged.

Since Togliatti and certain other comrades know perfectly well where the Communist Party of China stands on the problem of war and peace, why do they keep on distorting and attacking this stand? What are the real differences between them and us?

They are manifested mainly on the following three questions:

Firstly, the Communist Party of China holds that the source of modern war is imperialism. The chief force for aggression and war is U.S. imperialism, the most vicious enemy of all the peoples of the world. In order to defend world peace, it is necessary to expose the imperialist policies of aggression and war unceasingly and thoroughly, so as to make the people of the world to maintain a high degree of vigilance. The fact that the forces of socialism, of national liberation, of people's revolution and of world peace have surpassed the forces of imperialism and war has not changed the aggressive nature of imperialism and cannot possibly change it. The imperialist bloc headed by the United States is engaged in frenzied arms expansion and war preparations and is menacing world peace.

Those who slanderously attack the CPC allege that our unremitting exposures of imperialism, and especially of the policies of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism, show our disbelief in the possibility of averting a world war; actually what these people oppose is the exposure of imperialism. Although they admit in words that the nature of imperialism has not changed, in fact, they prettify imperialism in a hundred and one ways and spread among the masses of the people illusions about imperialism, and especially about U.S. imperialism.

It will be recalled that three years ago, following the "Camp David talks", some persons in the international communist movement talked a great deal about Eisenhower's sincere desire for peace, saying that this ringleader of U.S. imperialism was just as concerned about peace as we were. It will also be recalled that when Eisenhower arrived in Italy on his European tour in December 1959, certain comrades of the C.P.I. went so far as to put up posters, distribute leaflets and organize a gala welcome, urging all Italian political parties and people from all walks of life to "salute" him. One of the welcoming slogans ran as follows: "We

Communists of Rome salute Dwight Eisenhower and, in the name of 250,000 electors in the capital of the Italian Republic, express our confidence and our determination that the great hopes for peace which were aroused in the hearts of all peoples, hopes created by the meeting between the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, shall not end in disappointment." (*L'Unita*, December 4, 1959.)

Now we again hear some people saying that Kennedy is even more concerned about world peace than Eisenhower was and that Kennedy showed his concern for the maintenance of peace during the Caribbean crisis.

One would like to ask: Is this way of embellishing U.S. imperialism the correct policy for defending world peace? The intrusion into the Soviet Union of spy planes sent by the Eisenhower Administration, the aggression against Cuba by the Kennedy Administration, the hundred and one other acts of aggression around the world by U.S. imperialism, and its threats to world peace—have these not repeatedly confirmed the truth that the ringleaders of U.S. imperialism are no angels of peace but monsters of war? And are not those people who try time and again to prettify imperialism deliberately deceiving the people of the world?

It is crystal-clear that if one went by what these people say, U.S. imperialism would have ceased to be the enemy of world peace, and therefore, there would be no need to fight against its policies of aggression and war. This erroneous view, which openly runs counter to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, can only make the peace loving people of the world lose their bearing, damage the fight for world peace and assist U.S. imperialism in carrying out its policies of aggression and war.

Secondly, the Communist Party of China holds that world peace can only be securely safeguarded in the resolute struggle against imperialism headed by the United States, by constantly strengthening the socialist camp, by constantly strengthening the national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and

Latin America, and by constantly strengthening the people's revolutionary struggles in various countries and the movement to defend world peace. In order to achieve world peace it is necessary to rely mainly on the strength of the masses of the people of the world and on their struggles. In the course of the struggle to defend world peace, it is necessary to enter into negotiations on one issue or another with the governments of the imperialist countries, including the government of the United States, for the purpose of easing international tension, reaching some kind of compromise and arriving at certain agreements, subject to the principle that such compromise and agreements must not damage the fundamental interests of the people. However, world peace can never be achieved by negotiations alone, and in no circumstances must we pin our hopes on imperialism and divorce ourselves from the struggles of the masses.

Those who attack the Communist Party of China misrepresent this correct viewpoint of ours as showing lack of faith in the possibility of averting a world war. As a matter of fact, they themselves have no faith in the possibility of preventing a world war by reliance on the strength of the masses and their struggles, and they are opposed to relying on the masses and their struggles. They want the people of the world to believe in the "sensibleness", the "assurances" and the "good intentions" of imperialism, and to place their hopes for world peace on "mutual conciliation", "mutual concessions", "mutual accommodation" and "sensible compromises" with imperialism. To beg imperialism for peace, these persons do not scruple to impair the fundamental interests of the people of various countries, throw overboard the revolutionary principles and even demand that others also should sacrifice the revolutionary principles.

Innumerable historical facts prove that genuine peace can never be attained by begging imperialism for peace at the expense of the fundamental interests of the people and at the expense of revolutionary principles. On the contrary, this can only help to inflate the arrogance of the imperialist

aggressors. Comrade Fiedel Castro has rightly said that "that the way to peace is not the way of sacrifice of, or infringement upon, the people's rights, because that is precisely the way leading to war".

Thirdly, the Communist Party of China holds that the struggle for the defence of world peace supports, is supported by, and indeed is inseparable from, the national liberation movements and the people's revolutionary struggles in various countries. The national-liberation movements and the peoples' revolutionary struggles are a powerful force weakening the imperialist forces of war and defending world peace. The more the national-liberation movements and the peoples' revolutionary struggles develop, the better for the defence of world peace. The socialist countries, the Communists of all countries and all the peace-loving people of the world must resolutely support the national-liberation movements and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples in various countries, and must resolutely support wars of national liberation and peoples' revolutionary wars.

In branding this correct view of ours as "warlike", those who attack the Communist Party of China are, in fact, placing the struggle in defence of the world peace in opposition to the movements of national liberation and to the people's revolutionary struggles, and in opposition to wars of national liberation and peoples' revolutionary wars. According to them, all that the oppressed nations and the oppressed peoples can do is to receive what is "bestowed" by imperialism and the reactionaries, and they should not wage struggles against imperialism and the reactionaries, or they would be disturbing world peace. These persons assert that if oppressed nations and oppressed peoples were to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war when confronting armed suppression by imperialism and the reactionaries, this would have "irreparable consequences". This erroneous view of theirs can only mean that they are opposed to revolution by oppressed nations and peoples, and demand that these nations and peoples abandon their revolutionary struggles and revolutionary wars

and for ever submit to the dark rule and enslavement of imperialism and reaction.

Facts have shown that every victory for the national-liberation movement and for the revolutionary struggles of the people hits and weakens the imperialist forces of war and strengthens and augments the peace forces of the world. To take the stand of fearing revolution, of opposing revolution, results in setbacks and defeats for the national-liberation movements and the peoples' revolutionary cause, and this will only damage the peace forces and heighten the danger of imperialists starting a world war.

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

Party of China. This policy is wrong and all Marxist-Leninists, all revolutionary people, all peace-loving people must resolutely oppose it.

II

On the question of war and peace, the differences which Togliatti and certain other comrades have with us find striking expression in our respective attitudes to nuclear weapons and nuclear war.

The Communist Party of China has consistently held that nuclear weapons have unprecedented destructive power and that it would be an unprecedented calamity for mankind if nuclear war should break out. It is precisely for this reason that we have always called for a complete ban on nuclear weapons, that is, a total ban on the testing, manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons. Time and again the Chinese Government has proposed the establishment of an area free from atomic weapons embracing all the countries of the Asian and Pacific region, the United States included. Besides, we have always actively supported all the just struggles wage by the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world for the outlawing of nuclear weapons and the prevention of a nuclear war. The allegations that the Communist Party of China underestimates the destructiveness of nuclear weapons and wants to drag the world into a nuclear war are absurd slanders.

On the question of nuclear weapons and nuclear war, the first difference between us and those who attack the Communist Party of China is whether or not the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles on war and peace have become "out of date" since the emergence of nuclear weapons.

Togliatti and certain others believe that the emergence of nuclear weapons "has changed the nature of war" and that "one should add other considerations to the definition of the just character of a war". Actually, they hold that war is no longer the continuation of politics, and that there is no longer any distinction between just and unjust wars. Thus they

completely deny the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles on war and peace. We hold that the emergence of nuclear weapons has not changed and cannot change the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles with regard to war and peace. In reality, the numerous wars that have broken out since the appearance of nuclear weapons have all been the continuation of politics, and there still are just and unjust wars. In practice, those who hold there is no longer any distinction between just and unjust wars either oppose waging just wars or refuse to give them support, and they have lapsed into the position of bourgeois pacifism which is opposed to all wars.

On the question of nuclear weapons and nuclear war, the second difference between us and those who attack the Communist Party of China is whether one should view the future of mankind with pessimism or with revolutionary optimism.

Togliatti and certain others talk volubly about "the suicide of mankind" and the "total destruction" of mankind. They believe that "it is idle even to discuss what might be the outlook for such remnants of the human race with regard to the social order". We are firmly opposed to such pessimistic and despairing tunes. We believe that it is possible to attain a complete ban on nuclear weapons in the following circumstances: the socialist camp has a great nuclear superiority, the people's struggles in various countries against nuclear weapons and nuclear war have become broader and deeper; having further forfeited their nuclear superiority, the imperialists are compelled to realize that their policy of nuclear blackmail is no longer effective and that their own launching of a nuclear war would only accelerate their own extinction. There are precedents for the outlawing of highly destructive weapons. One such precedent is the Protocol for the Prohibition of the use in War of Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, concluded by various nations in 1925 in Geneva.

If, after we have done everything possible to prevent a nuclear war, imperialism should nevertheless unleash nuclear

war, without regard to any of the consequences, it would only result in the extinction of imperialism and definitely not in the extinction of mankind. The Moscow Statement points out that "should the imperialist maniacs start war, the peoples will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it". All Marxist-Leninists firmly believe that the course of history necessarily leads to the destruction of nuclear weapons by mankind, and will definitely not lead to the destruction of mankind by nuclear weapons. The advocates of the "total destruction" of mankind contradict the theses contained in the joint documents of the international communist movement, and this only serves to show that they have lost all faith in the future of mankind and in the great ideal of communism and have fallen into the quagmire of defeatism.

On the question of nuclear weapons and nuclear war, the third difference between us and those who attack the Communist Party of China concerns the policy to be adopted in order successfully to reach the goal of outlawing nuclear weapons and preventing a nuclear war.

Togliatti and certain others zealously advertise the dreadful nature of nuclear weapons and blatantly declare that "it is justified" to "shudder" with fear in the face of the nuclear blackmail when U.S. imperialism parades it. Togliatti has also said that "war must be avoided at any cost". According to what he and certain others say, should not the only way of dealing with the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear threats and blackmail be unconditional surrender and the complete abandonment of all revolutionary ideals and all revolutionary principles? Can this be the kind of stand a Communist should take? Can a nuclear war really be prevented in this way?

It is unthinkable that "shudders of fear" will move U.S. imperialism to become so benevolent that it will abandon its policies of aggression and war and its policy of nuclear blackmail. Facts prove the opposite. The more one "shudders" with fear, the more unbridled and the greedier U.S.

imperialism becomes, and the more it persists in using threats of nuclear warfare and raising ever greater demands. Have there not been enough object-lessons of this kind?

We hold that in order to mobilize the masses of the people against nuclear war and nuclear weapons it is necessary to inform them of the enormous destructiveness of these weapons. It would be patently wrong to underestimate this destructiveness. However, U.S. imperialism is doing its utmost to disseminate dread of nuclear weapons in pursuit of its policy of nuclear blackmail. In these circumstances, while Communists should point out the destructiveness of nuclear weapons, they should counter the U.S. imperialist propaganda of nuclear terror by stressing the possibility of outlawing them and preventing nuclear war; they should try and transmute the people's desire for peace into righteous indignation at the imperialist policy of nuclear threats and lead the people to struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. In no circumstances must Communists act as a voluntary propagandist for the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail. We hold that the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail must be thoroughly exposed and that all peace-loving countries and people must be mobilized on the most extensive scale to wage an unrelenting fight against every move made by the U.S. imperialists in their plans for aggression and war. We are deeply convinced that, by relying on the united struggle of all forces defending peace, it is possible to frustrate the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail. This is the correct and effective policy for achieving a ban on nuclear weapons and preventing a nuclear war.

We would like to advise those who attack the Communist Party of China to discard their fallacious pessimistic arguments, to have confidence in the truth of Marxism-Leninism, to pull themselves together and take an active part in the great struggle of the masses against the imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and for the defence of world peace.

III

Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades have strongly opposed the Marxist-Leninist proposition of the Chinese Communist Party that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers". In his report to the recent Congress of the Italian Communist Party Comrade Togliatti said that it "was wrong to state that imperialism is simply a paper tiger which can be overthrown by a mere push of the shoulder". Then there are other persons who assert that today imperialism has nuclear teeth, so how can it be called a paper tiger?

Prejudice is further from the truth than ignorance. In the case of Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades, if they are not ignorant, then they are deliberately distorting this proposition of the Chinese Communist Party.

In comparing imperialism and all reactionaries to paper tigers, Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communists are looking at the problem as a whole and from a long-term point of view and are looking at the essence of the problem. What is meant is that, in the final analysis, it is the masses of the people who are really powerful, not imperialism and the reactionaries.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung first put forward this proposition in August 1946, in his talk with the American correspondent Anna Louise Strong. That was a difficult time for the Chinese people. The Kuomintang reactionaries, backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism and enjoying immense superiority in men and equipment, had unleashed a nation-wide civil war. In the face of the frenzied enemy attacks and the myth of the invincibility of U.S. imperialism, the most important question for the Chinese revolution and the fate of the Chinese people was whether we would dare to struggle, dare to make a revolution, and dare to seize victory. It was at this crucial moment that Comrade Mao Tse-tung armed the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people ideologically with the Marxist-Leninist proposition that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers". With great lucidity he said:

"All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the

reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful ...”

Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters, the U.S. reactionaries, are all paper tigers too. Speaking of U.S. imperialism, people seem to feel that it is terrifically strong. Chinese reactionaries are using the “strength” of the United States to frighten the Chinese people. But it will be proved that the U.S. reactionaries, like all the reactionaries in history, do not have much strength.

In his speech at the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers’ Parties of socialist countries in Moscow, November 1957, Comrade Mao Tse-tung expounded the same proposition. He said:

“All the reputedly powerful reactionaries were merely paper tigers. For struggle against the enemy, we formed over a long period the concept that strategically we should despise all our enemies. but that tactically we should take them all seriously. This also means that in regard to the whole we should despise the enemy but that in regard to each and every concrete question we must take them seriously. If with regard to the whole we do not despise the enemy we shall be committing the error of opportunism. Marx and Engels were only two persons. Yet in those early days they declared that capitalism would be overthrown all over the world. But in dealing with concrete problems and particular enemies we shall be committing the error of adventurism if we do not take them seriously.”

This scientific proposition of Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s was confirmed long ago by the great victory of the Chinese people’s revolution; and it has inspired all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples engaged in revolutionary struggles. Let us ask Comrade Togliatti and those who have attacked this proposition: On what particular point is Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s proposition wrong?

Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s analysis of imperialism and all reactionaries is completely in accord with Lenin’s analysis

In 1919 Lenin compared the “all-powerful” Anglo-French imperialism to a “colossus with feet of clay”. He said:

“It seemed at that time that world imperialism was such a tremendous and invincible force that it was stupid of the workers of a backward country to attempt an uprising against it. Now ... we see that imperialism, which seemed such an insuperable colossus, has proved before the whole world to be a colossus with feet of clay...”

“...that all these seemingly huge and invincible forces of international imperialism are unreliable, and hold no terrors for us, that at the core they are rotten ...” *

Isn't the reasoning of Lenin in his description of the “colossus with feet of clay” the same as that of Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his reference to the “paper tiger”? We ask, what is wrong with Lenin's proposition? Is this proposition of Lenin's “outmoded”?

In history there have been countless instances proving that imperialism and reactionaries are all paper tigers. In 1917, before the February and October Revolutions the opportunists said that because the tsar and the bourgeois government were so formidable it would be sheer madness for the people to take up arms. But Lenin and the other Bolsheviks resolutely combated this opportunist view and firmly led the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers to overthrow the tsar and the bourgeois government. History proved that the tsar and the bourgeois government were nothing but paper tigers. On the eve of and during World War II, the adherents of the policy of appeasement and capitulation said that Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese imperialists were invincible. But the people of various countries resolutely combated appeasement and capitulation and in the end they won the war against fascism. Again, history proved that Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese imperialists were nothing but paper tigers.

We hold that the question of whether one treats imperialism

**Lenin on War and Peace*, Foreign Languages Press Peking, 1960, pp 22-23

and all reactionaries strategically as the paper tigers they really are is of great importance for the question of how the forces of revolution and the forces of reaction are to be appraised, is of great importance for the question of whether the revolutionary people will dare to wage struggle, dare to make revolution, dare to seize victory, and is of great importance for the question of the future outcome of the world-wide struggles of the people and for the question of the future course of history. Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries should never be afraid of imperialism and the reactionaries. The days are now gone for ever when imperialism could ride roughshod over the world, and it is imperialism and the reactionaries who should be afraid of the forces of revolution and not the other way round. Every oppressed nation and every oppressed people should above all have the revolutionary confidence, the revolutionary courage and the revolutionary spirit to defeat imperialism and the reactionaries, otherwise there will be no hope for any revolution. The only way to win victory in revolution is for the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries resolutely to combat every trace of weakness and capitulation, and to educate the masses of the people in the concept that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers", thereby destroying the arrogance of the enemy and enhancing the spirit of the great masses of the people so that they will have revolutionary determination and confidence, revolutionary vision and staunchness.

The possession of nuclear weapons by imperialism has not changed by one iota the nature of imperialism, which is rotten to the core and declining, inwardly weak though outwardly strong; nor has it changed by one iota the basic Marxist-Leninist principle that the masses of the people are the decisive factor in the development of history. When in his talk with Anna Louis Strong Comrade Mao Tse-tung first put forward the proposition that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, the imperialists already had atomic weapons. In this talk Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

“The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two types of weapons.”

History has proved that even when imperialism is armed with nuclear weapons it cannot frighten into submission a revolutionary people who dare to fight. The victory of the Chinese revolution and the great victories of the peoples of Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Algeria and other countries in their revolutionary struggles, were all won at a time when U.S. imperialism possessed nuclear weapons. Imperialism has always been armed to the teeth and has always been out for the blood of the people. No matter what kind of teeth imperialism may have, whether guns, tanks, rocket teeth, nuclear teeth or any other kind of teeth that modern science and technology may provide, its rotten, decadent and paper-tiger nature cannot change. In the final analysis, neither nuclear teeth nor any other kind of teeth can save imperialism from its fate of inevitable extinction. In the end the nuclear teeth of imperialism, and whatever other teeth it may have, will be consigned by the people of the world to the museum of history, together with imperialism itself.

Those who attack the proposition that “imperialism, and all reactionaries are paper tigers” have obviously lost every quality a revolutionary ought to have and instead have become as short-sighted and timid as mice. Our advice to these people is, better not tie your fate to that of the imperialists!

IV

The differences Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades have with us are also manifest on the question of peaceful coexistence.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government have always stood for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. China was an initiator of the well-known Five Principles of peaceful coexistence. On the

basis of those Five Principles, China has established friendly relations with many countries, concluded treaties of friendship or treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression with Yemen, Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, Guinea, Cambodia, Indonesia and Ghana, and achieved a satisfactory settlement of boundary questions with Burma, Nepal and other countries. No one can deny these facts.

Yet there are persons in the international communist movement who vilify and attack China as being opposed to peaceful coexistence. The reason they do this is to cover up their own erroneous and anti-Marxist-Leninist views on this question.

On the question of peaceful coexistence, our differences with those who attack us are the following. We believe that socialist countries should strive to establish normal international relations with countries with different social systems on the basis of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in domestic affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. So far as the socialist countries are concerned, this presents no difficulties whatsoever. The obstacles come from imperialism and from the reactionaries of various countries. It is inconceivable that peaceful coexistence can be achieved without struggle. It is still less conceivable that the establishment of peaceful coexistence can eliminate class struggles in the world arena and can abolish the antagonism between the two systems, socialism and capitalism, and the antagonism between oppressed nations and oppressor nations. The Moscow Statement of 1960 points out; "Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism."

But Comrade Togliatti and those who attack China hold that through "peaceful coexistence" it is possible to "renovate the structure of the whole world" and to establish "a new world order", to construct throughout the world "an

economic and social order capable of satisfying all the aspirations of men and peoples towards freedom, well-being, independence and the full development of and respect for the human personality, and towards peaceful co-operation of all states" and "a world without war". This means that it is possible through "peaceful coexistence" to change a "world structure" in which there exists antagonism between the systems of socialism and capitalism and between oppressed and oppressor nations, and that it is possible to eliminate all wars and to realize "a world without war" while imperialism and reactionaries still exist.

In taking this stand, Comrade Togliatti and other comrades have completely revised Lenin's principles for peaceful coexistence and discarded the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of class struggle; in reality they are substituting class collaboration for class struggle on a world scale, advocating a fusion of the socialist and capitalist systems. U.S. imperialism is now making a lot of noise about establishing a "world community of free nations" and vainly hopes to absorb the socialist countries into the "free world" through "peaceful evolution". The Tito group is helping U.S. imperialism by beating the drums for "economic integration" and "political integration" of the world. Shouldn't those who advocate "renovating the structure of the whole world" in peaceful coexistence draw a line of demarcation between themselves and U.S. imperialism? Shouldn't they draw a line of demarcation between themselves and the Tito group?

Even more absurd is the allegation that "a world without war" can be achieved through peaceful coexistence. In the present situation, it is possible to prevent imperialism from launching a new world war if all the peace-loving forces of the world unite into a broad international anti-imperialist united front and fight together. But it is one thing to prevent a world war and another to eliminate all wars. Imperialism and the reactionaries are the source of war. In conditions where imperialism and reactionaries still exist, it is possible that wars of one kind or another may occur. The history of

the 17 post-war years shows that local wars of one kind or another have never ceased. Oppressed nations and oppressed people are bound to rise in revolution. When imperialism and the reactionaries employ armed force to suppress revolution, it is inevitable that civil wars and national-liberation wars will occur. Marxist-Leninists have always maintained that only after the imperialist system has been overthrown and only after all systems of oppression of man by man and of exploitation of man by man have been abolished, and not before, will it be possible to eliminate all wars and to reach "a world without war".

On peaceful coexistence we have another difference with those who are attacking us. We hold that the question of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and the question of revolution by oppressed nationals and oppressed classes are two different kinds of questions, and not questions of the same kind. The principle of peaceful coexistence can apply only to relations between countries with different social systems, not to relations between oppressed and oppressor nations, nor to relations between oppressed and oppressing classes. For an oppressed nation or people the question is one of waging a revolutionary struggle to overthrow the rule of imperialism and the reactionaries; it is not, and cannot be, a question of peaceful coexistence with imperialism and the reactionaries.

But Togliatti and those attacking China extend their idea of "peaceful coexistence" to cover relations between the colonial and semi-colonial people on the one hand and the imperialists and colonialists on the other. They say, "the problem of starvation which still afflicts a billion people", and the problem of developing the productive forces and democracy in the underdeveloped areas" "must be solved through negotiations, seeking reasonable solutions and avoiding actions which might worsen the situation and cause irreparable consequences". They do not like sparks of revolution among the oppressed nations and peoples. They say that a tiny spark may lead to a world war.

Such a way of speaking is really asking the oppressed nations to "coexist peacefully" with their colonial rulers, and asking them to tolerate colonial rule rather than to resist or wage struggles for independence, much less to fight wars of national liberation. Doesn't this kind of talk mean that the Chinese people, the Korean people, the Vietnamese people, the Cuban people, the Algerian people and the people of other countries who rose in revolution have all violated the principle of "peaceful coexistence" and done wrong? It is very difficult for us to see any real difference between such talk and the preachings of the imperialists and colonialists.

Even more astounding is the fact that Togliatti and certain other persons extend their idea of class collaboration in the international arena to cover "joint intervention" in the underdeveloped areas. They have said that "states of diverse social structure" can through mutual co-operation "jointly intervene" to bring about progress in the underdeveloped areas. To talk like this is obviously to spread illusions in the interest of neo-colonialism. The policy of imperialism towards the underdeveloped areas, whatever its form or pattern, is bound to be a policy which is of colonialist plunder, and can never be a policy concerned for the progress of the underdeveloped areas. The socialist countries should of course support the people of the underdeveloped areas; first of all, they should support their struggles for national independence, and when independence has been won, they should support them in developing their national economies. But the socialist countries should never second the colonialist policy of the imperialists towards the underdeveloped countries, much less "jointly intervene" with them in the underdeveloped areas. For anyone to do so would be to betray proletarian internationalism and to serve the interests of imperialism and colonialism.

Is it really possible to have "peaceful coexistence" between the oppressed nations and peoples on the one hand and the imperialists and colonialists on the other? What does "joint intervention" in the underdeveloped areas really

mean? The Congo incident is the best answer. When the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted its resolution for international intervention in the Congo, there were some people in the international communist movement who believed this to be a shining example of international co-operation. They believed that colonialism could be wiped out through the intervention of the UN, which would enable the Congolese people to obtain their freedom and independence. But what was the outcome? Lumumba, the national hero of the Congo, was murdered; Gizenga, his successor, was imprisoned; many Congolese patriots were murdered or thrown into jail. And the vigorous Congolese struggle for national independence was seriously set back. The Congo not only continues to be enslaved by the old colonialists, but has also become a colony of U.S. imperialism, sinking into ever deeper suffering. We ask those who are clamouring for "peaceful coexistence" between the oppressed nations and peoples on the one hand and the imperialists and colonialists on the other, and for "joint intervention" in the underdeveloped areas: Have you forgotten the tragic lesson of the Congo incident?

* * * *

The position taken by Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades on the Sino-Indian boundary question reflects their point of view on peaceful coexistence, which is that in carrying out this policy the socialist countries should make one concession after another to the capitalist countries, should not fight even in self-defence when subjected to armed attacks but should surrender their territorial sovereignty. May we ask, is there anything in common between this point of view and the principle of peaceful coexistence which a socialist country ought to follow?

Those who accuse China of opposing peaceful coexistence also attack the Chinese people for supporting the just stand of the Cuban people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism. When the heroic Cuban people and their revolutionary leader, Premier Fidel Castro, resolutely rejected international in-

spection as an infringement on Cuba's sovereignty and advanced their five just demands, the Chinese people held gigantic mass demonstrations and parades throughout the country in accordance with their consistent stand for proletarian internationalism, and firmly supported the Cuban people's struggle in defence of their independence, sovereignty and dignity. Was there anything wrong in that? Yet some people have repeatedly charged China with creating difficulties in the Caribbean situation and with wanting to plunge the world into a thermonuclear war. This slander against China is most malicious and most despicable.

How can one possibly interpret the resolute support which the Chinese people gave to the Cuban people in their struggle against international inspection and in defence of their sovereignty as meaning that China was opposed to peaceful coexistence or wanted to plunge others into a thermonuclear war? Does this mean that China, also, should have applied pressure on Cuba to force her to accept international inspection, and that only by so doing would China have conformed to this so-called "peaceful coexistence"? If there are people who give verbal support to Cuba's five demands but are actually opposed to the Chinese people's support for Cuba, are they not merely exposing the hypocrisy of their own support for Cuba's five demands?

The CPC and the Chinese people have always maintained that the course of history is decided by the great strength of the masses of the people and not by any weapons. On more than one occasion, we have made it clear that we neither called for the establishment of missile bases in Cuba nor obstructed the withdrawal of the so-called "offensive weapons" from Cuba. We have never considered that it was a Marxist-Leninist attitude to brandish nuclear weapons as a way of settling international disputes. Nor have we ever considered that the avoidance of a thermonuclear war in the Caribbean crisis was a "Munich". What we did strongly oppose, still strongly oppose and will strongly oppose in the future is the sacrifice of another country's sovereignty as a means of

reaching a compromise with imperialism. A compromise of this sort can only be regarded as one hundred per cent appeasement, a "Munich" pure and simple. A compromise of this sort has nothing in common with the socialist countries' policy of peaceful coexistence.

V

In fact, not only do comrade Togliatti and certain other C.P.I. comrades call for class collaboration in place of class struggle in the international arena, they also extend their concept of "peaceful coexistence" to relations between the oppressed and the oppressing classes within the capitalist countries. Togliatti has said: "All our actions within the sphere of the internal situation of our country are none other than the translation into Italian terms of the great struggle for renovating the structure of the whole world." Here the phrase "all our actions" means what they call the "advance towards socialism in democracy and in peace", or the road to socialism through "structural reform", as they describe it.

Although the present line of the Italian Communist Party on the question of socialist revolution is incorrect in our opinion, we have never attempted to interfere because, after all, this is a matter for the Italian comrades alone to decide. But now since Comrade Togliatti claims that his theory of "structural reform" is a "line common to the whole international communist movement" and unilaterally declares that peaceful transition has "become a principle of world strategy of the workers' movement and the communist movement", and since this issue involves not only the fundamental Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, but also the fundamental problem of the emancipation of the proletariat and the people in all the capitalist countries, as members of the international communist movement and as Marxist-Leninists, we cannot but express our opinions on the subject.

The fundamental problem in every revolution is that of state power. In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels

declared: "The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class." This idea runs through the entire works of Lenin. In *The State and Revolution*, Lenin laid stress on the need to break up and smash the bourgeois state machine and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said, "The working class must break up, smash the 'ready-made state machinery', and not confine itself merely to laying hold of it"; and that "only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat". He further said, "All is illusion, except power."

In elucidating the common laws of socialist revolution the 1957 Moscow Declaration first states that to embark on the road to socialism it is necessary for the working class, the core of which is the Marxist-Leninist Party, to guide the working masses in effecting a proletarian revolution in one form or another and establishing one form or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There is not the slightest doubt that the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, and the common laws of socialist revolution enunciated in the Moscow Declaration, are universally applicable and, of course, applicable also to Italy.

However, Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades of the Italian Communist Party maintain that Lenin's analysis *The State and Revolution* is "no longer sufficient", and that the content of proletarian dictatorship is now different. According to their theory of "structural reform", there is no need for present-day Italy to have a proletarian revolution, there is no need to smash the bourgeois state machine, and there is no need to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat; they can arrive at socialism "progressively" and "peacefully" merely through a "succession of reforms", through the nationalization of the big enterprises, through economic planning and through the extension of democracy within the framework of the Italian Constitution. In fact, they take the state to be an instrument above class and believe that the

bourgeois state, too, can carry out socialist policies; they take bourgeois democracy to be democracy above class and believe that the proletariat can rise to be the "leading class" in the state by relying on such democracy. This theory of "structural reform" is a complete betrayal of the Marxist-Leninist theories of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

Present-day Italy is a capitalist country ruled by the monopoly capitalist class. Although the Italian Constitution incorporates some of the gains achieved by the Italian working class and the Italian people through their valiant struggles over the years, it is still a bourgeois constitution with the protection of capitalist ownership as its core. Like the democracy practised in all other capitalist countries, democracy as practised in Italy is bourgeois democracy, i.e., bourgeois dictatorship. Nationalization as practised in Italy is not state capitalism under the socialist system, but a state capitalism which serves the interests of the monopoly capitalist class. In order to maintain its exploitation and its rule, the monopoly capitalist class may at times adopt certain measures of reform. It is entirely necessary for the working class in capitalist countries to wage day-to-day economic struggles and struggles for democracy. However, the purpose of waging these struggles is to achieve partial improvements in the living conditions of the working class and working people and, what is more important, to educate the masses and organize them, enhance their political consciousness and accumulate revolutionary strength for the seizure of state power when the time is ripe. Marxist-Leninists, while favouring struggle for reforms, resolutely oppose reformism.

Facts have proved that whenever the political and economic demands of the working class and working people have exceeded the limits permitted by the monopoly capitalists, the Italian government, which represents the interests of monopoly capital, has resorted to repression. Have not innumerable historical factors proved this to be an unalterable law of class struggle? How is it conceivable that the

monopoly capitalist class will abandon its interests and its rule and step down from the stage of history of its own accord?

Togliatti himself is not completely unaware of this. Although he has energetically advocated the possibility of "breaking the power of the big monopoly groups" within the framework of the bourgeois constitution, his answer to the question, "How can this be done?" is, "We don't know." It can thus be seen that the theory of "structural reform" held by Togliatti and certain other leaders of the Italian Communist Party stems not from historical materialism and the scientific study of objective reality, but from idealism and illusion. Yet they have been energetically propagating views which they themselves know are unreliable and describing them as a "line common to the whole international communist movement". Such a practice on their part serves only to vitiate and attenuate the proletarian revolutionary struggle, preserve capitalist rule and completely negate the socialist revolution. Isn't this a new kind of social-democratic trend?

Recently in capitalist countries, some Communists who have degenerated politically and some Right-wing social-democrats have successively advertised the theory of "structural reform", using it to attack Communist Parties. This fact in itself is sufficient to show how closely the theory of "structural reform" resembles social democracy and how remote it is from Marxism-Leninism!

The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement point out that socialist revolution may be realized through peaceful or non-peaceful means. Some people have tried in vain to use this thesis to justify the theory of "structural reform". It is also erroneous to quote peaceful transition one-sidedly as "a principle of world strategy of the communist movement".

From the Marxist-Leninist point of view, it would naturally be in the interests of the proletariat and the entire people if peaceful transition could be realized. Whenever the possibility for peaceful transition appears in a given country,

the communists should strive for its realization. But, possibility and reality, the wish and its fulfillment, are two different things. Hitherto, history has not witnessed a single example of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. Communists should not pin all their hopes for the victory of the revolution on peaceful transition. The bourgeoisie will never step down from the stage of history of its own accord. This is a universal law of class struggle. Communists must not in the slightest degree relax their preparedness for revolution. They must be prepared to repel the assaults of counter-revolution and to overthrow the bourgeoisie by armed force at the critical juncture of the revolution when the proletariat is seizing state power and the bourgeoisie resorts to armed force to suppress the revolution.

That is to say, Communists should be prepared to employ dual tactics, namely, while preparing for the peaceful development of the revolution, they should be fully prepared for its non-peaceful development. Only in this way can they avoid being caught unawares when a situation favourable to the revolution emerges, and when the bourgeoisie resorts to violence in order to suppress the revolution. Even when it is possible to secure state power through peaceful means, one must be prepared to deal immediately with armed intervention by foreign imperialists and with counter-revolutionary armed rebellions supported by the imperialists. Communists should concentrate their attention on the accumulation of revolutionary strength through painstaking efforts and must be ready to fight back against armed attacks by the bourgeoisie whenever necessary. They should not lay one-sided stress on peaceful transition and concentrate their attention on this possibility; otherwise they are bound to benumb the revolutionary will of the proletariat, *disarm themselves ideologically, be utterly passive and unprepared politically and organizationally, and end up by burying the cause of the proletarian revolution.*

The thesis of Comrade Togliatti and certain other leaders of the Italian Communist Party concerning "the advance

towards socialism in democracy and in peace” is reminiscent of some of the statements of the old revisionist K. Kautsky. Kautsky said more than forty years ago, “I anticipate... that it will be possible to carry it (the social revolution of the proletariat) out by peaceful, economic, legal and moral means, instead of by physical force, in all places where democracy has been established.”* Should Communists not draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and such social-democrats as Kautsky?

VI

The extent to which Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades have departed from Marxism-Leninism and from the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement is more clearly revealed by their recent ardent flirtation with the Yugoslav revisionist group.

A representative of the Tito group, who are renegades from Marxism-Leninism, was invited to the recent Congress of the Italian Communist Party and was given a platform from which to denounce China. At the same Congress, Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades publicly defended the Tito group and lavishly praised them for “the value of what they have done and are doing”.

We wish to ask Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades: Do you still recognize the Moscow Statement as binding on you? The 1960 Moscow Statement states unequivocally:

“The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist ‘theories’ in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the League of Communists of Yugoslavia against the international communist movement as a whole...”

Can it be that this condemnation of the Tito group is a

**The Dictatorship of the Proletariat* by K. Kautsky, published in 1918

mistake? Is the resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Communist Parties of all countries to be thrown overboard at the whim or will of any individual or individuals?

After all, facts are facts and renegades to communism remain renegades to communism. The judgment arrived at in the Moscow Statement cannot be overturned by anyone, whoever he may be.

Far from giving up their thoroughly revisionist programme, the Titoites have stuck to it in the draft Yugoslav Constitution which they published not long ago.

The Tito group have not changed their "unique road" of building "socialism" through selling themselves to imperialism. On the contrary, they are working harder and harder in the service of the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Recently U.S. imperialism has tipped the Tito group with extra "aid" amounting to more than 100 million dollars. Under the same old camouflage of "being outside blocs" and of "positive coexistence", the Tito group are doing everything they can to sabotage the national and democratic movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and to undermine the unity of the socialist camp and of all the peace-loving countries.

With the development of the Tito group's revisionist line and their increasing dependence upon U.S. imperialism, Yugoslavia has long ceased to be a socialist country and the gradual restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia began long ago.

The restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia has occurred *not through any counter-revolutionary coup d'état by the bourgeoisie, nor through any invasion by imperialism, but gradually, through the degeneration of the Tito group.* In this connection, as Lenin pointed out long ago, "the main question of every revolution is, undoubtedly, the question of state power. In the hands of which class power is—this decides everything."* The character of a state depends on what class wields state power and on what policy it carries out. In Yugoslavia today state power is in the hands of the

Tito group, a group who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the cause of communism, betrayed the fundamental interests of the Yugoslav working class and the Yugoslav people, and who are enforcing a whole set of out-and-out revisionist policies. In the Yugoslav countryside, the rich peasant and other capitalist forces are rapidly growing, and class differentiation is being accelerated. The capitalist laws of free competition and of profit are playing the dominant role in all spheres of Yugoslav economic life, and capitalist anarchy is rampant.

It may not be unprofitable to listen to what the imperialists have to say in their appraisal of the Tito group. The U.S. imperialists have likened the Tito group to a "bellwether", that is to say, they aim at inducing certain socialist countries to leave the socialist camp and enter Kennedy's "world community of free nations" through the influence of the Yugoslav revisionists. The Yugoslav example makes it clear that the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads is still going on and the danger of restoration of capitalism continues to exist even in a country which has embarked on the road of socialism.

The phenomena of political degeneration and of the emergence of new bourgeois elements after the victory of a proletarian revolution are not difficult to understand. Lenin once said that historically various kinds of degeneration had occurred and that in given conditions it was possible for a handful of new bourgeois elements to emerge from among Soviet functionaries. It is precisely the new bourgeois elements such as Lenin referred to who have occupied the ruling positions in Yugoslavia.

In his concluding speech Comrade Togliatti said:

"When you say that capitalism has been restored in Yugoslavia—and everybody knows that this is not true—nobody believes the rest of what you say, and everyone thinks that it is all simply an exaggeration."

*V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1932, Vol. XXI, Book 1, p.164

He seemed to think this a complete refutation of the Marxist-Leninist thesis of the Chinese Communist Party. But sophistry does not alter the truth. The only reason advanced in support of the arbitrary assertion that Yugoslavia is a socialist country was that one could not find a single capitalist there. It is always hard for people to see the truth when they wear coloured spectacles. Since there are many points of similarity between Togliatti *et al* and the Tito group in their understanding of proletarian revolution, proletarian dictatorship and socialism, it is small wonder that they fail to see the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia and that they fail to see the new bourgeois elements in Yugoslavia.

It is particularly surprising that certain people, while loudly boasting of their intimate relations with the renegade Tito group, vigorously attack the Chinese Communist Party, asserting that our unity with Albanian Party of Labour, which is based on Marxism-Leninism, is "impermissible". These people stop at nothing in their attempt to eject the Albanian Party of Labour, a Marxist-Leninist Party, from the international communist movement, and at the same time, they are seeking ways to inject the renegade Tito group, which the Moscow Statement unequivocally condemns, into the international communist movement. What are they really after? As the old Chinese saying has it, "Things of one kind come together; different kinds of people fall into different groups." Should not those who treat the Tito group like brothers and who cherish such bitter hatred for a fraternal Marxist-Leninist Party stop and think for a moment where they now stand?

VII

In the final analysis our differences on a whole series of problems with Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades who hold similar views involve the fundamental question of whether the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism are outmoded, and whether the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are out of date.

Using the pretext that the epoch has changed and that

nations have special characteristics, Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades hold that Marxism-Leninism is "outmoded" and that the common laws governing socialist revolution, as set forth in the Moscow Declaration, do not apply to Italy. Gian Carlo Pajetta, one of the leaders of the Italian Communist Party, has gone even further. He has said, "How different is Marxism from Leninism, and how different is the Marxism of Marx from the Leninism of Lenin." It is on such pretexts that they have revised and discarded the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and have put forward and are peddling what they call the "Italian road," which is contrary to Marxism-Leninism.

Scientific socialism founded by Marx and Engels is a summing-up of the laws governing the development of human society and it is a truth that is universally applicable. The development of history, far from "outmoding" Marxism, has further proved its boundless vitality. Marxism has continuously developed in the course of the struggle the international proletariat to know and to change the objective world. On the basis of the characteristics of the epoch of imperialism, Lenin creatively developed Marxism in the new historical conditions. In the years since his death, the proletarian Parties of various countries have enriched the treasury of Marxism-Leninism by their own revolutionary struggles. Nevertheless, all these new developments proceeded from the basic principles of Marxism, and definitely did not depart from these basic principles.

The path of the October Revolution charted by Lenin, and the common laws governing socialist revolution and socialist construction as set forth in the Moscow Declaration of 1957, are the common path along which the peoples of the world are advancing towards the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. In spite of the great changes in the world since the October Revolution, the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, which are illustrated by the path of the October Revolution, shine forth today with ever greater brilliance.

In defending his erroneous point of view Togliatti said that the line pursued by the Chinese Communist Party "actually did not correspond to the strategical and tactical line pursued, for example, by the Bolsheviks in the course of the revolution from March to October (1917)". This definitely does not conform with the historical reality of the Chinese revolution. In its long revolutionary struggle, in its struggle against dogmatism and empiricism as well as against "Left" and Right opportunism, the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively developed Marxism-Leninism by integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of the Chinese revolution. Despite the fact that the Chinese revolution, like the revolutions of other countries, has many special characteristics, the Chinese Communists have always regarded the Chinese revolution as a continuation of the October Revolution. It was by following the path of the October Revolution that the Chinese revolution was won. Togliatti's distortions about the Chinese revolution only show that he is trying to find pretexts for his own peculiar line, which runs counter to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the common laws governing the socialist revolution.

It is necessary for a Marxist-Leninist Party to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in its own country and for it to apply the common laws of socialist revolution creatively in the light of the specific conditions in its own country. Marxism-Leninism develops continuously with practice. Certain propositions advanced by a Marxist-Leninist party during a certain period and under certain conditions have to be replaced by new propositions, because of changed circumstances and times. Failure to do so will result in the error of dogmatism and losses to the cause of communism. But under no circumstances is a Marxist-Leninist Party allowed to use the pretext of certain new social phenomena to negate the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, to substitute revisionism for Marxism-Leninism and to betray communism.

At a certain stage in the development of a Communist Party, dogmatism and sectarianism may become the main danger. The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are fully correct in pointing out the necessity of opposing dogmatism and sectarianism. Nevertheless, under present conditions modern revisionism is the main danger to the international communist movement as a whole, just as the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement point out. Modern revisionism "which mirrors the bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, distorts Marxism-Leninism, emasculates its revolutionary essence, and thereby paralyses the revolutionary will of the working class, disarms and demobilises the workers, the masses of the working people, in their struggle against oppression by imperialists and exploiters, for peace, democracy and national liberation, for the triumph of socialism". At present, the modern revisionists are opposing Marxism-Leninism under the pretext of opposing dogmatism, are renouncing revolution under the pretext of opposing "Left" adventurism, and are advocating unprincipled compromise and capitulationsim under the pretext of flexibility in tactics. If a resolute struggle is not waged against modern revisionism, the international communist movement will be seriously harmed.

The recent appearance of an adverse current which is contrary to Marxism-Leninism and which is disrupting the unity of the international communist movement furnishes additional proof of the correctness of thesis in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. Concerning the major features of revisionism, Lenin once said, "To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to the chops and changes of petty politics, to forget the basic interests of the proletariat, the main features of the capitalist system as a whole and of capitalist evolution as a whole; to sacrifice these interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment — such is the policy of revisionism."*

*V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, in two volumes, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1952, Vol 1, p 94

The revolutionary proletariat and the revolutionary people are sure to march along the correct road charted by Marxism-Leninism. Difficult and tortuous though it may be, it is the only road to victory. The historical development of society will follow neither the "theories" of imperialism nor the "theories" of revisionism. However much they may have done for the workers' movement in the past, no person, no political party and no group can avoid becoming the servant of the bourgeoisie and being cast aside by the proletariat, once they depart from the road of Marxism-Leninism, step onto and slide down the road of revisionism.

* * * *

We have been forced into a public discussion of the major differences between ourselves and Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades in the Italian Communist Party. It has occurred against our wishes and would not have occurred if they had not publicly challenged us first and insisted on a public debate. But even though we are obliged to enter into public debate, we still sincerely hope it will be possible to eliminate our differences through comradely discussion. Although, to our regret, we find Togliatti and the comrades who share his views are increasingly departing from Marxism-Leninism, we still earnestly hope they will not plunge further, but will recover their bearings and return to the stand of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. We desire to look ahead. On several occasions, we have suggested the holding of a representative conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries to settle the current differences in the international communist movement. We hold that Communists of all countries should take to heart the common interests of the struggle against the enemy and the cause of proletarian revolution, should abide by the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and should eliminate their differences and strengthen their unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian

internationalism. This is the hope of the working class and of people throughout the world.

The history of the working class movement in all countries during the past century and more is replete with sharp struggles between Marxism and all kinds of opportunism. From the very beginning, the international communist movement has steadily advanced by struggling against and overcoming reformism, social democracy and revisionism. Today, the revisionists of various brands may bluster for a time, but this indicates not strength but weakness on their part. The revisionist and new social-democratic trends which have now appeared in the international communist movement and which suit the needs of monopoly capitalism and U.S. imperialism, are substantially the product of the policies of monopoly capital and U.S. imperialism. But the various kinds of revisionism can neither block the victorious advance of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples, nor save imperialism from its final doom.

In 1913, in the course of his struggle against opportunism, Lenin pointed out, in expounding the historical destiny of the doctrines of Karl Marx, that although Marxism had been subjected to distortions by the opportunists, the development of the revolutionary struggles of the people in all countries had continuously brought in new confirmation and new triumphs. Lenin correctly predicted, "...a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, in the period of history that is now ensuing."* Now we feel that Marxism-Leninism is at a new and important historical juncture. The struggle between the Marxist-Leninist trend and the anti-Marxist-Leninist revisionist trend is once again being placed on the communist agenda in all countries in an acute form. We are profoundly convinced that however complicated the course of the struggle, the Marxist-Leninist trend will eventually triumph.

More than a century ago, in the *Communist Manifesto*

*V I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, in two volumes, Moscow, Vol I, Part I, p. 86

Marx and Engels made the courageous and gallant call to the whole world—"Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." This great call inspires all revolutionaries dedicated to the cause of communism and the proletariat the world over, and imbues them with full confidence about the future, so that they will resolutely break through all obstacles and boldly advance. At the present time, the ranks of the international proletariat are growing stronger and stronger, the political consciousness of the people of all countries is constantly rising, the struggles for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism are gaining victory after victory, and the great ideas of socialism and communism are attracting ever greater numbers among the oppressed nations and peoples who find themselves in a difficult and bitter plight. Let imperialism and the reactionaries tremble before the great revolutionary tide of the working class and of all oppressed nations and peoples of the world! Marxism-Leninism will finally triumph! The revolutionary cause of the working class and of the people the world over will finally triumph!

Let Us Bring the Discussion Back to its Real Terms

Palmiro Togliatti in "Rinascita", 12 January 1963

It is a fact that our recent Congress devoted a large portion of its proceedings to a discussion on problems concerning the international communist movement. Nobody can or wishes to deny it. In all the assemblies of the basic organisations, from the cells to the Federation Congress, it was insistently asked for and we can see why. For some months, the press organs of the Chinese Communist Party have been publishing long and often violent articles of criticism and polemics. These articles often lack explicit clearness. At a certain point one discovers that criticism and polemics are directed against "certain people", against "some persons" (and it is not even specified if these be comrades!), but no mention is made as to who these people are. From the context it becomes clear that they are the leading comrades of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, in particular, Comrade Khrushchov. If the Chinese articles stated this explicitly, perhaps they would be forced to moderate their polemical terms, which, in general, are harsh, such as are generally used when speaking of men and tendencies with whom one considers necessary to come to an open clash. These articles are then distributed in all countries and read by everybody. How can one think that the Congress of a big active and militant Party like ours could avoid facing, during the Congress itself, the problems, the polemics and criticism raised by the Chinese articles, so as to give them an answer? It would be strange indeed if the Chinese comrades intended starting a one-sided

polemics, in which only they would have the right to speak, while the others should remain silent.

Therefore, in our Congress we had a discussion. But we reject very resolutely the statement that the Chinese Communist Party was brutally attacked. There was no attack, no brutality. On the contrary, the Chinese Communist Party was always mentioned with the greatest respect, stressing its revolutionary achievements. The rapporteur himself, Comrade Togliatti, stated from the tribune of the Congress that the Chinese Communist party was not to be mentioned in the concluding resolution of the Congress. Therefore, particular political positions that everybody knew were defended by the Chinese Communists, and we would not omit this, were discussed so that they could be criticised and rejected with arguments.

It is as well to remember that during the whole discussion the name of the Chinese Communist Party leaders was never mentioned and this with the explicit aim of avoiding any unpleasant personal reference. The discussion was conducted objectively, calmly, without any ill feelings of any sort. It does not worry us at all that today the Chinese direct their criticism personally against Togliatti (me). This will contribute to sincerity and clearness, also because the above-mentioned comrade is deeply convinced that the positions he supports and which have been collectively elaborated by the leading group of our Party, are a positive contribution to the further development of the revolutionary working class doctrine—Marxism-Leninism—in the present historical conditions.

Now coming down to the substance of facts, the political line of our Congress and our Party, according to the article published by the Chinese daily, would be reduced to the following: the peoples of capitalist countries must not make revolutions, oppressed nations must not struggle for their freedom and the people of the world must not fight against imperialism. And further: we are trying to prettify the nature of imperialism, pinning our hope for peace on imperialism,

taking a passive or negative attitude towards the national-liberation movements, and the peoples' revolutionary struggles, bowing down and surrendering to imperialism forgetting the class nature of the State, and so on.

In the face of this, which is the real summary of the criticism against us, we cannot but remain dumbfounded. It cannot even be said that this is a caricature of our policy. This is a strange but meaningless game—attributing to us most absurd positions, then attacking them, which is obviously easy, and pretending to have knocked us out. A polemics led in such a manner may serve to strain the relations between two parties but certainly is of no help for the development of a political discussion.

Chinese comrades work in conditions which are very different from ours, and they are also very far off. They may, therefore be misinformed on the situation in our country and on the work of our Party. Italy is today the West European country where the class conflicts are the sharpest. The wave of strikes, of economic and political movements, of the people's struggles which have followed one another in the recent years show this. Do the Chinese comrades really think that this has taken place independently of our work, our struggle, our participation? Do the Chinese comrades know that in 1960 an attempt to establish an anti-democratic and authoritarian regime took place also in our country and that this attempt was defeated by a powerful mass struggle which had its dead on the squares of many Italian cities? Do the Chinese comrades know what role our Party played in this struggle?

Do they know that Italy, thanks to the initiative of our Party, is the country where the widest and most successful actions to support the liberation movements of colonial countries and the peoples oppressed by fascism—Algeria, Cuba, Spain Portugal and Greece—have taken place? Why do they not ask their delegates to our Congress to send them the materials which were presented during the Congress, showing the great and militant mass movement which took

place in Italy during the days of the Cuban crisis, for the defence of the freedom and independence of the people of Cuba against the aggression of American imperialists?

But it would be unjust towards the leaders of the Chinese party to think that they, scholars of the international working class movement as they are, ignore these things. Certainly they do not ignore them. But as they believe and want others to believe that the struggle for peaceful coexistence as it is carried on by us and other communist parties leads to a political degeneration, so they forget or pretend to forget what we really are, they forget or pretend to forget our vigorous action and our struggles, and give the ridiculous picture of our Party as if it were in agreement with imperialists and collaborated with them. But a simple call to reality is enough to cause the downfall of this artful scaffolding.

Peaceful coexistence has been considered by our Congress as an essential aim of strategic nature. We have, however already stated that peaceful coexistence does not imply *status quo*, i.e. a crystallisation of the world in its present relations, but implies a new order of international relations such as to ensure independence and freedom for all peoples. We have added that this new international order cannot be attained but by a struggle of peoples against imperialism, by the successes of these struggles, by the strengthening and consideration of the system of socialist countries and by the progressive settlement through reasonable agreements of the most acute present-day international problems. This has nothing in common with the caricature which the Chinese comrades make of our positions. Certainly we believe that another world conflict, which inevitably would be an atomic conflict, must and can be avoided. But we do not say that history "necessarily" leads to the destruction of atomic weapons. It will lead to this result to the extent we shall succeed in creating a regime of peaceful coexistence, fighting against imperialism and concentrating our fire against its most aggressive elements, strengthening the socialist countries more

and more and developing a broad movement of the people in favour of peace. So, where is the difference between our position and that of the Chinese comrades? In certain points it seems that there is no difference because we use the same words. The difference lies in the fact that we do not stop at general statements of principle, we are not content with the constant repetition of the word "revolution, revolution" but we make an effort to see how things actually stand today and to conform our position close to this reality. This is the only right way really to work for a revolution.

The same applies to a possible world nuclear conflict and its consequences. To regard as progress on the road to socialism and communism the transformation of a third or half of the world into an uninhabitable and not inhabited zone due to a nuclear conflict with the death of 150 millions of people in 18 hours—and I do not know of how many others before the end of the conflict—appears to us as nonsense. Neither do we stress this point with the aim of creating terror, but only to emphasise the fact that in the development of the destructive weapons also there is, as in every development, passage from quantity to quality that must be realised, because this passage is reflected upon the very nature of war. Do we draw from this consideration, the conclusion that there do not exist any more just wars? Not at all, and this was clearly stated in the report of our Congress. We, however, draw the conclusion of the necessity (and not only possibility) of creating a regime of peaceful coexistence. Not only that, we openly take a stand against those desperate men who, in face of the difficulties of the situation and the misdeeds of imperialism might be led to say: *Welcome to the nuclear war if it will give us freedom!* This would not only be absurd, but sheer madness. Our task, instead, is precisely that of saving the world from an atomic disaster, fighting on one hand for peaceful coexistence and on the other defending the independence of the people and advancing towards socialism. The action of the Soviet Union in the course of the Caribbean crisis managed

to achieve these two aims. Atomic war was avoided by accepting a reasonable compromise at a most critical moment. And the independence of Cuba and its advance towards socialism have been guaranteed. If the Soviet Union and the United States had come to an atomic conflict, would this last result have been achieved? Certainly not. The island of Cuba with all its inhabitants would have been turned into an immense cemetery, where nobody certainly would have gone to build socialism. Today socialist construction continues and, when all is said, it is the American imperialists who actually lost the game when they were forced to give up their aggressive plan and had to respect the freedom of the Cuban people.

However, during the crisis in the Caribbean Sea, it appeared clear, that the imperialists were ready to commit any crime. For this reason we do not agree to call them paper tigers. If they are paper tigers, why so many struggles and so much work to fight them? The exact evaluation of the enemy, of his force and intentions is the basis not only of a good strategy, but also of good tactics. We know that the roots of imperialism are undermined by contradictions which at a certain point, become insurmountable. These contradictions, however, come into light and explode only through a fight which must have such an aim as to enable the widest mobilisation of the masses, to lead to a differentiation in the enemy ranks themselves, to increase and utilise all our possibilities for advance and success. In our present conditions, this aim is to avoid war, creating a regime of peaceful co-existence.

In all our policy, the danger which we always try to escape is that of limiting ourselves to general formulations on principle and of being unable to operate efficiently in the reality. Instead, this is what the Chinese comrades recommend in the article we are examining. We know very well the nature of the state and, therefore, of democratic regimes until capitalism exists. The Chinese comrades may examine our polemics to this end with the socialist comrades. But in

the democratic regime in which we live today in our country and which has not been a gift from the bourgeoisie, but was conquered by the working class and by us through a hard armed war; in this state in which the bourgeois classes are still the ruling classes, can the working class, can and must we, wage a mass struggle to obtain substantial reforms, capable of improving the economic and political situation of the workers, or must we simply preach and await the great day of the revolution? Is it right or not to fight for an agrarian reform, for a more democratic organisation of the state, for the limitation of the power of big monopolies, for the development of the rights of the workers, their trade unions and their factory organisations and so on? There is no doubt as to the answer. These struggles must be carried on and by waging them is it right or not for the working class and for us to concentrate the fire of our action against the most reactionary groups of capitalism, represented by the big monopolies? This is the starting point of all our policy now and it would be strange if the Chinese comrades rejected it or criticised it. But we want our struggle for the above-mentioned reforms to be successful and we must admit that such a success may be possible. If not, why should we fight at all? In some cases, some success has already been won. But when this occurs, it is clear that something changes in favour of the working classes not only from the economic point of view but also in the manner in which power is exercised. This means that an advance towards a new regime takes place, an advance which in order to be made needs a vast mass movement, economic and political struggles, strikes, peasant actions and movements in defence of democratic freedom with all the harshness which such a movement may imply. Therefore, we consider the way in which the Chinese article counterposes a peaceful way to a non-peaceful way extremely abstract and formal. Peaceful and non-peaceful ways are always interlaced. From a democratic and "peaceful" mass movement a situation of civil war may often emerge, because the bourgeoisie is always ready to resort to violence.

Therefore, a moment may come when it is no longer possible to avoid the sharpest clash. On the other hand, it is possible, in the present world conditions, to develop the people's movement with such amplitude as to paralyse the leading groups and open up the perspective for radical changes, both economic and political, democratically obtained without resorting to the hard experience of a civil war. To exclude such a possibility today means committing a serious political mistake because it leads to limit the perspective of the working class political struggle and may even exclude the possibility of actual political struggle for precise and achievable aims, against the present capitalistic order.

In such a manner we intend to march towards socialism and we do not see in today's capitalist countries a different manner of leading this march unless one considers as a means to attain socialism the writing of long articles full of "revolutionary" expressions but devoid of any indications as to real and immediate objectives opening the way of the masses towards a radical transformation of the present economic and political forces.

The Chinese comrades would like to frighten us by recalling Kautsky, whose positions have nothing in common with our policy. May they allow us, however, to remind them that it is exactly in the magistral pages against the "renegade Kautsky" that Lenin spoke of different forms of democracy and dictatorship through which the working class can attain power? Nobody has dreamt to criticise as a mistake the political bloc of different social forces (including a part of the bourgeoisie) which in China forms the content of the present political regime. Why should the search of other countries, for different solutions, corresponding to a political bloc having its axis in the struggle against imperialism and the big monopoly capital, be considered a mistake? Certainly, it is impossible today to suppress the big monopolies without hitting the capitalist regime itself and imperialism cannot be suppressed if not through the establishment of a completely new democratic order with regard to their economic, political

and social content. But it is precisely in this direction that the working class struggle must move, if it wants to be effective, if it will not reduce itself to mere protest and messianic expectation. And it is in this direction that we move.

We, therefore, think that what all the criticism of the Chinese comrades lacks is a sense of reality. They speak on Constitution, but probably they do not know exactly how our Constitution was won and what are its contents. They are unaware or appear to be unaware of the new conditions for the development of the democratic and socialist struggles, not only in our country but in the whole world, owing to the deep structural modifications that occurred in the world. They make no distinction between their adversaries, they do not even make any distinction between the different social regimes, as in the case what they call a capitalist restoration in Yugoslavia. There may be and there are differences between us and the Yugoslav communists, but Yugoslavia has a popular regime aiming at socialism, not a capitalist one. And this thoroughly justifies the position taken by us and others towards the Yugoslav comrades, thus correcting, because it was mistaken in this case, the 1960 Resolution.

To the proposal of the Chinese comrades who call for an international meeting to discuss once more the questions we judge differently, we, therefore, answer that such a proposal appears legitimate. However, in turn, we point out that the continuation of polemics in an exasperated tone, inadmissible amongst comrades, as is being done by the Chinese comrades is not the best way of preparing for a conference.* Let us bring the debate back to its real terms and limits, let us develop it like a discussion between comrades, not like an unpleasant diatribe, in the course of which the Chinese

*Just for information we point out to the Chinese comrades how the leaders of the Albanian Workers' Party have reached the limit on the road of exasperation and personal attack, accusing Togliatti of leading the luxurious life of a Nabob. Probably the Albanian leaders know nothing of the way in which Togliatti lives and works. **

comrades have the right to excommunicate and anathematise all those who have different opinions from theirs. Nobody today recognises this as a right of the Chinese comrades or of any other party of our movement. Our Congress proposed to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party an exchange of delegations so as to improve mutual understanding and to evaluate our differences more easily. Why not limit ourselves to this for the moment?

****They have collected such news from the most disgusting fascist papers of our country specialising in vulgar anti-communist slander. From this we do not wish to conclude that the Albanian leaders are also fascist slanderers. However there is an old Chinese proverb which says. "Things of one kind come together; different kinds of people fall into different groups." Is it not this that is said in the article we are commenting? However, the Chinese comrades can be sure that we refuse to descend to the level of the Albanian leaders. This has nothing in common with a discussion which can and must develop between communists.**

The Struggle for Structural Reforms and its Revolutionary Significance

Luigi Longo

in "World Marxist Review", February 1963

The revolutionary significance of the struggle for structural reforms was the subject of wide discussion during the preparations for the recent Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party. Some of our party militants and some of the Left Socialist comrades held that, being effected within the framework of the capitalist system, these reforms are liable to be "absorbed" by capitalism, i.e., may eventually become an instrument for reinforcing monopoly rule.

The pre-Congress discussion and the debate at the Congress helped to clarify many aspects of this question, and primarily to demonstrate the groundlessness of the sectarian and academic objections which had been voiced with regard to this important point of Party policy.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the underlying principle of our policy is recognition of the need to orientate every action, not only on a far-reaching democratic and anti-monopoly regeneration, but also on the prospect of radical socialist reconstruction of the entire economic, social and political structure of the country. This principle is clearly formulated in the documents approved by the Eighth and Ninth Congress. Without socialist reconstruction, these documents state, it will be impossible to rid society of poverty, injustice and exploitation, to deliver the people from the permanent threat to freedom and peace which capitalism, by its very nature, represents.

At the same time an equally important principle of the

policy of our party, what is known as "Italian road to socialism", is the recognition that already today, under capitalism, in the present situation, both international and national, it is possible and necessary to abolish the monopolies, abolish their economic and political power.

We believe this to be perfectly feasible, provided the workers and all the democratic forces join in the fight not only for the issues directly affecting them but all the decisive national issues; for this it is essential that the masses should be in the key positions in society, and that they use these positions to bring about the economic and political changes that could impart a new meaning to democracy and direct social development into socialist channels.

This is the distinguishing feature of the political line pursued by the Italian Communist Party, and to forget this would be tantamount to distorting its orientation. It is true that the bourgeoisie can emasculate the progressive content of any democratic victory, any structural reform, and the less pressure the people exert the easier it will be for the bourgeoisie to do this and the more it can paralyse, undermine and diffuse mass pressure.

But just because this danger exists, merely to pinpoint it is not enough; it must be averted. And for this the workers and the democratic masses generally must participate in all aspects of the nation's life as an active and determining force, as the vehicle of positive decisions capable of exposing the deception, dispelling illusions and spurring on the nationwide movement for agreement for regeneration.

The validity of the solutions and demands advanced by the Communists cannot be determined by whether the bourgeoisie and its system succeed in "absorbing" these solutions and demands or not. It goes without saying that the leading groups of the bourgeois will always do their utmost to cancel out or turn to their account every gain won by the people. But in no circumstances and at no time should it be left to the bourgeoisie leaders alone to decide things. Decisions should be the outcome of the balance between the

conservative forces and the forces of regeneration at any given moment of the struggle—and this balance will depend on the effectiveness of the Communist Party's work.

The validity of our demands and objectives cannot be measured by the extent to which they coincide with socialist solutions. Only sectarians and phrasemongers can use this yard-stick. A transitional demand is transitional precisely because it is not yet socialist, precisely because it is possible to realise it under capitalism.

In order to establish whether our transitional demands are correct or not it is necessary to consider: (1) whether the struggle for these demands can rally the workers and the democratic masses, improve their organisation and deepen their political consciousness; (2) whether the demands put forward and the struggle for them can bring to light the contradictions between the social and political forces on which the power of the bourgeoisie, the monopolies is based, and (3) whether the realisation of these demands not only curbs the power of the ruling classes, but acts as the spring-board for the future development of the struggle, and augments the popular forces.

There is no doubt that the orientation of the struggle on structural and democratic reforms is fraught with certain risks. For example, there is the danger that the working class movement will cease to recognise the need for revolutionary class struggle and will tend (consciously or not) to become an auxiliary of capitalism. This danger is implicit in the Social Democratic approach to reforms; it is implicit also in the way in which the "Centre-Left" policy is assessed by the autonomist leaders in the Socialist Party who are yielding to Christian-Democrat pressure and intimidation.

This would indeed become a very real danger were we, in Italy, to conduct our democratic struggle after the pattern of opportunist reformism, i.e., were we to lose sight to the general and ultimate goals of the working-class movement. But for us the struggle for structural reforms is one of the basic elements of the Italian road to socialism.

The danger is not in transitional demands or in reforms. The danger lies in the absence of an effective, persistent mass struggle for these demands. The transitional demands and the reforms can be the means for moving ahead to socialism if they are regarded not as a breathing spell or a rejection of socialism, but as one of the elements and aspects of the general class struggle for socialism. This fully accords with the Leninist teaching, with the experience of the Communist movement and the decisions adopted at the meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960.

Experience has shown that our path is the correct one. Our struggle for structural reforms, closely linked with the struggle for the more pressing claims of the working classes, has aroused their political interest; at the same time, it has revealed the serious differences in the ranks of the ruling bourgeoisie and has struck telling blows at the monopolies.

Nationalisation of the power stations, for example, was a heavy defeat for the electrical industry magnates. At first they did their utmost to sabotage the measure and prevent the industry from being nationalised. There is no doubt that had it not been for the mass pressure, and the fight put up by our deputies in Parliament, the law would never have been adopted. Now it has been approved, but again it would be naive to assume that the former owners and their associates will not do everything in their power to change it to their own advantage. If it were left to the technocrats and bureaucrats to implement the law the results would be deplorable. The vigilance and efforts of the masses are needed to impart to it a progressive and democratic content.

The same applies to the other reforms which the "Centre-Left" government promised to carry out when it assumed office. The widely advertised measures to set up elective bodies in the localities have been delayed, and it is now obvious that they were never intended to be carried out. The pledges in the sphere of agriculture, too, were made only to be broken, and the promises with regard to planning are also far from having been kept.

The ultra-reactionaries in the Christian-Democratic Party and outside it are obviously bent on blocking any substantial reforms. This is evident in the fact that immediately after the first law on nationalisation was adopted, the Christian Democrats hastened to declare that the nationalisation of other branches was not contemplated. Professor Saracena, leading Christian-Democrat economist, pointed out some time ago that any planning, if it is to ensure, as he put it, "a more just and efficient social structure", must be effected by the joint action of the state and the market, having in mind, of course, the Italian state and market as they exist today, with the monopolies playing the dominant role.

It is precisely this monopoly control over the state and the mechanism of the market, however, that must be counteracted and eliminated, and through political struggle and popular pressure, a situation brought about in which other political and social forces will direct the activities of the state and the utilisation of the economic resources.

For economic planning to remedy the serious defects caused by monopoly development, it must be spearheaded against the monopolies and provide for the immediate nationalisation of other branches of the economy. This is the keynote of the decisions adopted by the Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party, a demand which was contained in the resolutions of the conferences held at the different levels in the Party. Some of the province federations proposed an exhaustive programme of nationalisation and economic development as a basis for a nation-wide movement which could provide an effective counter-weight to monopoly power and promote production on a national scale with a view to radically raising the standard of living of the working classes and promoting the progress of the nation as a whole.

There is no doubt that far-reaching anti-monopoly struggle conducted on a broad front will encounter the violent resistance not only of the monopolies but of all their auxiliaries. And this will be so because these forces balk at the slightest infringement on their privileges; secondly, because

nationalisation blasts the myth of the superiority of private enterprise; and thirdly, the existence of state enterprises shows that the capitalist class is by no means indispensable, that modern industry can be run perfectly well without it.

In these circumstances the struggle for structural reforms, for the nationalisation of more branches of industry, for the new policy of state enterprises and for democratic anti-monopoly economic planning offers the prospect of uniting the different social and political forces on a broad platform. And it is through struggle, and primarily united class struggle, that both the trend and the social content of the economic policy of the state can be influenced. The struggle for a new course in economic policy implies a new balance of forces in industry and on a national scale; it implies the further development of the entire democratic movement.

In the present conditions the working-class struggle in Italy cannot be limited to action at factory level for the workers' immediate demands, to exposing the defects of the capitalist system, to propaganda for socialism.

Really to uphold the workers' interests, the struggle for immediate demands must be closely linked with the struggle for structural reforms and for power. And this tie-up expresses the Marxist-Leninist concept of the leading political role of the working class. Experience shows that the struggle for immediate demands is increasingly fusing with the struggle for democracy and socialism. And this fusion should be seen as a constructive factor at the present stage of the revolutionary movement for socialism.

We say that by taking the peaceful and democratic path we in Italy can come to socialism. But in saying this we cherish no illusions, for we know that the reactionary bourgeoisie is always ready to resort to violence to bar the road to political and social progress. Moreover, although we see the Italian road to socialism as a relatively peaceful road, it will be far from smooth; we are bound to run up against the shoals of bitter class struggle in the course of which the masses will have to exert much effort and overcome serious

obstacles before they can take over power and begin to build socialism.

In as much as political power is largely determined by the economic might of the monopolies, the anti-monopoly struggle should be directed primarily at ending this state of affairs, and secondly, at curbing the dominion of monopoly capital. Emphasis was laid on this at the Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party, which noted that the economic and political struggle should always advance anti-monopoly slogans that would appeal to diverse social groupings interested in restricting the power of the monopolies and strengthening the influence of the democratic forces.

The Congress stressed that in themselves nationalisation, state intervention in the economy, state-owned enterprises and economic planning were not enough. Nationalisation of a few enterprises does not alter the basic features of capitalism. State ownership in itself does not determine the social content of economic planning. If dictated by conservative elements, state intervention in the economy will tend to protect the interests of the big monopolies.

Hence, as the Congress pointed out, unless economic planning provides for some (if only partial) restriction of private enterprise, unless it counteracts the exploitation of labour and curbs the power of the monopolies (and, consequently, their share in production), it will be unable, even as an ultimate aim, to facilitate social progress and overcome the worst ills of capitalist society.

But while reaffirming this, the Congress noted that the Italian Communists are fighting for the nationalisation of the key industries, for greater participation by the people in deciding state and public affairs, for anti-monopoly, democratic economic planning. There is no contradiction between our objective assessment of certain reforms and our struggle for them. In the first place, because some of the reforms and institutions are not progressive *per se* but solely as gains won in struggle, and secondly, because we believe that the aim of the struggle must be to impart to each

reform, each democratic institution a profoundly anti-monopoly content.

The Italian Communist Party is fighting not merely for more state intervention in the economy, but for a state intervention of a clearly-defined anti-monopoly type; what we want is not merely economic planning, but democratic, anti-monopoly planning. This can be achieved only by mass pressure, by mass participation in the work of all the democratic organisations and institutions.

The Congress of the Italian Communist Party recognised that Italy has the technological and economic conditions which make it both possible and necessary to change the present course of economic development marked by monopoly domination (with its superprofits, parasitism and contradictions) and replace it by a course that would eliminate the omnipotence of the monopolies, place technology in the service of social progress, ensure the rapid development of the productive forces and living standards.

It goes without saying that a policy which pursues such aims must needs be of a consistently democratic popular character, although it cannot yet be termed socialist and does not aim at establishing an intermediate social form between capitalism and socialism. The purpose of such a policy is merely to wage a popular anti-monopoly struggle against the reactionaries, for democratic regeneration and for the advance of the working classes to socialism in conditions of democracy and peace. This is what we call the Italian road to socialism.

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This article was already prepared for the press when, on December 31, the *People's Daily*, central organ of the Communist Party of China, published a detailed article commenting on the Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party and attacking its political line. Headed "Our Differences with Comrade Togliatti", the article takes issue with our Party on the question of war and peace, nuclear weapons and nuclear war, and our criticism of the thesis of the Chinese

comrades that imperialism and all reactionaries are "paper tigers"; the article speaks of the differences on peaceful coexistence, on structural reforms, Yugoslav revisionism, and whether the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and the documents of the Moscow meeting are still valid or not.

In this addendum we propose to deal only with what the Chinese comrades write about the struggle of the Italian Communist Party for structural reforms, which is the subject of the present article. The Chinese comrades' attacks on this question are part of their general assessment of the "attitude adopted by Togliatti and other leaders of the Italian Communist Party".

This attitude, they aver, boils down to the following: "The people in the capitalist countries should not make a revolution; the oppressed nations should not wage a struggle for their liberation, the people of the world should not fight against imperialism."

In these assertions the distortion of our standpoint is carried to a point incomprehensible to anyone with even the most cursory knowledge of the policy and activity of the Italian Communist Party. Yet the Chinese comrades believe that on the basis of such distortions they are entitled to deliver their verdict: "All this plays into the hands of the imperialists and reactionaries."

To say that the attitude of Comrade Togliatti and other leaders of the Italian Communist Party fully coincides with the interests of the imperialists and reactionaries is preposterous. Have the Chinese Comrades not heard about the attempt on the life of comrade Togliatti, after which he hovered between life and death for weeks? Have they not heard of the persecution to which the Communists and the workers who follow them are subjected in Italy? Do they know nothing about the political discrimination against Communists and their sympathisers in the factories, in offices and in public life generally? Surely they know that it is the avowed intention of the Christian Democrats and all the ultra-reactionaries in Italy to isolate the Communists, and

with them, all others who do not agree with their policy. Have they never heard that American imperialism and its allies are constantly bringing pressure to bear on the ruling circles of Italy to make life increasingly difficult for the Communists, in a word, to outlaw them?

And if these things are known to the Chinese comrades, how do they account for the fact that American imperialism, all the conservative and reactionary forces (both inside and outside our country) level such vicious attacks at the Italian Communists, at their leader, their party, and at their friends? Whence such hatred if, as the Chinese comrades claim, everything the Italian Communists do, "accords with the interests of the imperialists and reactionaries?"

It would appear that the struggle which the Italian Communists, at the head of the working people, have invariably waged and are continuing to wage not only against American imperialism, but also against British and French imperialism, and against German revanchism as well, coincides with the interests of the imperialists and the reactionaries. It would appear that our consistent solidarity with the peoples fighting for their independence—the peoples of Africa, the Cuban people, the peoples of Spain, Portugal, Greece who are still under the heel of the ultra-reactionaries—is also in the interests of imperialism.

In the course of this struggle, factories and offices have often been closed, and the streets and squares have been filled with people demonstrating against the police, against the Italian rulers and reactionaries. In the course of this struggle the Communists and other working people have frequently paid with their lives for their political convictions and their international spirit.

We ask the Chinese comrades once again: Does this struggle show that Comrade Togliatti and the other leaders of the Italian Communist Party have led the Italian Communists to a position of "subordination to imperialism", that they believe that "wars are no longer divided into just and unjust wars", and moreover that "they are against waging

just wars", as is stated in black and white in the *People's Daily*?

The arguments of the Chinese comrades gain nothing when they pass over from the general to the specific, as the above mentioned article shows. There, among other things, it is stated that Comrade Togliatti and the other Italian leaders have rejected the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle, that they "are advocating the substitution of class struggle and struggle against imperialism by class collaboration on an international scale".

In the first part of our article we said that in all the documents of the Italian Communist Party, in the documents of its Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Congresses, the need for a deep-going socialist reconstruction of the entire economic, social and political structure with a view to ridding society of the poverty, injustice and exploitation engendered by capitalism was clearly and unequivocally emphasised.

On the other hand, the political line and the entire activity of our Party is founded on the struggle of the people, the masses, a struggle which must be led and inspired by the working class; all transitional demands and reforms are conceived as a means and as a form of the advance to socialism.

The article in the *People's Daily* cites the well-known postulate of Marx that the principal issue in any revolution is that of state power, that the first step of the working class revolution is to elevate the working class to the role of ruling class: The problem is *how* to do this in a concrete national and international situation. This problem cannot be solved by quoting chapter and verse, or invoking the experience of others. It can and must be solved by each party, each working class movement concretely, through intervention in the definite situation at any moment of its development in order to influence the situation, to steer developments in the direction favourable for the working class movement, for increasing the power and influence of the working class.

Naturally, in working out a programme of action it is essential to adhere strictly to the teaching of our mentors and to take cognizance of the experience of other countries. But it is important to realise that neither the teaching nor the experience of others can furnish ready made solution to political, strategic and tactical problems; these can and must be solved only by the leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties in each country on the basis of the local conditions and their own experience and taking into account the concrete situation and course of the struggle.

This is what our Party has been striving for ever since its inception, one might say, but particularly, and with far greater experience, since the liberation war against fascism.

It was precisely as a result of these searchings that our Party elaborated what we call the Italian road to socialism, an important aspect of which is the struggle for structural reforms linked with the struggle for socialism. We believe that in conditions obtaining in Italy, and in view of the changed international situation, the conquest of political democracy is an integral part of the struggle of the working class for its emancipation.

We know (and this was stressed by our Tenth Congress) that the winning of a mature political democracy does not in itself mean socialism, the abolition of capitalist exploitation. But we know also that the struggle to extend democracy gives rise to deep-going contradictions in the bourgeois system at the present stage of big monopoly concentration, provided this struggle involves an independent movement of the masses led by a strong political vanguard, provided it leads to the extension of the democracy from the sphere of political relations to that of economic and social relations.

The conditions in Italy are such that for democracy to exist and develop it must be extended to the economic structure and clear the way to a society which would put an end to the division into antagonistic classes and place the civil liberties of the working man on a new foundation. This is our concept of the Italian road to socialism, a concept of

which the *People's Daily* gives its own casual interpretation claiming it to be our contention that in Italy there is no need of a proletarian revolution, no need to abolish the capitalist machinery of state and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, according to the Chinese comrades, we regard "the state as some supra-class instrument" and consider that "the capitalist state, too, can pursue a socialist policy".

On the question of the state the position of our Party was clearly defined at the Tenth Congress. "In view of the vast scale of monopoly domination and of its forms, it is impossible to break that domination without giving battle in the sphere of state administration, without limiting the power of the ruling classes in this sphere, without utilising and augmenting the democratic gains won by the working class movement in the struggle for the common goals of all the forces striving for socialism."

The revolutionary struggle of the working class in the sphere of the state should be directed toward changing it to accord with the spirit of the Constitution, winning (again in the context of the state) new key positions, and promoting the social reconstruction of society.

Is it an illusion to assume that it is possible to influence, and in the final analysis, radically change the present orientation of economic policy in Italian national life? We do not think so. We know that the state, whatever its political form and "internal equilibrium", always expresses the will of the ruling class. We by no means believe, as the Chinese comrades accuse us of doing, that "bourgeois democracy is a supra-class democracy". We are well aware that bourgeois democracy has always been the expression of the crystallised balance of social forces. But this balance is not fixed once and for all, it takes shape as a result of class struggle within the democracy itself. Hence we propose through mass struggle constantly to determine the level of development and content of the democracy, in order to convert it into a democracy of a new-type, one which would

increasingly uphold the interests and aspirations of the working classes.

In the conditions prevailing in Italy we believe it possible and necessary to work for the formation of a new bloc of socio-political forces, a bloc which, under the leadership of the working class, would turn the struggle for immediate demands into a political struggle aimed at altering the class basis of the state and gradually changing its social relations and structure.

Out of this struggle a new balance of forces will emerge, the working class and democratic movement will become stronger and the way will be paved for the proletariat and other working people to assume leadership of the economic and political life of the country. It is in this concrete political activity that the leading role of the working class and its Party should be expressed.

Acting in this way we are departing from Marxism-Leninism. True, Lenin wrote, "the democratic republic is the best possible political instrument of capitalism". Lenin also wrote: "We are for the democratic republic as the best form of statehood for the proletariat under capitalism," inasmuch as "the democratic republic is the nearest approach to the proletarian dictatorship", i.e., to changing the class nature of the state. And precisely because the democratic and the traditional forms of bourgeois democracy embody these two features (the best political integument of capitalism and the nearest approach to the dictatorship of the proletariat) our Party is striving to conduct its political activity and the activity of the masses so that the democratic republic should be not merely the best political integument of capitalism but that it should be the nearest approach to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

That our objective is not a utopia but a tangible possibility on the road to realisation is evident from the repeated attempts on the part of the ultra-reactionary ruling groups to curtail democratic liberties, bring about a crisis of democratic institutions and deprive the masses of the right to

participate in the life of the country. The reactionaries realise that the democratic republic is not the best integument of their political domination, that it is becoming the road along which the working class is advancing to the conquest of power.

Only blind sectarians can attack our concept of the Italian advance to socialism, deny the significance of the struggle for democracy and question the revolutionary value of the transitional objectives and gains. It is impossible in Italy today to conceive of the advance to socialism outside the democratic life of our society, outside the struggle for aims which express the interests of society as a whole and the achievement of which can and must pave the way to the advent of the proletariat and other working people to the leading place in the national life. Hence in the present conditions of political struggle in Italy and in view of the absence of an acute revolutionary situation, the class struggle cannot be confined to the struggle of the workers in the factories for rights and immediate demands, to exposing the ills and ulcers of capitalism and conducting propaganda for socialism.

As I have said, the path we have taken is only a relatively peaceful one. We know that the reactionary bourgeoisie is always ready to use violence to obstruct political and social progress. But it is our contention that through organising and consistently heading the working class and by democratic struggle for the political and social goals we have outlined we can be best prepared both politically and organisationally to strike back and defeat the bourgeoisie when, in the words of the *People's Daily*, "the bourgeoisie will resort to violence in an effort to crush the revolution".

And this is what the *People's Daily* qualifies as "modern revisionism", which "distorts Marxism-Leninism", "weakens" its revolutionary content, "disarms and immobilises" the workers and working masses in their struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, for the victory of socialism.

Drawing on our experience we can say that thanks to our

orientation and to our activity the Italian Communist Party has not only succeeded in repelling the attempts to revive fascism to date, in upholding the rights and gains of the working class through street fighting in which many workers have sacrificed their lives, but also in consolidating those rights and gains while delivering telling blows to the combined forces of the bourgeoisie, to the power of its ultra-reactionary groups. In this fight for peace, democracy and for the emancipation of the people, our party and the working class movement have won a position of recognized authority and prestige.

These are facts which our Chinese comrades would do well to bear in mind. Yet they claim that we have submitted to imperialism, that we have taken the way of revisionism, of immobilising and disarming the workers and all working people.

These allegations are so absurd and so remote even from a semblance of objectivity that they cannot be taken seriously; they merely rebound against those who so lightly and irresponsibly presume to proclaim themselves the sole custodians and interpreters of Marxism-Leninism.

Contemporary Problems of Leninism (More on Togliatti)

Editorial Department of the 'People's Daily' and the 'Red Flag', Beijing, China

I. INTRODUCTION

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

us to a public debate in this way, what were we to do? Were we to keep silent as we had done before? Were the “magistrates to be allowed to burn down houses, while the common people were forbidden even to light lamps”? No and again no! We absolutely had to reply. They left us no alternative but to make a public reply. Consequently our paper *Renmin Ribao* (*People’s Daily*) carried an editorial on December 31, 1962, entitled “The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us”.

Togliatti and certain other comrades of the C.P.I. were not at all happy about this editorial and they published another series of articles attacking us. They declared that our article “often lacked explicit clarity”, was “highly abstract and formal” and “lacked a sense of reality.”¹ They also said that we were “not accurately informed”¹ on the situation in Italy and on the work of the C.P.I. and had committed an “obvious falsification”² of the views of the C.P.I. They accused us of being “dogmatists and sectarians who hide their opportunism behind an ultra-revolutionary phraseology”² and so on and so forth. Togliatti and the other comrades are bent on continuing the public debate. Well then, let it continue!

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

¹ Togliatti, “Let Us Lead the Discussion Back to Its Real Limit”, *L’Unita*, January 10, 1963.

² Luigialong, “The Question of Power”, *L’Unita*, January 16, 1963.

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

II. THE NATURE OF THE PRESENT GREAT DEBATE AMONG COMMUNISTS

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

In the last analysis, one ideological trend in this debate is genuine proletarian ideology, that is, revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, and the other is bourgeois ideology which has infiltrated into the ranks of the workers that is, an anti-Marxist-Leninist ideology. Ever since the birth of the working-class movement, the bourgeoisie has tried its utmost to corrupt the working class ideologically in order to subordinate the

movement to its own fundamental interests, weaken the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries and lead the people astray. For this purpose, bourgeois ideological trends assume different forms at different times, now taking a Rightist form and now a "Leftist" form. The history of the growth of Marxism-Leninism is one of struggle against bourgeois ideological trends, whether from the Right or the "Left". The duty of Marxist-Leninists is to act as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin did, not to run away from the challenge presented by any bourgeois ideological trend, but to smash attacks in the fields of theory, fundamental line and policy whenever they are made and to chart the correct road to victory for the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations in their struggles.

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

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

The Tito clique had taken the road of revisionism long ago. In the winter of 1956, it took advantage of the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist campaign launched by the imperialists to conduct propaganda against Marxism-Leninism on the one hand and, on the other, to carry out subversive activities within the socialist countries in co-ordination with imperialist schemes. Such propaganda and sabotage reached a climax in the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary. It was then that Tito made his notorious Pula speech. The Tito clique did its utmost to vilify the socialist system, insisted that "a thorough change is necessary in the political system" of Hungary, and asserted that the Hungarian comrades "need not waste their efforts on trying to restore the Communist Party". The Communists of all countries waged a stern struggle against this treacherous attack by the Tito clique. We had published the article "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" in April 1956. Towards the end of December 1956, aiming directly at the Titoite attack, we published another article "More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat". In 1957, the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries adopted the famous Moscow Declaration. This Declaration explicitly singled out revisionism as the main danger in the present international communist movement. It denounced the modern revisionists because they "seek to smear the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, declare that it is 'outmoded' and allege that it had lost its significance for social progress". The Tito clique refused to sign the Declaration, and in 1958 put forward their out-and-out revisionist programme, which they counterposed to the Moscow Declaration. Their programme was unanimously repudiated by the Communists of all countries. But in the ensuing period, especially from 1959 onwards, the leaders of certain Communist Parties went

back on the joint agreement they had signed and endorsed, and made Tito-like statements. Subsequently, these persons found it increasingly hard to contain themselves; their language became more and more akin to Tito's, and they did their best to prettify the U.S. imperialists. They turned the spearhead of their struggle against the fraternal Parties which firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles laid down in the Moscow Declaration, and made unbridled attacks on them. After consultation on an equal footing at the 1960 Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, agreement was reached on many differences that had arisen between the fraternal Parties. The Moscow Statement issued by this meeting severely condemned the leaders of the Yugoslav League of Communist for their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. We heartily welcomed the agreement reached by the fraternal Parties at this meeting, and in our own actions have strictly adhered to and defended the agreement. But not long afterwards, the leaders of certain fraternal Parties again went back on the joint agreement they had signed and endorsed, and they made public attacks on other fraternal Parties at their own Party Congresses, laying bare before the enemy the differences in the international communist movement. While assailing fraternal Parties, they extravagantly praised the Tito clique and wilfully wallowed in the mire with it.

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

The first great debate between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists and opportunists led to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the founding of revolutionary proletarian parties of a new type throughout the world. The second great debate led to victory in the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, the victory of the

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

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

In discussing international and social problems, the modern revisionists use the utterly hypocritical bourgeois "supraclass" viewpoint in place of the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint of class analysis. They concoct a host of surmises and hypotheses, which are purely subjective and devoid of any factual basis and which they substitute for the scientific Marxist-Leninist investigation of society as it actually exists. They substitute bourgeois pragmatism for dialectical materialism and historical

materialism. In a word they indulge in a lot of nonsensical talk, which they themselves must find it hard to understand or believe, in order to fool the working class and the oppressed people and oppressed nations.

In the past few years, a great number of international events have testified to the bankruptcy of the theories and policies of the modern revisionists. Nevertheless, every time their theories and policies are disgraced before the people of the world, they invariably "glory in their shame"*, as Lenin once remarked, and stopping at nothing and disregarding all consequences they direct their fire at the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists—their brothers in other countries—who have previously advised them not to entertain illusions nor to act so blindly. By venting their venom and fury on others in the same ranks, they try to prove they have gained a "victory", in a vain attempt to isolate the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, to isolate all their brothers in other countries who are defending revolutionary principles.

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

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

* Lenin, "What Should Not Be Imitated in the German Labour Movement," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. IV, p 336

those who have planned and carried out these attacks put themselves and with whom they align themselves.

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

Let us now analyse the Theses and other relevant documents of the C.P.I. so as to show clearly how far Togliatti and the other comrades have moved away from Marxism-Leninism.

III. CONTRADICTION IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

Comrade Togliatti's New Ideas

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

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

1. "It is necessary, in the world struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, to fight for a policy of international economic co-operation, which will make it possible to

overcome those contradictions at present preventing a more rapid economic development which will be translated into social progress.”¹

2. “ In Europe, in particular, it is necessary to develop an integral initiative in order to lay the foundation for European economic co-operation even among states with diverse social structures, which will make it possible, within the framework of the economic and political organs of the United Nations, to step up trade, eliminate or lower customs barriers and make joint interventions to promote the progress of the underdeveloped areas.”¹

3. “One should demand....the unfolding of systematic action to overcome the division of Europe and the world into blocs while breaking down the political and military obstacles which preserve this division,”¹ and “the rebuilding of a single world-market.”¹

4. In the conditions of modern military technique, “war becomes something qualitatively different from what it was in the past. In the face of this change in the nature of war our very doctrine requires fresh deliberations”²

5. “Fighting for peace and peaceful coexistence, we wish to create a new world, whose primary characteristic will be that it is a world without war.”¹

6. “The colonial regime has almost completely crumbled” “...there are no longer any spheres of influence preserved for imperialism in the world.”²

7. “In fact, there exists in the capitalist world today an urge towards structural reforms and to reforms of a socialist nature, which is related to economic progress and the new expansion of productive forces.”³

8. “...The very term ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’ can assume a content different from what it had in the hard

¹ “Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.”

² Togliatti, “*Unity of the Working Class in order to Advance towards Socialism in Democracy and Peace*”, report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I., December 2, 1962.

³ Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.

years of the Civil War and of socialist construction for the first time, in a country encircled by capitalism.”³

9. In order “to realize profound changes in the present economic and political structure” in the capitalist countries, “a function of prime importance can fall...on parliamentary institutions.”⁴

10. In capitalist Italy “the accession of all the people to the direction of the state” is possible. In Italy, the democratic forces “can oppose the class nature and class objective of the state, while fully accepting and defending the constitutional compact.”³

11. “Nationalization”, “planning” and “state intervention” in economic life can be turned into “instruments of struggle against the power of big capital in order to hit, restrict and break up the rule of the big monopoly groups.”¹

12. The bourgeois ruling groups can now accept “the concepts of planning and programming the economy, considered at one time a socialist prerogative” and “this can be a sign of the ripening of the objective conditions for a transition from capitalism to socialism”.¹

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

These new ideas put forward by Togliatti and the other

¹ Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.

² Togliatti, “Today it is Possible to Avoid War”, speech at the session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I. July 21, 1960.

³ “Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.” See *L'Unita* supplement, September 13, 1962.

⁴ “Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.”

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

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

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

A Prescription for Changing the World in which the Prescriber Himself Scarcely Believes

How can "those contradictions at present preventing a more rapid economic development which will be translated into social progress"* be overcome? In other words, how can the antagonistic social forces, international and domestic, be merged into a single whole? The answer of Togliatti and other comrades is:

For the socialist countries, and for the Soviet Union in the first place, to challenge the bourgeois ruling classes to a peaceful competition for the establishment of an economic

* "Theses for the Tenth Congress of the CPI"

and social order capable of satisfying all the aspirations of men and peoples towards freedom, well-being, independence and the full development of and respect for the human personality, and towards peaceful co-operation of all states.*

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

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

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

* Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C P I.

would set an example for the rest of the world. He said that the communist system can be created by the victorious proletariat and that "this task is of world significance".¹ In 1921 when the Civil War had more or less come to an end and the Soviet state was making the transition to peaceful construction, Lenin set socialist economic construction as the main task for the Soviet state. He said: "At present it is by our economic policy that we are exerting our main influence on the international revolution"² Lenin's view was correct. Precisely as he foresaw, the forces of socialism have exerted increasing influence on the international situation. But Lenin never said that the building of a Soviet state could take the place of the struggles of the people of all countries to liberate themselves. Historical events during the forty years and more of the Soviet Union's existence also show that a revolution or a transformation of the social system in any country is a matter for the people of that country, and that the policy of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition followed by socialist countries cannot possibly result in a change of the social system in any other country. What grounds have Togliatti and other comrades for believing that the pursuit of the policy of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition by the socialist countries can change the face of the social system in every other country and establish an "economic and social order" capable of satisfying all the aspirations of men?

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

But Comrade Togliatti and the others do not base themselves

¹ Lenin, "Our Internal and External Situation and the Tasks of the Party", *Collected Works*, Moscow, 4th Russian ed., Vol. 31, p. 391.

² Lenin, Tenth All-Russian Conference of the R.C.P. (B)", *Collected Works*, Moscow, 4th Russian ed, Vol.32, p. 413

on the laws of social development to find out why the ruling groups of the imperialist countries "do not want to renounce their domination over the whole world." They simply maintain that this is so because the ruling groups of the imperialist countries have a wrong conception or "understanding" of the world situation, and also that "the uncertainty of the international situation"* arises precisely from this wrong conception and "understanding".

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

Two Fundamentally Different Views on Contradictions in the World

In analysing the present-day international situation Marxist-Leninists must grasp the sum and substance of the political and economic data on various countries and comprehend the following major contradictions: the contradictions between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, the contradiction among imperialist countries, the contradiction between the imperialist countries and the oppressed nations, the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and other working people in each capitalist country, the contradiction among different monopolist groups in each capitalist country, the contradiction between the monopoly capitalist and the small and medium capitalists in each capitalist country, etc. Obviously, only by comprehending these

* "Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I."

contradictions, by analysing them and their changes at different times and by locating the focus of the specific contradiction at a given time, can the political parties or the working class correctly appraise the international and domestic situation and provide a reliable theoretical basis for their policies. Unfortunately, these are the very contradictions that Togliatti and other comrades have failed to face seriously in their Theses, and consequently their whole programme has inevitably departed from the orbit of Marxism-Leninism.

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

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

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

wages, underconsumption and poverty; between the enormous mass of wealth which is destroyed not only in rearmament but in un-productive expenditures and unbridled luxury, and the impossibility of solving problems vital to the masses and to progress (housing education, social security, etc).”

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

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

It is well-known that in the imperialist epoch Lenin put forward the important thesis that “uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism.”* The uneven development of the capitalist countries in the imperialist epoch takes the form of leaps, with those previously trailing behind leaping ahead, and those previously ahead falling behind. The inexorable law of the uneven development of capitalism still holds after World War II. The U.S. imperialists and the revisionists and opportunists have

* Lenin, “The United States of Europe Slogan” *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. V, p 141.

all along proclaimed that the development of U.S. capitalism transcends this inexorable law but the rate of economic growth in Japan, West Germany, Italy, France and certain other capitalist countries has for many years since the War surpassed that in the United States. The weight of the United States in the world capitalist economy has declined. U.S. industrial production accounted for 53.4 per cent of the whole capitalist world in 1948 and fell to 44.1 per cent in 1960 and to 43 per cent in 1961.

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

Although according to the Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I. "the absolute economic supremacy of U.S. capitalism is beginning to disappear by one of those processes of uneven development and leaps peculiar to capitalism and imperialism", Togliatti and the other comrades have failed

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

There now exists two essentially different world economic systems, the socialist system and the capitalist system, and two mutually antagonistic world camps, the socialist camp and the imperialist camp. In the course of events the strength of socialism has surpassed that of imperialism. Undoubtedly, the strength of the socialist countries, combined with that of the revolutionary people of all countries, of the national liberation movement and the peace movement and of the peace movement greatly surpasses the strength of the imperialists and their lackeys. In other words, in the world balance of forces as a whole, the superiority belongs to socialism and the revolutionary people, and not to imperialism; it belongs to the forces defending world peace, and not to the imperialist forces of war. As we Chinese Communists put it, "the East wind prevails over the West wind." It is utterly wrong not to take into account this tremendous change in the world balance of forces after World War II. However, this change has not done away with the various inherent contradictions in the capitalist world, has not altered the jungle law of survival in capitalist society, and does not preclude the possibility

of the imperialist countries splitting into blocs and engaging in all kinds of conflicts in the pursuit of their own interests.

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

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

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

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

The Focus of Contradictions in the World after World War II

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

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

Like Tito, Comrade Togliatti describes the contradiction between the imperialist and socialist camps as the "existence

and contraposition of two great military blocks".* And holds that by "changing this situation" a new world "without war" a world of "peaceful co-operation"*, can be realized and that the contradiction between the two major social systems of the world will disappear.

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

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

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

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

* Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.

imperialist countries on this ground. However, things are quite different with the imperialist countries.

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

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

Stepping into the shoes of the German, Italian and Japanese fascists, the U.S. imperialists have been carrying out a policy of expansion in all parts of the world ever since World War II. Under the cover of their opposition to the Soviet Union, they have embarked on a course of aggression, annexation and domination *vis-à-vis* the former colonies and spheres of influence of Britain, France, Germany, Japan and Italy. Again under the cover of their opposition to the Soviet Union, they have taken advantage of post-war conditions to place a string of capitalist countries—Britain,

France, West Germany, Japan, Italy, Belgium, Canada, Australia and others—under the direct control of U.S. monopoly capital. This control is political and economic as well as military.

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

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

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

“The United States and the Soviet Union are separated by a vast zone which includes many capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries in Europe, Asia and Africa. Before the U.S. reactionaries have subjugated these countries, an attack on the Soviet Union is out of the question. In the Pacific, the United States now controls areas larger than all the former British spheres of influence there put together; it controls Japan, that part of China under Kuomintang rule, half of Korea, and the South Pacific. It has long controlled Central and South America. It seeks also to control the whole of the British Empire and Western Europe. Using various pretexts, the United States is making large-scale military arrangements and setting up military bases in many countries.

The U.S. reactionaries say that the military bases they have set up and are preparing to set up all over the world are aimed against the Soviet Union. True, these military bases are directed against the Soviet Union. At present, however, it is not the Soviet Union but the countries in which these military bases are located that are the first to suffer U.S. aggression. I believe it won't be long before these countries come to realize who is really oppressing them, the Soviet Union or the United States. The day will come when the U.S. reactionaries find themselves opposed by the people of the whole world.

Of course, I do not mean to say that the U.S. reactionaries have no intention of attacking the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a defender of world peace and a powerful factor preventing the domination of the world by the U.S. reactionaries. Because of the existence the Soviet Union, it is absolutely impossible for the reactionaries in the United States and the world to realize their ambitions. That is why the U.S. reactionaries rabidly hate the Soviet Union and actually dream of destroying this socialist state.

But the fact that the U.S. reactionaries are now trumpeting so loudly about a U.S.-Soviet war and creating a foul atmosphere, so soon after the end of World War II, compels us to take a look at their real aims. It turns out that under the cover of anti-Soviet slogans they are frantically attacking the workers and democratic circles in the United States and turning all the countries which are the targets of U.S. external expansion into U.S. dependencies. I think the American people and the peoples of all countries menaced by U.S. aggression should unite and struggle against the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries and their running dogs in these countries. Only by victory in this struggle can a third world war be avoided; otherwise it is unavoidable.*

Thus, sixteen years ago Comrade Mao Tse-tung most

* Mao Tse-tung, "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong", *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961 Vol. IV, pp. 99-100

lucidly exposed the attempts of the U.S. imperialists to set up a huge world empire and showed how to defeat the insane plan of the U.S. imperialists to enslave the world and how to avert a Third World War.

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

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

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

The policy of the U.S. imperialists and their partners

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

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

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

Has the Focus of World Contradictions Changed ?

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

1. With the founding of a series of socialist states in Europe and Asia and with the victory of the people's revolution in China, these countries together with the Soviet Union, formed the socialist camp, which comprises twelve countries, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the German

Democratic Republic, China, Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, USSR and Czechoslovakia, and has an aggregate population of one thousand million. This has fundamentally changed the world balance of forces.

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

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

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

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

6. While the capitalist countries develop more and more unevenly in relation to each other in the economic and political

spheres, the competition among the monopoly capitalist groups in each capitalist country sharpens, too.

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

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

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

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

For years, the U.S. imperialists have given both overt and covert support to the Indian reactionaries and the Nehru Government. What is their real objective? They are trying by underhand means to turn India, which was formerly a colonial possession of the British Empire and is still a member of the British Commonwealth, into a U.S. sphere of influence, and to turn the "brightest jewel" in the British Imperial Crown into a jewel in the Yankee Dollar Imperial Crown. The U.S. imperialists are extending their influence there in the military, political and economic fields.

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

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

directions”¹ in fact demonstrates the reaching out of the Italian monopoly capitalists for markets.

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

Comrade Togliatti and other comrades say: “The colonial regime has almost completely crumbled.”² and “there are no longer any spheres of influence preserved for imperialism in the world.”³ Others say, “There are only fifty million people on earth still groaning under colonial rule,” and only vestiges of the colonial system remain. In their view, the struggle against imperialism is no longer the arduous task of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Such a view has no factual basis at all. Most countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are still victims of imperialist aggression and oppression, of old and new colonialist enslavement. Although a number of countries have won their independence in recent years, their economies are still under the control of foreign monopoly capital. In some countries, the old colonialists have been driven out, but even more powerful and dangerous colonialists of a new type have forced their way in, gravely threatening the existence of many nations in these areas, The people in these areas are still a long way from completing their struggle against imperialism. Even for a country like ours which has accomplished its national democratic revolution and, moreover, has won victory in its socialist revolution, the task of combating the aggression of the U.S. imperialists still remains. Our sacred territory of Taiwan is still forcibly occupied by the U.S. imperialists; even now many imperialist countries refuse to recognize the existence of the great People’s Republic of China, and China is still unjustifiably deprived of its rightful position in the

¹ “Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.”

² Togliatti’s report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.

³ Togliatti’s speech at the session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I., July 21, 1960.

United Nations. To struggle against imperialism, against new and old colonialism remains the cardinal and most urgent task of the oppressed nations and people in the vast regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

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

Workers and Oppressed Nations of the World Unite!

Asia, Africa and Latin America have long been plundered and oppressed by the colonialists of Europe and the United States. They have fed and grown fat on the enormous wealth seized from these vast areas. They have turned the blood and sweat of the people there into "manure" for "capitalist culture and civilization"* while condemning them to extreme poverty and economic and cultural backwardness. However, once a certain limit is reached, a change in the opposite direction is inevitable. Long enslavement by these alien colonialist and imperialist oppressors has necessarily bred hatred in the people of these areas, aroused them from their slumbers and compelled them to wage unremitting struggles, and even to launch armed resistance and armed uprisings, for their personal and national survival. There are vast numbers of people who refuse to be slaves in these areas and they include not only the workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals,

* Lenin, *Address to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organization of the Peoples of the East*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954, p 21.

but also the patriotic national bourgeoisie and even some patriotic princes and aristocrats.

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

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

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

Following on the October Revolution in Russia and the revolution in Russia and the revolution in China, the people's revolutionary struggles in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America have reached unparalleled proportions. Experience has shown over and over again that although

* Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 426.

these struggles may suffer setbacks, the imperialists and their lackeys will never be able to withstand this tide.

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

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

As is well known, Marx expressed the following hope in 1856. "The whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility of backing the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasants' War."¹ The heroes of the Second International evaded this direct instruction bequeathed by Marx, and Lenin bitterly denounced them, saying that "the statement Marx made in one of his letters—I think it was in 1856—expressing the hope of a union in Germany of a peasant war, which might create a revolutionary situation, with the working-class movement—even this plain statement they avoid and prowl around it like a cat around a bowl of hot porridge."² When discussing the importance of the peasants as an ally in the emancipation of the proletariat, Lenin said,

"Only in the consolidation of the alliance of workers and peasants lies the general liberation of all humanity from such things as the recent imperialist carnage, from those savage contradictions we now see in the capitalist world."³

And Stalin said:

¹ Marx and Engels, "Marx to Engels", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. II, p. 454.

² Lenin, "Our Revolution", *Marx Engels Marxism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, p. 130.

³ Lenin, "On the Domestic and Foreign Policy of the Republic a Report to the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets", *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol 33, p. 130.

“...indifference towards so important a question as the peasant question on the eve of the proletarian revolution is the reverse side of the repudiation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is an unmistakable sign of downright betrayal of Marxism.”¹

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

“After occupying myself with the Irish question for many years I have come to the conclusion that the decisive blow against the English ruling Classes.. *cannot* be delivered in England *But only in Ireland.*”²

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

“...It may safely be augured that the Chinese revolution will throw the spark into the overloaded mine of the present industrial system and cause the explosion of the long-prepared general crisis, which, spreading abroad, will be closely followed by political revolutions on the Continent.”³

Lenin developed Marx’s and Engels’ view, stressing the great significance of the unity between the proletariat in the capitalist countries and the oppressed nations for the victory of the proletarian revolution. He affirmed the correctness of the slogan “Workers and oppressed nations of the world unite.”⁴ for our epoch. He pointed out:

“The revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would actually be a sheer fraud if, in their struggle against capital, the workers of Europe and America were not closely

¹ Stalin, “The Foundations of Leninism”, *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1953, Vol. 6, p. 128.

² Marx and Engels, “Marx to S.Meyer and A.Vogt”, *Selected Correspondence*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, p. 285.

³ *Marx on China*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1951, p. 7.

⁴ Cf. Lenin, “Speech at the Meeting of Activists of the Moscow Organizations of the R.C.P. (B)”, *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol 31 p. 423

and completely united with the hundreds upon hundreds of millions of "colonial" slaves who are oppressed by capital."¹

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

"...broke down the wall between whites and blacks, between Europeans and Asiatics, between the "civilized" and "uncivilized" slaves of imperialism, and thus linked the national question with the question of the colonies. The national question was thereby transformed from a particular and internal state problem into a general and international problem, into a world problem of emancipating the oppressed peoples in the dependent countries and colonies from the yoke of imperialism."²

In discussing the world significance of the October Revolution in his article "The October Revolution and the National Question". Stalin said that the October Revolution "erected a bridge between the socialist West and the enslaved East, having created a new front of revolutions against world imperialism, extending from the proletarians of the West, through Russian Revolution, to the oppressed people of the East"³

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

As is well known Comrade Mao Tse-tung has devoted

¹ Lenin, "The Second Congress of Communist International", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II.

² Stalin, *Works*, F.I.P.H., Moscow, 1953, Vol. 6

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 170.

considerable time and energy to the exposition of the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the two great allies of the proletariat in its struggle for emancipation. He concretely and successfully solved the peasant question and the question of national liberation in the practice of the Chinese revolution under his leadership, and thus ensured victory for the great Chinese revolution.

Every struggle of the oppressed nations for survival won the warm sympathy and praise of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Although Marx, Engels and Lenin did not live to see the fiery national liberation struggles and peoples' revolutionary struggles now raging in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America or their successive victories, yet the validity of the laws they discovered from the experience of the national liberation struggles of their own times has been increasingly confirmed by life itself. The tremendous changes in Asia, Africa and Latin America following World War II have in no way outmoded this Marxist-Leninist theory of the relationship between the national liberation movement and the proletarian revolutionary movement as some people suggest; on the contrary, they more than ever testify to its great vitality. Indeed, the revolutionary struggles of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have further enriched this theory.

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

The revolutionary struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America cannot be suppressed. They are bound to burst forth. Unless the proletarian parties in these regions lead these struggles,

they will become divorced from the people and fail to win their confidence. The proletariat has very many allies in the anti-imperialist struggle in these regions. Therefore, in order to lead the struggle, step by step to victory and to guarantee victory in each struggle, the proletariat and its vanguard in the countries of these regions must march in the van, hold high the banner of anti-imperialism and national independence, and be skillful in organising their allies in a broad anti-imperialist and anti-feudal united front, exposing every deception practiced by the imperialists, the reactionaries and the modern revisionists, and leading the struggle in the correct direction. Unless all these things are done, victory in the revolutionary struggle will be impossible, and even if victory is won, its consolidation will be impossible and the fruits of victory may fall into the hands of the reactionaries, with the country and the nation once again coming under imperialist enslavement. Experience, past and present abounds in instances of how the people have been betrayed in the revolutionary struggle, the defeat of the Chinese revolution of 1927 being a significant example.

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

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

The national liberation movement and the people's revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America give great support to the socialist countries; they constitute an extremely important force safeguarding the socialist countries from imperialist invasion. Beyond any doubt, the socialist countries should give warm sympathy and active support to these movements and they absolutely must not adopt a perfunctory or selfishly national attitude, or an attitude of great-power chauvinism, much less hamper, obstruct, mislead or sabotage these movements. Those countries in which socialism has been victorious must make it their sacred internationalist duty to support the national liberation struggles and the people's revolutionary struggles in other countries. Some people take the view that such support is but a one-sided "burden" on the socialist countries. This view is very wrong and runs counter to Marxism-Leninism. It must be understood that such support is a two-way, mutual affair; the socialist countries support the people's revolutionary struggles in other countries, and these struggles in turn serve to support and defend the socialist countries. In this connection, Stalin put it very aptly:

* Thorez's report to the session of the Central Committee of the C P.F., December 15, 1960

“The characteristic feature of the assistance given by the victorious country is not only that it hastens the victory of the proletarians of other countries, but also that by facilitating this victory, it ensures the final victory of socialism in the first victorious country.”*

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

In short, the present situation is an excellent one for the people of the world. It is most favourable for the oppressed nations and people in Asia, Africa and Latin America, for the proletariat and working people of the capitalist countries, for the socialist countries and for the cause of world peace: it is unfavourable only for the imperialists and the reactionaries in all countries and for the forces of aggression and war. In

* Stalin, “The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists”, *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1953, Vol. 6, p 419

such a situation, the attitude towards the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and people of Asia, Africa and Latin America become an important criterion for distinguishing between revolution and non-revolution, between internationalism and social chauvinism, and between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. It is also an important criterion for distinguishing between those who genuinely work for world peace and those who encourage the forces of aggression and war.

Some Brief Conclusions

Here we shall recapitulate our theses on the international situation.

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

Second, the struggles among the imperialist powers for markets and spheres of influence in Asia, Africa and Latin

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

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

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

Fifth, while admitting the existence of contradiction between the socialist and imperialist camps, some persons hold that this contradiction can actually disappear and that the socialist and capitalist systems can merge and become one, if what they call "the existence and contraposition of two

great military blocks"¹ can be eliminated, or if the socialist countries "propose a challenge of peaceful competition with the capitalist ruling classes."² We cannot agree with this view.

Sixth, the development of state-monopoly capitalism in the imperialist countries shows that, so far from weakening its ruling position at home and its competitive position abroad, the monopoly capitalist class is striving to strengthen them. At the same time, the imperialists are frantically reinforcing their war-machines not only for the purpose of plundering other nations and ousting foreign competitors but also for the purpose of intensifying their oppression of the people at home. So-called bourgeois democracy in the imperialist countries has more nakedly revealed itself as the tyranny of a handful of oligarchs over their wage-slaves and the broad masses of the people. What is it if not pure subjectivist delirium to say that state-monopoly capitalism in these countries is gradually passing into socialism and that their working people can come into and are actually coming into the direction of the state, and hence to maintain that "in fact, there exists in the capitalist world today an urge towards structural reforms and towards reforms of socialist nature"³?

History is on the side of the peoples of the world and not on the side of the imperialists headed by the United States and the reactionaries in all countries. In their desperation the imperialists are trying to find a way out. They most absurdly pin their hopes on what they call a "clash between China and the Soviet Union". The imperialists and their apologists have long voiced this idea. The ludicrous attacks and slanders recently hurled at the Chinese Communist Party by the *modern revisionists and their followers have encouraged them* in this idea. They are overjoyed and are assiduously playing the dirty game of sowing dissension. However, these reactionary day-dreamers are making far too low an estimate of

¹ Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.

² "Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I."

³ Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.

the great strength of the friendship between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union and of the great strength of a unity based on proletarian internationalism, and far too high an estimate of the role the modern revisionists and their followers can play. Sooner or later, the hard facts of history will completely demolish their illusions and the reactionary day-dreamers will inevitably come to grief.

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

As Lenin said, ridiculing the Narodniks: 'The whole of their philosophy amounts to whining that struggle and exploitation exist but that they 'might' not exist if .if there were no exploiters". He went on to say, "And they are content to spend their whole lives just repeating these 'ifs' and 'ans'."*

Surely a Marxist-Leninist cannot behave like a Narodnik!

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

IV WAR AND PEACE

The Question is Not One of Subjective Imagination But of The Laws of Social Development

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

The anarchists demanded that the state should be done

* Lenin, "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats" *Collected Works, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1960, Vol. 1, pp. 239-240.*

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

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

In present-day peace-time Italy, which is ruled by monopoly capital, there are over four hundred thousand troops in the standing army for the oppression of the people, about one hundred thousand police, nearly eighty thousand gendarmes, and U.S. military bases equipped with missiles. When Togliatti and other comrades demand "peace and peaceful coexistence" in such a country, what do they really mean? If the demand means that the Italian Government should follow a policy of peace and neutrality and of peaceful coexistence with the socialist countries, that is of course correct. But, apart from this, do you also demand of the Italian working class and other oppressed masses that they should practice "peace and peaceful coexistence" with the monopoly capitalist class? Does this sort of peace and peaceful coexistence imply that the U.S imperialists will voluntarily remove their military bases from Italy and that the Italian monopoly capitalists will voluntarily lay down their arms and disband their troops? And if this is impossible, how is "peace and peaceful coexistence" to be realized between the oppressors and the oppressed in Italy? By a logical

extension of this point, how can a "world without war" be created in this way?

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

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

In "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" written in 1936, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "War, this monster of mutual slaughter among men will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society."¹

During the War of Resistance against Japan in 1938, Comrade Mao Tse-tung again, expressed this ideal when he said in "On Protracted War", "Fascism and imperialism wish to perpetuate war, but we wish to put an end to it in the not too distant future."²

In the same work, he stated that the war then being fought by the Chinese nation for its own liberation was a war for perpetual peace. He said that "our War of Resistance against Japan takes on the character of struggle for perpetual peace."³

He wrote there that war is a product of the "emergence of classes."⁴ He continued:

"Once man has eliminated capitalism, he will attain the era of perpetual peace, and there will be no more need for war. Neither armies, nor warships, nor military aircraft, nor poison gas will then be needed. Thereafter and for all time, mankind will never again know war."⁵

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

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War", *Selected Works*, Vol. 1.

² Mao Tse-Tung "On Protracted War," *Selected Works*, Vol. 11

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Lenin, "The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government", *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. 8, p. 565.

⁵ Lenin, "Socialism and War", *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Moscow, Vol. 21, p. 271.

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

“Social-Democracy has never taken a sentimental view of war. It unreservedly condemns war as a bestial means of settling conflicts in human society. But Social-Democracy knows that so long as society is divided into classes, so long as there is exploitation of man by man, wars are inevitable. This exploitation cannot be destroyed without war, and war is always and everywhere begun by the exploiters themselves, by the ruling and oppressing classes.”

In 1915, during the first imperialist world war, Lenin wrote that Marxists have always condemned wars between nations as a barbarous and bestial affair. Our attitude towards war, however, differs in principle from that of the bourgeois pacifists (the partisans and preachers of peace) and the Anarchists. We differ from the first in that we understand the inevitable connection between wars on the one hand and class struggles inside of a country on the other, we understand the impossibility of eliminating wars without eliminating classes and creating Socialism, and in that we fully recognize the justice, the progressivism and necessity of civil wars, i.e., wars of an oppressed class against the oppressor, of slaves against the slave-holders, of serfs against the landowners, of wage-workers against the bourgeoisie. We Marxists differ from both the pacifists and the Anarchists in that we recognize the necessity of an historical study (from the point of view of Marx’s dialectical materialism) of each war individually.*

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

* Lenin, “Socialism and War”, *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Moscow, Vol 21, p. 271.

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

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

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

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

Clearly, the imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries will not divest themselves of their armaments and stop suppressing the oppressed people and nations, or abandon their aggressive and subversive activities against the socialist countries simply because the modern revisionists deny the axiom that "war is the continuation of politics by other means", nor will they on that account stop clashing with one another in their scramble for super-profits. The modern revisionists are actually striving to influence the oppressed people and nations by such assertions, and want

to put false notions into their heads, as though the imperialists' war moves to hold down the oppressed people and nations, their arms expansion and war preparations, their direct and indirect armed conflicts for the seizure of markets and spheres of influence were not all the continuation of imperialist politics. For example, in their view, the U.S. imperialist war to suppress the people of southern Vietnam and the war engineered by the new and old colonialists in the Congo are not to be considered the continuation of imperialist politics.

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

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

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

During this year the U.S. imperialists and their running

* Speeches of the C.P.I. Delegation to the Conference of the 81 Communist and Workers Parties Pamphlet published in January 1962 by the central Department of Press and Propaganda of the C.P.I.

dog Ngo Dinh Diem continued their brutal suppression of the people of southern Vietnam, arousing still greater armed resistance by the latter.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Let us review the facts.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In May 1962, the United States plotted to expand the civil war in Laos and prepared direct intervention by armed force. On the 17th U.S. forces entered Thailand, and on 24th Britain announced the dispatch of an air squadron to Thailand. These military moves by the United States and Britain posed a direct threat to peace in South-east Asia. After resolute struggle on the part of the Laotian people and concerted efforts by the socialist countries and the neutral nations, a Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos and a protocol to the declaration were signed on July 23, 1962, at the enlarged Geneva Conference for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question.

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

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

On October 22, 1962, the United States, resorting to piracy, imposed a military blockade and carried out a war of provocation against Cuba which shocked the world. The Cuban

people gained a great victory in their struggle to defend the sovereignty of their fatherland supported as they were by the people of the socialist and all other countries in the world.

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

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

What has Experience Past and Present to Teach Us?

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

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

Lenin long ago criticized the absurd view that wars outside Europe were not wars. Lenin said sarcastically in a speech in 1917 that there were "...wars which we, Europeans, do not consider to be wars, because all too often they resemble not wars, but the most brutal slaughter, extermination of unarmed peoples."*

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

* Lenin, "War and Revolution", *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed, Moscow, Vol 24, p. 365.

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

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

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

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

front and so were many colonial and semi-colonial countries suffering from oppression and aggression.

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

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

Thanks to the victories of the socialist countries and to the victories of the national-democratic revolutionary movement in many countries great new changes continue to take place in the world situation. Togliatti and other comrades say that in view of the changes in the world balance of forces the imperialists can no longer do as they like. There is nothing wrong with this statement. As a matter of fact, the point was made by Lenin not long after the October Revolution. Basing himself on an appraisal of the changes in the balance of class forces at that time, Lenin said: "The hands of the international bourgeoisie are now no longer free."* But when the world balance of forces is becoming more and more favourable to socialism and to the people of all countries, and when we say that the imperialists can no longer do as they please, does this now mean the spontaneous disappearance of the possibility of all sorts of conflicts arising from the contradictions inherent in the capitalist world, has it meant so in the past, and will it mean so in the future? Does it mean that the imperialist countries have ceased to dream about, and prepare for, attacks on the socialist countries? Does it mean that the imperialist countries have stopped their aggression against and oppression of the

* Lenin, "Report on Work in the Rural Districts—Delivered at the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (B)". *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. 11, Part 2, p 176.

colonial and semi-colonial countries? Does it mean that the imperialist countries will no longer fight each other to the death over markets and spheres of influence? Does it mean that the monopoly capitalist class has given up its brutal grinding down and suppression of the people at home? Nothing of the kind.

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

That old-line opportunist Kautsky held that "war is a product of the arms drive", and that "if there is a will to reach agreement on disarmament", it will "eliminate one of the most serious causes of war."¹ Lenin sharply criticized these anti-Marxist views of Kautsky and other old-line opportunists who examined the causes of war without reference to the social system and the system of exploitation.

In "The War Programme of the Proletarian Revolution" Lenin pointed out that "only *after* the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historical mission, to throw all armaments on the scrapheap; and the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but *only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before.*"² Such is the law of social development, and it cannot be otherwise.

Being incapable of explaining the question of war and peace from the historical and class angle, the modern revisionists always talk about peace and about war in general terms without making any distinction between just and unjust wars. Some people are trying to persuade others that the people's liberation would be "incomparably easier" after general and complete disarmament, when the oppressors would have no weapons in their hands. In our opinion this is nonsensical and totally unrealistic and is putting the cart before

¹ Kautsky, *The National State, the Imperialist State and the League of States*.

² Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 574

the horse. As pointed out by Lenin, such people try to "reconcile two hostile classes and two hostile political lines by means of a little word which "unites" the most divergent things".*

On the lips of the modern revisionists, "peace" and "the strategy of peaceful coexistence" amount to pinning the hope of world peace on the "wisdom" of the imperialist rulers, instead of relying on the unity and struggle of the people of the world. The modern revisionists are resorting to every method to fetter the struggles of the people in all countries, are trying to paralyse their revolutionary will and induce them to abandon revolutionary action, and thus weakening the forces fighting against imperialism and for world peace. This can only result in increasing the reactionary arrogance of the imperialist forces of aggression and war and in increasing the danger of a world war.

Historical Materialism, or the Theory that "Weapons Decide Everything"?

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

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

"With the invention of a new instrument of warfare, fire-arms, the whole internal organisation of the army necessarily changed; the relationships within which individuals can

* Lenin, "The Peace Question" *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed. Moscow, Vol. 21, p. 263.

constitute an army and act as an army were transformed and the relations of the different armies to one another also changed.”¹

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

Lenin said after the October Revolution, “He wins in war who has the greater reserves, the greater sources of strength, the greater endurance in the mass of its people.” Again, “We have more of all of this than the Whites have, and more than ‘universally-mighty’ Anglo-French imperialism, the colossus with feet of clay.”²

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

“In every war, victory is conditioned in the final analysis by the spiritual state of those masses who shed their blood on the fields of battle.... This comprehension by the masses of the aims and reasons of the war has an immense significance and guarantees victory.”³

On the question of war, it is a fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle to give full weight to the role of man in war. But this principle has often been forgotten by some self-styled Marxist-Leninists. When atomic weapons appeared at the end of World War II, some people become confused, thinking that atom bombs could decide the outcome of war. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said at that time: “These comrades show even less judgment than a British peer” and “these comrades are more backward than Mountbatten.”⁴ The British peer, Mountbatten, then Supreme Commander of Allied

¹ Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. 1, pp. 89-90.

² Lenin, “The Results of the Party Week in Moscow and our Tasks” *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Moscow, Vol. 30, p. 55.

³ Lenin, “Speech at the Mass Conference of Workers and Red Army-men in the Rogozhsky-Simonovsky District in May 1920”, *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Moscow, Vol. 31, p. 115.

⁴ Mao Tse-tung, “The situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan”, *Selected Works*, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 21

Forces in South East Asia, had declared that the worst possible mistake would be to believe that the atom bomb could end the war in the Far East.¹

Of course, Comrade Mao Tse-tung took the destructiveness of atomic weapons into full account. He said, "The atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter."² The Chinese Communist Party has always held that nuclear weapons are unprecedentedly destructive and that humanity will suffer unprecedented havoc if a nuclear war should break out. For this reason, we have always stood for the total banning of nuclear weapons, that is, the complete prohibition of their testing, manufacture, stockpiling and use and for the destruction of existing nuclear weapons. At the same time, we have always held that in the final analysis atomic weapons cannot change the laws governing the historical development of society, cannot decide the final outcome of war, cannot save imperialism from its doom or prevent the proletariat and people of all countries and the oppressed nations from winning victory in their revolutions.

Stalin said in September 1946,

"I do not believe the atomic bomb to be as serious a force as certain politicians are inclined to regard it. Atomic bombs are intended for intimidating the weak-nerved, but they cannot decide the outcome of war since atomic bombs are by no means sufficient for the purpose. Certainly, monopolist possession of the secret of the atomic bomb does create a threat, but at least two remedies exist against it: (a) monopolist possession of the atomic bomb cannot last long; (b) use of atomic bomb will be prohibited."³

These words of Stalin's showed his great foresight.

After World War I, some imperialist countries noisily

¹ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 26, Note 27.

² Mao Tse-tung, "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong", *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 100.

³ Stalin's answer to Mr. A. Werth, correspondent of Sunday Times in Moscow, *The Times*, September 25, 1946.

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

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

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

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

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

Third, the imperialists unleash wars for the purpose of seizing territory, expanding markets, and plundering the wealth and enslaving the working people of other countries. The

destructiveness of nuclear weapons, however, compels the imperialists to think twice, because the consequences of the employment of such weapons would conflict with the actual interests they are seeking.

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

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

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

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

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

Engels said in *Anti-Duhring*, written in the 1870s, "Militarism dominates and is swallowing Europe. But this militarism also bears within itself the seed of its own destruction."*

Today there is all the more reason to say that the policy of nuclear arms expansion pursued by the U.S. and other

* Engels, *Anti-Duhring*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959, p. 235.

imperialists is dominating and swallowing North America and Western Europe, but that this policy, this new militarism, bears within itself the seed of the destruction of the imperialist system.

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

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

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

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

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

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

"As long as the people of all countries enhance their awareness and are fully prepared, with the socialist camp also possessing modern weapons, it is certain that if the U.S. or other imperialists refuse to reach an agreement on the banning of atomic and nuclear weapons and should dare to fly in the face of the will of all the peoples by launching

* "Political Resolution of the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I."

a war using atomic and nuclear weapons, the result will only be the very speedy destruction of these monsters themselves encircled by the peoples of the world, and certainly not the so-called annihilation of mankind. We consistently oppose the launching of criminal wars by imperialism, because imperialist war would impose enormous sacrifices upon the peoples of various countries (including the peoples of the United States and other imperialist countries). But should the imperialists impose such sacrifices on the peoples of various countries, we believe that, just as the experience of the Russian revolution and the Chinese revolution shows, those sacrifices would be rewarded. On the ruins of imperialism, the victorious people would very swiftly create a civilization thousands of times higher than the capitalist system and a truly beautiful future for themselves."

Is this not the truth ?

During the past few years, however, some self-styled Marxist-Leninists have wantonly distorted and condemned these Marxist-Leninist theses, stubbornly describing the ruins of imperialism as "the ruins of mankind" and equating the destiny of the imperialist system with that of mankind. In fact, this view is a defence of the imperialist system.

If these people had read some of the Marxist-Leninist classics, it would have been clear to them that building a new system on the ruins of the old was a formulation used by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Engels said in *Anti-Duhring*, "The bourgeoisie broke up the feudal system and built upon its ruins the capitalist order of society..."¹ Did the ruins of the feudal system, which Engels spoke of, mean the "ruins of mankind"?

In his article "The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", written in December 1919, Lenin spoke of the proletariat "organising socialism on the ruins of capitalism"² Did the ruins of capitalism, which Lenin mentioned, mean the "ruins of mankind"?

¹ Engels, *Anti-Duhring*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959, p. 369.

² Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol. 30, p 238.

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

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

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

Possession of nuclear weapons by the socialist countries has a purely defensive purpose, the purpose of preventing the imperialists from unleashing nuclear war. Therefore, with nuclear superiority in their hands, the socialist countries will never attack other countries with such weapons, they will not permit themselves to launch such attacks, nor will they have any need to do so. Being firmly opposed to the policy of nuclear blackmail, the socialist countries advocate the total banning and destruction of nuclear weapons. Such is the

* Quoted in *The Italian Communist Party*, Published by the C.P.I. in May 1950

attitude, line and policy of the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China on the question of nuclear weapons. Such is the attitude, line and policy of all Marxist-Leninists. The modern revisionists deliberately distort our attitude, line and policy on this question and fabricate mean and vulgar slanders and lies; their purpose is to cover up the nuclear blackmail of the imperialists and to conceal their own adventurism and capitulationism on the question of nuclear weapons. It must be pointed out that adventurism and capitulationism on this question are very dangerous and are an expression of the worst kind of irresponsibility.

A Strange Formulation

In accordance with the nature of their social system, socialist countries give sympathy and support to all oppressed people and oppressed nations in their struggles for liberation. But socialist countries will never launch external wars as a substitute for revolutionary struggles by the peoples of other countries. The emancipation of the people of each country is their own task—this is the firm standpoint held since the time of Marx by all true Communists, including the Communists who wield state power.

It is identical with the standpoint consistently advocated by all Marxist-Leninists that "revolution cannot be exported or imported".

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

Togliatti and other comrades say that peaceful coexistence implies "excluding...the possibility of foreign intervention to 'export' either counter-revolution or revolution".*

* "Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I."

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

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

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

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

In the above quotation, Lenin pointed out that proletarian parties “unreservedly condemn wars” and “have always condemned wars between peoples”. But Lenin always maintained that *unjust wars must be opposed and that just wars must be supported*; he never indiscriminately opposed all wars. There are people today who unblushingly compare

themselves to Lenin and allege that Lenin, and Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, too, opposed war in the same way as they do. They have emasculated Lenin's theories and policies on the question of war and peace. It is common knowledge that during World War I, Lenin resolutely opposed the imperialist war. At the same time he maintained that once war broke out among the imperialist countries, the proletariat and other working people of these countries, should turn the imperialist war into just revolutionary wars inside the imperialist countries, i.e., into just revolutionary wars of the proletariat and other working people against the imperialists of their own countries. The day after the outbreak of the October Revolution, the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, under the chairmanship of Lenin, adopted the famous Decree on Peace. This Decree was an appeal to the international proletariat, and particularly to the class-conscious workers of Britain, France and Germany, trusting that they "will understand the duty that now faces them of saving mankind from the horrors of war and its consequences, that these workers, by comprehensive, determined, and supremely vigorous action will help us to bring to a successful conclusion the cause of peace, and at the same time the cause of the emancipation of the toiling and exploited masses of the population from all forms of slavery and all forms of exploitation."¹ The Decree pointed out that the Soviet government "considers it the greatest of crimes against humanity to continue this war over the issue of how to divide among the strong and rich nations the weak nationalities they have conquered, and solemnly announces its determination immediately to sign terms of peace to stop this war on the conditions indicated, which are equally just for all nationalities without exception."² This Decree proposed by Lenin is a great document

¹ Lenin, "The Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part I, p. 331.

² *Ibid.*, p. 329

in the history of the proletarian revolution. Yet there are people today who dare to distort and mutilate it; they have tempered with Lenin's description of a war waged by imperialist countries to divide the world and oppress weak nations as constituting the greatest of crimes against humanity, and deliberately twisted it into "war is the greatest of crimes against humanity". These people portray Lenin, the great proletarian revolutionary, the great Marxist, as a bourgeois pacifist. They brazenly distort Lenin, distort Leninism, distort history, and yet they presumptuously assert that others "do not understand the substance of the Marxist doctrine of revolutionary struggle". Is not this kind of argument absurd?

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

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

gift of world peace. This so called theory, this line of theirs, is absolutely wrong; it is anti-Leninist.

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

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

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

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

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

Third, the socialist countries stand for and adhere to the policy of peaceful coexistence with countries having other social systems, and develop friendly relations and carry on trade on the basis of equality with them. In pursuing the policy of peaceful coexistence, the socialist countries oppose the use of force to settle disputes between states and do not interfere in the internal affairs of any other country. Some people say that peaceful coexistence will result in the transformation of the social system in all the capitalist countries, and that it is "the road leading to socialism on a world scale".* Others say that the policy of peaceful coexistence is "the most advanced form of struggle against imperialism

* Todor Zhivkov, "Peace: Key Problem of Today", *World Marxist Review*, No. 8, 1960

and for the people's liberation"¹ by all the oppressed people and nations. These people have completely distorted Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence by jumbling together the question of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, the question of class struggle in capitalist countries and the question of the struggles of the oppressed nations for liberation.

Fourth, we have always believed in the necessity of constantly maintaining sharp vigilance against the danger of imperialist aggression on the socialist countries. We have always believed, too, that it is possible for the socialist countries to reach agreement through peaceful negotiations and make the necessary compromises with the imperialist countries on some issues, not excluding important ones. However, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said:

"Such compromise does not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at once. The people in those countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions."²

Fifth, the sharp contradictions among the imperialist powers exist objectively and are irreconcilable. Among the imperialist countries and blocs, clashes, big and small, direct and indirect and in one form or another, are bound to occur. They arise from the actual interests of the imperialists and are determined by the inherent nature of imperialism. To claim that the possibility of clashes among the imperialist countries arising from their actual interests has disappeared under the new historical conditions is tantamount to saying that imperialism has undergone a complete change, and is, in fact, to embellish imperialism.

Sixth, since capitalist-imperialism and the system of

¹ "Groundless Polemics of the Chinese Communists", *L'Unita*, December 31, 1962.

² Mao Tse-tung, "Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation", *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 87

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

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

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

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

* Lenin, "Bourgeois Pacifism and Socialist Pacifism, *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. V. p. 262.

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

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

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

There was a moment of insanity when the sentient piano imagined that it was the only piano in the world and that the whole harmony of the universe took place within it.¹

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

V. THE STATE AND REVOLUTION

What Is The "Positive Contribution" Of Comrade Togliatti's "Theory of Structural Reform"?

Togliatti and some other comrades describe their "fundamental line" of "structural reform" as "common to the whole international communist movement"², they describe their thesis of structural reform as "a principle of the world strategy of

¹ Lenin, *Collected Works, F.L.P.H.*, Moscow, 1962, Vol. 14, p. 38

² Togliatti's concluding speech at the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I

the working class and communist movement in the present situation.”¹

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

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

1. Is the most fundamental thesis of Marxism-Leninism that the state apparatus of bourgeois dictatorship has to be smashed and a state apparatus of proletarian dictatorship established still wholly valid? In their opinion, this is “a subject for discussion.”² They say that “it is evident that we correct something of this position, taking into account the changes which have taken place and which are still in the process of being realized in the world.”

2. “Today, the question of doing what was done in Russia is not posed to the Italian Workers.”³ Comrade Togliatti expressed this view in April 1944 and re-affirmed it as being “programmatic” in his report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.

3. The Italian working class can “organize itself into the ruling class within the limits of the constitutional system”⁴

4. The Italian Constitution “assigns to the forces of labour a new and pre-eminent position” and “permits and envisages structural modifications.”⁵, “The struggle to give

¹ Togliatti's speech at the April 1962 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.

² Togliatti, “The Italian Road to Socialism”, report to the June 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.

³ Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.

⁴ “Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I.”, adopted by the Eighth Congress of the C.P.I. in December 1956.

⁵ “Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.”

a new socialist content to Italian democracy has ample room for development within our Constitution."

5. "...We can talk of the possibility of the thorough utilization of legal means and also a Parliament to carry out serious transformations..."¹ 'Full power should be given to Parliament, allowing it to carry out not only legislative tasks, but also the functions of direction of and control over the activities of the Executive...'². And they talk of the demand for "the effective extension of the powers of Parliament to the economic field".³

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

7. ...The destruction of the most backward and burdensome structures in Italian society and the beginning of their transformation in a democratic and socialist sense cannot and should not be postponed till the day when the working class and its allies win power..."⁴

8. The nationalized economy. i.e., state-monopoly capital, in Italy can stand "in opposition to the monopolies",⁵ can be "the expression of the popular masses"⁶ and can become a more effective instrument for opposing monopolistic development"⁷. It is possible "to break up and abolish the monopoly ownership of the major productive forces and transform it into collective ownership...through nationalization".⁸

¹ Togliatti's report to the March 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.

² "Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I."

³ "Political Theses Approved by the Ninth Congress of the C.P.I."

⁴ Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I.

⁵ Togliatti's speech at the April 1962 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.

⁶ A. Pesenti, "Is It a Question of the Structure or of the Super-Structure?" in *Rinascita*, May 19, 1962.

⁷ A. Pesenti, "Direct or Indirect Form of State Intervention", in *Rinascita*, June 9, 1962.

⁸ "Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I."

9. State intervention in economic life can “fulfill the needs for a democratic development of the economy”¹ and can be turned into an “instrument of struggle against the power of big capital in order to hit, restrict and break up the rule of the big monopoly groups”.²

10. Under capitalism and bourgeois dictatorship, “the concepts of planning and programming the economy, considered at one time a socialist prerogative”,³ can be accepted.

The working class, by “taking part in formulating and executing the planning policy in full realization of its own ideals and autonomy, with the strength of its own unity”,⁴ can turn planning policy into “a means of satisfying the needs of men and of the national collective”.⁵

In short, the Italian road and the structural reform of Togliatti and other comrades amount to this—politically, while preserving the bourgeois dictatorship, “progressively to change the internal balance and structure of the State” and thus “impose the rise of new classes to its leadership”¹ through the “legal” means of bourgeois democracy, constitution and parliament (as to what is meant by “new classes”, their exposition has always been ambiguous); and economically, while preserving the capitalist system, gradually to “restrict” and “break up” monopoly capital through “nationalization” “programming” and “state intervention”. In other words, it is possible to attain socialism in Italy through bourgeois dictatorship, without going through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Togliatti and other comrades consider their ideas to be a “positive contribution to the deepening and development of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary doctrine of the working class”.² Unfortunately there is nothing new in their ideas;

¹ Togliatti’s speech at the April 1962 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.

² Togliatti’s report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.

³ “Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I.”

⁴ “Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.”

⁵ Togliatti, “Let Us Lead the Discussion Back to Its Real Limit”.

they are very old and very stale; they are the bourgeois socialism which Marx and Engels so relentlessly refuted long ago.

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

Compare This With Leninism

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

As a matter of fact, "structural reform", the "change in internal balance of the state" and other ideas held by Togliatti and the other comrades are all ideas of Kautsky which Lenin criticized in *The State and Revolution*. Comrade Togliatti says: "The Chinese comrades want to scare us by reminding us of Kautsky, with whose views our policy has nothing in common."* Are we trying to scare Comrade Togliatti and the others? Has their policy nothing in common with Kautsky's

* Ibid.

views? As they did, we ask whether they will 'permit us to remind them' to re-read carefully *The State and Revolution* and Lenin's other works.

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

Lenin said :

"The difference between socialist revolution and bourgeois revolution lies precisely in the fact that the latter finds ready forms of capitalist relationships; while the Soviet power—the proletarian power—does not inherit such ready-made relationship..."¹

All state power in class society is designed to safeguard a particular social and economic system, that is, particular relations of productions. As Lenin put it, "Politics are the concentrated expression of economics."² Every social and economic system invariably has a corresponding political system which serves it and clears away the obstacles to its development.

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

A fundamental point differentiating revolutions of exploiting classes from proletarian revolution is that, before the seizure of state power by any of the three great exploiting classes—the slave-owners, the landlords or the bourgeoisie—relations of production of slavery, feudalism or capitalism already existed in society, and in certain cases had

¹ Lenin, "Report on War and Peace, Delivered to the Seventh Congress of the R.C.P. (B)", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. 11, Part 1, p. 420.

² Lenin, "Once Again on the Trade Unions, the present Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin", *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. IX, p. 54.

become fairly mature. But before the proletariat seizes power, socialist relations of production do not exist in society. The reason is obvious. A new form of private ownership can come into being spontaneously on the basis of an old one, whereas socialist public ownership of the means of production can never come into being spontaneously on the basis of capitalist private ownership.

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

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

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

Let us look at the reality in Italy.

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

In their *Theses*, Togliatti and the other comrades delight in talking about Italy's democracy, constitution, parliament and so forth, but they do not use the class point of view to analyse the army, the gendarmes, the police, the law courts,

the prisons and the other instruments of violence in present-day Italy. Whom do these instruments of violence protect and whom do they suppress? Do they protect the proletariat and the other working people and suppress the monopoly capitalists, or vice versa? When talking about the state system, a Marxist-Leninist must answer this question and not evade it.

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

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

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

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

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

It is possible for the working class and all the working people of Italy to participate in the formulation of the Italian government's domestic and foreign policy under the Italian democracy of which Togliatti and the other comrades boast? If you, Togliatti and the other comrades, think it possible, will you take responsibility of the numerous crimes of suppression of the people committed by the Italian Government.

for that government's agreement to let United States build military bases in Italy, for its participation in NATO, etc. ? Naturally, you will say that you cannot be held responsible for these reactionary domestic and foreign policies of the Italian government. But since you claim a share in policy-making, why are you unable to achieve the slightest change in these most fundamental policies of the Italian government?

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

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

Comrade Togliatti's "concrete argument" is at loggerheads with his "abstract argument." In his abstract argument" he comes a little closer to Marxism-Leninism, but when he

* Cf. Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C P I

gives the "concrete argument" he is far removed from Marxism-Leninism. Perhaps he thinks this is the only way to avoid being "dogmatic"!

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

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

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

Another theoretical and political error of the socialists is their failure to understand that ever since the rudiments of democracy first appeared in antiquity, its forms inevitably changed over the centuries as one ruling class replaced another. Democracy assumed different forms and was applied in different degrees in the ancient republics of Greece, the

medieval cities and the advanced capitalist countries. It would be sheer nonsense to think that the most profound revolution in human history the first case in the world of power being transferred from the exploiting minority to the exploited majority, could take place within the time-worn framework of the old, bourgeois, parliamentary democracy, without drastic changes, without the creation of new forms of democracy, new institutions that embody the new conditions for applying democracy, etc.”¹

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

Have not the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960 reiterated that this is the common road to socialism for the working class in all countries? Whether the working class uses peaceful or non-peaceful means depends, of course, “on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism.”² But, one way or the

¹ Lenin, “The First Congress of the Communist International”, *Lenin on the International Working-Class and Communist Movement*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, pp. 255-256.

² “Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers’ Parties”

other, it is necessary to smash the old bourgeois state machine and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Instead of taking the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat or the living reality of Italian society as their starting-point, Togliatti and other Comrades start from the present Italian Constitution and maintain that Italy can achieve socialism within the framework of bourgeois parliamentary democracy without smashing the old state machine. What they call the "new democratic regime" is nothing but an "extension" of bourgeois democracy. No wonder that their "concrete argument" diverges so widely from the specific truths of Marxism-Leninism.

A Most Marvellous Constitution

The Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I. declare that "the Italian road to socialism passes through the building of the new state as described in the Constitution (a state which is profoundly different from the present regime) and the accession of the new ruling classes to its leadership."

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

1. The Constitution of the Republic is "a unitary compact voluntarily binding on the great majority of the Italian people...."¹

2. The Constitution of the Republic "envisages some fundamental reforms which...carry the marks of socialism."²

3. The Constitution of the Republic "affirms the principle of the sovereignty of the people."³

4. The Constitution of the Republic "proclaims it (the state) to be 'founded on labour',"⁴ and "assigns to the forces of labour a new and pre-eminent position,"³

¹ "Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I.

² Togliatti's report to the March 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C. P. I.

³ "Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I."

⁴ Togliatti, "For an Italian Road to Socialism For a Democratic Government of the Working Class", report to the Eighth Congress of the C. P. I. December 1956.

5. The Constitution of the Republic recognizes "the workers' right to enter into the direction of the state."¹

6. The Constitution of the Republic "affirms the necessity of those economic and political changes which are essential for reconstructing our society and for moving it in the direction of socialism."²

7. The Constitution of the Republic has resolved "the problem of principle of the march towards socialism within the ambit of democratic legality."²

8. The Italian people "are able to oppose the class nature and class aims of the state while fully accepting and defending the constitutional compact."³

9. The Italian working class "can organize itself into the ruling class within the ambit of the constitutional system."

10. "The respect for, the defence of, and the integral application of, the Constitution of the Republic form the pivot of the whole political programme of the Party."

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

There are 139 articles in the present Italian Constitution.

But in the final analysis, its class nature is most clearly represented by Article 42, which provides that "private ownership is recognized and guaranteed by law." In terms of Italian reality, this article protects the private property of the monopoly capitalists. By virtue of this provision, the Constitution satisfies the demands of the monopoly capitalists, for their private property is made sacred and inviolable. To try to cover up the real nature of the Italian Constitution and to talk about it in superlative terms is only to deceive oneself and others.

¹ "Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I.

² Togliatti, "For an Italian Road to Socialism. For a Democratic Government of the Working Class", report to the Eighth Congress of the C.P.I., December 1956

³ "Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I." See *L'Unita* supplement, September 13, 1962.

Togliatti and the other comrades say that the Italian Constitution "bears the marks of the presence of the working class," "affirms the principle of the sovereignty of the people" and "recognizes certain new rights for the workers."¹

When they talk about this principle and these new rights, why do they not compare the Italian Constitution with other bourgeois constitutions before drawing conclusions?

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

It should be noted, too, that the Italian Constitution is not the only one that provides for civil liberties and rights. Such provisions are found in the constitutions of nearly all the capitalist countries. But after stipulating certain civil liberties and rights, some constitutions go straight on to make other provisions to restrict or cancel them. As Marx said of the French constitution of 1848, "Every one of its provisions contains its own antithesis—utterly nullifies itself."² There are other constitutions in which such articles are not followed by restrictive or nugatory provisions, but the bourgeois governments concerned readily achieve the same purpose by other means. The Italian Constitution falls into the former category; in other words, it is a nakedly bourgeois constitution and can in no way be described as "fundamentally socialist in inspiration".³

¹ "Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I."

² Marx and Engels "Constitution of the French Republic Adopted on November 4, 1848", *Collected Works*, Russian ed., Vol. 7, p. 535.

³ Togliatti, "The Communists' Struggle for Liberation, Peace and Socialism", report to the Fourth National Conference of the C.P.I.

Lenin said, "where laws are out of keeping with reality, the constitution is false; where they conform with reality, the constitution is not false."* The present Italian Constitution has both these aspects; it is both false and not false. It is not false in such matters of substance as its open protection of the interests of the bourgeoisie, and it is false in its high-sounding phrases designed to deceive the people.

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

"Our political and even constitutional future is uncertain, because one can foresee serious collisions between a progressive sector which will rely on one part of our constitutional charter, and a conservative and reactionary sector which will look for instruments of resistance in the other part. Therefore it would be committing a serious political error and deceiving the people if one confined oneself to saying: "Everything is now written in the Constitution. Let us apply what is sanctioned in it, and all the aspirations of the people will be realized". That is wrong. No constitution is ever used to save liberty if it is not defended by the consciousness of the citizens, by their power, and by their ability to crush every reactionary attempt. No constitutional norm will by itself assure us of democratic and social progress if the organized and conscious forces or the labouring masses are unable to lead the whole country along this road of progress and smash resistance of reaction."

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

* Lenin, "How Do Socialist-Revolutionaries Summarize Results of Revolution", *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol. 15, p. 398

In January 1955, Comrade Togliatti said in a speech, "It is clear that we have in our Constitution the lines of a programme, fundamentally socialist in inspiration, which is not only a political but also an economic and social programme."¹ So by that time Comrade Togliatti had already taken the Italian Constitution as one "fundamentally socialist in Inspiration".

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

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

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

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

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

At the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I. in 1962, Togliatti and some other comrades of the C.P.I, reasserted that they are "firm" on this point. They declared that "the Italian road to socialism passes through the building of the new state as described in the Constitution...and the rise of the new ruling classes to its leadership",² that this road means to "demand and impose the transformation of the state in the light of the

¹ Report to the Fourth National Conference of the C.P.I.

² "Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I."

Constitution, to conquer new positions of power within the state",¹ and that it means to form "a social and political bloc capable of carrying out the socialist transformation of Italy in constitutional legality"¹ They also proposed to "oppose the class nature and class aims of the state while fully accepting and defending the constitutional compact, developing ample and articulated action tending to push the state along the road of a progressive democracy capable of developing towards socialism".²

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

Marxist-Leninists must expose the hypocrisy of bourgeois constitutions, but at the same time they should utilize certain of their provisions as weapons against the bourgeoisie. In ordinary circumstances, refusal to make use of a bourgeois constitution and carry on legal struggle wherever possible is a mistake, which Lenin called a "Left" infantile disorder. But to call upon Communists and the people to place blind faith in a bourgeois constitution to say that a bourgeois constitution can bring socialism to the people, and that respect for, and defence and integral application of, such a constitution "form the pivot of the whole political programme of the Party"³ is not just an infantile disorder but, again in Lenin's words, mental subservience to bourgeois prejudices.

Contemporary "Parliamentary Cretinism"

Comrade Togliatti and certain other C.P.I. comrades admit that to realize socialism involves struggle, that socialism

¹ "Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I."

² "Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I." See *L'Unita* supplement, September 13, 1962.

³ "Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I."

must be realized through struggle. But they confine the people's struggle to the scope permitted by the bourgeois constitution and assign the primary role to parliament.

In describing how the present Italian Constitution came into existence, Comrade Togliatti said, "This was due to the fact that in 1946 the Communists rejected the road of breaking legality by desperately attempting to seize power, and on the contrary chose the road of participation in the work of the Constituent Assembly."¹

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

For years Togliatti and other comrades have stressed the same point : "Today the thesis of the possibility of a march towards socialism within the forms of democratic and even parliamentary legality has been formulated in a general way...This proportion...was ours in 1944-46."²

"It is possible to pass to socialism by taking the parliamentary road."³

Here we should like to discuss with Togliatti and the other comrades the question of whether the transition to socialism can be brought about through parliamentary forms.

The question must be made clear. We have always held that taking part in parliamentary struggle is one of the methods of legal struggle which the working class should utilize in certain conditions. To refuse to utilize parliamentary struggle when it is necessary, but instead to play at prattle about revolution, is something that all Marxist-Leninists resolutely oppose. On this question, we have always adhered to the whole of Lenin's theory as expounded in his "*Left-wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*". But some people

¹ Togliatti's report to the March 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.

² Togliatti's report to the Eighth Congress of the C.P.I.

³ Togliatti, "Parliament and the Struggle for Socialism", *Pravda*, March 7, 1936

deliberately distort our views. They say that we deny the necessity of all parliamentary struggle and that we deny that there are twists and turns in the development of the revolution. They ascribe to us the view that some fine morning the people's revolutions will suddenly come in various countries. Or they assert, as Comrade Togliatti does in his reply of January 10 this year to our article, that we want the Italian comrades to "confine themselves to preaching and waiting for the great day of revolution". Of late, such distortion of the arguments of the other side in the discussion has virtually become the favourite trick of the self-styled Marxist-Leninists in dealing with the Chinese Communists.

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

First, we hold that all bourgeois parliaments, including the present Italian parliament, have a class nature and serve as ornaments for bourgeois dictatorship. As Lenin put it : "Take any parliamentary country, from America to Switzerland, from France to England, Norway and so forth—in these countries the real business of 'state' is performed behind the scenes and is carried on by the departments, chancelleries and the General Staffs".¹ "...the *more highly* [bourgeois]democracy is developed the more the bourgeois parliaments are subjected by the stock exchange and the bankers."²

Secondly, we are for utilizing parliamentary struggle, but against spreading illusions, against "parliamentary cretinism." Again, as Lenin said, political parties of the working class "stand for utilizing the parliamentary struggle, for participating in parliament; but they ruthlessly expose 'parliamentary cretinism', that is the belief that the parliamentary struggle

¹ Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 246.

² Lenin, "Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 52.

is the *sole or under all circumstances the main form of the political struggle*".¹

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

Therefore, in waging the parliamentary struggle the political party of the working class must be highly vigilant and must at all times maintain its political independence.

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

They hold that given an "honest electoral law" and provided that "in parliament a majority is formed, which is conformable to the will of the people,"² it is possible to carry out "profound social reforms"² and "change the present relations of production, and consequently also the big property regime."³

Can things really happen that way ?

No. Things can only happen like this : So long as the bureaucratic-military state machine of the bourgeoisie still exists, for the proletariat and its reliable allies to win a parliamentary majority under normal conditions and in accordance with bourgeois electoral law is something either impossible or in no way to be depended upon. After World

¹ Lenin, "Report on the Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P." Collected Works, F.L.P.H. Moscow, 1962, Vol. 10, p. 353.

² Togliatti : "Parliament and the Struggle for Socialism".

³ "Political Theses Approved by the Ninth Congress of the C.P.I."

War II, the Communist and Workers' Parties in many capitalist countries held seats in parliament, in some cases many states. In every case, however, the bourgeoisie used various measures to prevent the Communists from gaining a parliamentary majority—nullifying elections, dissolving parliament, revising the electoral laws or the constitution, or outlawing the Communist Party. For quite a while after World War II, the Communist Party of France had the largest popular vote and parliamentary representation of any party in the country, but the French monopoly capitalists revised the electoral law and the constitution itself and deprived the French Communist Party of many of its seats

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

“Only scoundrels or simpletons can think that the proletariat must win the majority in elections carried out *under the yoke of the bourgeoisie*, under the yoke of wage slavery, and that only after this must it win power. This is the height of folly or hypocrisy; it is substituting voting, under the old system and with the old power, for class struggle and revolution”.*

History does tell us that when a Workers' Party abandons its proletarian revolutionary programme, degenerates into an appendage of the bourgeoisie, and converts itself into a political party that is a tool of the bourgeoisie, the latter may permit it to have a temporary parliamentary majority and to form a government. This was the case with the British Labour Party. It was also the case with the social-democratic parties of several countries after they had betrayed their original

* Lenin *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol. 30, p. 40.

socialist revolutionary programme. But this sort of thing can only maintain and consolidate the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and cannot *in the least* alter the position of the proletariat as an oppressed and exploited class. The British Labour Party has been in power three times since 1924, but imperialist Britain is still imperialist Britain, and, as before, the British working class has no power. We would ask Comrade Togliatti whether he is thinking of following in the footsteps of the British Labour Party and of the social-democratic parties in other countries.

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

If Communists abandon the road of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, pin all their hopes on winning a majority in the bourgeois parliament by a vote and wait to be given powers to lead the state, what difference is there between their road and Kautsky's parliamentary road? Kautsky said : "The aim of our political struggle remains, as hitherto, the conquest of state power by winning a majority in parliament and by converting parliament into the master of the government,"¹ Lenin said in criticism of this Kautskian road, "This is nothing but the purest and the most vulgar opportunism."²

¹ Kautsky, "New Tactics", in *Neue Zeit*, No. 46, 1912.

² Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p 323.

In March 1956, when talking about "utilization of legal means and also of parliament", Comrade Togliatti stated, "What we do today would have been neither possible nor correct thirty years ago. It would have been pure opportunism, as we described it at that time."¹

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

However, when it was pointed out that they were traveling this parliamentary road, Comrade Togliatti changed his tune, saying in June 1956 : "I would like to correct those comrades who have said—as if it were undoubtedly a peaceful matter—that the Italian road of development towards socialism means the parliamentary road and nothing more. That is not true."² He also said . "To reduce this struggle to electoral competitions for parliament and to wait for the acquisition of fifty-one per cent would be not only simpleminded but also illusory."³ Comrade Togliatti argued that what they advocated was not only "a parliament which functions"² but also "a great popular movement."²

To demand a great popular movement is a good thing, and Marxist-Leninists should of course feel happy about it. It should be recognized that there is a mass movement of considerable scale in Italy today and that the Communist Party of Italy has in this respect made achievements. The pity is that Comrade Togliatti looks at the mass movement only within a parliamentary framework. He holds that the mass movement "can bring about the raising in our country

¹ Togliatti's report to the March 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.

² Togliatti's report to the June 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.

³ Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.

of those urgent demands which could then be satisfied by a parliament, in which the popular forces have won sufficiently strong representation".*

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

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

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

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

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

These comrades maintain that by adopting the measures they have worked out it is possible to change the capitalist

* Togliatti's report to the June 1956 session of the Central Committee of the CPI

relations of production now existing in Italy and to change the "big property regime" of the Italian monopoly capitalists.

The economic measures of "structural reform" which have been worked out by Togliatti and other comrades are, in their own words, the realization of the "the demand for a definite degree of nationalization, the demand for programming, the demand for state intervention to guarantee democratic economic development, and so on",¹ and "the movement which tends to increase direct state intervention in economic life, through programming, the nationalization of whole sectors of production, etc."²

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

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

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

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

Whether a bourgeois state pursues a policy of grabbing colonies or of contending for world supremacy, a policy of

¹ Togliatti's speech at the April 1962 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.

² "Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I."

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

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

Well then, let us talk about nationalization.

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

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

"In any case, with trusts or without, the official representative of capitalist society—the state—will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production. This necessity for conversion into state property is felt first in the great institutions for intercourse and communication—the post office, the telegraphs, the railways."*

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

"I say *have to*. For only when the means of production and distribution have actually outgrown the form of management by joint-stock companies, and when therefore, the taking them over by the state has become *economically* inevitable,

* Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H, Moscow, 1958, Vol II, pp. 147-148

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

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

“But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies and trusts, or into state ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. In the joint-stock companies and trusts this is obvious. And the modern state, again is only the organisation that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern state, no matter what its form, is essentially a

* *Ibid.*, footnote.

capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. But brought to a head, it topples over. State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution.”*

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

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

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

* *Ibid.*, pp 148-149

Compared with the other principal imperialist countries, the foundations of capitalism in Italy are relatively weak. From an early date, therefore, Italy embarked upon state capitalism for the purpose of concentrating the forces of capital so as to grab the highest profits, compete with international monopoly capital, expand her markets and re-divide the colonies. In 1914, the *Consorzio per Sovvenzione su Valore Industria* was established by the Italian Government to provide the big banks and industrial firms with loans and subsidies. There was a further integration of the state organs with monopoly capitalist organisations during Mussolini's fascist regime. In particular, during the great crisis of 1929-33, the Italian Government bought up at pre-crisis prices large blocks of shares of many failing banks and other enterprises, brought many banks and enterprises under state control, and organised the *Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale*, thus forming a gigantic state-monopoly capitalist organisation. After World War II Italian monopoly capital, including state-monopoly capital, which had been the foundation of the fascist regime, was left intact and developed at still greater speed. At present, the enterprises run by state-monopoly capital or jointly by state and private monopoly capital constitute about 36 per cent of Italy's economy.

What conclusions should Marxist-Leninists draw from the development of state-monopoly capital? In Italy can nationalized enterprise, i.e., state-monopoly capital, stand "in opposition to the monopolies",¹ can it be "the expression of the popular masses",¹ and can it become "a more effective instrument for opposing monopolistic development"² as stated by Togliatti and certain other comrades of the C.P.I.?

No Marxist-Leninist can possibly draw such conclusions. State-monopoly capitalism is monopoly capitalism in which

¹ A. Pesenti. "Is It a Question of the Structure or of the Super-Structure?"

² A. Pesenti. "Direct and Indirect Forms of State Intervention."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The facts given above make it clear that state monopoly and private monopoly are in fact two mutually supporting forms used by the monopoly capitalists for the extraction of huge profits. The development of state-monopoly capital aggravates the inherent contradictions of the imperialist system and can never, as Togliatti and the other comrades assert, "limit and break up the power of the leading big monopoly groups"¹ or change the contradictions inherent in imperialism.

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

Togliatti and the other comrades maintain that "the concepts of planning and programming the economy, considered at one time a socialist prerogative, are more and more extensively discussed and accepted today."²

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

¹ "Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I."

² Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.

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

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

"...the erroneous bourgeois reformist assertion that monopoly capitalism or state monopoly capitalism is *no longer* capitalism but can already be termed "state Socialism" or something of that sort, is most widespread. The trusts, of course, never produced do not now produce, and cannot produce complete planning. But however much they do plan, however much the capitalist magnates calculate in advance the volume of production on a national and even on an international scale, and however much they systematically regulate it, we still remain under *capitalism*—capitalism in its new stage it is true but still, undoubtedly, capitalism."¹

However, some comrades of the C.P.I. maintain that by carrying out "planning" in Italy under the rule of the monopoly capitalists, it is possible to solve the major problems posed by Italian history, including "the problems of the liberty and emancipation of the working class"². How is this miracle possible?

Comrade Togliatti says, "State-monopoly capitalism, which is the modern aspect of the capitalist regime in almost all the big countries, is that stage—as Lenin has affirmed—beyond which in order to go forward, there is no other way

¹ Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951. Vol. II, Part I p.169.

² "Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I."

but socialism. But from this objective necessity it is necessary to make a conscious movement arise"¹

There is the well-known statement by Lenin that "capitalism... advanced from capitalism to imperialism, from monopoly to state control. All this has brought the socialist revolution nearer and has created the objective conditions for it."² He also made similar statements elsewhere. Clearly, Lenin meant that the development of state-monopoly capitalism serves only to prove "the proximity...of the socialist revolution and not at all as an argument in favour of tolerating the repudiation of such a revolution and the efforts to make capitalism look more attractive, an occupation in which all the reformists are engaged."³ In talking about "structural reform" and "conscious movement", Comrade Togliatti is using ambiguous language exactly as the reformists do to evade the question of socialist revolution posed by Marxism, and he is doing his best to make Italian capitalism, look more attractive.

Remember What The Great Lenin Taught

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

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

"First Marx and Engels and later on Lenin, when developing this theory [the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat

¹ Togliatti's Report to the Tenth Congress of C.P.I.

² Lenin, "Report on the Current Situation Delivered at the April Conference of the R.S.D.L.P., May 7 (April 24), 1917", *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. VI p.99.

³ Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol II, Part 1, pp. 269-270.

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

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

Consider the following facts.

In the *Communist Manifesto*, which was written in 1847, Marx and Engels stated very clearly that “the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling classes to win the battle of democracy”¹ Lenin said of this statement, “Here we have a formulation of one of the most remarkable and more important ideas of Marxism on the subject of the state, namely, the idea of the ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’ (as Marx and Engels began to call it after the Paris Commune).”²

Subsequently, after summing up the experience of the period 1848-51, Marx raised the question of smashing the old state machine. As Lenin said, here “the question is treated in a concrete manner, and the conclusion is extremely precise, definite, practical and palpable; all the revolutions which

¹ Marx and Engels. *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow. 1918, Vol. I, p. 53.

² Lenin, “The State and Revolution.” *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow. 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 222

have occurred up to now perfected the state machine, whereas it must be broken, smashed." Lenin added, "This conclusion is the chief and fundamental point in the Marxian teaching on the state."¹

Basing himself on the experience of 1848-51, Marx came to the conclusion that unlike previous revolutions, the proletarian revolution would not merely transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one group of people to another. Marx did not then give a specific answer to the question of what should replace the smashed state machine. The reason, as Lenin remarked, was that in presenting the question Marx did not base himself simply on logical reasoning but stayed strictly on the firm ground of historical experience.² For this specific question, in 1852 there was nothing in previous experience which could be drawn on, but the experience of the Paris Commune in 1871 put the question on the agenda. "The Commune is the first attempt of a proletarian revolution to *smash* the bourgeois state machine; and it is the political form 'at last discovered' by which the smashed state machine can and must be *replaced*."³

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

Like Kautsky, Comrade Togliatti believes in "the possibility of power being seized *without* destroying the state machine."⁴ He holds that the bourgeois state machine can be preserved and the objectives of the proletariat can be achieved by using this ready-made state machine. It would do well if

¹ Ibid, pp 226-227

² Cf Ibid, p 230

³ Ibid, p 257

⁴ Ibid, p 311

Comrade Togliatti noted how Lenin repeatedly repudiated Kautsky on this point Lenin said:

“Kautsky either rejects the assumption of state power by the working class altogether, or he concedes that the working class may take over the old, bourgeois state machine; but he will by no means concede that it must break it up, smash it, and replace it by a new proletarian machine. Whichever way Kautsky’s arguments are ‘interpreted’, or “explained”, his rupture with Marxism and his desertion to the bourgeoisie are obvious.”¹

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

Togliatti and other comrades hold that what is needed for Italy to advance to socialism is to establish a “new democratic regime” under the marvellous Italian Constitution and at the same time to form a “new historical block” or a new block of social and political leading forces.”² They maintain it is this “new historical bloc” rather than the Italian proletariat that is the “bearer of an intellectual and moral, as well

¹ Lenin “Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky”, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol II, part 2, p. 69

² Cf. Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.

as a political revolution"¹ in Italy. No one knows what this "new historical bloc" actually is or how it is to be formed. At times Togliatti and other comrades say that it is "under the leadership of the working class"² and at times that this "new historical block" is itself the "bloc of leading forces". Is such a bloc a class organisation of the proletariat, or is it an alliance of classes? Is it under the leadership of the working class, or of the bourgeoisie, or some other class? Heaven alone knows! In the final analysis, the purpose of their fanciful and elusive formulation is simply to get away from the basic Marxist-Leninist ideas of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

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

After Marx and Engels, Lenin repeatedly elucidated the experience of the Paris Commune and always insisted that it held good universally for the proletariat of all countries. Lenin did not separate the experience of the Russian Revolution from that of the Paris Commune but regarded it as a continuation and development of the experience of the Paris Commune. He saw in the Soviet "the type of state which was being evolved by the Paris Commune", and held that "the Paris Commune took the first epochal step along this path [the path of smashing the old state machine]; the Soviet government has taken the second step."³

In repudiating the experience of the Paris Commune Comrade Togliatti is of necessity directly counterposing his ideas to Marxism-Leninism and flatly repudiating the experience of the October Revolution and of the people's revolutions in various countries since the October Revolution;

¹ Cf. *Ibid*

² Lenin "Tasks of the Proletariat in our Revolution", *Selected Works*. F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part I, p. 33.

³ Lenin, "The First Congress of the Communist International", *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol. 28, p. 444.

thus he counterposes his so-called Italian road to the common road of the international proletariat.

Comrade Togliatti says, "The problem of doing what was done in Russia is not posed to the Italian workers."¹ Here we have the essence of the question.

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

Referring to the experience of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Togliatti said that in the period of the Chinese people's struggle for state power, the Chinese Communist Party applied a political line "which corresponded not at all to the strategic and tactical line followed by the Bolsheviks in the course of their revolution from March to October (1917)."² This is a distortion of the history of the Chinese revolution. Since it has occurred in the specific conditions of China, the Chinese revolution has had its own characteristics. However, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly explained, the principle on which the political line of our Party has been formulated is the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The Chinese revolution, we have always held is a continuation of the Great October Revolution, and it goes without saying that it is also a continuation of the cause of the Paris Commune. With regard to the most fundamental question concerning the theory of the state and revolution, that is the question of smashing the old warlord-bureaucratic state machine and setting up the state machine of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the basic experience of the Chinese revolution wholly corresponds to that of the October Revolution and the Paris Commune. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in

¹ Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.

² Togliatti's concluding speech at the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.

1949 in his famous essay *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*, "Follow the path of the Russians — that was the conclusion."¹ To defend his revision of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, or his "modifications" as he and others put it, Comrade Togliatti says the experience of the Chinese revolution and the experience of the October Revolution are two different matters which do "not at all correspond" to each other. But how can this distortion possibly help the theory of structural reform to Togliatti and other comrades?

This theory is one of "peaceful transition" or, in their own words, of "advance towards socialism in democracy and in peace."² Their whole theory and their entire programme are replete with praise of class peace in capitalist society and contain absolutely nothing about "advance towards socialism"; there is only class "peace", and no social "transition" at all.

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

Here we would humbly offer Comrade Togliatti some sincere advice. Do not be so arrogant as to declare that you will not do what was done in the Russian October Revolution. Be a little more modest, and remember what the great Lenin taught in 1920, "...on certain very essential questions

¹ Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, Peking, Vol. IV.

² Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.

of the proletarian revolution, all countries will inevitably have to perform what Russia has performed.”¹

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

VI. DESPISE THE ENEMY STRATEGICALLY, TAKE HIM SERIOUSLY TACTICALLY

An Analysis of History

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

Comrade Togliatti started this attack at the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I. He said “It is wrong to state that imperialism is simply a paper tiger which can be overthrown by a mere push of the shoulder.”² He also said, “If they are paper tigers, why so much work and so many struggles to combat them?”³ Now if Comrade Togliatti were a school-boy answering

¹ Lenin, “Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder”, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol II, Part 2, p. 352

² Togliatti’s report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.

³ Togliatti, “Let Us Lead the Discussion Back to its Real Limit”

a question about the meaning of a word in his language lesson, his answer that a paper tiger is a tiger made of paper might well gain him a good mark. But when it comes to examining theoretical questions, philistinism will not do. Comrade Togliatti claims "to have made a positive contribution to the deepening and development of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary doctrine of the working class"¹ and yet he gives a school-boy's answer to a serious theoretical question. Could there be anything more ludicrous?

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

"For struggle against the enemy, we formed over a long period the concept that strategically we should despise all our enemies, but that tactically we should take them all seriously. This also means that in regard to the whole we should despise the enemy but that, in regard to each and concrete question we must take them seriously. If with regard to the whole we do not despise the enemy we shall be committing the error of opportunism. Marx and Engels were only two persons. Yet in those early days they declared that capitalism would be overthrown all over the world. But in dealing with concrete problems and particular enemies we shall be committing the error of adventurism if we do not take them seriously."²

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

Just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature (this is the law of the unity of opposites) so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature—they are real tigers and paper tigers at the same time. In past

¹ *Ibid*

² Comrade Mao Tse-tung's speech at the 1957 Moscow Meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

history, before they won state power and for some time afterwards, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were vigorous, revolutionary and progressive; they were real tigers. But with the lapse of time because their opposites—the slave class, the peasant class and the proletariat—grew in strength step by step, struggled against them and became more and more formidable, these ruling classes changed step by step into the reverse, changed into reactionaries, changed into backward people, changed into paper tigers. And eventually they were overthrown or will be overthrown, by the people. The reactionary, backward, decaying classes retained this dual nature even in their last life-and-death struggles against the people. On the one hand, they were real tigers; they ate people by the millions and tens of millions. The cause of the people's struggle went through a period of difficulties and hardships, and along the path there were many twists and turns. To destroy the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat—capitalism in China took the Chinese people more than a hundred years and cost them tens of millions of lives before the victory in 1949.

“Look! Were these not living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers? But in the end they changed into paper tigers, dead tigers, bean-curd tigers. These are historical facts. Have people not seen or heard about these facts? There have indeed been thousands and tens of thousands of them. Thousands and tens of thousands! Hence, imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are—paper tigers. On this we should build our strategic thinking. On the other hand, they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers which can eat people. On this we should build our tactical thinking.”*

This passage shows the dual nature of the three major exploiting classes not only in the various stages of their

* Cf. Mao Tse-tung, “Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong”, *Selected Works*, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1961, Vol IV, Introductory note on pp 98-99.

historical development but also in their last life-and-death struggle with the people. Clearly, this is a Marxist-Leninist analysis of history.

The Watershed Between Revolutionaries and Reformists

History teaches us that all revolutionaries—including, of course bourgeois revolutionaries—come to be revolutionaries because in the first place they dare to despise the enemy, dare to struggle and dare to seize victory. Those who fear the enemy and dare not struggle, dare not seize victory, can only be cowards, can only be reformists or capitulationists; they can certainly never be revolutionaries.

. Historically, all true revolutionaries have dared to despise the reactionaries, to despise the reactionary ruling classes, to despise the enemy, because in the historical conditions then obtaining which confronted the people with a new historical task they had begun to be aware of the necessity of replacing the old system with a new one. When there is need for change, change becomes irresistible and comes about sooner or later whether one likes it or not. Marx said : “It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being but on the contrary their social being that determines their consciousness.”* The necessity for social change calls forth revolutionary consciousness in men. Before the historical conditions have made a change necessary, no one can pose the task of revolution or make a revolution, however hard he tries. But when the historical conditions have made a change necessary, revolutionaries and vanguard fighters of the people come forward who dare to denounce the reactionary ruling class and dare to regard them as paper tigers. And in everything they do, these revolutionaries always raise the people’s spirits and puncture the enemy’s arrogance. This is historical necessity, this is the inevitability of social revolution. As to when the

* Marx and Engels, “Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy”, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p. 364

revolution will break out, and whether after its outbreak it succeeds quickly or takes a long time to succeed or whether it meets many serious difficulties, setbacks and even failures before final victory, etc.—all these questions depend upon various specific historical factors. But even if they meet with serious difficulties, setbacks and failures in the course of a revolution, all true revolutionaries will nevertheless dare to despise the enemy and will remain firm in their conviction that the revolution will triumph.

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

Lenin said, "Do you want a revolution? Then you must be strong!"* Why must revolutionaries be strong; why are they necessarily strong? Because revolutionaries represent

* Lenin, "No Falsehood! Our Strength Lies in Stating the Truth!" *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962. Vol. 9. p. 299.

the new and rising forces in society, because they believe in the strength of the people and because their mainstay is the great strength of the people. The reactionaries are weak, and inevitably so, because they are divorced from the people; however strong they may appear at the moment, they are bound to be defeated in the end. "The dialectical method regards as important primarily not that which at the given moment seems to be durable and yet is already beginning to die away, but that which is arising and developing, even though at the given moment it may not appear to be durable, for the dialectical method considers invincible only that which is arising and developing."*

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

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

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

* Stalin, "Dialectical and Historical Materialism", *Problems of Leninism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1953, p 715

philosophers have frequently used metaphors in their explanations and often in a very precise and profound way.

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

What is it ?

Since the end of World War II the socialist camp has grown much stronger. In the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, revolutions against the imperialists and their running dogs have been advancing. The manifold irreconcilable contradictions which beset the imperialist countries both internally and externally are like volcanoes constantly threatening the rule of monopoly capital. The imperialist countries are stepping up the armaments race and doing their best to militarize their national economies. All this is leading imperialism into an impasse. The brain trusts of the imperialists have produced plan after plan to save their masters from the fate that is now confronting them or will confront them, but they have been unable to find for imperialism a real way out of its predicament. In this international situation, certain people, although calling themselves Marxist-Leninists, have in actual fact become muddled and have allowed a kind of *fin de siècle* pessimism to take the place of cool reason. They have no intention of leading the people in delivering themselves from the disasters created by imperialism and they have no confidence that the people can overcome these disasters and build a new life for themselves. It would be nearer to the truth to say that they are concerned about the fate of imperialism and all reactionaries than to say that they are concerned about the fate of socialism and the people of all countries. Their purpose in boosting and exaggerating the strength of the enemy and

beating the drums for imperialism as they do today is not to oppose "adventurism" but simply to prevent the oppressed people and oppressed nations from rising in revolution; their so-called opposition to adventurism is merely a pretext to achieve their purpose of opposing revolution.

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

"The liberal parties in the Duma only inadequately and timidly back the strivings of the people; they are more concerned to allay and weaken the revolutionary struggle now proceeding than to destroy the people's enemy."*

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

Magnificent Models

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

* Lenin, "Resolution (II) of the St Petersburg Committee of the R^o D L P. on the Attitude Towards the State Duma", *Collected Works*, FL^o H, Moscow, 1962, Vol 10, p 481

either make endless concession to the enemy and thus commit the error of capitulationism, or act recklessly and thus commit the error of adventurism. In the last analysis their purpose is to discard the strategic principles of revolutionary Marxist-Leninists and the strategic goals of all Communists.

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

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

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

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."*

This has always been the general strategic principle and

* Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1956, Vol. 1, p. 65.

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

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

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

'When the revolutionary era of 1848-49 ended, Marx

opposed every attempt to play at revolution (the fight he put up against Schapper and Willich), and insisted on ability to work in the new phrase which in a seemingly "peaceful" way was preparing for new revolutions."¹

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

"What elasticity, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians! After six months of hunger and ruin, caused by internal treachery more even than by the external enemy, they rise, beneath Prussian bayonets, as if there had never been a war between France and Germany and the enemy were not still at the gates of Paris! History has no like example of like greatness! If they are defeated only their "good nature" will be to blame."²

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

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

Marx wrote in *The Civil War in France* :

"Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society.

¹ Lenin, "Karl Marx", *Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1954, p. 61

² Marx and Engels, "Marx to L. Kugelmann", *Selected Correspondence*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, p. 318.

Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them.”¹

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

“Its highly internationalist character imparted historical greatness to the Commune. It was a bold challenge to every kind of expression of bourgeois chauvinism. And the proletariat of all countries unerringly understood this”²

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

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

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

From this it is evident that while Marx and Engels unswervingly adhered to the strategical principles of proletarian

¹ Marx and Engels, “The Civil War in France”, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow 1958, Vol 1, p 542

² Marx and Engels, “In Commemoration of the Twenty-first Anniversary of the Paris Commune”, *Collected Works*, Russian ed, Vol 22, p 291.

revolution at all times, including periods of peaceful development, they also took care to adopt flexible tactics in accordance with the specific conditions of a given period.

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

"When its advanced representatives have mastered the ideas of scientific socialism, the idea of the historical role of the Russian worker, when these ideas become widespread, and when stable organisations are formed among the workers to transform the workers' present sporadic economic war into conscious class struggle—then the Russian *worker* rising at the head of all the democratic elements, will overthrow absolutism and lead the *Russian Proletariat* (side by side with the proletariat of *all countries*) along the straight road of open political struggle to the *victorious Communist Revolution*."^{*}

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

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

In 1906, when the programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party was being drawn up, serious differences arose between Lenin and Plekhanov over principles of proletarian strategy. Lenin insisted that the Party programme should include the dictatorship of the proletariat and demanded that it should clearly define the leading role of the working class in the revolution.

During the 1905 Revolution, Lenin in his book, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, reflected

¹ Lenin, *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1950, Vol 1, p. 300.

the heroic spirit of the Russian proletariat, which had dared to lead the struggle and to seize victory. He put forward a comprehensive theory of proletarian leadership, the democratic revolution and of a worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class, thus developing Marxist theory on the transformation of the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

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

There are many more similar examples.

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

He rightly stated:

“...First that in order to fulfil its task the revolutionary class must be able to master *all* forms, or aspects or social activity without any exception...; second, that the revolutionary class must be ready to pass from one form to another in the quickest and most unexpected manner.”*

* Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 424-425.

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

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

"...The *forms* of the struggle may and do constantly change in accordance with varying relatively particular and temporary causes, but the *substance* of the struggle, its class *content*, positively *cannot* change while classes exist"*

The Strategic and Tactical Thinking of the Chinese Communists

Basing themselves on the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the Chinese Communists formulated the strategy and tactics of the Chinese revolution in concrete revolutionary practice. Comrade Mao Tse-tung outlined the strategic and tactical thinking of the Chinese Communists in the following passage :

"Imperialism throughout the world and the rule of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique in China are already rotten and have no future. We have reason to despise them and we are confident and certain that we shall defeat all the domestic and foreign enemies of the Chinese people. But

* Lenin, "Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 509.

with regard to each part, each specific struggle (military, political, economic or ideological), we must never take the enemy lightly; on the contrary, we should take the enemy seriously and concentrate all our strength for battle in order to win victory. While we correctly point out that, strategically, with regard to the whole, we should take the enemy lightly, we must never take the enemy lightly in any part, in any specific struggle. If with regard to the whole, we overestimate the strength of our enemy and hence do not dare to overthrow him and do not dare to win victory, we shall be committing a Right opportunist error. If, with regard to each part, each specific problem, we are not prudent, do not carefully study and perfect the art of struggle, do not concentrate all our strength for battle and do not pay attention to winning over all the allies that should be won over (middle peasants, small independent craftsmen and traders, the middle bourgeoisie, students, teachers, professors and ordinary intellectuals, ordinary government employees, professionals and enlightened gentry), we shall be committing a "Left" opportunist error."*

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

Why is it that when taking the situation as a whole, i.e., strategically, we can despise the enemy ? Because imperialism and all reactionaries are decaying, have no future and can be overthrown. Failure to see this results in lack of courage to wage revolutionary struggle, loss of confidence in the revolution and the misleading of the people. Why is it that in specific struggles, i.e., tactically, we must not take the enemy lightly but must take him seriously ? Because the

* Mao Tse-tung, "On Some Important Problems of the Party's Present Policy", *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, pp 181-182

imperialists and the reactionaries still control their apparatus for ruling and all the armed forces, and can still deceive the people. To overthrow the rule of imperialism and reaction, the proletariat and the masses of the people must go through bitter and tortuous struggles. The imperialists and the reactionaries will not automatically tumble from their thrones.

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

By taking full account of the enemy tactically and winning victories in specific struggles, the proletarian parties enable the masses in ever greater number to learn from their own experience that the enemy can be defeated, that there is every reason and every basis for despising the enemy. In China there are the ancient proverbs : Great undertakings have small beginnings; a huge tree grows from tiny roots;

* Mao Tse-tung, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks", *Selected Works, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 161.*

the nine-storey castle begins as a pile of earth; a thousand-li journey starts with a step. These hold true for revolutionary people who want to overthrow the reactionaries, that is to say, they can achieve their objective of finally defeating the reactionaries only by waging one struggle after another, by waging innumerable specific struggles and by striving for victory in each one of them.

In "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War", Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, "Our strategy is 'pit one against ten' and our tactics are 'pit ten against one'—this is one of our fundamental principles for gaining mastery over the enemy." He added, "We use the few to defeat the many—this we say to the rulers of China as a whole. We use the many to defeat the few—this we say to each separate enemy force on the battlefield."*

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

* Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, Vol. I

A Mirror

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

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

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

"They call themselves Marxists, but their conception of Marxism is impossibly pedantic. They have completely failed to understand what is decisive in Marxism namely, its revolutionary dialectics."*

In the same article, Lenin also said:

* Lenin, *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, Moscow, 1951, p.547.

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

To those who are attacking the Chinese Communist Party we commend these lines of Lenin’s for careful reading. Assuredly, they may well serve as a political mirror for certain people.

VII. A STRUGGLE ON TWO FRONTS

Modern Revisionism is the Main Danger in the International Working Class Movement

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

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

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

Why is it that since World War II revisionism has been publicly recognized as the main danger in the international working-class movement ? Because first, the legal struggles

in many countries have made available manifold historical experience and taught many lessons; second, the conditions that breed opportunism and revisionism actually exist; and third, there has in fact emerged modern revisionism, represented by the Tito clique.

Judging from the views of Togliatti and certain other comrades, we may say frankly that the danger of revisionism exists in the Communist Party of Italy, too. Certain comrades in the French Communist Party have recently written a series of articles attacking revolutionary Marxist-Leninists and attacking the Chinese Communists. The points they make on a number of basic questions concerning the international communist movement virtually duplicate those made by Togliatti and other comrades. Moreover, certain other people have recently come to the fore in the international communist movement who, as Lenin put it, "all belong to the same family, all extol each other, learn from each other and together take up arms against 'dogmatic' Marxism."*

This is a strange phenomenon, but if one has some knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and if one analyses this phenomenon, one can see clearly that it is not accidental.

Modern revisionism has appeared in some capitalist countries, and it can appear in socialist countries, too. The Tito clique was the first to hoist the revisionist flag, and they have made previously socialist Yugoslavia gradually change its character. Politically, the Tito clique has long since become an accomplice of the United States and other imperialist countries, and economically, it has turned Yugoslavia into an appendage of U.S. imperialism, gradually transforming her economy into what the imperialists call a liberalized economy.

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

"Milyukov was right. He very soberly takes into account the degree of political development and says that stepping stones in the shape of Socialist-Revolutionism and Menshevism

* Lenin, "What Is to be Done?", *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1961, Vol. 5, footnote on p. 353

are necessary for the reversion to capitalism. The bourgeoisie needs such stepping stones, and whoever does not understand this is stupid.”*

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

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

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

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

The Moscow Statement also says :

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

* Lenin, “Speech in Reply to the Debate on the Report on the Food Tax at the All-Russian Conference of the R.C.P. (B), May 27, 1921”, *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. 9, p. 222.

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

Comrade Togliatti has openly declared that the stand taken in the 1960 Moscow Statement towards the Tito clique of Yugoslavia was "mistaken", saying that "to direct invectives against the Tito clique will not enable us to advance one step, but will make us go back a great deal."¹ Some people have said that "the Yugoslav Communists have taken steps towards rapprochement and unity with the entire world communist movement", and that between the Tito clique and themselves there is "coincidence and proximity" of positions "on a series of vitally important international problems". What they are doing belies their commitments; they are treating the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement merely as empty official formalities. In order to justify themselves, they have no scruples about prostituting the Moscow Statement and, instead of regarding revisionism as the main danger in the international communist movement and working-class movement today, they allege that "latterly the danger of dogmatism and sectarianism has become the main danger".² At the recent Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany when the Chinese Communist Party delegate in his speech upheld the Moscow Statement and condemned the revisionism of the Tito clique, he was treated with extreme rudeness. But the delegate of the Tito clique to the Congress was given a wild ovation. Can this be called "consistent observance of the commonly co-ordinated line of the communist movement"? Everybody knows that this action, which can only grieve our own people and gladden the enemy, was deliberately planned.

¹ "Apropos the Criticism of the 'Tito Clique'", in *Rinascita*, October 13, 1963.

² The resolution adopted by the session of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party on December 14, 1962.

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

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

Some people forbid us to fight modern revisionism, or even to mention the old-line revisionism of the period of the Second International while they themselves revive the tunes of the old-line revisionists and revel in playing them over and over again. Writing of Proudhonism in the preface to the second edition of *The Housing Question*, Engels said, "Whoever occupies himself in any detail with modern socialism must also acquaint himself with the 'surmounted standpoints' of the movement." He believed that those standpoints or the tendencies emanating from them would inevitably reappear time and again so long as the conditions giving rise to them remained in society. "And if later on this tendency takes on a firmer shape and more clearly defined contours,...it will have to go back to its predecessors for the formulation of its programme."* Since we are fighting modern revisionism, we must naturally study its predecessors, the lessons of history, and how the modern revisionists have gone back to their predecessors. Should we not do so? Why is this "a completely impermissible historical comparison"? Does it violate any taboo?

Since they are replaying the tunes of such old revisionists as Bernstein and Kautsky, and are using the latter's

* Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. 1, pp 549-550

viewpoints, methods and language to attack and smear the Chinese Communists and all Marxist-Leninists, they cannot reasonably forbid us to answer them with Lenin's criticism of the old revisionists.

Lenin said :

"In exactly the same way the Bernsteinians have been dinning into our ears that it is they who understand the proletariat's true needs and the tasks of building up its forces, the task of deepening all the work, preparing the elements of a new society, and the task of propaganda and agitation. Bernstein says : We demand a frank recognition of that which is thus sanctifying "movement" *without* any "ultimate aim", sanctifying defensive tactics alone, preaching the tactics of fear "lest the bourgeoisie recoil." So the Bernsteinians raised an outcry against "Jacobinism" of the revolutionary Social-Democrats, against "publicists" who fail to understand the "workers' initiative", etc., etc. In reality, as everyone knows, revolutionary Social-Democrats have never even thought of abandoning day-by-day, petty work, the mustering of forces, etc., etc. All they demanded was a clear understanding of the ultimate aim, a clear presentation of the revolutionary tasks; they wanted to raise the semi-proletarian and semi-petty-bourgeois strata to the revolutionary level of the proletariat—not to reduce the latter level to that of opportunist considerations such as "lest the bourgeoisie recoil."

Perhaps the most vivid expression of this rift between the intellectual opportunist wing and the proletarian revolutionary wing of the Party was the question : *dürfen wir siegen ?* "Dare we win?" Is it permissible for us to win? Would it not be dangerous for us to win ? Ought we to win? This question, so strange at first sight, was however raised and had to be raised, because the opportunists were afraid of victory, were frightening the proletariat away from it, predicting that trouble would come of it and ridiculing slogans that straightforwardly called for it.*

* Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution", *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. 9, pp. 107-108.

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

**“Our Theory is Not A Dogma,
But A Guide to Action”**

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

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

“What a handy little word “dogma” is ! One need only slightly twist an opposing theory, cover up this twist with the bogy of “dogma”—and there you are !”*

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

* Lenin. “Revolutionary Adventurism”, *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1961, Vol. 6., p. 197.

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

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

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

There are people who deliberately evade the themes we are confirming by our quotations from the literature of Marxism-Leninism. They dare not even publish the quotations, but simply attack us for "citing paragraph after paragraph."² *L'Humanite*, the organ of the French Communist Party, has gone far as to accuse the Chinese Communist

¹ Lenin, *Selected Works*, F. L. P. H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 203.

² "In What Epoch Do We Live?" in *France Nouvelle*, January 16, 1963

Party of "denaturing Marxism-Leninism to the point of retaining only rigid formulas, and assuming the right to be high priests in charge of enunciating dogmas."* What does it actually signify—this lashing out at us with acrimonious phrases in which they so obviously revel? It simply reflects their state of mind and their feelings, that is, the violent repugnance with which they react the moment they see the words of Marx, Engels and Lenin. These people who object to others as priests of Marxism-Leninism are themselves serving as priests of anti-Marxism-Leninism and of bourgeois ideology.

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

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

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

The true Marxist-Leninist does not recline on a bed of books, he should be skillful in using the Marxist-Leninist method to analyse the concrete environment, situation and conditions of the time both at home and abroad in studying the varied experience of actual struggles, and in thus working out his own line of action. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly reminded us of Lenin's celebrated dictum; "The

* "Our Unity and Our Discipline", *L'Humanite*, January 16, 1964.

most essential thing in Marxism, the living soul of Marxism, is the concrete analysis of concrete conditions.”¹ He criticized the dogmatists in our ranks as “lazy-bones” who “refuse to undertake any painstaking study of concrete things.”²

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

“Even now, there are not a few people who still regard odd quotations from Marxist-Leninist works as a ready-made panacea which, once acquired, can easily cure all maladies. These people show childish ignorance, and we should conduct a campaign to enlighten them. It is precisely such ignorant people who take Marxism-Leninism as a religious dogma. To them we should say bluntly, “Your dogma is worthless.” Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have repeatedly stated that our theory is not a dogma but a guide to action. But such people prefer to forget this statement which is of the greatest, indeed of the utmost importance. Chinese Communists can be regarded as linking theory with practice only when they become good at applying the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method and the teachings of Lenin and Stalin concerning the Chinese revolution and when, furthermore, through serious research into the realities of China’s history and revolution, they do creative theoretical work to meet China’s needs in different spheres. Merely talking about linking theory and practice without actually doing anything about it is of no use, even if one goes talking for a hundred years. To oppose the subjectivist, one-sided approach to problems, we must demolish dogmatist subjectiveness and one-sidedness.”³

Those who are now vigorously railing at dogmatism have absolutely no idea of what it really is, let alone of

¹ Lenin, “Communism”, *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol. 31, p. 143

² Mao Tse-tung, “On Contradiction”, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1.

³ Mao Tse-tung, *Rectify the Party’s Style of Work*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1962, pp. 12-13.

how to combat it. They keep on proclaiming that times and conditions have changed and that one must “develop Marxism-Leninism creatively”, but actually they are using bourgeois pragmatism to revise Marxism-Leninism. They are utterly unable to grasp the essence of the changed times and conditions, understand the contradictions in the contemporary world or to locate the focus of these contradictions. They cannot grasp the laws of development of things that objectively exist and they stagger to and fro, plunging now into capitulationism and now into adventurism. Accommodating themselves to the immediate turn of events, they forget the fundamental interests of the proletariat, and this is characteristic both of their thinking and their actions. Thus they do not have a policy founded on principle, frequently fail to differentiate between the enemy, ourselves and our friends, and even reverse the relationships between the three, treating enemies as if they were our own people and vice versa.

Lenin said that the philistine “is never guided by a definite world outlook, by principles of integral party tactics. He always swims with the stream, blindly obeying the mood of the moment.”* Now, are not these people exactly the same?

Integrating the Universal Truth of Marxism-Leninism with the Concrete Practice of the Revolution in One’s Own Country

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

This thesis, the integration of universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in

* Lenin, “The Political Situation and the Tasks of the Working Class”. *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. 11, p. 390.

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

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

"The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is complete and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world conception which is irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction, or defence of bourgeois oppression."*

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

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

* Lenin, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism", *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, p. 78.

struggles which are going on in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In 1913 Lenin wrote in "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx" that each period of world history since the birth of Marxism "has brought Marxism new confirmation and new triumphs. But a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat in the period of history that is now ensuing".*

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

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

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

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

Those who oppose the universal truth and the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism inevitably oppose the

* Lenin, *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, p. 88.

integral Marxist-Leninist world outlook and “undermine its basic theoretical foundations—dialectics, the doctrine that historical development is all-embracing and full of contradictions.”¹

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

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

Today, there are people who treat this extremely important thesis in the Moscow Declaration with the utmost contempt and place themselves in opposition to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. They detest materialist dialectics, dismissing it as a “double approach” and “a scholastic philosophy.” They are just like the old-line revisionists who “treated Hegel as a dead dog”, and while they themselves preached idealism, only an idealism a thousand times more petty and banal than Hegel’s, they contemptuously shrugged their shoulders at dialectics.”² It is clear that these people attack materialist dialectics because they want to sell their modern revisionist stuff.

1. Lenin, “Certain Features of the Historical Development of Marxism”, *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, p. 294

2. Lenin, “Marxism and Revisionism”, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1950, Vol. 1, Part I, p. 89

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

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

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

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

“Marxism differs from all other socialist theories in that it represents a remarkable combination of complete scientific soundness in the analysis of the objective conditions of things and of the objective course of evolution and the very definite recognition of the significance of the revolutionary energy, the revolutionary creative genius and the revolutionary initiative of the masses—and also, of course, of individuals, groups, organisations and parties which are able to discover and establish contact with these classes.”*

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

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

“As regards the sequence in the movement of man's knowledge, there is always a gradual expansion from the knowledge of individual and particular things to the knowledge of things in general. Only after man knows the particular essence of many different things can he proceed to

* Lenin, “Against the Boycot”, *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. III, p. 414.

generalization and know the common essence of things. When man attains the knowledge of this common essence, he uses it as a guide and proceeds to study various concrete things which have not yet been studied, or studied thoroughly and to discover the particular essence of each; only thus is he able to supplement, enrich and develop his knowledge of the common essence and prevent that knowledge from withering or petrifying.”*

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

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

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

* Mao Tse-tung, "On Contradiction", *Selected Works*, Vol. I

lead the people's revolutionary movement in its country to victory.

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

“With this attitude, one studies the theory of Marxism-Leninism with a purpose, that is, to integrate Marxist-Leninist theory with the actual movement of the Chinese revolution and to seek from this theory the stand, view-point and method with which to solve the theoretical and tactical problems of the Chinese revolution. Such an attitude is one of shooting the arrow at the target. The “target” is the Chinese revolution, the “arrow” is Marxism-Leninism. We, Chinese Communists have been seeking this arrow because we want to hit the target of the revolution of the East. To take such an attitude is to seek truth from facts. “Facts” are all the things that exist objectively, “truth” means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them, and “to seek” means to study. We should proceed from the actual conditions inside and outside the country, the province, county or district, and derive from them, as our guide to action, laws which are inherent in them and not imaginary, that is, we should find the internal relations of the events occurring around us. And in order to do that we must rely not on subjective imagination, not on momentary enthusiasm, not on lifeless books, but on facts that exist objectively; we must appropriate the material in detail and, guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism draw correct conclusions from it”*

The history of the Chinese Communist Party, the history of the triumph of the Chinese revolution, is one of ever

* Mao Tse-tung: *Reform Our study*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1962, pp. 8-9.

closer integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Without such integration it is inconceivable that the Chinese revolution could have triumphed.

Principle and Flexibility

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

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

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

While adhering to policies based on principle, the party of the proletariat must also exercise flexibility. In revolutionary

struggle, it is wrong to refuse to adjust to changing circumstances or reject round about ways of advance. The difference between Marxist-Leninists and the opportunists and revisionists is that the former stand for flexibility in carrying out policies based on principle, while the latter practice a flexibility which is actually the abandonment of principled policies.

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

Compromise is an important problem in the practice of flexibility.

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

Lenin well said :

“It is not without cause that Marx and Engels are considered to be the founders of scientific socialism. They were merciless enemies of all phrase-mongering. They taught us to pose the questions of socialism (including those of socialist tactics) in a scientific way. And in the seventies of the last century, when Engels had to analyse the revolutionary manifesto of the French Blanquists, refugees after the Commune, he said without mincing words that their boastful declaration “no compromises” was an empty phrase. One must not renounce compromise. The problem is to be able, through all the compromises which are sometimes necessarily imposed by force of circumstances even on the most revolutionary party of the most revolutionary class, through all such compromises to be able to preserve, strengthen, temper and develop the revolutionary tactics and organisation, the revolutionary consciousness, determination

and preparedness of the working class and its organized vanguard, the Communist Party.”*

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

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

It continues :

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

As is wellknown, Trotsky played a most despicable role in connection with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk as well as in the entire history of the Russian revolution and of Soviet construction. He opposed Lenin and Leninism on all the main problems. He denied that the socialist revolution and socialist construction could triumph first in one country. He lacked all principle on the question of revolutionary strategy and tactics, and this manifested itself now in “Left” adventurism, now in Right capitulationism. In the case of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, he first blindly pressed for an adventurist policy; then, in violation of Lenin’s directive, he refused to sign the treaty at the Brest-Litovsk negotiations and at the same time made the traitorous statement to the

* Lenin, “On Compromises”, *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol. 30 p. 458.

German side that the Soviet Republic was preparing to end the war and demobilize. The German aggressors thereupon become more arrogant and laid down even more onerous terms. Such was Trotskyism in the matter of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

Now certain people have arbitrarily lumped together the Cuban events and those of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, although the two were completely different in nature, and they have drawn an historical analogy in which they liken themselves to Lenin and brand those who opposed sacrificing the sovereignty of another country as Trotskyites. This is most absurd.

Lenin was perfectly right in wanting the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk to be signed. Lenin's purpose was to win time to consolidate the victory of the October Revolution. In his "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" written in 1936, Comrade Mao Tse-tung strongly criticized "Left" opportunist errors. Referring to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, he said;

"After the October Revolution, if the Russian Bolsheviks had acted on the opinions of the "Left Communists" and refused to sign the peace treaty with Germany, the new-born Soviets would have been in danger of early death."*

Events confirmed Lenin's foresight, and the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk proved to be a revolutionary compromise.

How about the Cuban events? That was a completely different story. In the Cuban events, the Cuban people and their leaders were determined to fight to the death to defend the sovereignty of their fatherland; they displayed great heroism and high principle. They did not commit the error of capitulationism. But during the Cuban events certain people first committed the error of adventurism, and then committed the error of capitulationism, wanting the Cuban people to accept humiliating terms which would have meant the sacrifice of the sovereignty of their country. These persons

* Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, Vol 1.

have tried to cover themselves by using the example of Lenin's conclusion of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, but this has turned out to be a clumsy sleight-of-hand, for they have actually uncovered themselves all the more clearly.

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

“Our flexibility is based on definite principles.

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

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

VIII. WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!

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

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

“Are the ranks of the international communist movement to be united or not ? Is there to be genuine unity or sham

* Liu Shao-chi, On the Party.

unity? On what basis is there to be unity—is there to be unity on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, or “unity” on the basis of the Yugoslav revisionist programme or on some other basis? In other words, are differences to be ironed out and unity strengthened, or are differences to be widened and a split created?

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

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

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

But when it comes to the Tito clique, these people really seek unity. Their desire is unity with the Tito Clique, not the unity of the international communist movement; they desire unity on the basis of modern revisionism as represented by the Tito clique, or unity on the basis of the baton

of certain people, and not unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. In practice, therefore, their unity is a pseudonym for split. Using unity as a smokescreen, they are trying to cover up their actual splitting activities.

Revisionism represents the interests of the labour aristocracy, and hence also the interests of the reactionary bourgeoisie. Revisionist trends run counter to the interests of the proletariat, of the masses of the people and of all oppressed people and nations. Ever since the days of Bernstein, Marxism-Leninism has been repeatedly assailed by revisionist and opportunist trends, each in its day stirring up a commotion. But history has confirmed that Marxism-Leninism represents the highest interests of the largest number of people and is invincible. One after the other, all the revisionists and opportunists who challenged revolutionary Marxism-Leninism have collapsed in the face of the truth and have been spurned by the people. Bernstein was a failure and so were Kautsky, Plekhanov, Trotsky, Bukharin, Chen Tu-hsiu, Browder, and all the others. Those who are launching the new attacks on revolutionary Marxism-Leninism today are just as overbearing and arrogant; yet, if they continue to turn a deaf ear to all advice and persist in their wrong course, it can be said for certain that their end will be no better than that of the old revisionists and opportunists.

There are people who are working frantically to create a split by resorting to many dishonest tricks, spreading rumours, slinging mud and sowing dissension. But the overwhelming majority of the people of the world want unity in the international communist movement and are opposed to a split. The activities of certain people in creating a split, attacking the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties, and undermining the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement, go against the desires of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world and are extremely unpopular. People can see through their tactics of sham unity and actual splitting. Historically,

none of the splitters who betrayed Marxism-Leninism ever came to a good end. We have already advised those who are working to create a split to "rein in at the brink of the precipice", but certain people are unwilling to take our advice. They believe they are not yet at the "brink", and they are not ready "to rein in". Apparently they are very much interested in continuing their splitting activities. Let them go on creating trouble if they must. The masses, and history, will pass judgment on them.

Something very interesting is happening today on a wide scale in the international communist movement. What is this interesting phenomenon? The doughty warriors who claim to possess the totality of Marxist-Leninist truth are mortally afraid of the articles written in reply to their attacks by the so-called dogmatists, sectarians, splitters, nationalists, and Trotskyites whom they have so vigorously condemned. They dare not publish these articles in their own newspapers and journals. As cowardly as mice, they are scared to death. They dare not let the people of their own countries read our articles, and they have tried to impose a watertight embargo. They are even using powerful stations to jam our broadcasts and prevent their people from listening to them. Dear friends and comrades, who claim to possess the whole truth! Since you are quite definite that our articles are wrong, why don't you publish all these erroneous articles and then refute them point by point, so as to inculcate hatred among your people against the "heresies" you call dogmatism, sectarianism and anti-Marxist-Leninism? Why do you lack the courage to do this? Why such a stringent embargo? You fear the truth. The huge spectre you call "dogmatism", i.e., genuine Marxism-Leninism, is haunting the world, and it threatens you. You have no faith in the people, and the people have no faith in you. You are divorced from the masses. That is why you fear the truth and carry your fear to such absurd lengths. Friends, comrades! If you are men enough, step forward! Let each side in the debate publish all the articles in which it is criticized by the

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

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

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

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

"At a time when imperialist reaction is joining forces to fight communism it is particularly imperative vigorously to consolidate the world communist movement. Unity and solidarity redouble the strength of our movement and provide a reliable guarantee that the great cause of communism

will make victorious progress and all enemy attacks will be effectively repelled.”

“Communists throughout the world are united by the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and by a joint struggle for its realisation. The interests of the communist movement require solidarity in adherence by every Communist Party to the estimates and conclusions concerning the common tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, jointly reached by the fraternal Parties at their meetings.

“The interests of the struggle for the working-class cause demand ever closer unity of the ranks of each Communist Party and of the great army of Communists of all countries; they demand of them unity of will and action. It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party to work continuously for greater unity in the world communist movement.

“A resolute defence of the unity of the world communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the prevention of any actions which may undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would impair the forces of communism.

“All the Marxist-Leninist Parties are independent and have equal rights; they shape their policies according to the specific conditions in their respective countries and in keeping with Marxist-Leninist principles, and support each other. The success of the working-class cause in any country is unthinkable without the internationalist solidarity of all Marxist-Leninist Parties. Every Party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the international Working-class and communist movement as a whole.

“The Communist and workers’ Parties hold meetings whenever necessary to discuss urgent problems, to exchange

experience, acquaint themselves with each other's views and positions, work out common views through consultations and coordinate joint actions in the struggle for common goals.

"Whenever a Party wants to clear up question relating to the activities of another fraternal Party, its leadership approaches the leadership of the Party concerned; if necessary, they hold meetings and consultations.

"The experience and results of the meetings of representatives of the Communist Parties held in recent years, particularly the results of the two major meetings—that of November 1957 and this Meeting—show that in present-day conditions such meetings are an effective form of exchanging views and experience enriching Marxist-Leninist theory by collective effort and elaborating a common attitude in the struggle for common objectives."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Let us proclaim:

Workers of all countries, unite!

All oppressed nations and all oppressed people, unite!

All Marxist-Leninists, unite!

The Proletarian Revolution and the Revisionist Khrushchov

**By Editorial Department of the "People's
Daily" & The "Red Flag", Beijing, China**

The present article will discuss the familiar question of "peaceful transition." It has become familiar and has attracted everybody's attention because Khrushchov raised it at the 20th Congress of the CPSU and rounded it into a complete system in the form of a programme at the 22nd Congress, where he pitted his revisionist views against the Marxist-Leninist views. The open letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU of July 14, 1963, once again struck up this old tune.

In the history of the international communist movement the betrayal of Marxism and of the proletariat by the revisionists has always manifested itself most sharply in their opposition to violent revolution and to the dictatorship of the proletariat and in their advocacy of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. This is likewise the case with Khrushchov's revisionism. On this question, Khrushchov is a disciple of Browder and Tito as well as of Bernstein and Kautsky.

Since the days of World War II, we have witnessed the emergence of Browderite revisionism, Titoite revisionism and the theory of structural reform. These varieties of revisionism are local phenomena in the international communist movement. But Khrushchov's revisionism, which has emerged and gained ascendancy in the leadership of the CPSU, constitutes a major question of overall significance for the international communist movement with a vital bearing on the

success or failure of the entire revolutionary cause of the international proletariat.

For this reason, in the present article we are replying to the revisionists in more explicit terms than before.

A Disciple of Bernstein and Kautsky

Beginning with the 20th Congress of the CPSU, Khrushchov put forward the road of "peaceful transition", i.e. "transition to socialism by the parliamentary road",¹ which is diametrically opposed to the road of the October Revolution.

Let us examine the "Parliamentary road" peddled by Khrushchov and his like.

Khrushchov holds that the proletariat can win a stable majority in parliament under the bourgeois dictatorship and under bourgeois electoral laws. He says that in the capitalist countries:

"...the working class, by rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriotic forces, and resolutely repulsing the opportunist elements who are incapable of giving up the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, is in a position to defeat the reactionary forces opposed to the popular interest, to capture a stable majority in parliament..."²

Khrushchov maintains that if the proletariat can win a majority in parliament, this in itself will amount to the seizure of state power and the smashing of the bourgeois state machinery. He says that, for the working class,

"... to win a majority in parliament and transform it into an organ of the people's power, given a powerful revolutionary movement in the country, means smashing the military-bureaucratic machine of the bourgeoisie and setting up a new, proletarian people's state in parliamentary form."³

Khrushchov holds that if the proletariat can win a stable majority in parliament, this in itself will enable it to realize the socialist transformation of society. He says that the winning of a stable parliamentary majority "could create for the working class of a number of the capitalist and former colonial

countries the conditions needed to secure fundamental social changes”⁴ Also,

“... the present situation offers the working class in a number of capitalist countries a real opportunity to unite the overwhelming majority of the people under its leadership and to secure the transfer of the basic means of production into the hands of the people.”⁵

The Programme of the CPSU maintains that “the working class of many countries can, even before capitalism is overthrown, compel the bourgeoisie to carry out measures that transcend ordinary reforms.”⁶ The Programme even states that under the bourgeois dictatorship it is possible for a situation to emerge in certain countries, in which “it will be preferable for the bourgeoisie...to agree to the basic means of production being purchased from it.”⁷

The stuff Khrushchov is touting is nothing original but is simply a reproduction of the revisionism of the Second International, a revival of Bernsteinism and Kautskyism.

The main distinguishing marks of Bernstein’s betrayal of Marxism were his advocacy of the legal parliamentary road and his opposition to violent revolution, the smashing of the old state machinery and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Bernstein held that capitalism could “grow into socialism” peacefully. He said that the political system of modern bourgeois society “should not be destroyed but should only be further developed,”⁸ and that “we are now bringing about by voting, demonstrations and similar means of pressure reforms which would have required bloody revolution a hundred years ago.”⁹

He held that the legal parliamentary road was the only way to bring about socialism. He said that if the working class has “universal and equal suffrage, the social principle which is the basic condition for emancipation is attained.”¹⁰

He asserted that “the day will come when it (the working class) will have become numerically so strong and will be so important for the whole of society that so to speak the

palace of the rulers will no longer be able to withstand its pressure and will collapse semi-spontaneously.”¹¹

Lenin said:

“The Bernsteinians accepted and accept Marxism minus its directly revolutionary aspect. They do not regard the parliamentary struggle as one of the weapons particularly suitable for definite historical periods, but as the main and almost the sole form of struggle making “force”, “seizure”, “dictatorship”, unnecessary.” (“The Victory of the Cadets and the Tasks of the Workers’ Party,” *Collected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1962, Vol. 10, p.249).

Herr Kautsky was a fitting successor to Bernstein. Like Bernstein, he actively publicised the parliamentary road and opposed violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said that under the bourgeois democratic system there is “no more room for armed struggle for the settlement of class conflicts”¹² and that “it would be ridiculous to preach a violent political overthrow.”¹³ He attacked Lenin and the Bolshevik Party by comparing them to “an impatient midwife who uses violence to make a pregnant woman give birth in the fifth month instead of the ninth.”¹⁴

Kautsky was hopelessly afflicted with parliamentary cretinism. He made the well-known statement, “The aim of our political struggle remains, as hitherto, the conquest of state power by winning a majority in parliament and by converting parliament into the master of the government.”¹⁵

He also said:

“The parliamentary republic—with a monarchy at the top on the English model, or without—is to my mind the base out of which proletarian dictatorship and socialist society grow. This republic is the “state of the future” toward which we must strive.”¹⁶

Lenin severely criticized these absurd statement of Kautsky’s.

In denouncing Kautsky, Lenin declared:

“Only scoundrels or simpleton can think that the proletariat must win the majority in elections carried out under

the yoke of the bourgeoisie, under the yoke of wage-slavery, and that it should win power afterwards. This is the height of folly or hypocrisy; it is substituting voting, under the old system and with the old power, for class struggle and revolution." ("Greetings to the Italian, French and German Communists," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian Ed. Moscow, Vol. 40, p. 40.)

Lenin made the pointed comment that Kautsky's parliamentary road "is nothing but the purest and the most vulgar opportunism: repudiating revolution in deeds, while accepting it in words." ("The State and Revolution", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. 2, Part 1, p. 823). He said:

"By so "interpreting" the concept "revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat" as to expunge the revolutionary violence of the oppressed class against its oppressors, Kautsky beat the world record in the liberal distortion of Marx." ("The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. 2, Part 2, pp. 47-48.)

Here, we have quoted Khrushchov as well as Bernstein and Kautsky and Lenin's criticism of these two worthies at some length in order to show that Khrushchov's revisionism is modern Bernsteinism and Kautskyism, pure and simple. As with Bernstein and Kautsky, Khrushchov's betrayal of Marxism is most sharply manifested in his opposition to revolutionary violence, in what he does "to expunge revolutionary violence". In this respect, Kautsky and Bernstein have now clearly lost their title to Khrushchov who has set a new world record. Khrushchov, the worthy disciple of Bernstein and Kautsky, has excelled his masters.

Violent Revolution is a Universal Law of Proletarian Revolution

The entire history of the working class movement tells us that the acknowledgment or non-acknowledgment of violent revolution as a universal law of proletarian revolution, of the necessity of smashing the old state machine, and of the necessity of replacing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by

the dictatorship of the proletariat has always been the watershed between Marxism and all brands of opportunism and revisionism, between proletarian revolutionaries and all renegades from the proletariat.

According to the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the key question in every revolution is that of state power. And the key question in the proletarian revolution is that of the seizure of state power and the smashing of the bourgeois state machine by violence, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the replacement of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state.

Marxism has always proclaimed the inevitability of violent revolution. It points out that violent revolution is the midwife to socialist society, the only road to the replacement of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat, and a universal law of proletarian revolution.

Marxism teaches us that the state itself is a form of violence. The main components of the state machine are the army and the police. History shows that all ruling classes depend upon violence to maintain their rule.

The proletariat would, of course, prefer to gain power by peaceful means. But abundant historical evidence indicates that the reactionary classes never give up power voluntarily and that they are always the first to use violence to repress the revolutionary mass movement and to provoke civil war, thus placing armed struggle on the agenda.

Lenin has spoken of "civil war, without which not a single great revolution in history has yet been able to get along, and without which not a single serious Marxist has conceived of the transition from capitalism to socialism". (*"Prophetic Words"*, *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Moscow, Vol. 27, p. 557.)

The great revolutions in history referred to by Lenin include the bourgeois revolution. The bourgeois revolution is one in which one exploiting class overthrows another, and yet cannot be made without a civil war. Still more is this the

case with the proletarian revolution, which is a revolution to abolish all exploiting classes and system.

Regarding the fact that violent revolution is a universal law of proletarian revolution, Lenin repeatedly pointed out that "between capitalism and socialism there lies a long period of 'birth pains'—that violence is always the midwife of the old society", ("Those Who are Terrified by the Collapse of the Old and Those who Fight for the new," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian Ed., Vol. 26, p. 362) that the bourgeois state "cannot be superseded by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) through the process of 'withering away', but, as a general rule, only through a violent revolution", and that "the necessity of systematically imbuing the masses with this and precisely this view of violent revolution lies at the root of all the teachings of Marx and Engels". ("The State and Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H. Moscow, 1952, Vol. 2, Part 1, pp. 219-220.)

Stalin, too, said that a violent revolution of the proletariat, the dictatorship of the proletariat, is "an inevitable and indispensable condition", for the advance towards socialism in all countries ruled by capital. (Reply to the Discussion on the Report on 'The Social-democratic Deviation in Our Party', *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1954, Vol. 8, p. 223.)

Can a radical transformation of the bourgeois order be achieved without violent revolution, without the dictatorship of the proletariat? Stalin answered:

"Obviously not. To think that such a revolution can be carried out peacefully, within the framework of bourgeois democracy, which is adapted to the rule of the bourgeoisie, means that one has either gone out of one's mind and lost normal human understanding, or has grossly and openly repudiated the proletarian revolution." ("Concerning Questions of Leninism", *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1954, Vol. 8, p. 25.)

Basing himself on the Marxist-Leninist theory of violent revolution and the new experience of the proletarian revolution

and the people's democratic revolution led by the proletariat, Comrade Mao Tse-tung advanced the celebrated dictum that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun".

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"...revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society and...in their absence no leap in social development can be accomplished, the reactionary ruling classes cannot be overthrown and the people cannot win political power." ("On Contradiction", *Selected Works*, 2nd Chinese ed. Peking, Vol 1, p. 322.)

He stated:

"The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries." ("Problems of War and Strategy", *Selected Military Writings*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1963, p. 267).

He stated further:

"Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed." (ibid, p. 273)

To sum up, violent revolution is a universal law of proletarian revolution. This is a fundamental tenet of Marxism-Leninism. It is on this most important question that Khrushchov betrays Marxism-Leninism.

Our Struggle Against Khrushchov's Revisionism

When Khrushchov first put forward the "parliamentary road" at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the Chinese Communist Party considered it a gross error, a violation of the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism, and absolutely unacceptable.

As Khrushchov's revisionism was still in its incipient stage and the leaders of the CPSU had not as yet provoked open polemics, we refrained for a time from publicly

exposing or criticizing Khrushchov's error of the "parliamentary road". But, as against his erroneous proposition, we stated the Marxist-Leninist view in a positive form in our documents and articles. At the same time we waged the appropriate and necessary struggle against it at inter-Party talks and meetings among the fraternal Parties

Summing up the experience of the Chinese revolution, we clearly stated in the Political report of our Central Committee to the Eighth National Congress of our Party in September 1956:

"While our Party was working for peaceful change, it did not allow itself to be put off its guard or to give up the people's arms....

"Unlike the reactionaries, the people are not warlike.... But when the people were compelled to take up arms, they were completely justified in doing so. To have opposed the people's taking up arms and to have asked them to submit to the attacking enemy would have been to follow an opportunist line. Here, the question of following a revolutionary line or an opportunist line became the major issue of whether our six hundred million people should or should not capture political power when conditions were ripe. Our Party followed the revolutionary line and today we have the People's Republic of China."

On this question, the Marxist-Leninist view of the Eighth National Congress of the CPC is opposed to the revisionist view of the 20th Congress of the CPSU."

In December 1956, we explained the road of the October Revolution in a positive way in the article, "More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", thus in fact criticizing the so-called parliamentary road which Khrushchov set against the road of the October Revolution.

In many private talks with the leaders of the CPSU, the leading comrades of the Central Committee of the CPC made serious criticisms of Khrushchov's erroneous views. We hoped in all sincerity that he would correct his mistakes.

At the time of the meeting of representatives of the

Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957, the delegation of the CPC engaged in a sharp debate with the delegation of the CPSU on the question of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

In the first draft for the Declaration which it proposed during the preparations for the Moscow meeting, the Central Committee of the CPSU referred only to the possibility of peaceful transition and said nothing about the possibility of non-peaceful transition; it referred only to the parliamentary road and said nothing about other means of struggle, and at the same time pinned hopes for the winning of state power through the parliamentary road on "the concerted actions of Communists and Socialists". Naturally the Central Committee of the CPC could not agree to these wrong views, which depart from Marxism-Leninism, being written into the programmatic document of all the Communist and Workers' Parties.

After the delegation of the CPC made its criticisms, the Central Committee of the CPSU produced a second draft for the Declaration. Although phrases about the possibility of non-peaceful transition were added, the formulation of the question of peaceful transition in this draft still reflected the revisionist views put forward by Khrushchov at the 20th Congress of the CPSU

The delegation of the CPC expressed its disagreement with these erroneous views in clear terms. On November 10, 1957, it systematically explained its own views on the question of the transition from capitalism to socialism to the Central Committee of the CPSU, to which it also presented a written outline.

The main points made in our written outline are summarised below.

"It is advantageous from the point of view of tactics to refer to the desire for peaceful transition, but it would be inappropriate to over-emphasize the possibility of peaceful transition. It is necessary to be prepared at all times to repulse counter-revolutionary attacks and, at the critical juncture of

the revolution when the working class is seizing state power, to overthrow the bourgeoisie by armed force if it uses armed force to suppress the people's revolution (generally speaking, it is inevitable that the bourgeoisie will do so).

"The parliamentary form of struggle must be fully utilized, but its role is limited. What is most important is to proceed with the hard work of accumulating revolutionary strength; peaceful transition should not be interpreted in such a way as solely to mean transition through a parliamentary majority. The main question is that of the state machinery, namely, the smashing of the old state machinery (chiefly the armed forces) and the establishment of the new state machinery (chiefly by the armed forces).

"The Social Democratic parties are not parties of socialism; with the exception of certain Left wings, they are a variant of bourgeois political parties. On the question of socialist revolution, our position is fundamentally different from that of the Social Democratic parties. This distinction must not be obscured."

These views of ours are in full accord with Marxism-Leninism.

The comrades of the delegation of the Central Committee of the CPSU were unable to argue against them, but they repeatedly asked us to make allowances for their internal needs, expressing the hope that the formulation of this question in the draft Declaration might show some connection with its formulation by the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

We had refuted the wrong views of the leadership of the CPSU and put forward a written outline of our own views. For this reason and for the sake of the common struggle against the enemy, the delegation of the CPC decided to meet the repeated wishes of the comrades of the CPSU and agreed to take the draft of the Central Committee of the CPSU on this question as the basis, while suggesting amendments in only a few places.

We hoped that through this debate the comrades of the CPSU would awaken to their errors and correct them. But

contrary to our hopes, the leaders of the CPSU did not do so.

At the meeting of fraternal Parties in 1960, the delegation of the CPC again engaged in repeated sharp debates with the delegation of the CPSU on the question of the transition from capitalism to socialism, and thoroughly exposed and criticized Khrushchov's revisionist views. During the meeting, the Chinese and the Soviet sides each adhered to its own position, and no agreement could be reached. In view of the general wish of fraternal Parties that a common document should be hammered out at the meeting, the delegation of the CPC finally made a concession on this question again and agreed to the verbatim transcription of the relevant passages in the 1957 Declaration into the 1960 Statement, again out of consideration for the needs of the leaders of the CPSU. At the same time, during this meeting, we distributed the '*Outline of Views on the Question of Peaceful Transition*' put forward by the Chinese Communist Party on November 10, 1957, and made it clear that we were giving consideration to the leadership of the CPSU on this issue for the last time, and would not do so again.

If comrades now make the criticism that we were wrong in giving this consideration to the leaders of the CPSU, we are quite ready to accept this criticism.

As the formulation of the question of peaceful transition in the Declaration and the Statement was based on the drafts of the CPSU and in some places retained the formulation by its 20th Congress, there are serious weaknesses and errors in the overall presentation, even though a certain amount of patching up was done. While indicating that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily, the formulation in the two documents also asserts that the state power can be won in a number of capitalist countries without civil war; while stating that extra-parliamentary mass struggle should be waged to smash the resistance of the reactionary forces, it also asserts that a stable majority can be secured in parliament and that parliament can thus be transformed into an instrument

serving the working people; and while referring to non-peaceful transition, it fails to stress violent revolution as a universal law. The leadership of the CPSU has taken advantage of these weaknesses and errors in the Declaration and the Statement and used them as an excuse for peddling Khrushchov's revisionism.

It must be solemnly declared that the Chinese Communist Party has all along maintained its differing views on the formulation of the question of the transition from capitalism to socialism in the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960. We have never concealed our views. We hold that in the interest of the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and in order to prevent the revisionists from misusing these programmatic documents of the fraternal Parties, it is necessary to amend the formulation of the question in the Declaration and the Statement through joint consultation of Communist and Workers' Parties so as to conform to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

In order to help readers acquaint themselves with the full views of the Chinese Communist Party on this question, we are republishing the complete text of the *Outline of Views on the Question of Peaceful Transition* put forward by the delegation of the CPC to the Central Committee of the CPSU on November 10, 1957, as an appendix to this article.

In the last eight years the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and of the world's Marxist-Leninists against Khrushchov's revisionism has made great progress. More and more people have come to recognize the true features of Khrushchov's revisionism. Nevertheless, the leaders of the CPSU are still resorting to subterfuge and quibbles, and trying in every possible way to peddle their nonsense.

Therefore, it is still necessary for us to refute the fallacy and "peaceful transition".

Sophistry Cannot Alter History

The leaders of the CPSU openly distort the works of Marx and Lenin and distort history too to cover up their

betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and justify their revisionist line.

They argue: Did not Marx "admit such a possibility (peaceful transition) for England and America"?¹⁷ In fact, this argument is taken from the renegade Kautsky who used the self-same method to distort Marx's views and oppose the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is true that in the 1870s Marx said that in countries like the United States and Britain "the workers can reach their goal by peaceful means". But at the same time he stressed that this possibility was an exception. He said that "even if this be so, we must also recognise that in the majority of countries on the continent force must serve as the lever of our revolution". ("On the Hague Congress", speech at a mass meeting in Amsterdam, *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, 2nd Russian ed., Moscow, Vol. 18, p. 154.) What is more, he pointed out:

"The English bourgeoisie has always shown its readiness to accept the decision of the majority, so long as it has the monopoly of the suffrage. But believe me, at the moment when it finds itself in the minority on questions which it considers vitally important, we will have a new slave-holders' war here." ("Record of a Talk between K. Marx and the Correspondent of *The World*," *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, 2nd Russian ed., Moscow, Vol. 17, p. 637.)

Lenin said in his criticism of the renegade Kautsky:

"The argument that Marx in the seventies granted the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism in England and America is the argument of a sophist, or, to put it bluntly, of a swindler who juggles with quotations and references. First, Marx regarded this possibility as an exception even then. Secondly, in those days monopoly capitalism, i.e. imperialism, did not yet exist. Thirdly, in England and America there was no military then—as there is now—serving as the chief apparatus of the bourgeois state machine." ("The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1945, Vol. 23, pp. 233-34.)

Lenin said that, by virtue of its fundamental economic traits, imperialism is distinguished "by a minimum attachment for peace and freedom, and by a maximum and universal development of militarism". "To 'fail to notice' this" in the discussion of the question of peaceful or violent change is "to stoop to the position of a common or garden variety lackey of the bourgeoisie". (ibid, p. 357).

Today, the leaders of the CPSU have struck up Kautsky's old tune. What is this if not stooping to the position of a common or garden lackey of the bourgeoisie?

Again, the leaders of the CPSU argue: Did not Lenin "admit in principle the possibility of a peaceful revolution"?¹⁸ This is even worse sophistry.

For a time after the February Revolution of 1917, Lenin envisaged a situation in which "in Russia, by way of an exception, this revolution can be a peaceful revolution". ("First All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. 2, Part 1, p. 80). He called this "an exception" because of the special circumstances then obtaining. "The essence of the matter was that the arms were in the hands of the people and that no coercion from without was exercised in regard to the people." ("On Slogans", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow 1952 Vol. 2, Part 1, p. 88). In July 1917, the counter-revolutionary bourgeois government suppressed the masses by force of arms, drenching the streets of Petrograd with the blood of workers and soldiers. After this incident Lenin declared that "all hopes for a peaceful development of the Russian Revolution have definitely vanished". ("The Political Situation", *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1932, Vol. 21, Book 1, p.37). In October 1917, Lenin and the Bolshevik Party resolutely led the workers and soldiers in an armed uprising and seized state power. Lenin pointed out in January 1918 that "the class struggle...has turned into a civil war". ("People Form the Next World", *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Moscow, Vol. 26, p.393). The Soviet state had to wage another three and a half years of revolutionary

war and to make heavy sacrifices before it smashed both the domestic counter-revolutionary rebellion and the foreign armed intervention. Only then was the victory of the revolution consolidated. In 1919, Lenin said that "revolutionary violence gained brilliant successes in the October Revolution". ("The Successes and Difficulties of Soviet Power," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Moscow, Vol. 29, p. 41.)

Now the leaders of the CPSU have the impudence to say that the October Revolution was "the most bloodless of all revolutions"¹⁹ and was "accomplished almost peacefully".²⁰ Their assertions are totally contrary to the historical facts. How can they face the revolutionary martyrs who shed their blood and sacrificed their lives to create the world's first socialist state?

When we point out that world history has thus far produced no precedent for peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism, the leaders of the CPSU, quibble, saying that "practical experience exists of the achievement of the socialist revolution in peaceful form". And shutting their eyes to all the facts, they state, "In Hungary in 1919, the dictatorship of the proletariat was established by peaceful means".²¹

Is this true? No, it is not. Let us see what Bela Kun, the leader of the Hungarian revolution, had to say.

The Communist Party of Hungary was founded in November 1918. The newborn Party immediately plunged into revolutionary struggle and proclaimed as the slogans of socialist revolution: "Disarm the bourgeoisie, arm the proletariat, establish Soviet power." (Bela Kun, *Lessons of the Proletarian Revolution in Hungary*, Russian ed., Moscow, 1960, p. 46). The Hungarian Communist Party worked actively in all fields for an armed uprising. It armed the workers, strove to win over the government troops and organised the demobilized soldiers, staged armed demonstrations, led the workers in expelling their bosses and occupying the factories, led the agricultural workers in seizing large estates, disarmed the reactionary army officers, troops and police, combined strikes with armed uprisings, and so forth.

“From the day of the founding of the Communist Party to the taking of power, armed clashes with the organs of bourgeois power occurred with increasing frequency. Starting with December 12, 1918, when the armed Budapest garrison came out into the street in a demonstration against the War Minister of the Provisional Government,...there was probably not a single day on which the press failed to report sanguinary clashes between the revolutionary workers and soldiers and armed units of the Government forces, and in particular of the police. The Communists organized numerous uprisings not only in Budapest but in the provinces as well”. (Bela Kun, *Lessons of the Proletarian Revolution in Hungary*, Russian ed., Moscow, 1960, p. 57).

The leaders of the CPSU are telling a glaring lie when they say that the Hungarian revolution was an example of peaceful transition.

It is alleged in the Soviet press that the Hungarian bourgeois government “voluntarily resigned”,²² and this is probably the only ground the leaders of the CPSU base themselves on. But what were the facts?

Karolyi, the head of the Hungarian bourgeois government at the time, was quite explicit on this point. He declared:

“I signed a proclamation concerning my own resignation and the transfer of power to the proletariat, which in reality had already taken over and proclaimed power earlier...I did not hand over power to the proletariat, as it had already won it earlier, thanks to its planned creation of socialist army.”

For this reason, Bela Kun pointed out that to say the bourgeoisie voluntarily handed political power over to the proletariat was a deceptive “legend”. (Bela Kun, *Lessons of the Proletarian Revolution in Hungary*, Russian ed., Moscow, 1960, p. 49).

The Hungarian revolution of 1919 was defeated. In examining the chief lessons of its defeat, Lenin said that one fatal error committed by the young Hungarian Communist Party was that it was not firm enough in exercising dictatorship

over the enemy but wavered at the critical moment. Moreover, the Hungarian Party failed to take correct measures to meet the peasants' demand for the solution of the land problem and therefore divorced itself from the peasantry. Another important reason for the defeat of the revolution was the amalgamation of the Communist Party and the opportunist Social Democratic Party.

It is a sheer distortion of history when the leaders of the CPSU allege that the Hungarian revolution of 1918-19 is a model of "peaceful transition".

Furthermore they allege that the working class of Czechoslovakia won "power by the peaceful road".²³ This is another absurd distortion of history.

The people's democratic power in Czechoslovakia was established in the course of the anti-fascist war; it was not taken from the bourgeoisie "peacefully". During World War II, the Communist Party led the people in guerrilla warfare and armed uprisings against the fascists, it destroyed the German fascist troops and their servile regime in Czechoslovakia with the assistance of the Soviet army and established national front coalition government. This government was in essence a people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat, i.e., a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In February 1948 the reactionaries inside Czechoslovakia, backed by U.S. imperialism, plotted a counter-revolutionary *coup d'etat* to overthrow the people's government by an armed rebellion. But the government led by the Communist Party immediately deployed its armed forces and organised armed mass demonstrations, thus shattering the bourgeois plot for a counter-revolutionary comeback. These facts clearly testify that the February event was not a "peaceful" seizure of political power by the working class from the bourgeoisie but a suppression of a counter-revolutionary bourgeois *coup d'etat* by the working class through its own state apparatus, and mainly through its own armed forces.

In summarizing the February event Gottwald said :

"Even before the February event we said: one of the basic

changes compared with what existed before the war is precisely that the state apparatus already serves new classes and not the previous ruling classes. The February event showed that the state apparatus, in this sense, played an outstanding role..."(Speech at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Nov. 17, 1908.)

How can the above instances be regarded as precedents for peaceful transition?

Lenin said, "Kautsky had to resort to all these subterfuges, sophistries and fraudulent falsifications only in order to dissociate himself from violent revolution, and to conceal his renunciation of it, his desertion to the liberal labour policy, i.e. to the bourgeoisie" And he added, "That is where the trouble lies". ("The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," *Selected Works, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. 2, Part 2, p.44.*)

Why has Khrushchov so shamelessly distorted the works of Marx and Lenin, fabricated history and resorted to subterfuges? Again, that is where the trouble lies.

Lies Cannot Cover Up Reality

The principal argument used by the CPSU to justify their anti-revolutionary line of "peaceful transition" is that historical conditions have changed.

With regard to the appraisal of the changes in historical conditions since World War II and the conclusion to be drawn from them, Marxist-Leninists hold entirely different views from those of Khrushchov.

Marxist-Leninists hold that historical conditions have changed fundamentally since the War. The change is mainly manifested in the great increase in the forces of proletarian socialism and the great weakening of the forces of imperialism. Since the War, the mighty socialist camp and a whole series of new and independent nationalist states have emerged, and there have occurred a continuous succession of armed revolutionary struggles, a new upsurge in the mass movements of armed revolutionary struggles, a new upsurge in the mass

movements in capitalist countries and the great expansion of the ranks of the international communist movement. The international proletarian socialist revolutionary movement and the national democratic revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have become the two major historical trends of our time.

In the early post-war period, Comrade Mao Tse-tung repeatedly pointed out that the world balance of forces was favourable to us and not to the enemy, and that this new situation "has opened up still wider possibilities for the emancipation of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world and has opened up still more realistic paths towards it." ("Revolutionary Forces of the World Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression!", *Selected Works*, F.L.P., Peking, 1961, Vol. 3, p. 294.)

He also indicated:

"Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again...till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist Law. When we say 'imperialism is ferocious', we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom" ("Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle", *Selected Works*, F.L.P. Peking, 1961, Vol. 4, p. 428).

Marxist-Leninists base themselves on the fact that the changes in post-war conditions have become increasingly favourable for revolution and on the law that imperialism and reaction will never change their nature. Therefore they draw the conclusion that revolution must be promoted, and they hold that full use must be made of this very favourable situation and that in the light of the specific conditions in different countries the development of revolutionary struggles must be actively promoted and preparations must be made to seize victory in the revolution.

On other hand, using the pretext of these very changes in post-war conditions, Khrushchov draws the conclusion that

revolution must be opposed and repudiated, and he holds that as a result of the changes in the world balance of forces imperialism and reaction have changed their nature, the law of class struggle has changed, and the common road of the October Revolution and the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution have become outmoded.

Khrushchov and his like are spreading an Arabian Nights tale. They maintain, "Now favourable international and internal conditions are taking shape for the working class of a number of capitalist countries to accomplish the socialist revolution in peaceful form".²⁴

They say:

"In the period between the First and Second World Wars, the reactionary bourgeoisie in many European countries, incessantly developing and perfecting its police-bureaucratic machine, savagely repressed the mass movements of the working people and left no possibility for the achievement of the working people and left no possibility for the socialist revolution by the peaceful road.

"But according to them the situation has now changed".²⁵

They say that "basic shifts in favour of socialism in the relationship of forces in the international arena" now create the possibility of "paralysing the intervention of international reaction in the affairs of countries carrying out revolution",²⁶ and that "this lessens the possibilities for the unleashing of civil war by the bourgeoisie".²⁷

But the lies of Khrushchov and his like cannot cover up realities.

Two outstanding facts since World War II are that the imperialists and the reactionaries are everywhere reinforcing their apparatus of violence for cruelly suppressing the masses and that imperialism headed by the United States is conducting counter-revolutionary armed intervention in all parts of the world.

Today the United States of America has become more militarized than ever and has increased its troops to over 2,700,000 men, or eleven times the 1934 total and nine

times the 1939 total. It has so many police and secret service organisations that even some of the big U.S. capitalists have had to admit that it tops the world in this respect, having far surpassed Hitlerite Germany.

Britain's standing army increased from over 250,030 men in 1934 to over 420,002 in 1963, and its police force from 67,000 in 1934 to 87,000 in 1963.

France's standing army increased from 650,000 in 1934 to over 740,000 in 1963, and its police and security forces from 80,000 in 1934 to 1,20,000 in 1963.

Other imperialist countries and even the ordinary run of capitalist countries are no exceptions to this large-scale strengthening of the armed forces and police.

Khrushchov is zealously using the slogan of general and complete disarmament to immobilize the people. He has been chanting it for many years now. But in actual fact there is not even a shadow of general and complete disarmament. Everywhere in the imperialist camp headed by the United States one finds a general and complete arms drive and an expansion and strengthening of the apparatus of violent suppression.

Why are the bourgeoisie so frenziedly reinforcing their armed forces and police in peace time? Can it be that their purpose is not to suppress the mass movements of the working people but rather to guarantee that they can win state power by peaceful means? Haven't the ruling bourgeoisie committed enough atrocities in the 19 years since the War in employing soldiers and policemen to suppress striking workers and people struggling for their democratic rights?

In the past 19 years, U.S. imperialism has organized military blocks and concluded military treaties with more than 40 countries. It has set up over 2,000 military bases and installations in all parts of the capitalist world. Its armed forces stationed abroad exceed one million. Its "Strike Command" directs a mobile land and air force, ready at all times to be sent anywhere to suppress the people's revolution.

In the past 19 years, the U.S. and other imperialists have

not only given every support to the reactionaries of various countries and helped them to suppress the people's revolutionary movements; they have also directly planned and executed numerous counter-revolutionary armed aggressions and interventions, i.e. they have exported counter-revolution. U.S. imperialism, for instance, helped Chiang Kai-shek fight the civil war in China, sent its own troops to Greece and commanded the attack on the Greek people's liberated areas, unleashed the war of aggression in Korea, landed troops in Lebanon to threaten the revolution in Iraq, aided and abetted the Laotian reactionaries in extending civil war, organised and directed a so-called United Nations force to suppress the national-independence movement in the Congo, and conducted counter-revolutionary invasions on Cuba. It is still fighting to suppress the liberation struggle on the people of South Vietnam. Recently it has used armed force to suppress the just struggle of the Panamanian people in defence of their sovereignty and participated in the armed intervention in Cyprus.

Not only does U.S. imperialism take determined action to suppress and intervene in all people's revolutions and national-liberation movements, but it also tries to get rid of bourgeois regimes which show some nationalist colouration. During these 19 years, the U.S. Government has engineered numerous counter-revolutionary military *coups d'etat* in a number of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It has even used violence to remove puppets of its own fostering, such as Ngo Dinh Diem, once they have ceased to suit its purposes—"kill the donkey as soon as you take it from the millstone", as the saying goes.

Facts have demonstrated that now a days in order to make revolutions and achieve liberation, all oppressed peoples and nations not only have to cope with violent suppression by the domestic reactionary ruling classes, but must prepare themselves fully against armed intervention by imperialism, and especially U.S. imperialism. Without such preparation and without steadfastly rebuffing counter-revolutionary

violence by revolutionary violence whenever necessary, revolution, let alone victory, is out of the question.

Without strengthening their armed forces, without preparing to meet imperialist armed aggression and intervention and without adhering to the policy of waging struggles against imperialism, countries which have won independence will not be able to safeguard their national independence and still less to ensure the advance of the revolutionary cause.

We would like to ask the leaders of the CPSU: Since you talk so glibly about the new features of the post-war situation, why have you chosen to omit the most important and conspicuous one, namely, that the U.S. and other imperialists are suppressing revolution everywhere? You never weary of talking about peaceful transition, but why have you never had a single word to say about how to deal with the bloated apparatus of forcible suppression built up by the imperialists and reactionaries? You brazenly cover up the bloody realities of the cruel suppression of the national-liberation and popular revolutionary movements by imperialism and reaction and spread the illusion that the oppressed nations and peoples can achieve victory by peaceful means. Isn't it obvious that you are trying to lull the vigilance of the people, pacify the angry masses with empty promises about the bright future and oppose their revolution, thus in fact acting as accomplices of imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries?

On this question, it is useful to let John Foster Dulles, the late U.S. Secretary of State, be our "teacher by negative example".

Dulles said in a speech on June 21, 1956, that all socialist countries had hitherto been established "through the use of violence." He then said that "the Soviet rulers now say that they will renounce the use of violence" and that "we welcome and shall encourage these developments."²⁸

As a faithful champion of the capitalist system, Dulles was of course perfectly aware of the essential role of force

in class struggle. While welcoming Khrushchov's renunciation of violent revolution, he laid great stress on the bourgeoisie's need to strengthen its counter-revolutionary violence in order to maintain its rule. He said in another speech that "of all the tasks of government the most basic is to protect its citizens (read "reactionary ruling class") against violence.... So in every civilized community the members contribute towards the maintenance of a police force as an arm of law and order."²⁹

Here Dulles was telling the truth. The political foundation of the rule of imperialism and all reaction is nothing other than "a police force." So long as this foundation is unimpaired, nothing else is of any importance, and their rule will not be shaken. The more the leaders of the CPSU cover up the fact that the bourgeoisie relies on violence for its rule and spread the fairy tale of peaceful transition, which was so welcome to Dulles, the more they reveal their true colours as cronies of the imperialists in opposing revolution.

Refutation of the "Parliamentary Road"

The idea of the "parliamentary road" which was publicized by the revisionists of the Second International was thoroughly refuted by Lenin and discredited long ago. But in Khrushchov's eyes, the "parliamentary road" seems suddenly to have acquired validity after World War II.

Is this true? Of course not.

Events since World War II have demonstrated yet again that the chief component of the bourgeois state machine is armed force and not parliament. Parliament is only an ornament and a screen for bourgeois rule. To adopt or discard the parliamentary system, to grant parliament greater or less power, to adopt one kind of electoral law or another—the choice between these alternatives is always dictated by the needs and interests of bourgeois rule. So long as the bourgeoisie controls the military-bureaucratic apparatus, either the acquisition of a "stable majority in parliament" by the proletariat through elections is impossible or this "stable

majority" is undependable. To realize socialism through the "parliamentary road" is utterly impossible and is mere deceptive talk.

About half the Communist parties in the capitalist countries are still illegal. Since these Parties have no legal status, the winning of a parliamentary majority is, of course, out of the question.

For example, the Communist Party of Spain lives under white terror and has no opportunity to run in elections. It is pathetic and tragic that Spanish Communist leaders like Ibarruri should follow Khrushchov in advocating "peaceful transition" in Spain.

With all the unfair restrictions imposed by bourgeois electoral laws in those capitalist countries where Communist Parties are legal and can take part in elections, it is very difficult for them to win a majority of the votes, under bourgeois rule. And even if they get a majority of the votes, the bourgeoisie can prevent them from obtaining a majority of the seats in parliament by revising the electoral laws or by other means.

For example, since World War II, the French monopoly capitalists have twice revised the electoral law, in each case bringing about a sharp fall in the parliamentary seats held by the Communist Party of France. In the parliamentary election of 1946, the C.P.F. gained 182 seats. But in the election of 1951 the revision of the electoral law by the monopoly capitalists resulted in a sharp reduction in the number of C.P.F. seats to 103, that is, there was a loss of 79 seats. In the 1956 election, the C.P.F. gained 150 seats. But before the parliamentary election in 1958, the monopoly capitalists again revised the electoral law with the result that the number of seats held by the C.P.F. fell very drastically to 10, that is, it lost 140 seats.

Even if in certain circumstances a Communist Party should win a majority of the seats in parliament or participate in the government as a result of an electoral victory, it would not change the bourgeois nature of parliament or government,

still less would it mean the smashing of the old and the establishment of a new state machine. It is absolutely impossible to bring about a fundamental social change by relying on bourgeois parliaments or governments. With the state machine under its control the reactionary bourgeoisie can nullify elections, dissolve parliament, expel Communists from the government, outlaw the Communist Party and resort to brute force to suppress the masses and the progressive forces.

For instance, in 1946 the Communist Party of Chile supported the bourgeois Radical Party in winning an electoral victory, and a coalition government was formed with the participation of Communists. At the time, the leaders of the Chilean Communist Party went so far as to describe this bourgeois-controlled government as a "people's democratic government". But in less than a year the bourgeoisie compelled them to quit the government, carried out mass arrests of Communists and in 1948 outlawed the Communist Party.

When a workers' party degenerates and becomes a hireling of the bourgeoisie, the latter may permit it to have a majority in parliament and to form a government. This is the case with the bourgeois social-democratic parties in certain countries. But this sort of things only serves to safeguard and consolidate the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; it does not, and cannot in the least alter the position of the proletariat as an oppressed and exploited class. Such facts only add testimony to the bankruptcy of the parliamentary road.

Events since World War II have also shown that if Communist leaders believe in the parliamentary road and fall victim to the incurable disease of "parliamentary cretinism" they will not only get nowhere but will inevitably sink into the quagmire of revisionism and ruin the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

There has always been a fundamental difference between Marxist-Leninists on the one hand and opportunists and revisionists on the other on the proper attitude to adopt towards bourgeois parliaments.

Marxist-Leninists have always held that under certain

conditions the proletarian party should take part in parliamentary struggle and utilise the platform of parliament for exposing the reactionary nature of the bourgeoisie, educating the masses and helping to accumulate revolutionary strength. It is wrong to refuse to utilize this legal form of struggle when necessary. But the proletarian party must never substitute parliamentary struggle for proletarian revolution or entertain the illusion that the transition to socialism can be achieved through the parliamentary road. It must at all times concentrate on mass struggles.

Lenin said:

“The party of the revolutionary proletariat must take part in bourgeois parliamentarism in order to enlighten the masses, which can be done during elections and in the struggle between parties in parliament. But to limit the class struggle to the parliamentary struggle, or to regard the latter as the highest and decisive form, to which all the other forms of struggle are subordinate, means actually deserting to the side of the bourgeoisie and going against the proletariat.” (*The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1954, p. 36.)

He denounced the revisionists of the Second International for chasing the shadow of parliamentarism and for abandoning the revolutionary task of seizing state power. They converted the proletarian party into an electoral party, a parliamentary party, an appendage of the bourgeoisie and an instrument for preserving the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In advocating the parliamentary road, Khrushchov and his followers can only meet with the same fate as that of the revisionists of the Second International.

Refutation of “Opposition to Left Opportunism”

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU fabricates a tissue of lies in its treatment of the question of proletarian revolution. It asserts that the Chinese Communist Party favours “advancing the slogan of immediate proletarian revolution” even in the absence of a revolutionary situation,

that it stands for abandoning "the struggle for the democratic rights and vital interests of the working people in capitalist countries",³⁰ that it makes armed struggle "absolute,"³¹ and so on. They frequently pin such labels as "Left opportunism", "Left adventurism" and "Trotskyism" on the Chinese Communist Party.

The truth is that the leaders of the CPSU are making this hullabaloo in order to cover up their revisionist line which opposes and repudiates revolution. What they are attacking as "Left opportunism" is in fact nothing but the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line.

We have always maintained that a revolution cannot be made at will and is impossible unless a revolutionary situation objectively exists. But the outbreak and the victory of revolution depend not only on the existence of a revolutionary situation but also on the preparation and efforts made by the subjective revolutionary forces.

It is "Left" adventurism if the party of the proletariat does not accurately appraise both the objective conditions and subjective forces making for revolution and if it rashly launches a revolution before the conditions are ripe. But it is Right opportunism, or revisionism, if the proletarian party makes no active preparations for revolution before the conditions are ripe, or dares not lead a revolution and seize state power when a revolutionary situation exists and the conditions are ripe.

Until the time arrives for seizing state power, the fundamental and most important task for the proletarian party is to concentrate on the painstaking work of accumulating revolutionary strength. The active leadership given in day-to-day struggle must have as its central aim the building up of revolutionary strength and the preparation for seizing victory in the revolution when the conditions are ripe. The proletarian party should use the various forms of day-to-day struggle to raise the political consciousness of the proletariat and the masses of the people, to train its own class forces, to temper its fighting capacity and to prepare for revolution ideologically,

politically, organizationally and militarily. It is only in this way that it will not miss the opportunity of seizing victory when the conditions for revolution are ripe. Otherwise, the proletarian party will simply let the opportunity of making revolution slip by even when a revolutionary situation objectively exists.

While tirelessly stressing that no revolution should be made in the absence of a revolutionary situation, the leaders of the CPSU avoid the question of how the party of the proletariat should conduct day-to-day revolutionary struggle and accumulate revolutionary strength before there is a revolutionary situation. In reality, they are renouncing the task of building up revolutionary strength and preparing for revolution on the pretext of the absence of a revolutionary situation.

Lenin once gave an excellent description of the renegade Kautsky's attitude towards the question of a revolutionary situation. He said of Kautsky that if the revolutionary crisis has arrived, "then he too is prepared to become a revolutionary! But then, let us observe, every blackguard...would proclaim himself a revolutionary! If it has not, then Kautsky will turn his back on revolution!" As Lenin pointed out, Kautsky was like a typical philistine, and the difference between a revolutionary Marxist and a philistine is that the Marxist has the courage to "prepare the proletariat and all the toiling and exploited masses for it (revolution.)" ("The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1945, Vol. 23, pp. 403-404.) People can judge for themselves whether or not Khrushchov and his followers resemble the Kautsky type of philistine denounced by Lenin.

We have always held that the proletarian parties in the capitalist countries must actively lead the working class and the working people in struggles to oppose monopoly capital, to defend democratic rights, to improve living conditions, to oppose imperialist arms expansions and war preparations, to defend world peace and to give vigorous support to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations.

In the capitalist countries which are subject to bullying, control, intervention and aggression by U.S. imperialism, the proletarian parties should raise the national banner of opposition to U.S. imperialism and direct the edge of the mass struggle mainly against U.S. imperialism as well as against monopoly capital and other reactionary forces at home which are betraying the national interests. They should unite all the forces that can be united and form a united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

In recent years the working class and the working people in many capitalist countries have been waging broad mass struggles which not only hit monopoly capital and other reactionary forces at home, but render powerful support to the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and to the countries of the socialist camp. We have always fully appreciated this contribution.

While actively leading immediate struggles, Communists should link them with the struggle for long-range and general interests, educate the masses in a proletarian revolutionary spirit, ceaselessly raise their political consciousness and accumulate revolutionary strength in order to seize victory in revolution when the time is opportune. Our view is in full accord with Marxism-Leninism.

In opposition to the views of Marxist-Leninists, the leaders of the CPSU spread the notion that "in the highly developed capitalist countries, democratic and socialist tasks are so closely intertwined that there, least of all, is it possible to draw any sort of line of demarcation".³² This is to substitute immediate for long-range struggles and reformism for proletarian revolution.

Lenin said that "no reform can be durable, genuine and serious if is not supported by the revolutionary methods of struggle of the masses". A workers' party that "does not combine this struggle for reforms with the revolutionary methods of the workers' movement may be transformed into a sect, and may become torn away from the masses, and... this is the most serious threat to the success of genuine

revolutionary socialism.” (“To the Secretary of the ‘Socialist Propaganda League’”, *Collected Works*, 4th Russian Ed., Moscow, Vol. 21, p. 389.)

He said that “every democratic demand... is, for the class conscious workers, subordinated to the higher interest of socialism”. (“A Caricature of Marxism and ‘Imperialist Economism’”, *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. 5, p. 292). Further, in the “*State and Revolution*” Lenin quoted Engels as follows: “The forgetfulness of the great main standpoint in the momentary interests of the day, the struggling and striving for the success of the moment without consideration for the later consequences, the sacrifice of the future of the movement for its present was opportunism, and dangerous opportunism at that”.

It was precisely on this ground that Lenin criticised Kautsky for “praising reformism and submission to the imperialist bourgeoisie, and blaming and renouncing revolution”. He said that “the proletariat fights for the revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist bourgeoisie”, while Kautsky “fights for the reformist ‘improvement’ of imperialism, for adaptation to it, while submitting to it”. (“The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky,” *Against Revisionism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 959, p.441 and p.440.)

Lenin’s criticism of Kautsky is an apt portrayal of the present leaders of the CPSU.

We have always held that in order to lead the working class and the masses of the people in revolution, the party of the proletariat must master all forms of struggle and be able to combine different forms, swiftly substituting one form for another as the conditions of struggle change. It will be invincible in all circumstances only if it masters all forms of struggle, such as peaceful and armed, open and secret, legal and illegal, parliamentary and mass struggle, as well as both domestic and international struggle.

The victory of the Chinese revolution was precisely the result of the skilful and thorough mastery of all forms of struggle—in keeping with the specific characteristics of the

Chinese revolution—by the Communists of China who learnt from the historical experience of international proletarian struggle. Armed struggle was the chief form in the Chinese revolution, but the revolution could not have been victorious without the use of other forms of struggle.

In the course of the Chinese revolution the Chinese Communist Party fought on two fronts. It fought both the Right deviation of legalism and the "Left" illegalist deviation, and properly combined legal with illegal struggle. In the country as a whole, it correctly combined struggle in the revolutionary base areas with struggle in the Kuomintang areas, while in the Kuomintang areas it correctly combined open and secret work, made full of legal opportunities and kept strictly to Party rules governing secret work. The Chinese revolution has brought forth a complexity and variety of forms of struggle suited to its own specific conditions.

From its long practical experience, the Chinese Communist Party is fully aware that it is wrong to reject legal struggle, to restrict the Party's work within narrow confines and thereby to alienate itself from the masses. But one should never tolerate the legalism peddled by the revisionists. The revisionists reject armed struggle and all other illegal struggle, engage only in legal struggle and activity and confine the Party's activities and mass struggles within the framework allowed by the ruling classes. They debase and even discard the Party's basic programme, renounce revolution and adapt themselves solely to reactionary systems of law.

As Lenin rightly pointed out in his criticism, revisionists such as Kautsky were degraded and dulled by bourgeois legality. "For a mess of pottage given to the organizations that are recognised by the present police law, the proletarian right of revolution was sold." ("The Collapse of the Second International", *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1930, Vol. 18, p.314.)

While the leaders of the CPSU and their followers talk about the use of all forms of struggle, in reality they stand for legalism and discard the objective of the proletarian

revolution on the pretext of changing forms of struggle. This is again substituting Kautskyism for Leninism.

The leaders of the CPSU often make use of Lenin's great work, *Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, to justify their erroneous line and have made it a "basis" for their attacks on the Chinese Communist Party.

This is of course futile. Like all his other works, this book of Lenin's can only serve as a weapon for Marxist-Leninists in the fight against various kinds of opportunism and can never serve as an instrument of revisionist apologetics. When Lenin criticised the "Left-Wing" infantile disorder and asked the party of the proletariat to be skilful in applying revolutionary tactics and to do better in preparing for revolutions, he had already broken with the revisionists of the Second International and had founded the Third International.

Indeed, in "Left-Wing" Communism he stated that the main enemy of the international working class movement at the time was Kautsky's type of opportunism. He repeatedly stressed that unless a break was made, with revisionism there could be no talk of how to master revolutionary tactics.

Those comrades whom Lenin criticized for their "Left-Wing" infantile disorder all wanted revolution, while the latter-day revisionist Khrushchov is against it, he has therefore to be included in the same category as Kautsky and has no right whatsoever to speak on the question of combating the "Left-Wing" infantile disorder.

It is most absurd for the leadership of the CPSU to pin the label of "Trotskyism" on the Chinese Communist Party. In fact, it is Khrushchov himself who has succeeded in the mantle of Trotskyism and who stands with the Trotskyites of today.

Trotskyism manifests itself in different ways on different questions and often wears the mask of "ultra-Leftism", but its essence is opposition to revolution, repudiation of revolution.

As far as the fundamental fact of their opposition to the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is concerned, Trotskyism and the revisionism of the Second

International are virtually the same. This is why Stalin repeatedly said that Trotskyism is a variety of Menshevism, is Kautskyism and social democracy, and is the advanced detachment of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

In its essence, the present-day revisionism of Khrushchov also opposes and repudiates revolution. Therefore, the only logical conclusion is that Khrushchov's revisionism is not only cut from the same cloth as Kautskyism, but also converges with Trotskyism to oppose revolution. Khrushchov had better pin the label of Trotskyism on himself.

Two Different Lines, Two Different Results

History is the most telling witness. Rich experience has been gained since World War II both in the international communist movement and in the people's revolutionary struggles. There has been successful as well as unsuccessful experience. Communists and the revolutionary people of all countries need to draw the right conclusions from this historical experience.

The countries in Eastern Europe, Asia and Latin America which have succeeded in making a socialist revolution since the War have done so by following the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line and the road of the October Revolution. Now, in addition to the experience of the October Revolution, there is the experience of the revolutions of China, the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. The victorious revolutions in these countries have enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the October Revolution.

From China to Cuba, all these revolutions without exception were won by armed struggle and by fighting against armed imperialist aggression and intervention.

The Chinese people were victorious in their revolution after waging revolutionary wars for 22 years, including the three years of the People's Liberation War, in which they thoroughly defeated the Chaiang Kai-shek reactionaries who were backed up to the hilt by U.S. imperialism.

The Korean people carried on years of revolutionary armed struggle against Japanese imperialism beginning in the 1930s, built up and expanded their revolutionary armed forces and finally achieved victory with the help of the Soviet Army. After the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, it took another three years of war against U.S. imperialist armed aggression before the victory of their revolution could be consolidated.

The Vietnamese people seized state power by the armed uprising of August 1945. Immediately afterwards, they had to begin fighting a war of national liberation lasting eight years against French imperialism and to defeat the U.S. imperialist military intervention, and only then did they triumph in Northern Vietnam. The people of Southern Vietnam are still waging a heroic struggle against U.S. imperialist armed aggression.

The Cuban people started their armed uprising in 1953, and later it took more than two years of people's revolutionary war before they overthrew the rule of U.S. imperialism and its 'Cuban puppet' Batista. After their victorious revolution, the Cuban people smashed armed invasions by U.S. imperialist mercenaries and safeguarded the fruits of revolution.

The other socialist countries too were all established through armed struggle.

What are the main lessons of the successful proletarian revolutions in the countries extending from China to Cuba after World War II?

1. Violent revolution is a universal law of proletarian revolution. To realise the transition to socialism, the proletariat must wage armed struggle, smash the old state machine and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

2. The peasants are the most dependable allies of the proletariat. The proletariat must closely rely on the peasants, establish a broad united front based on the worker-peasant alliance, and insist upon proletarian leadership in the revolution.

3. U.S. imperialism is the arch enemy of people's revolution in all countries. The proletariat must hold high the national banner of opposition to U.S. imperialism and have the courage to fight with firm resolve against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in its own country.

4. The revolution of the oppressed nations is an indispensable ally of the proletarian revolution. The workers of all countries must unite, and they must unite with all the oppressed nations and all the forces opposed to imperialism and its lackeys to form a broad international united front.

5. To make a revolution, it is essential to have a revolutionary Party. The triumph of the proletarian revolution and the triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat are impossible without a revolutionary proletarian party established in accordance with the revolutionary theory and style of Marxism-Leninism, a party which is irreconcilable towards revisionism and opportunism and which takes a revolutionary attitude towards the reactionary ruling classes and their state power.

To insist on revolutionary armed struggle is of primary importance not only to the proletarian revolution but also to the national-democratic revolution of the oppressed nations. The victory of the Algerian national-liberation war has set a good example in this respect.

The whole history of the proletarian practice since the War has shown that those parties which have followed the line of revolution, adopted the correct strategy and tactics and actively led the masses in revolutionary struggle are able to lead the revolutionary cause forward step by step to victory and grow vigorously in strength. Conversely, All those parties which have adopted a non-revolutionary opportunist line and accepted Khrushchov's line of "peaceful transition" are doing serious damage to the revolutionary cause and turning themselves into reformist parties, or becoming completely degenerate and serving as tools of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. There is no lack of such instances.

The comrades of the Communist Party of Iraq were once full of revolutionary ardour. But acceptance of Khrushchov's revisionist line was forced on them by outside pressure, and they lost their vigilance against counter-revolution. In the armed counter-revolutionary *coup d'etat*, leading comrades heroically sacrificed their lives, thousands of Iraqi Communists and revolutionaries were massacred in cold blood, the powerful Iraqi Communist Party was dispersed, and the revolutionary cause of Iraq suffered a grave setback. This is a tragic lesson in the annals of proletarian revolution, a lesson written in blood.

The leaders of the Algerian Communist Party danced to the baton of Khrushchov and of the leadership of the French Communist Party and completely accepted the revisionist line against armed struggle. But the Algerian people refused to listen to this rubbish. They courageously fought for national independence against imperialism, waged a war of national liberation for over seven years and finally compelled the French Government to recognise Algeria's independence. But the Algerian Communist Party, which followed the revisionist line of the leadership of the CPSU forfeited the confidence of the Algerian people and its position in Algerian political life.

During the Cuban revolution, some leaders of the Popular Socialist Party refused to pursue the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line, the correct line of revolutionary armed struggle, but following Khrushchov's revisionist line, advocated "peaceful transition" and opposed violent revolution. In these circumstances, Marxist-Leninists outside and inside the Cuban Party, represented by Comrade Fidel Castro, rightly bypassed those leaders who opposed violent revolution, joined hands and made revolution with the revolutionary Cuban people, and finally won a victory of great historic significance.

Certain leaders of the Communist Party of France of whom Thorez is representative have long been pursuing a revisionist line, have publicized the "parliamentary road" in response to Khrushchov's baton and have actually reduced

the Communist Party to the level of a social democratic party. They have ceased to give active support to the revolutionary aspirations of the people and rolled up the national banner of opposition to U.S. imperialism. The result of their pursuit of this revisionist line is that the Communist Party, which once had great influence among the people, has become increasingly isolated from the masses and has deteriorated more and more.

Certain leaders of the Indian Communist Party, typified by Dange, have long pursued a revisionist line, hauled down the banner of revolution and failed to lead the masses in national and democratic revolutionary struggles. The Dange clique has slid farther and farther down the path of revisionism and degenerated into national chauvinists, into tools of the reactionary policies of India's big landlords and big bourgeoisie, and into renegades from the proletariat.

The record shows that the two fundamentally different lines lead to two fundamentally different results. All these lessons merit close study.

From Browder and Tito to Khrushchov

Khrushchov's revisionism has deep historical and social roots and bears the imprint of the times. As Lenin said, "opportunism is no accident, no sin, no slip, no betrayal on the part of individual persons, but the social product of a whole historical epoch". ("The Collapse of the Second International", *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1930, Vol. 18, p. 310).

While making great progress since World War II, the international communist movement has produced its anti-thesis within its own ranks—an adverse current of revisionism which is opposed to socialism, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian revolution. This adverse current was chiefly represented first by Browder, later by Tito and now by Khrushchov. Khrushchov's revisionism is nothing but the continuation and development of Browderism and Titoism.

Browder began to reveal his revisionism around 1935. He

worshipped bourgeois democracy, abandoned making the necessary criticisms of the bourgeois government and regarded the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie as a fine thing for Communists, his slogan being "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism".³³

With the formation of the international and domestic anti-fascist united fronts during World War II, he became obsessed with bourgeois "democracy", "progress" and "reason", prostrated himself before the bourgeoisie and degenerated into an out-and-out capitulationist.

Browder propagated a whole set of revisionist views which embellished the bourgeoisie and opposed and negated revolution.

He declared that the Teheran Declaration of the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain ushered in an epoch of "long-term confidence and collaboration" between capitalism and socialism and was capable of guaranteeing "a stable peace for generations".³⁴

He spread the notion that the international agreements of the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain represented "the most vital interests of every nation and every people in the world without exception"³⁵ and that the perspective of inner chaos "is incompatible with the perspective of the international order". Therefore, it was necessary to oppose "an explosion of class conflict" within the country and "to minimise, and to place definite limits upon" internal class struggle.³⁶

He spread the view that a new war would be "a real catastrophic smash-up of a large part of the world" and "may throw...most of the world back into barbarism for 50 or 100 years," and that the "emphasis upon agreement that transcends all class-divisions"³⁷ was necessary in order to wipe out the disaster of war.

He advocated relying "entirely upon democratic persuasion and conviction"³⁸ to realize socialism, and declared that after World War II certain countries "have gained the conditions in which a peaceful transition to socialism has become possible."³⁹

He negated the independent role of the proletarian parties, saying that "the practical political aims they (the Communists) hold will for a long time be in agreement on all essential points with the aims of a much larger body of non-Communists".⁴⁰

Guided by these ideas, he dissolved the Communist Party of USA.

For a time, Browder's revisionism led the revolutionary cause of the American proletariat to the brink of the precipice, and it contaminated the proletarian parties of other countries with the poison of liquidationism.

Browder's revisionist line was opposed by many American Communists, headed by Comrade William Z. Foster and was rejected and repudiated by many fraternal Parties. However, the revisionist trend represented by Browderism was not thoroughly criticized and liquidated by the international Communist movement as a whole. In the new circumstances after the War, the revisionist trend developed anew among the Communist ranks in certain countries.

In the capitalist countries, the growth of the revisionist trend first manifested itself in the fact that the leaders of certain Communist Parties abandoned the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line and embraced the line of "peaceful transition". This line is clearly typified in Togliatti's theory of structural reform, which advocates the proletariat's attainment of the leadership of the state through the legal channels of bourgeois democracy, and the socialist transformation of the national economy through such nationalization and planning as serve monopoly capital. According to this line, it is possible to establish new socialist relations of production and make the transition to socialism without smashing the bourgeois state machine. In practice, this amounts to making Communism degenerate into social democracy.

In the socialist countries, the revisionist trend first appeared in Yugoslavia. Capitulation to U.S. imperialism is an important characteristic of Titoite revisionism. The Tito clique have sold themselves body and soul to U.S. imperialism;

they have not only restored capitalism in Yugoslavia, but have become an imperialist instrument for undermining the socialist camp and the international communist movement and are playing the role of the social detachment of U.S. imperialism for sabotaging world revolution.

In their efforts to serve U.S. Imperialism and to oppose and abolish proletarian revolution, the Tito clique have outspokenly asserted that violent revolution has become “increasingly superfluous as a means of resolving social contradictions”⁴¹ and that the “evolutionary process of development towards socialism” through a bourgeois parliament “is not only possible but has already become a real fact”.⁴² They virtually equate capitalism with socialism, asserting that the present-day world “as whole has deeply plunged’ into socialism, become socialist.”⁴³ They also say that “now the question—socialism or capitalism—is already solved on a world scale”.⁴⁴

Browderite revisionism, the theory of structural reform and Titoite revisionism—these have been the chief manifestations of the revisionist trend since World War II.

Between the 20th and the 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, Khrushchov’s revisionist line of “peaceful transition”, “peaceful coexistence” and “peaceful competition” became a complete system. He has been hawking this stuff everywhere as his “new creation”. Yet it is nothing new but is merely a re-hashed and meretricious combination of Browderite revisionism, the theory of structural reform and Titoite revisionism. In international relations, Khrushchov’s revisionism practices capitulation to U.S. imperialism; in the imperialist and capitalist countries it practices capitulation to the reactionary ruling classes; in the socialist countries it encourages the development of capitalist forces.

If Bernstein, Kautsky and the other revisionists of the Second International ran in a single line and belonged to the same family around the time of World War I, then the same is true of Browder, Tito and Khrushchov after World War II.

Browder has made this point clear. He wrote in 1960, “Khrushchov has now adopted the ‘heresy’ for which I was

kicked out of the Communist party in 1945". And he added that Khrushchov's new policy "is almost word for word the same line I advocated fifteen years ago. So my crime has become—at least for the moment—the new orthodoxy".⁴⁵

Khrushchov himself has admitted that he and the Tito clique "belong to one and same idea and are guided by the same theory".⁴⁶

In the nature of the case, Khrushchov's revisionism is even more pernicious than the revisionism of Bernstein, Kautsky, Browder and Tito. Why? Because the USSR is the first socialist state, a large country in the socialist camp and the native land of Leninism. The CPSU is a large Party created by Lenin and in the international communist movement it enjoys a prestige shaped by history. Khrushchov is exploiting his position as the leader of the CPSU, of the Soviet Union to push through his revisionist line.

He describes his revisionist line as a "Leninist" line and utilises the prestige of the great Lenin and of the great Bolshevik Party to confuse and deceive people.

Exploiting the inherited prestige of the CPSU and the position of a large Party and a large country, he has been waving his baton and employing all kinds of political, economic and diplomatic measures to force others to accept his revisionist line.

In line with the imperialist policy of buying over the labour aristocracy he is buying over certain bourgeoisified Communists in the international communist movement who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and inducing them to acclaim and serve the anti-revolutionary line of the leaders of the CPSU.

That is why all other revisionists, whether past or present, are dwarfed by Khrushchov.

As the declaration of 1957 points out, the social source of modern revisionism is surrender to external imperialist pressure and acceptance of domestic bourgeois influence.

Like the old-line revisionists, the modern revisionists answer

to the description given by Lenin: "...objectively, they are a political detachment of the bourgeoisie...they are transmitters of its influence, its agents in the labour movement" ("The Collapse of the Second International", *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1930, Vol. 18, p. 310).

The economic basis of the emergence of modern revisionism, like that of old-line revisionism, is in the words of Lenin "an insignificant section of the 'top' of the labour movement", ("Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International", *Collected Works*, International publishers, New York, 1920, Vol. 18, p. 389).

Modern revisionism is the product of the policies of imperialism and of international monopoly capital which are both headed by the United States. Terrified by the policy of nuclear blackmail and corrupted by the policy of buying over, the modern revisionists are serving as the pawns of U.S. imperialism and its servile followers in opposing revolutions.

The revisionist Khrushchov is also scared out of his wits by the historical war cries of the U.S. imperialists, and he thinks that this "Noah's Ark," the earth, is threatened with destruction at any moment and he has completely lost confidence in the future of mankind. Proceeding from national egoism, he tries that revolutions by the oppressed classes and nations might create trouble for him and implicate him. Therefore, he tries to oppose every revolution by all means and, as in the case of the Congo, does not scruple to take joint action with U.S. imperialism in stamping out a people's revolution. He thinks, that by so doing he can avoid risks and at the same time conspire with U.S. imperialism to divide the world into spheres of influence, thus killing two birds with one stone. All this only goes to show that Khrushchov is the greatest capitulationist in history. The enforcement of Khrushchov's pernicious policy will inevitably result in inestimable damage to the great Soviet Union itself.

Why has Khrushchov's revisionism emerged in the Soviet

Union, a socialist state with a history of several decades? Actually, this is not so strange. For in every socialist country the question of who wins over whom—socialism or capitalism—can only be gradually settled over a very long historical period. So long as there are capitalist forces and there are classes in society, there is soil for growth of revisionism.

Khrushchov asserts that in the Soviet Union classes have been abolished, the danger of capitalist restoration is ruled out and the building of Communism is under way. All these assertions are lies.

In fact, as a result of Khrushchov's revisionist rule, of the open declaration that the Soviet State has changed its nature and is no longer a dictatorship of the proletariat, and of the execution of a whole series of erroneous domestic and foreign policies, the capitalist forces in Soviet society have become a deluge sweeping over all fields of life in the USSR including the political, economic, cultural and ideological fields. The social source of Khrushchov's revisionism lies precisely in the capitalist forces which are ceaselessly spreading in the Soviet Union.

Khrushchov's revisionism represents and serves these capitalist forces. Therefore, it will never bring communism to the Soviet people; on the contrary, it is seriously jeopardising the fruits of socialism and is opening the floodgates for the restoration of capitalism. This is the very road of "peaceful evolution" craved by U.S. imperialism.

The whole history of the dictatorship of the proletariat tells us that peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism is impossible. However, there is already Yugoslav precedent for the "peaceful evolution" of socialism back into capitalism. Now Khrushchov's revisionism is leading the Soviet Union along this road.

This is the gravest lesson in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All Marxist-Leninists, all revolutionaries and the generations to come must under no circumstances forget this great lesson.

Our Hopes

Only eight years have elapsed since the 20th Congress of the CPSU. In this extremely short period of history, Khrushchov's revisionism has inflicted very great and grave damage on the Soviet Union and the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat.

Now is the time—now it is high time—to repudiate and liquidate Khrushchov's revisionism.

Here, we would give the leading comrades of the CPSU a piece of advice: Since so many opportunists and revisionists have been thrown on to the rubbish heap of history why must you obdurately follow their example?

Here, too, we express the hope that those leading comrades of other fraternal Parties who have committed revisionist errors will think this over: What have they gained by following the revisionist line of the leaders of the CPSU? We understand that, excepting those who have fallen deep into the revisionist quagmire, quite a number of comrades have been confused and deceived, or compelled to follow the path. We believe that all those who are proletarian revolutionaries will eventually choose the revolutionary line and reject the anti-revolutionary line, will eventually choose Marxism-Leninism and reject revisionism. We entertain very great hopes in this regard.

Revisionism can never stop the wheel of history, the wheel of revolution. Revisionist leaders who do not make revolution themselves can never prevent the genuine Marxists, and the revolutionary people from rising in revolution. In the *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, Lenin wrote that when Kautsky became a renegade, the German Marxist Liebknecht could only express his appeal to the working class in this way—"to push aside such 'leaders', to free themselves from their stultifying and debasing propaganda, to rise in revolt in spite of them, without them, and march over their heads towards revolution!" (*Selected Works*, F.L.P.H. Moscow, 1952, Vol. 2, Part 2, p. 105.)

When the Second International's brand of revisionism

prevailed in many parties in Europe, Lenin attached great significance to the views of the French Communist Paul Golay.

Golay said:

“Our adversaries talked loudly of the bankruptcy of socialism. That is going a bit too fast. Still, who would dare to assert that they are entirely wrong? What is dying at present is not socialism at all, but one variety of socialism, a surgery socialism without the spirit of idealism and without passion, with the ways of a paunchy official and of a substantial paterfamilias a socialism without boldness or fierce enthusiasm, a devotee of statistics with its nose buried in friendly agreements with capitalism, a socialism which is preoccupied solely with reforms and which has sold its birth-right for a mess of pottage, a socialism which in the eyes of the bourgeoisie is a throttle on the popular impatience and an automatic brake on proletarian audacity”. (*The Socialism Which is Dying and the Socialism Which Must Be Reborn*, Lausanne, 1915).

What a superb description ! Lenin called it the honest voice of a French Communist. People now ask: Is not modern revisionism precisely the “variety of socialism” which is dying? They will soon hear the resounding ring of the honest voices of innumerable Communists inside the Parties dominated by revisionism.

“A thousand sails pass by the shipwreck; ten thousand saplings shoot up beyond the withered tree.” Bogus socialism is dying, whereas scientific socialism is bursting with youthful vigour and is advancing in bigger strides than ever. Revolutionary socialism with its validity will overcome all difficulties and obstacles and advance step by step towards victory until it has won the whole world.

Let us wind up this article with the concluding words of the *Communist Manifesto*:

“The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let

the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

“Working Men of All Countries, Unite!”

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APPENDIX

Outline of Views on The Question on Peaceful Transition

A Written Outline presented by the Delegation of the CPC to the Central Committee of the CPSU on November 10, 1957.

I. On the question of the transition from capitalism to socialism, it would be more flexible to refer to the two possibilities, peaceful transition and non-peaceful transition, than to just one, and this would place us in a position where we can have the initiative politically at any time.

1) Referring to the possibility of peaceful transition indicates that for us the use of violence is primarily a matter of self-defence. It enables the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries to sidestep attacks on them on this issue, and it is politically advantageous—advantageous for winning the masses and also for depriving the bourgeoisie of its pretexts for such attacks and isolating it.

2) If practical possibilities for peaceful transition were to arise in individual countries in the future when the international or domestic situation changes drastically, we could then make timely use of the opportunity to win the support of the masses and solve the problem of state power by peaceful means.

3) Nevertheless, we should not tie our own hands because of this desire. The bourgeoisie will not step down from the stage of history voluntarily. This is a universal law of class struggle. In no country should the proletariat and the Communist Party slacken their preparations for the revolution in any way. They must be prepared at all times to repulse counter-revolutionary attacks and, at the critical juncture of revolution when the working class is seizing state power, to overthrow the bourgeoisie by armed force if it uses armed force to suppress the people's revolution (generally speaking, it is inevitable that the bourgeoisie will do so).

II. In the present situation of the international communist

movement, it is advantageous from the point of view of tactics to refer to the desire for peaceful transition. But it would be inappropriate to over-emphasize the possibility of peaceful transition. The reasons are:

1) Possibility and reality, the desire and whether or not it can be fulfilled, are two different matters. We should refer to the desire for peaceful transition, but we should not place our hopes mainly on it and therefore should not over-emphasize this aspect.

2) If too much stress is laid on the possibility of peaceful transition and especially on the possibility of seizing state power by winning a majority in parliament it is liable to weaken the revolutionary will of the proletariat, the working people and the Communist Party and disarm them ideologically.

3) To the best of our knowledge, there is still not a single country where this possibility is of any practical significance. Even if it is slightly more apparent in a particular country, over-emphasizing this possibility is inappropriate because it does not conform with the realities in the overwhelming majority of countries. Should such a possibility actually occur in some country, the Communist Party there must on the one hand strive to realize it, and on the other hand, always be prepared to repulse the armed attacks of the bourgeoisie.

4) The result of emphasizing this possibility will neither weaken the reactionary nature of the bourgeoisie nor lull them.

5) Nor will such emphasis make the social democratic parties any more revolutionary.

6) Nor will such emphasis make Communist Parties grow any stronger. On the contrary, if some Communist Parties should as a result obscure their revolutionary features and thus become confused with the social democratic parties in the eyes of the people, they would only be weakened.

7) It is very hard to accumulate strength and prepare for the revolution, and after all parliamentary struggle is easy in

comparison. We must fully utilize the parliamentary form of struggle, but its role is limited. What is most important is to proceed with the hard work of accumulating revolutionary strength.

III. To obtain a majority in parliament is not the same as smashing the old state machinery (chiefly the armed forces) and establishing new state machinery (chiefly the armed forces). Unless the military-bureaucratic state machinery of the bourgeoisie is smashed, a parliamentary majority for the proletariat and their reliable allies will either be impossible (because the bourgeoisie will amend the constitution whenever necessary in order to facilitate the consolidation of their dictatorship) or undependable (for instance, election may be declared null and void, the Communist Party may be outlawed, parliament may be dissolved, etc.).

IV. Peaceful transition to socialism should not be interpreted in such a way as solely to mean transition through a parliamentary majority. The main question is that of the state machinery. In the 1870s, Marx was of the opinion that there was a possibility of achieving socialism in Britain by peaceful means, because "at that time England was a country in which militarism and bureaucracy were less pronounced than in any other". For a period after the February Revolution, Lenin hoped that through, "all power to the Soviets", the revolution would develop peacefully and triumph, because at that time, "the arms were in the hands of the people". Neither Marx nor Lenin meant that peaceful transition could be realized by using the old state machinery. Lenin repeatedly elaborated on the famous saying of Marx and Engels, "The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes".

V. The social democratic parties are not parties of socialism. With the exception of certain Left wings, they are parties serving the bourgeoisie and capitalism. They are a variant of bourgeois political parties. On the question of socialist revolution, our position is fundamentally different from that of the social democratic parties. This distinction must not be

obscured. To obscure this distinction only helps the leaders of the social democratic parties to deceive the masses and hinders us from winning the masses away from the influence of the social democratic parties. However, it is unquestionably very important to strengthen our work with respect to the social democratic parties and strive to establish a united front with the Left and middle groups.

VI. Such is our understanding of this question. We do not hold differing views on this question, but out of various considerations we did not state our views after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Since a joint declaration is to be issued, we must now explain our views. However, this need not prevent us from attaining common language in the draft declaration. In order to show a connection between the formulation of this question in the draft declaration and the formulation of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union, we agree to take the draft put forward today by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a basis, while proposing amendments in certain places.

Appendix X

Whither Yugoslavia?

Comments on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of CPSU by the Editorial Departments of the “People’s Daily” & the “Red Flag”

Is Yugoslavia a socialist country?

This is not only a question of ascertaining the nature of the Yugoslav state, but it also involves the question of which road the socialist countries should follow: whether they should follow the road of the October Revolution and carry the socialist revolution through to the end or follow the road of Yugoslavia and restore capitalism. In addition, it involves the question of how to appraise the Tito clique: whether it is a fraternal Party and a force against imperialism or a renegade from the international communist movement and a lackey of imperialism.

On this question there are fundamental differences of opinion between the leaders of the CPSU, on the one hand, and ourselves and all other Marxist-Leninists, on the other.

All Marxist-Leninists hold that Yugoslavia is not a socialist country. The leading clique of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the Yugoslav people and consists of renegades from the international communist movement and lackeys of imperialism.

The leaders of the CPSU, on the other hand, hold that Yugoslavia is a socialist country and that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia bases itself on Marxism-Leninism and is a fraternal Party and a force against imperialism.

In its Open Letter of July 14 the Central Committee of the CPSU declares that Yugoslavia is a “socialist country”

and that the Tito clique is a "fraternal Party" that "stands at the helm of state".

Recently Comrade Khrushchov paid a visit to Yugoslavia and in a number of speeches he revealed the real standpoint of the leaders of the CPSU still more clearly, and completely discarded the fig-leaf with which they had been covering themselves on this question.

In Khrushchov's opinion, Yugoslavia is not only a socialist country but an "advanced" socialist country. There, one finds not "idle talk about revolution" but "actual construction of socialism", and the development of Yugoslavia is "a concrete contribution to the general world revolutionary workers' movement", which Khrushchov rather envies and wishes to emulate.

In Khrushchov's opinion, the leaders of the CPSU and the Titoites are "not only class brothers" but "brothers tied together... by the singleness of aims confronting us". The leadership of the CPSU is a "reliable and faithful ally" of the Tito clique.

Khrushchov believes he has discovered genuine Marxism-Leninism in the Tito clique. The Central Committee of the CPSU was merely pretending when it asserted in its Open Letter that "differences on a number of ideological questions of principle continue to remain between the CPSU and the Yugoslav Communist League". Now Khrushchov has told the Tito clique "We belong to one and the same idea and are guided by the same theory", and that both stand on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Khrushchov has cast the Statement of 1960 to the winds.

The Statement says:

The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist "theories" in concentrated form.

It says:

After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to

the Declaration of 1957; they set the L.C.Y against the international communist movement as a whole...

It says:

[The leaders of the L.C.Y. were] dependent on so called "aid" from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle.

It further says:

The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement...they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries.

The Statement is absolutely clear, and yet the leaders of the CPSU dare to say: "In accordance with the 1960 Statement, we consider Yugoslavia a socialist country". How can they say such a thing!

One would like to ask:

Can a country be socialist when, as the Statement says, it is guided by a variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist theories?

Can a country be socialist when, as the Statement says, it has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and sets itself against the international communist movement as a whole?

Can a country be socialist when, as the Statement says, it carries on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement?

Can a country be socialist when, as the Statement says, it engages in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries?

Can a country be socialist when the imperialist countries headed by the United States have nurtured it with several billions of U.S. dollars?

This is indeed out of the ordinary and unheard of!

Apparently, Comrade Togliatti speaks more plainly than Comrade Khrushchov. Togliatti did not mince his words; he said the position taken by the Statement of 1960 on the Tito clique was "wrong". Since Khrushchov is bent on reversing

the verdict on the Tito clique, he should be more explicit; there is no need to pretend to uphold the Statement.

Is the Statement's verdict on Yugoslavia wrong and should it be reversed? Togliatti says it is wrong and should be reversed. Khrushchov in effect also says it is wrong and should be reversed. We say it is not wrong and must not be reversed. All fraternal Parties adhering to Marxism-Leninism and upholding the statement of 1960 likewise say it is not wrong and must not be reversed.

In doing so, in the opinion of the leaders of the CPSU, we are clinging to a 'stereotyped formula' and to the "jungle laws" of the capitalist world and are, "excommunicating Yugoslavia from" "socialism". Furthermore, whoever does not regard Yugoslavia as a socialist country is said to be going contrary to facts and making the mistake of subjectivism, whereas in shutting their eyes to the facts and asserting that Yugoslavia is a socialist country they are "proceeding from objective laws, from the teaching of Marxism-Leninism" and have drawn a conclusion based on "a profound analysis of reality".

What are the realities in Yugoslavia? What sort of conclusion ought one to draw if one proceeds from objective laws, from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, and makes a profound analysis of the realities in Yugoslavia?

Let us now look into this question.

The Development of Private Capital in Yugoslav Cities

One of Khrushchov's arguments to affirm that Yugoslavia is a socialist country is that private capital, private enterprise and capitalists do not exist in Yugoslavia

Is that true? No, it is not.

The fact is private capital and private enterprise exist on a very big scale in Yugoslavia and are developing apace.

Judging by the record in all socialist countries, it is not strange to find different sectors, including a private capitalist sector, existing in the national economy of a socialist

country for a considerable period after the proletariat has taken political power. What matters is the kind of policy adopted by the Government towards private capitalism—the policy of utilizing, restricting, transforming and eliminating it, or the policy of *laissez-faire* and fostering and encouraging it. This is an important criterion for determining whether a country is developing towards socialism or towards capitalism.

On this question the Tito clique is going in the opposite direction from socialism. The social changes Yugoslavia introduced in the early post-war period were in the first place not thoroughgoing. The policy the Tito clique has adopted since its open betrayal is not one of transforming and eliminating private capital and private enterprise but of fostering and expanding them.

Regulations issued by Tito clique in 1953 stipulates that “citizens groups” have the right to “found enterprises” and “hire labour”. In the same year, it issued a decree stipulating that private individuals have the right to purchase fixed assets from state economic establishments.

In 1956 the Tito clique encouraged local administrations to foster private capital by its taxation and other policies.

In 1961 the Tito clique decreed that private individuals have the right to purchase foreign exchange.

In 1963 the Tito clique embodied the policy of developing private capitalism in its constitution. According to provisions of the constitution, private individuals in Yugoslavia may found enterprises and hire labour.

With the Tito clique’s help and encouragement, private enterprise and private capital have mushroomed in the cities in Yugoslavia.

According to the official *Statistical Pocket-Book of Yugoslavia*, 1963, published in Belgrade, there are over 115,000 privately-owned craft establishments in Yugoslavia. But in fact the owners of many of these private enterprises are not “craftsmen” but typical private capitalists.

The Tito clique admits that although the law allows private

owners to employ a maximum of five workers each, there are some who employ ten or twenty times as many and even some who employ "five to six hundred workers."¹ And the annual turnover of some private enterprises is over 100 million dinars.²

Politika disclosed on December 7, 1961 that in many cases these private entrepreneurs are actually "big entrepreneurs". It says: "It is difficult to ascertain how wide the net of these private entrepreneurs spread and how many workers they have. According to the law, they are entitled to keep five workers who are supposed to help them in their work. But to those who know the ins and outs of the matter, these five persons are actually contractors who in turn have their own 'sub-contractors'."

"As a rule, these contractors no longer engage in labour but only give orders, make plans and conclude contracts, travelling by car from one enterprise to another."

From the profits made by these entrepreneurs, one can see that they are one hundred per cent capitalists. *Svet* reported on December 8, 1961 that "the net income of some private handicraftsmen reaches one million dinars per month", and the Belgrade *Vecernje novosti* said on December 20, 1961 that in Belgrade "last year 116 owners of private enterprises each received an income of more than 10 million dinars". Some entrepreneurs, "received an income of about 70 million dinars" in one year, which is nearly U.S. \$100,000 according to the official rate of exchange.

In Yugoslav cities not only are there private industrial enterprises, private service establishments, private commerce, private housing estates and private transport business, there are also usurers, who are known as "private bankers". These usurers operate openly and even advertise their business in the newspapers; one such advertisement runs as follows: "A

¹ M. Todorovic, "The Struggle on two Fronts", *Nasha Stvarnost*, March issue, 1954.

² *Vesnik u sredu*, December 8, 1961. 750 dinars= U.S. \$ 1; 303 dinars= 1 yuan.

loan of 300,000 dinars for three months offered. 400,000 dinars to be returned. Security necessary.”*

All these are indisputable facts.

We would like to ask those who are bent on reversing the verdict on the Tito clique: Unless it is your intention to deceive, how can you assert that Yugoslavia has no private capital, no private enterprise and no capitalists?

Yugoslav Countryside Swamped by Capitalism

Let us now consider the situation in the Yugoslav countryside.

Does it no longer have capitalists, as Khrushchov asserts?

No, the facts are quite the reverse.

The fact that Yugoslavia has been swamped by capitalism is even more striking in the countryside.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that individual economy, petty producer economy, generates capitalism daily and hourly, and that only collectivization can lead agriculture on to the path of socialism.

Stalin pointed out:

Lenin says that so long as individual peasant economy, which engenders capitalists and capitalism, predominates in the country, the danger of a restoration of capitalism will exist. Clearly, so long as this danger exists there can be no serious talk of the victory of socialist construction in our country. (Stalin, *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. XI, p. 8.)

On this question the Tito clique pursues a line running counter to socialism.

In the initial post-war period a land reform took place in Yugoslavia and a number of peasants' working co-operatives were organised. But in the main the rich-peasant economy was left untouched.

In 1951 the Tito clique openly declared its abandonment of the road of agricultural collectivization and began to disband

**Vesnik u sredu*, December 6, 1961.

the peasants' working co-operatives. This was a serious step taken by the Tito clique in betraying the socialist cause. Such co-operatives decreased from over 6900, in 1950 to a little more than 1,200 at the end of 1953, and to 147 in 1960. The Yugoslav countryside is submerged in a sea of individual economy.

The Tito clique declares that collectivization has not proved of value in Yugoslavia. It makes the vicious slander that "collectivization is the same as expropriation"¹ and is a path which "preserves serfdom and poverty in the countryside for the longest possible time".² It advocates the ridiculous idea that the development of agriculture should be "based on the free competition of economic forces."³

While dissolving many of the peasants' working co-operatives, the Tito clique has promulgated one law and decree after another since 1953 to encourage the development of capitalism in the rural areas, granting freedom to buy, sell and rent land and to hire farm hands, abolishing the planned purchase of agricultural produce and replacing it with free trading in this sphere.

Under this policy, the forces of capitalism spread rapidly in the rural areas and the process of polarization quickened. This has been an important aspect of the Tito clique's work of restoring capitalism.

Polarization in the countryside is firstly revealed in the changes occurring in land ownership. Slavko Komar, formerly Yugoslav Secretary for Agriculture and Forestry, admitted that in 1959 poor peasant households with less than 5 hectares of land each, which constitute 70 per cent of all peasant households, owned only 43 per cent of all privately

¹ Edvard Kardelj, Opening Address at the Ninth Plenum of the Fourth Federal Committee of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, May 5, 1959

² Vladimir Bakarić, Speech at the Sixth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia

³ Edvard Kardelj, "On Some Problems of our Policy in the Villages", *Komunist*, No 4 1954

owned land, whereas rich peasant households with more than 8 hectares of land each, which form only 13 per cent of all peasant households owned 33 per cent of all privately owned land. Komar also admitted that about 10 per cent of the peasant households bought or sold land every year.¹ Most of the sellers were poverty-stricken families.

The concentration of land is actually much more serious than is apparent from the above data. As revealed in the July 19, 1963 issue of *Borba*, the organ of the Tito clique, in one district alone there were "thousands of peasant households with far more than the legal maximum of ten hectares of land". In Bijeljina Commune, "it was found that five hundred peasant households owned estates of ten to thirty hectares". These are not isolated cases.

Polarization in the rural areas also manifests itself in the great inequalities in the ownership of draught animals and farm implements. Of the 308,000 peasant households in the province of Vojvodina, which is a leading grain-producing area, 55 per cent have no draught animals. Peasant households with less than 2 hectares of land each, which constitute 40.7 per cent of all peasant households, have only 4.4 per cent of all the ploughs in this region, or an average of one plough to 20 households. On the other hand, the rich peasants own more than 1,300 tractors and a great deal of other farm machinery as well as large numbers of ploughs and animal-drawn carts.²

Polarization likewise manifests itself in the growth of such forms of capitalist exploitation as the hiring of labour.

The February 7, 1951 issue of *Komunist* revealed that 52 per cent of the peasant households in Serbia owning more than 8 hectares of land hired labourers in 1956.

In 1962 Slavko Komar said that the heads of some peasant

¹ Slavko Komar, "Some problems Concerning the Countryside and the Peasant Households", *Socializam*, No. 5, 1962. The Secretary for Agriculture and Forestry of Yugoslavia corresponds to the Minister for Agriculture and Forestry.

² The Yugoslav journal *Index*, No. 2, 1962.

households had in recent years "become powerful. Their income is derived not from their own labour but from unlawful trade, from the processing of both their own products and those of others, from illicit distilling of spirit, from the possession of more than the prescribed maximum of 10 hectares of farmland, which is obtained by purchasing, or more often by leasing land, fictitious partition on land among family members. seizure or concealment of public land, from the acquisition of tractors through speculation and from the exploitation of poor neighbours by cultivating their land for them."*

Borba stated on August 30, 1962 that "the so-called kindhearted producer...is a leaseholder of land, a hirer of labour and an experienced merchant... Such people are not producers, but entrepreneurs. Some never touch a hoe all the year round. They hire labour and only supervise the work in the field and they engage in trading".

Usurers, too, are very active in the Yugoslav countryside. Interest rates often run to more than 100 per cent per annum. In addition, there are people who, taking advantage of the plight of the unemployed, monopolize the labour market and practise exploitation in the process.

Deprived of land and other means of production, large numbers of poverty-stricken peasants can live only by selling their labour power. According to figures given in *Politika* of August 20, 1962, about 70 per cent of the 1961 cash income of Yugoslav peasant households with less than 2 hectares of land came from selling their labour power. These peasants are fleeced right and left and lead a miserable life.

As facts show, the Yugoslav countryside is dominated by the exploiting class.

In arguing that Yugoslavia is a socialist country, the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU states that the "socialist sector" in the rural areas of Yugoslavia has increased from 6 to 15 per cent.

Unfortunately, even this pitiable percentage is not socialist.

*Slavko Komar, *op cit*

By the socialist sector of 15 per cent the leaders of the CPSU can only mean such organizations as the "agricultural farms" and "general agricultural co-operatives" promoted by the Tito clique. But in fact the "agricultural farms" are capitalist farms and the "general agricultural co-operatives" capitalist economic organizations engaging mainly in commerce. They do not affect the private ownership of land; what is more, their main function is to foster the development of the rich-peasant economy.

Problems of Agriculture in Yugoslavia, a work published in Belgrade, states that "judging by how they are organized today and how they function", the co-operatives "do not in the least signify socialist reconstruction of agriculture and of the countryside. They are working not so much for the creation of socialist strongholds as for the development and promotion of capitalist elements. There are cases in which these co-operatives are kulak associations."

The Tito clique has given the general agricultural co-operatives the monopoly right to purchase agricultural products, from the peasants. Taking advantage of this special privilege and of uncontrolled fluctuations in prices of farm produce, the so-called co-operatives speculate and through such commercial activities exploit the peasants in a big way. In 1958 Yugoslavia had a poor harvest. The co-operatives and other commercial organs took the opportunity to raise the selling prices of farm produce. The year 1959 brought a better harvest and the co-operatives broke their contracts with the peasants and reduced their purchases, not even hesitating to let the crops rot in the fields.

The general agricultural co-operatives and the "agricultural farms" hire and exploit a large number of long-term and temporary workers. According to data in *The Statistical Year-book of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia of 1962*, long-term workers hired by the co-operatives alone totalled more than 100,000 in 1961. A large number of temporary workers were also employed. As disclosed by *Rad* on December 1, 1962, hired labourers "are very often subject

to the crudest exploitation (the working day may be as long as 15 hours), and usually their personal income is extremely low”.

It is thus clear that these agricultural organizations of the so-called socialist sector are nothing but capitalist agricultural organizations.

Expropriation of poor peasants and promotion of capitalist farms form the Tito clique's basic policy in the sphere of agriculture. Back in 1955, Tito said that “we do not abandon the idea that the day will come in Yugoslavia when small farms will be combined in one way or another.... In America they have already done so. We must find a solution to this problem.”

In order to take the capitalist path, in 1959 the Tito clique promulgated the “Law on the Utilization of Cultivated Land”, stipulating that the land of peasants working on their own, who cannot farm it according to requirements, is subject to the “compulsory management” of the general agricultural co-operatives and “agricultural farms”. In effect, this means the expropriation of poor peasants and the forcible annexation of their land to develop capitalist farms. This is the path of capitalist agriculture, pure and simple.

In speaking of the transition from small peasant economy to an economy of large-scale farming, Stalin said, “There you have two paths, the capitalist path and the socialist path: the path forward—to socialism, and the path backward—to capitalism”.

Is there a third path? Stalin said, “The so-called third path is actually the second path, the path leading back to capitalism”. “For what does it mean to return to individual farming and to restore the kulaks? It means restoring kulak bondage, restoring the exploitation of the peasantry by the kulaks and giving the kulaks power. But is it possible to restore the kulaks and at the same time to preserve the Soviet power? No, it is not possible. The restoration of the kulaks is bound to lead to the creation of a kulak power and to the liquidation of the Soviet power—hence, it is bound to lead to the formation of

a bourgeois government. And the formation of a bourgeois government is bound to lead in its turn to the restoration of the landlords, and capitalists, to the restoration of capitalism." (Stalin, *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. XIII, p. 248)

The path taken by Yugoslavia in agriculture during the past ten years and more is precisely the path of restoring capitalism.

All these are indisputable facts.

We would like to ask those who are bent on reversing the verdict on the Tito clique: Unless it is your intention to deceive, how can you assert that there are no capitalists in Yugoslavia?

The Degeneration of Socialist Economy Owned by the Whole People into Capitalist Economy

The restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia manifests itself not only in the fact that private capitalism is spreading freely both in the cities and in the countryside, still more important the "public" enterprises, which play a decisive role in the Yugoslav economy, have degenerated.

The Tito clique's economy of "workers' self-government" is state capitalism of a peculiar kind. It is not state capitalism under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat but state capitalism under conditions in which the Tito clique has turned the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie. The means of production of the enterprises under "workers' self-government" do not belong to one or more private capitalists but to the new type of bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie of Yugoslavia, which includes the bureaucrats and managers and which the Tito clique represents. Usurping the name of the state, depending on U.S. imperialism and disguising itself under the cloak of socialism, this bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie has robbed the working people of the property originally belonging to them. In reality, "workers' self-government" is a system of ruthless exploitation under the domination of bureaucrat-comprador capital.

Since 1950, the Tito clique has issued a series of decrees instituting "workers' self-government" in all state-owned factories, mines and other enterprises in communications, transport, trade, agriculture, forestry and public utilities. The essence of "workers' self-government" consists of handing over the enterprises to "working collectives", with each enterprise operating independently, purchasing its own raw materials, deciding on the variety, output and prices of its products and marketing them, and determining its own wage scale and the division of part of its profits. Yugoslav decrees further stipulate that economic enterprises have the right to buy, sell or lease fixed assets.

In the enterprises under "workers' self-government", ownership is described by the Tito clique as "a higher form of socialist ownership". They assert that only with "workers' self-government" can one "really build socialism".

This is sheer deception.

Theoretically speaking, as anyone with a slight knowledge of Marxism knows, slogans like "workers' self-government" and "factories to the workers" have never been Marxist slogans but slogans advanced by anarchist syndicalists, bourgeois socialists and old-line opportunists and revisionists.

The theory of "workers' self-government" and "factories to the workers" runs counter to the fundamental Marxist theory of socialism. It was completely refuted by the classical Marxist writers long ago.

As Marx and Engels pointed out in the *Communist Manifesto*, "The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State... "

Engels wrote in *Anti-Duhring*, "The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into state property".

Having seized political power, the proletariat must concentrate the means of production in the hands of the state of

the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a fundamental principle of socialism.

In the early period of Soviet power following the October Revolution when some people advocated handing the factories over to the producers so that they could "organize production" directly, Lenin sternly criticized this view, saying that in reality it meant opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

He actually pointed out:

...Any direct or indirect legalization of the possession of their own production by the workers of individual factories or individual professions or of their right to weaken or impede the decrees of the state power is the greatest distortion of the basic principles of Soviet power and the complete renunciation of socialism. (Lenin, *On The Democracy And Socialist Character of the Soviet Power.*)

It is thus clear that "workers' self-government" has nothing to do with the socialism.

In fact, the "workers' self-government" of the Tito clique does not provide self-government on the part of the workers; it is a hoax.

The enterprises under "workers' self-government" are actually in the clutches of the new bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie represented by the Tito clique. It controls the enterprises' property and personnel and takes away much the greater part of their income.

Through the banks the Tito clique controls the credit of the entire country and the investment funds and liquid capital of all enterprises and supervises their financial affairs.

The Tito clique plunders the income of these enterprises by various means, such as the collection of taxes and interest. According to the statistics of the "Report on the Work in 1961 by the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia", it took away about three-quarters of the enterprises' net income in this way.

The Tito clique seizes the fruits of the people's labour which it appropriates chiefly for meeting the extravagant

expenses of this clique of bureaucrats, for maintaining its reactionary rule, for strengthening the apparatus which suppresses the working people, and for paying tribute to the imperialists in the form of the servicing of foreign debts.

Moreover the Tito clique controls these enterprises through their managers. The managers are nominally chosen by competition of the enterprises but are in fact appointed by the Tito clique. They are agents of the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie in these enterprises.

In the enterprises under "workers' self-government" the relations between managers and workers are actually relations between employers and employees, between the exploiters and the exploited.

As matters stand, the managers can determine the production plans and the direction of development of these enterprises, dispose of the means of production, take the decisions on the distribution of the enterprises' income, hire or fire workers and overrule the resolutions of the workers' councils or management boards.

Abundant information published in the Yugoslav press proves that the workers' council is merely formal, a kind of voting machine, and that all power in the enterprise is in the hands of the manager.

The fact that the manager of an enterprise controls its means of production and the distribution of its income enables him to appropriate the fruits of the workers' labour by means of various privileges.

The Tito clique itself admits that in these enterprises there is a wide gap between managers and workers not only in wages but also in bonuses. In some enterprises, the bonuses of the managers and higher staff are forty times those of the workers. "In certain enterprises, the total amount of the bonus which a group of leaders received is equal to the wage fund of the entire collective."*

Moreover, the managers of the enterprises use their

*Letter of the Central Committee of the L.C.Y. to its Organizations and Leaderships at all Levels, February 17, 1958.

privileges to make a lot of money by various subterfuges. Bribery, embezzlement and theft are still bigger sources of income for the managers.

The broad masses of the workers live in poverty. There is no guarantee of employment. Large numbers of workers lose their jobs with the closing down of enterprises. According to official statistics, in February 1963 the number of the unemployed reached 339,000 or about 10 per cent of the number of the employed. In addition, every year many workers go abroad seeking work.

Politika admitted on September 25, 1961 that "there exists a great gap between some workers and office employees, the former look upon the latter as 'bureaucrats' who 'swallow up' their wages'.

These facts show that in the Yugoslav enterprises under "workers' self-government" a new social group has come into being consisting of the few who appropriate the fruits of labour of the many. It is an important component of the new bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie in Yugoslavia.

By promoting "workers' self-government", the Tito clique has completely pushed the enterprises originally owned by the whole people off the path of socialist economy.

The main manifestations of this are the following:

First, the abandonment of unified economic planning by the state.

Second, the use of profits as the primary incentive in the operation of the enterprises. They may adopt a variety of methods to increase their income and profits. In other words, in the enterprises under "workers' self-government" the aim of the production is not to meet the needs of society but to seek profits, just as in any capitalist enterprise.

Third, following the policy of encouraging capitalist free competition, Tito has said to the managers of the enterprises, "Competition at home will be beneficial to our ordinary people, the consumers." The Tito clique also openly declares that it allows "competition, the seeking of profits, speculation and the like" because "they play a positive role

in promoting the initiative of the producers, their collective, the communes, etc.¹

Fourth, the use of credit and the banks as important levers to promote capitalist free competition. In granting loans, the Tito regime's credit and banking system invites tenders for investment. Whoever is capable of repaying the loan in the shortest period and paying the highest rate of interest will obtain the loan. In their words, this is "to use competition as the usual method of allocating investment credits"²

Fifth, relations among the enterprises are not socialist, of mutual support and co-ordination under a unified government plan but capitalist relations of competition and rivalry in a free market.

All this has undermined the very foundation of socialist planned economy.

Lenin said, "Socialism... is inconceivable without planned state organization which subjects tens of millions of people to the strictest observance of a single standard in production and distribution". (Lenin, *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. VII, p. 365.)

He also said, "...without all-sided state accounting and control of production and distribution of goods, the power of the toilers, the freedom of the toilers cannot be maintained and a return to the yoke of capitalism is *inevitable*." (Ibid., p. 327)

Under the signboard "workers' self-government" all the economic departments and enterprises in Yugoslavia are locked in fierce capitalist competition. It is quite common for the enterprises under "workers' self-government" to engage in embezzlement, speculation and hoarding, to inflate prices, bribe, hide technical secrets, grab technical personnel and even to attack one another in the press or over the radio in rivalry for markets and profits.

¹ Vladimir Bakaric, Report to the Fourth Congress of the League of Communists of Croatia. April 7, 1959

² Augustin Papic, "Investment Financing in Yugoslavia", *Annals of Collective Economy*, April-November 1959, Belgrade

The fierce competition among Yugoslav enterprises goes on not only in the home market but also in foreign trade. The Yugoslav press says that it is not unusual for twenty or thirty agents of Yugoslav foreign trade establishments to visit the same market abroad, compete among themselves for business and take away the others' customers or suppliers, "From selfish motives", these enterprises engaged in foreign trade seek to "make profits at any cost" and "is not choosy about their means."

The result of this fierce competition is chaos in the Yugoslav market. Prices vary considerably not only in different cities or regions but also in different shops in the same place, and even for the same kind of goods from the same producer. In order to maintain high prices, some enterprises do not hesitate to destroy large quantities of farm produce.

Another result of this fierce competition is the closing down of large numbers of enterprises in Yugoslavia. According to information provided by the *Official Bulletin of the FPRY*, five hundred to six hundred enterprises closed down annually in recent years.

All this shows that the "public" economy of Yugoslavia is governed not by the laws of socialist planned economy but by those of capitalist competition and anarchy of production. The Tito clique's enterprises under "workers' self-government" are not socialist but capitalist in nature.

We would like to ask those who are bent on reversing the verdict on the Tito clique: Unless it is your intention to deceive, how can you describe the state capitalist economy controlled by the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie as a socialist economy?

A Dependency of U.S. Imperialism

The process of the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia is interwoven with the process in which the Tito clique has become subservient towards U.S. imperialism and Yugoslavia has degenerated into a U.S. imperialist dependency.

With its betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, the Tito clique

embarked on the shameful course of selling out the sovereignty of the state and living off the alms of U.S. imperialism.

According to incomplete statistics, from the conclusion of World War II to January 1963 the United States and other imperialist powers extended to the Tito clique "aid" totaling some U.S. \$ 5,460 million, of which more than 60 per cent, or about \$3,500 million, was U.S. "aid". The greatest part of this U.S. aid was granted after 1950.

U.S. aid has been the mainstay of Yugoslavia's finances and economy. Official statistics show that in 1961 the loans the Tito clique obtained from the United States and U.S. controlled international financial organizations totalled U.S. \$346 million, or 47.4 per cent, of the federal budgetary income of Yugoslavia in that year. With the inclusion of aid from other Western countries, the money received by the Tito clique from Western countries in 1961 totalled U.S. \$493 million, or 67.6 per cent of the federal budgetary income in that year.

In order to obtain U.S. aid, the Tito clique has concluded a series of traitorous treaties with the United States.

The notes exchanged between Yugoslavia and the United States in 1951 concerning the "Agreement Relating to Mutual Defense Assistance" stipulated that U.S. Government officials have the "freedom..., without restriction", to observe and supervise the receipt and distribution in Yugoslavia of U.S. military aid material and has "full access to communication and information facilities ". The agreement also required Yugoslavia to provide the United States with *strategic raw materials*.

The "Agreement Regarding Military Assistance" signed between Yugoslavia and the United States in 1951 stipulated that Yugoslavia should "make the full contribution... to the development and maintenance of the defensive strength of the free world" and should be ready to provide troops for the United Nations. Under this agreement the military mission sent by the United States was to directly supervise the training of Yugoslav troops.

The Yugoslav-U.S. "Economic Co-operation Agreement" of 1952 stipulated that Yugoslavia must use U.S. aid for "furthering fundamental individual human rights, freedoms and democratic institutions ", that is, for furthering capitalism.

In 1954 Yugoslavia concluded a "Treaty of Alliance, Political Co-operation and Mutual Assistance" with Greece and Turkey, both members of NATO. The treaty provided for military and diplomatic co-ordination among the three countries, thus making Yugoslavia a virtual member of the U.S.-controlled military bloc.

Since 1954 Yugoslavia has concluded a series of agreements with the United States, selling out its sovereignty. More than fifty such agreements were signed in the period between 1957 and 1962.

Because of the conclusion of these treaties and agreements and because the Tito clique has made Yugoslavia dependent on U.S. imperialism, the United States enjoys the following rights in Yugoslavia:

- (1) to control its military affairs;
- (2) to control its foreign affairs;
- (3) to interfere in its internal affairs;
- (4) to manipulate and supervise its finance;
- (5) to control its foreign trade;
- (6) to plunder its strategic resources; and
- (7) to collect military and economic intelligence.

The independence and sovereignty of Yugoslavia have thus been auctioned off by the Tito clique.

In addition to selling out Yugoslavia's sovereign rights in a series of unequal treaties with the United States, the Tito clique, in order to secure U.S. aid, had taken one step after another in domestic and foreign policy to comply with Western monopoly capital's demand to penetrate Yugoslavia.

Starting from 1950 the Tito clique abolished the monopoly of foreign trade by the state.

The "Act on Foreign Trade Activities" promulgated in 1953 permitted enterprises to conduct foreign trade inde-

pendently and to have direct transactions with Western monopoly capitalist enterprises.

In 1961 the Tito regime introduced reforms in the systems of foreign exchange and foreign trade. Their main content was the further relaxation of restrictions on import and export trade. Complete liberalization was effected in the import of major semi-processed materials and certain consumers goods, and restrictions on the import of other commodities were relaxed in varying degrees. Restrictions were removed on the supply of foreign exchange needed for so-called unrestricted imports.

Everybody knows that state monopoly of foreign trade is a basic principle of socialism.

Lenin said that the industrial proletariat "is absolutely not in a position to recover our industry and to make Russia an industrial country without the protection of industry, which in no way refers to its protection by customs policy, but solely and exclusively refers to its protection by monopoly of foreign trade". (Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol XXXIII, p. 420.)

Stalin said that "the monopoly of foreign trade is one of the unshakable foundations of the platform of the Soviet Government" and that the abolition of the monopoly of foreign trade would mean "abandoning the industrialization of the country", "flooding the USSR with goods from capitalist countries", and "transforming our country from an independent country into a semicolonial one". (Stalin, *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. X, pp. 115 and 116).

To abolish the state monopoly of foreign trade, as the Tito regime has done is to throw the door wide open to imperialist monopoly capital.

What are the economic consequences of the fact that the Tito clique receives large amounts of U.S. aid and keeps Yugoslavia's door wide open to imperialism?

First, Yugoslavia has become a market for imperialist dumping.

Huge quantities of industrial goods and farm produce

from the imperialist countries have flooded the Yugoslav market.... In pursuit of profits the Yugoslav comprador capitalists, who make piles of money by serving foreign monopoly, keep on importing commodities even though they can be produced at home and even when stocks are huge. *Politika* admitted on July 25, 1961 that it "was suffering blows from the continuous and very complicated competition of foreign industry".

Secondly, Yugoslavia has become an outlet for imperialist investment,

Many Yugoslav industrial enterprises have been built with "aid" from the United States and other imperialist countries. A great deal of foreign private monopoly capital has penetrated into Yugoslavia. According to Augustin Pagic, the general manager of the Yugoslav Investment Bank, in the period between 1952 and 1956 "the participation of foreign funds reached 32.5 per cent of the total value of economic investments". U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk said on February 5, 1962 that Yugoslavia's source of capital was "largely in the West."

Thirdly, Yugoslavia has become a base from which imperialism extracts raw materials.

In accordance with the "Agreement Regarding Military Assistance", the Tito clique has since 1951 continually supplied the United States with large quantities of strategic raw materials. According to the *Statistical Yearbook of the Federal; People's Republic of Yugoslavia* of 1961, about half of Yugoslavia's exports of important metals such as magnesium, lead, zinc and antimony have gone to the United States since 1957.

Fourthly, the industrial enterprises of Yugoslavia have become assembly shops for Western monopoly capitalist companies.

Many major Yugoslav industries produce under license from Western countries and are dependent on imports of semi-processed materials, parts, spare parts and semi-manufactured production of these industries is under the control of Western monopoly capital.

In fact, many of the industrial products sold as home products in Yugoslavia are assembled from imported ready-made parts and have Yugoslav trade marks attached. *Vesnik u sredu* of April 25, 1962 said that "some of our industrial enterprises are becoming a special type of commercial organizations, which does not produce but assembles, only striking its own trade mark on the products of others."

In these circumstances, Yugoslavia has become an integral part of the world market of Western monopoly capital. In the financial and economic spheres it is tightly bound to the capitalist world market and has degenerated into a dependency of imperialism, and particularly of U.S. imperialism.

When a socialist country sells out its independence and sovereign rights and becomes an imperialist appendage, the restoration of the capitalist system is the inevitable result.

The special road of building "socialism" by relying on U.S. aid advertised by the Tito clique is nothing but a road for turning a socialist system into a capitalist system to meet the needs of imperialism, a road of degeneration from an independent country into a semi-colony.

Khrushchov insists that this dependency of U.S. imperialism is "building socialism". This is fantastic. A self styled socialism having U.S. aid as its trade mark is a new variety to be added to the bogus brands of socialism, which were criticized by Marx, Engels and Lenin, and this is presumably a great contribution on the part of Tito and Khrushchov in "creatively developing the theory of Marxism-Leninism".

A Counter-Revolutionary Special Detachment of U.S. Imperialism

Judging by the counter-revolutionary role played by the Tito clique in international relations and by its reactionary foreign policy, Yugoslavia is still farther from being a socialist country.

In the international arena the Tito clique is a special detachment of U.S. imperialism for sabotaging the world revolution.

By setting the example of restoring capitalism in Yugoslavia, the Tito clique is helping U.S. imperialism to push its policy of "peaceful evolution" inside the socialist countries.

Under the signboard of a socialist country, the Tito clique is frantically opposing and disrupting the socialist camp and serving as an active agent in the anti-China campaign.

Under the cover of non-alignment and active coexistence, the Tito clique is trying to wreck the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America and is serving U.S. colonialism.

The Tito clique spares no effort to prettify U.S. imperialism and benumb the people of the world in their struggle against the neo-imperialist policies of war and aggression.

Under the pretext of opposing "Stalinism" the Tito clique is peddling revisionist poison everywhere and opposing revolution by the people in all countries.

The Tito clique has invariably played the role of a lackey of U.S. imperialism in the major international events of the past ten years and more.

The revolution in Greece. On July 10, 1949, Tito closed the border between Yugoslavia and Greece against the Greek people's guerrillas. At the same time, he allowed the Greek fascist royalist troops to pass through Yugoslav territory in order to attack the guerrillas from the rear. In this way the Tito clique helped the U.S.-British imperialists to strangle the Greek people's revolution.

The Korean War. In a statement issued on September 6, 1950, Edvard Kardelj, who was then foreign minister, brazenly slandered the Korean people's just war of resistance to aggression and defended U.S. imperialism. On December 1, speaking at the U. N. Security Council, the representative of the Tito clique attacked China for its "active interference in the Korean War". The Tito clique also voted in the United Nations for the embargo on China and Korea.

The Vietnamese people's war of liberation. On the eve of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China in April 1954, the Tito

clique violently slandered the just struggle of the Vietnamese people, asserting that they were being used by Moscow and Peking "as a card in their post-war policy of cold war". They said of the Vietnamese people's great battle to liberate Dien Bien Phu that it was "not a gesture of goodwill".

Subversion against Albania. The Tito clique has been carrying on subversive activities and armed provocations against socialist Albania for a long time. It has engineered four major cases of treason, in 1944, 1948, 1956 and 1960. Its armed provocations on the Yugoslav-Albanian border numbered more than 470 from 1948 to 1958. In 1960 the Tito clique and the Greek reactionaries planned an armed attack on Albania in co-ordination with the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean.

The counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary. The Tito clique played a shameful role of an interventionist provocateur in the Hungarian counter-revolutionary rebellion in October 1956. After the outbreak of the rebellion, Tito published a letter supporting the counter-revolutionary measures of the traitor Nagy. On November 3, the Tito clique made Nagy to seek asylum in the Yugoslav Embassy in Hungary. In a speech on November 11, Tito characterised the counter-revolutionary rebellion as resistance by "progressives" and impudently questioned whether the "course of Yugoslavia" or the "course of Stalinism" would win.

The Middle Eastern events. In 1958 troops were sent by U.S. imperialism to occupy Lebanon and by British imperialism to occupy Jordan. There arose a worldwide wave of protest demanding the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. and British troops. At the emergency session of the U.N. General Assembly on the Middle Eastern situation Koca Popovic, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, said that "it is not a question of whether we insist on condemning or approving the actions taken by the United States and Great Britain".

He advocated intervention by the United Nations, an organization which is under the control of U.S. imperialism.

The event in the Taiwan Straits. In the autumn of 1958, the Chinese People's Liberation Army shelled Quemoy in order to counter the U.S. imperialist provocations in the Taiwan Straits and to punish the Chiang Kaishek gang which is a U.S. imperialist lackey. The Tito clique maligned China's just struggle as "a danger to the whole world" and "harmful to peace".

The U-2 incident. In 1960 the United States sent a U-2 spy plane to intrude into the Soviet Union and sabotaged the four power summit conference scheduled to be held in Paris. On May 17 Tito issued a statement attacking the correct stand then taken by the Soviet Government as creating "such large-scale disputes."

The Japanese people's patriotic struggle against the United States. In June 1960 the Japanese people waged a just and patriotic struggle against the United States, which was unprecedented in its scale. But the Tito clique defended U.S. imperialism, saying that the U.S. occupation of Japan "promoted the democratization of political life in Japan".

Subsequently, it attacked the statement of Inejiro Asanuma, the late President of the Japanese Socialist Party, that "U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the Japanese and Chinese peoples" accusing him of "standing for an extremist line".

The struggle of the Indonesian people. The Tito clique tried to sabotage the Indonesian people's struggle against imperialism. It engaged in base activities in an effort to prevent the establishment of a "Nasakom" cabinet in Indonesia, that is, a government of national unity comprising the nationalists, religious circles and the Communists.

*The Congo event. In the summer of 1960, when U.S. imperialism carried out armed aggression in the Congo under the flag of the United Nations, the Tito clique not only voted for U.S. imperialism in the United Nations but, in accordance with the desire of U.S. imperialism sent air force personnel to the Congo to take direct part in the bloody suppression of the Congolese people.

The Laotian question. When U.S. imperialism stepped up

its intervention in Laos in January 1961, the Tito clique spread the view that the United States "is really concerned for the peace and neutralization of Laos". When U.S. imperialism engineered political assassinations and armed conflicts in Laos in May 1963, the Tito clique attacked the Laotian patriotic forces for "putting all the blame on the United States".

The U.S. Alliance for Progress Programme. In August 1961 the United States forced various Latin American countries to sign the Alliance for Progress Programme, which was a new U.S. imperialist instrument for the enslavement of the Latin American people. The aggressive programme was strongly opposed by the Latin American people but was praised by the Tito clique as "meeting in a large measure the requirements of the Latin American countries".

The Cuban revolution and the Caribbean crisis. The Tito clique has made numerous comments attacking Cuba, saying that Cuba "believes only in revolution" and that the Cuban revolution is "not so much a model as an exception to the road of revolution". During the Caribbean crisis in the autumn of 1962, the Tito clique defended U.S. imperialist aggression, saying that "the difficulties started when the Cuban revolution trod on the pet corn of the U.S. companies and that "if it is said that the United States was irritated by the establishment of rocket bases in Cuba in its close neighbourhood, that would be understandable"

From all this people cannot fail to see that for the past ten years and more the Tito clique has desperately opposed the socialist countries, tried to sabotage the national liberation movement, maligned the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people in all countries and actively served imperialism, and especially U.S. imperialism.

Khrushchov has said repeatedly that there is "unanimity" and "accord" between the leadership of the CPSU and the Tito clique in their positions on international problems. Well, then, we would like to ask whether or not there is unanimity or accord between your activities and the counter-revolutionary crimes of the Tito clique. Please answer, if you have the courage.

The Degeneration of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat into the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie

In the final analysis, the fact that capitalism has swamped Yugoslavia in both town and country, the degeneration of an economy owned by the whole people into a state capitalist economy and the decline of Yugoslavia into a dependency of U.S. imperialism are all due to the degeneration of the Party and state power in Yugoslavia.

Fighting heroically against the German and Italian Fascist aggressors during World War II, the Communist Party and people of Yugoslavia overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism and its lackey in Yugoslavia and established the people's democratic state power under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Not long afterwards, the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist Party betrayed Marxism-Leninism and embarked on the path of revisionism, bringing about the gradual degeneration of the Party and state power in Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Communist Party had a glorious tradition of revolutionary struggles. The betrayal of the Tito clique met first of all with strong resistance inside the party. To suppress this resistance, the Tito clique used its power to expel and purge from the Party a great number of Communists loyal to Marxism-Leninism. In the period from 1948 to 1952 alone more than 200,000 Party members or half the original membership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, were expelled. Taking action against the so-called Cominform elements, it arrested and slaughtered large numbers of Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary cadres and people, the number of Communists and active revolutionaries arrested and imprisoned alone exceeding thirty thousand. At the same time, the Tito clique opened the door wide to counter-revolutionaries, bourgeois elements, all kinds of anti-socialist elements and careerists seeking position and wealth through their membership cards. In November 1952 the Tito clique declared that "the appellation Party no longer fits" and changed the name, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, into the League

of Communists of Yugoslavia. In violation of the will of all honest Communists in Yugoslavia, it changed the character of the Yugoslav Communist Party as the vanguard of the proletariat and made the L.C.Y. the virtual instrument for maintaining its dictatorial rule.

In the socialist countries, state power is under the leadership of communist political parties. With the degeneration of a communist party into a bourgeois political party, state power inevitably degenerates from the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Yugoslavia was the fruit of the protracted and heroic struggle of the Yugoslav people. But as the Tito clique turned renegade, this state power changed its nature.

The Tito clique has declared, "The means of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, *i.e.* of the socialist state system, become increasingly unnecessary".

But is there no dictatorship in Yugoslavia any longer? Yes, there is. While the dictatorship of the proletariat is indeed no more, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie not only exists, but is a brutal fascist dictatorship at that.

The Tito regime has set up many fascist prisons and concentration camps, where tens of thousands of revolutionaries have been tortured to death by every kind of inhuman punishment. At the same time, the Tito regime has pardoned large numbers of counter-revolutionaries and traitors in the anti-fascist war. Replying to a United Press correspondent on January 7, 1951, Tito admitted that 11,000 political prisoners had been pardoned in Yugoslavia. On March 13, 1962 another 150,000 counter-revolutionaries living in exile abroad were pardoned. The dictatorship over these enemies of the people was indeed abolished and they obtained "democracy". Whatever fine-sounding phrases the Tito clique may use, its "democracy" is only a democracy for the small number of old and new bourgeois elements; for the working people it is out-and-out dictatorship. The Tito clique has transformed the revolutionary state machinery,

which was built up to suppress the small minority of exploiters, into a state machinery for suppressing the proletariat and the broad masses.

The degeneration of the state power in Yugoslavia occurred not through the overthrow of the original state power by violence and the establishment of a new state power, but through "peaceful evolution". In appearance, the same people remain in power, but in essence these people no longer represent the interests of the workers, peasants and the working people but those of imperialism and the old and new bourgeoisie of Yugoslavia.

Utilizing state power and controlling the economic life-line of the country, the Tito clique exploited the Yugoslav working people to the utmost extent and brought into being a bureaucrat-capitalist class. Being dependent on U.S. imperialism, this class is strongly comprador in character and is also a comprador-capitalist class. The state power controlled by the Tito clique is that of the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie.

The above facts show from various aspects that the policy pursued by the Tito regime is one of restoring and developing capitalism, namely of reducing Yugoslavia to a semi-colony or a dependency.

The degeneration of the state power in Yugoslavia has led to the destruction of the socialist economic system and the restoration of a capitalist economic system. When a new bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie has gradually come into being with the reestablishment of the capitalist economic system in a new form, it demands the intensification of the bourgeois dictatorship and the development of a political system suited to the capitalist economic system so as to consolidate its ruling position.

This is how the process from the degeneration of the Party and state power to the restoration of capitalism in the entire social and economic system has been realized step by step in Yugoslavia. The process of degeneration has gone on for fifteen years. This is the record of how a socialist state "peacefully evolves" into a capitalist state.

The Tito clique maintains its rule in Yugoslavia by relying on U.S. imperialist support, the state machine of the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie, the labour aristocracy brought by it, and the rich peasants in the countryside. At the same time, it uses various cunning means to disguise its reactionary features and hoodwink the people. But its reactionary policies are extremely unpopular. The degeneration of the socialist state into a capitalist state, the degeneration of an independent country into a semi-colony or a dependency of imperialism, runs counter to the basic interests of the Yugoslav people, and cannot but be opposed by all the honest Communists and the overwhelming majority of the people of Yugoslavia.

We are in deep sympathy with the people and Communists of Yugoslavia in their present predicament. Although the Tito clique can ride roughshod over the people for a time, we are confident that whatever high-handed measures and whatever tricks of deception it may resort to, no ruling group will come to a good end once it is against the people. The Tito clique is of course no exception. The deceived people will gradually wake up in the end. The people and Communists of Yugoslavia who have a glorious history will not submit to the renegade Tito clique for ever. The future of the Yugoslav people is bright.

The Principled Stand of the CPC on the Question of Yugoslavia

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU asserts that for a time "the CPC leaders had no doubt; as to the nature of the socialist system in Yugoslavia", and that now the Chinese leaders "have drastically changed their position on the Yugoslavian question".

True, Yugoslavia was once a socialist state. For a time the country advanced along the path of socialism.

But soon after, owing to the Tito clique's betrayal, the Yugoslav social system began to degenerate step by step.

In 1954, when Khrushchov proposed to improve relations

with Yugoslavia, we agreed to treat it as a fraternal socialist country for the purpose of winning it back to the path of socialism and watching how the Tito clique would develop.

We did not entertain very much hope for the Tito clique even then. In its letter of June 10, 1954, to the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Central Committee of the CPC pointed out that the fact should be taken into account that as the leaders of Yugoslavia had already gone quite far in their dealings with imperialism, they might reject our effort to win it over and refuse to return to the path of socialism; "but even though this should occur it would not involve any political loss to the camp of peace, democracy and socialism— on the contrary, it would further expose the hypocrisy of the Yugoslav leaders before the people of Yugoslavia and of the world".

Unfortunately, our words have proved all too true! Indeed the Tito clique has flatly rejected our effort to win it over and gone farther and farther along the path of revisionism.

After it refused to sign the 1957 Declaration, the Tito clique put forward its out-and-out revisionist programme in 1958 and set this banner of modern revisionism against the 1957 Declaration which is the common programme acknowledged by all Communist and Workers' Parties. The process of restoring capitalism in Yugoslavia has been realized step by step. And internationally, the Tito clique is serving more and more energetically as a counter-revolutionary special detachment of U.S. imperialism.

In these circumstances, the attitude every Marxist-Leninist party should take towards the Tito clique is no longer the one it should take towards a fraternal party or a fraternal country nor should it be that of winning the Tito clique over, but it should be one of thoroughly exposing and firmly combating this gang of renegades. The 1960 Statement has given its clear conclusion on this point.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU has deliberately evaded the series of important events which

occurred after the meeting of the fraternal Parties in November 1957 and also the conclusions unanimously reached at the meeting of the fraternal parties in 1960, and tries to defend the erroneous stand of the leadership of the CPSU by quoting a sentence from the editorial on Yugoslavia in *Renmin Ribao* of September 12, 1957. This is futile.

The facts prove that our position with regard to the Tito clique conforms with reality is a principled position, and is in accord with the common agreement of the meeting of the fraternal parties in 1960. On the other hand, the leaders of the CPSU have tried in a thousand and one ways to reverse the verdict on the Tito clique, which testifies to their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, their abandonment of the 1960 Statement and their rendering of assistance to the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in deceiving the people of Yugoslavia and of the whole world.

Has Tito "Removed his Errors"?

Or Does Khrushchov Regard Tito as his Teacher?

Khrushchov says that the Yugoslav leaders have removed very much of what was considered erroneous. But the Titoites do not admit that they have committed any errors, much less removed them. The Titoites say that they have "no need" to correct any error and that "it would just be a waste of time" and "simply superfluous and ridiculous" to expect them, to do so.

Let us look at the facts. Have the Titoites changed their revisionist programme? No, they have not. Have they accepted the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement? No, they have not. Have they changed their revisionist domestic and foreign policies? Again, no.

The new constitution adopted by the Yugoslav Federal People's Assembly in April 1963 most clearly shows that the Tito clique has not in the least changed its revisionist stand, The constitution is the legal embodiment of the out-and-out revisionist programme of the Tito clique. Edvard Kardelj said in his report on the draft of the new constitution

that it is the “legal-political and organizational embodiment” of the concepts of the programme of the L.C.Y.

Khrushchov is warmly fraternizing with the Tito clique not because it has corrected any of its errors but because he is following in Tito's footsteps.

Consider the following facts:

1. Tito denounces Stalin in order to oppose Marxism-Leninism in its very fundamentals. Khrushchov completely negates Stalin for the same purpose.

2. Both Tito and Khrushchov repudiate the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism, both malign as dogmatists the Chinese and other Communists who firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism, and both describe their own revision of Marxism-Leninism as a “creative development” of Marxism-Leninism.

3. Both Tito and Khrushchov laud the chieftains of U.S. imperialism. Tito says that Eisenhower “is a man who persistently defends peace”, and that Kennedy's effort “will be helpful to the improvement of international relations and to the peaceful settlement of pressing world problems”, Khrushchov says that Eisenhower “has a sincere desire for peace” and that Kennedy “shows solicitude for the preservation of peace”.

4. Both Tito and Khrushchov play up the horrors of nuclear war in order to intimidate the people of the world into abandoning revolutionary struggle. Tito says that once a nuclear war breaks out, it will be the ‘annihilation of mankind’. Likewise, Khrushchov says that once a nuclear war breaks out, “we will destroy our Noah's Ark—the globe”.

Both Tito and Khrushchov preach that a world without weapons, without armed forces and without wars can be brought into being while imperialism still exists.

6. Tito proclaims that “active peaceful coexistence” is the cornerstone of Yugoslavia's foreign policy, while Khrushchov declares that peaceful coexistence is the “general line of the foreign policy” of the Soviet Union.

7. Both Tito and Khrushchov proclaim that the possibility

of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism has increased. The Tito clique says that "mankind is irresistibly entering a long way into the era of socialism through different ways". Khrushchov says that the road of the October Revolution can be replaced by the "parliamentary road".

8. Tito advocates the introduction of "political and economic integration" of the world through "peaceful competition". Khrushchov also advocates "all-round co-operation" with imperialism through "peaceful economic competition".

9. The Tito clique sabotages the national liberation movement and national liberation wars in every way, Khrushchov opposes the national liberation movement and national liberation wars on the pretext that "any small local war might spark off the conflagration of a world war".

10. The Tito clique has renounced the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the slogan of "the state of the whole people", Khrushchov also renounces the dictatorship of the proletariat.

11. The Tito clique denies that the Communist Party should be the vanguard of the working class. Likewise, Khrushchov says that the CPSU "has become the party of the entire people".

12. The Tito clique, flaunting the "non-bloc" label is opposing the socialist camp. Khrushchov also says that "expressions like blocs *etc.*, are temporary phenomena". They both want to liquidate the socialist camp.

From these facts one must conclude that, both in domestic and foreign policy, Khrushchov really regards Tito as his teacher and is sliding down the path of revisionism hard on Tito's heels.

Khrushchov has abandoned Marxism-Leninism, scrapped the 1960 Statement and wallowed in the mire with the renegade Tito clique, in complete violation of the interests of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and the people of the whole world. This will not be tolerated by the great Soviet people, the overwhelming majority of the members of the CPSU and cadres at various levels, all of whom have a

glorious revolutionary tradition.

The great Soviet people and the membership of the CPSU will never agree with Khrushchov's collusion with the Tito clique in opposition to the fraternal Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism.

The great Soviet people and the membership of the CPSU will never agree with Khrushchov's collusion with the Tito clique and collaboration with imperialism in opposing socialist China, Albania and other fraternal countries and in disrupting the socialist camp.

The great Soviet people and the membership of the CPSU will never agree with Khrushchov's collusion with the Tito clique and collaboration with the reactionaries of all countries in opposition to the people of the world and to revolution.

The great Soviet people and the membership of the CPSU will never agree with Khrushchov's efforts to follow the example of the Yugoslav revisionists, change the nature of the Party and the state and pave the way for the restoration of capitalism.

Khrushchov has caused dark clouds to overcast the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world. But this can only be an interlude in the history of CPSU and of the Soviet Union. People who are deceived and hoodwinked for a time will gradually wake up in the end. History has confirmed, and will continue to confirm, that whoever wants to turn back the Soviet people in their advance is like the grasshopper in the fable which wanted to stop the chariot. He will never succeed in his aim.

Brief Conclusion

The restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia provides a new historical lesson to the international communist movement.

This lesson shows us that when the working class has seized power, struggle continues between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, struggle for victory continues between the two roads of capitalism and socialism, and there is a

danger that capitalism may be restored. Yugoslavia presents a typical example of the restoration of capitalism.

It shows us that not only is it possible for a working class party to fall under the control of a labour aristocracy, degenerate into a bourgeois party and become a flunky of imperialism. Before it seizes power, but even after it seizes power it is possible for a working class party to fall under the control of new bourgeois elements, degenerate into a bourgeois party and become a flunky of imperialism. The league of Communists of Yugoslavia typifies such degeneration.

It shows us that the restoration of capitalism in a socialist country can be achieved not necessarily through a counter-revolutionary *coup d'etat* or armed imperialist invasion and that it can also be achieved through the degradation of the leading group in that country. The easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. Yugoslavia provides a typical case in point.

It shows us that revisionism is the product of imperialist policy. Old-line revisionism arose as a result of the imperialist policy of buying over and fostering a labour aristocracy. Modern revisionism has arisen in the same way. Sparring no cost, imperialism has now extended scope of its operations and is buying over leading groups in socialist countries and pursues through them its desired policy of "peaceful evolution". U.S. imperialism regards Yugoslavia as the "bellwether" because it has set an example in this respect.

The restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia will make all Marxist-Leninists see better and enable people to realize more keenly the necessity and urgency of combating modern revisionism.

So long as imperialism exists, there is apparently no ground for saying that the danger of the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries has been eliminated.

The leaders of the CPSU proclaim that they have already eliminated the danger of the restoration of capitalism and are building communism. If this were true, it would of course

be heartening. But we see that in fact they are imitating Yugoslavia in every way and have taken a most dangerous road. This deeply worries and pains us.

Out of our warm love for the great Soviet Union and the great CPSU, we would like sincerely to appeal to the leaders of the CPSU : Comrades and friends! Do not follow the Yugoslav road. Turn back at once. Or it will be too late!

Let Us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement

Editorial in "People's Daily", 27 January, 1963.

The Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany was held from January 15 to January 21.

In their attempts to stop the successful development of the people's struggles for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism, the imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the Yugoslav revisionists are at the present time using every means to disrupt the unity of the peoples of the world and especially the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement. The Communists of all countries and all progressive mankind are deeply worried and disturbed over the ever-increasing harm that is being done to the unity of the international communist ranks, and they are eagerly demanding the ironing out of differences and the strengthening of unity in the common struggle against the enemy on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

It was our hope that, meeting in these circumstances, the Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany would contribute to the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement by adhering to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. The German Democratic Republic stands on the western front of the socialist camp, and is facing the menace of the West German militarism backed by U.S. imperialism. The spearhead of the struggle should naturally have been directed against our common enemies; there was not the slightest reason for this Congress

to repeat practices which grieve those near and dear to us all and gladden the enemy.

Unfortunately, events at the Congress ran counter to our hope. The outstanding features of the Congress were that while much was said about stopping attacks and strengthening unity among the fraternal Parties, extremely crude attacks were continued against the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties, attacks which further widen differences and damage unity, and that while much was said about supporting the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, brazen attempts, which were in open violation of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, were made to reverse the verdict passed on the Tito clique of renegades to Marxism-Leninism.

When in the course of his speech the head of the Chinese Communist Party Delegation, which attended the Congress by invitation, quoted and discussed the criticisms of Yugoslav revisionism made in the Moscow Statement, the executive chairman of the Congress repeatedly stopped him. Prompted by this cue, there was an uproar of booing, whistling and foot-stamping in the Congress hall. It is indeed strange and almost incredible for such a phenomenon to occur in the international communist movement. When the delegate of the Chinese Communist Party ended his speech the executive chairman of the Congress went so far as to protest. He stated that he "most decidedly rejected" the criticism of Yugoslav revisionism made by the delegate of the Communist Party of China and described it as "contradicting all the norms prevailing among Communist and Revolutionary Workers' Parties". Following this, the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* attacked the delegate of the Communist Party of China for his criticism of Yugoslav revisionism, stating that it was "utterly impermissible".

This Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has posed the following vitally important question to the Communists of the whole world: Are the ranks of the international communist movement to be united or not?

there to be genuine unity or sham unity? On what basis is there to be unity—is there to be unity on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, or “unity” on the basis of the Yugoslav revisionist programme or on some other basis? In other words, are differences to be ironed out and unity strengthened, or are differences to be widened and a split created?

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

The Chinese Communist Party has always held that the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement is the reliable guarantee of victory for the revolution of the people in all countries, for the struggle against imperialism and its running dogs, for the cause of world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism, and for the communist cause throughout the world. The basis for such unity is Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960. These two documents of vital and historic importance were unanimously agreed upon by the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries and constitute the common programme of the international communist movement. Only by strict adherence to them is it possible to strengthen unity and is it possible to have genuine unity. Violation of these two documents can only result in the undermining of unity or in a sham unity. It is the sacred duty of Communists in all countries resolutely to uphold both the revolutionary principles and the common principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries laid down in the Moscow Declaration and the

Moscow Statement and to wage an uncompromising struggle against all words and deeds violating the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

The Communist Party of China has consistently worked to uphold and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement. In 1956, the imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the Yugoslav revisionists organized a world-wide anti-Soviet and anti-Communist onslaught and engineered a counter-revolutionary revolt in Hungary. Together with other fraternal Parties the Communist Party of China waged a resolute struggle, thus safeguarding Marxism-Leninism and defending the socialist camp. Through their joint efforts and full consultations at the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings the other fraternal Parties and the Chinese Communist Party formulated a common line for the international communist movement and established common principles guiding the mutual relations of fraternal Parties and countries. At these two meetings, we conducted a necessary struggle against certain wrong tendencies detrimental to unity and also made necessary compromises on certain matters, thus contributing to the unanimous agreement reached at the meetings.

At the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1961, when there occurred the first serious incident in which one Party at its own Congress made an open attack by name on another fraternal Party, that is, on the Albanian Party of Labour, the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party voiced firm opposition and proffered sincere advice. There and then we pointed out that a practice of this kind "does not help unity and is not helpful to resolving problems. To bring a dispute between fraternal Parties and fraternal countries into the open in the face of the enemy cannot be regarded as a serious Marxist-Leninist attitude. Such an attitude will only grieve those near and dear to us and gladden our enemies. The Communist Party of China sincerely hopes that fraternal Parties which have disputes or differences between them will unite afresh on the

basis of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of mutual respect for independence and equality". It is regrettable that our efforts failed to prevent a further deterioration in Soviet-Albanian relations. Our good intentions were even subjected to repeated censure by certain people.

In its desire to uphold the principles guiding the mutual relations of fraternal Parties and countries and to strengthen unity, the Chinese Communist Party in April 1962 gave its active support to the proposals made by some fraternal Parties for easing relations and improving the atmosphere, and in a letter to the fraternal Party concerned, formally expressed its opinion that a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries should be convened to iron out differences and strengthen unity through comradely discussion and consultation. We also pointed out that, prior to such a meeting, all fraternal Parties should make extensive preparations, including the cessation of radio and press attacks on another fraternal Party, in order to create favourable conditions for the meeting and ensure its success.

To our great distress, these positive proposals of the Communist Party of China and some other fraternal Parties have not evoked a corresponding response from the fraternal Party concerned. On the contrary, the practice of violating the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries, and especially the vicious practice of openly attacking other fraternal Parties by name at a Party Congress, has gone from bad to worse. At every one of the recent Congresses of fraternal Parties the attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour were continued and attacks were made against the Communist Party of China, while at one Congress the Korean Workers' Party, too, was attacked.

This adverse current, which runs counter to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and which is disrupting the unity of the international communist movement, reached a new climax at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. There, the Yugoslav revisionist

clique was shielded in many ways, while the fraternal Party delegate who criticized Yugoslav revisionism in accordance with the Moscow Statement was treated in an utterly uncomradely and rude manner. Such behaviour is extremely vulgar as well as completely futile. In the view of certain comrades, adherence to the principles of the Moscow Statement, which had been unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties, was utterly impermissible and illegitimate while the Yugoslav revisionism condemned by the Moscow Statement was to be welcomed and was legitimate. On the one hand, they wantonly attacked comrades who adhere to Marxism-Leninism, and on the other, they talked *volubly* of uniting with out-and-out revisionists. On the one hand, they used every conceivable method to deprive delegates of fraternal Parties opposing Yugoslav revisionism of the opportunity to speak, and on the other, they applauded the betrayers of Marxism-Leninism.

This outrageous practice was all the more serious because it was carefully planned.

Here we must state in all seriousness that the international communist movement is at a critical juncture. The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement—the common basis of the unity of the Communist and Worker's Parties of all countries—are in great danger of being publicly torn up. The unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement is under a grave threat.

In the international communist movement of today, one's attitude towards Yugoslav revisionism is not a minor but a major question; it is a question that concerns not just one detail or another but the whole. It is a question of whether to adhere to Marxism-Leninism or to wallow in the mire with the Yugoslav revisionists, whether to take the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement as the foundations of unity or to take the Yugoslav revisionist programme or something else as the foundation of "unity", and whether genuinely to strengthen unity or merely to pay lip service to unity while in fact creating a split. In the final analysis, i

is a question of whether to adhere strictly to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement or to tear them up.

The Moscow Statement of 1960 unequivocally declares:

“The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist “theories” in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the L.C.Y against the international communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called “aid” from U.S. and other imperialists and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle. The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the communist movement and the working class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties.”

The stand taken by the Chinese Communist Party *vis-à-vis* Yugoslav revisionism is exactly that prescribed in the Moscow Statement, a stand which should be taken and must be taken by all Marxist-Leninist Parties. It is the exact antithesis of the stand of the Yugoslav revisionists, who are fundamentally opposed both to the Moscow Declaration and to the Moscow Statement and who set their revisionist programme against the common programme of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries. In the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Tito clique deny the basic antagonism between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp and advocate what they call the “extra-bloc” stand; they deny the theory of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship and maintain that the

capitalist countries can “peacefully grow into” socialism; they describe ownership by the whole people in the socialist countries as “state capitalism” and regard Marxism-Leninism as obsolete. All this is as incompatible with the Marxist-Leninist theses of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement as fire with water.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia declared in the communiqué of the Ninth Plenum of its Central Committee issued in December 1957 after the Moscow meeting of the same year :

“The plenum considers that the delegation, pursuing the political line of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, acted correctly by not taking part in the meeting of the Communist and Workers’ Parties of the twelve socialist countries and by not signing the declaration of that meeting, which contains some attitudes and appraisals contrary to the attitude of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which considers them incorrect.”

As for the Moscow Statement, the Tito clique has made wilder attacks on it. The same Vlahovic, who was given a delirious ovation by some people at the recent Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany as the representative of the Tito clique, declared in February 1961 at the enlarged meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia:

“The Moscow Conference followed the line of seeking a compromise between different standpoints and tendencies the line of ‘setting patterns and mechanical levelling and of establishing uniform tactical rules for the struggle’. Thus within the framework of a single statement there are to be found standpoints and tendencies reflecting contemporary objective social developments in the world mixed together with bureaucratic-dogmatic conceptions, the most obvious of which is the position taken towards socialist Yugoslavia.’

The resolution on the Moscow Statement adopted at the same meeting said that “the Moscow Statement ...can have only harmful consequences not merely for the cause o

socialism but also for the efforts to consolidate peace throughout the world”.

Is it or is it not right to criticize Yugoslav revisionism? There should have been no doubt about this in the international communist ranks. The principled stand taken by the Chinese Communist Party in firmly opposing Yugoslav revisionism was approved by the other fraternal Parties. We may all recall that, at the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party in June 1958, Comrade Khrushchov said that “the Chinese comrades and also the other fraternal Parties are rightly and profoundly criticizing the revisionist propositions of the draft programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia”.

We also remember that at the previous Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, that is, at its Fifth Congress held in July 1958, there was no difference of opinion among Communist and Workers’ Parties on whether Yugoslav revisionism should be criticized. Comrade Khrushchov then said:

“The anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist views of the Yugoslav leaders were subjected to thoroughgoing principled criticism by the Communist Party of China, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and all the other fraternal Parties. In decisions taken by their leading bodies and in articles in the Party press, all the parties took a clear-cut position and condemned those views, paying considerable attention to a critical analysis of them. And this was correct”

He also said:

“...When the Yugoslav leaders declare they are Marxist-Leninists and use Marxism-Leninism only as a cover to mislead gullible people and divert them from the path of revolutionary class struggle charted by Marx and Lenin, they want to wrest from the hands of the working class its sharpest class weapon. Whether they wish to or not, they are helping the class enemy of the working people and in return for this they are given loans; in return for this the imperialists praise their “independent” policy of “no blocs”, which the reactionary

forces make use of in an attempt to undermine our socialist camp.”

He added:

“In their speeches and official documents the Yugoslav leaders have outlined openly revisionist views that are contrary to the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism. They have taken a clearly schismatic, revisionist line and by so doing are helping the enemies of the working class in the fight against communism, in the imperialists’ fight against the Communist Parties and against the unity of the international revolutionary working-class movement.”

He went on to say:

“In essence, the programme of the Yugoslav leadership is a worse version of a whole series of revisionist platforms held by Right-wing Social-Democrats. Consequently the Yugoslav leaders have not been drawn to the path of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist teachings; they have followed the path laid down by revisionists and opportunists of the Second International—Bernstein, Kautsky and other renegades. In actual fact they have now joined forces with Karl Kautsky’s offspring— his son Benedict,…”

We cannot understand why some comrades, who formerly took the correct stand of criticizing Yugoslav revisionism, should have now made an about-turn of 180 degrees.

It has been claimed that this was because “the Yugoslav leaders have removed very much of what was considered erroneous”. Unfortunately, the Tito clique themselves have never admitted to having made any mistakes, let alone remove them.

It is indeed subjectivism pure and simple to assert that the Tito clique have “removed “ their mistakes. We would ask the apologists for the Tito clique to listen to the Titoists’ own statements.

As early as April 1958, Tito declared at the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia: “It would just be a waste of time for any quarters to expect us to retreat from our principled position on international and internal questions.”

In 1959, Kardelj, another leader of the Tito clique, stated even more bluntly in a pamphlet, "...and now the critics insistently urge on us what they themselves have begun to renounce, and criticize us for what they themselves have begun to accept."

Only recently, in December 1962, the moment he alighted from the train on his return from the Soviet Union, Tito said in Belgrade, "Discussions... about how Yugoslavia will now change her policy are simply superfluous and ridiculous. We have no need to change our policy." He added a few days later, "I said there [in the Soviet Union] that there is no possibility of Yugoslavia's changing her foreign policy."

These statements by Tito and Kardelj demonstrate the Tito clique's firm denial of any change in their revisionist line and policies. In fact, they have not changed at all. What were the apologists for the Tito clique doing if not lying when they said that the Tito clique "have removed very much of what was considered erroneous"?

Certain people have lately been talking a lot about how their views on many problems are coming closer to or agreeing with those of the Tito clique. We would ask, since there has not been any change in the revisionist line and policies of the Tito clique, does it not follow that the makers of these statements are themselves moving closer to the revisionist line and policies of the Tito clique?

What is particularly astonishing is that certain people have publicly declared the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement to be a "stereotyped formula". They do not allow any fraternal Party to expose and condemn Yugoslav revisionism. Whoever insists on condemning Yugoslav revisionism, they say, "follows the jungle laws of capitalism" and "adopts this same jungle morality". One might ask, what is the object of describing the Moscow Statement, which was unanimously agreed upon by eighty-one fraternal Parties as "a stereotyped formula" or "the jungle laws of capitalism"? Is it not the object to tear up the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement? If it is "jungle morality" to condemn

Yugoslav revisionism in accordance with the Moscow Statement, what kind of morality is the violation of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and the eagerness to "strangle" a fraternal Party and fraternal country?

We also note that Comrade Togliatti has gone so far as to say: "...This amply justifies the stand which we and others have taken towards the Yugoslav comrades, hence correcting the resolution of 1960 [the Moscow Statement unanimously agreed upon by the eighty-one fraternal Parties—*People's Daily* ed.] which is wrong on this point". We want to ask what right has Comrade Togliatti to declare one part or another of the Moscow Statement, which was unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties, to be wrong? What right has he to "correct" or tear up a solemn international agreement at will? If one or several Parties may do as they please in "correcting" agreements unanimously reached by all the Communist and Workers' Parties, will it be possible to speak of any principle that all must abide by?

Certain people are contemptuous of solemn documents adopted unanimously by the international communist movement; they not only refuse to abide by documents which bear their own signatures, but abuse others for abiding by them. Clearly, this is perfidy.

Here we should like to emphasize that those who are zealously engaged in reversing the verdict on the Tito clique are trying to make a breach in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement on the Yugoslav issue and then to tear them up completely. Were their scheme to succeed, it would be tantamount to declaring that the criticisms of Yugoslav revisionism made by all Communist and Workers' Parties over these years are wrong and the traitorous Tito clique is right, that the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are wrong and the Yugoslav revisionist programme is right, that the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism have become obsolete and modern revisionism can no longer be opposed, still less be treated as the main danger in the international communist movement, and that we should all

follow at the heels of the Tito clique and "join forces with Karl Kautsky's offspring—his son Benedict"?

Were this to happen, the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement would have to be completely changed and the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism would have to be replaced by the capitulationist line of revisionism. Were this to happen, what possible common basis would there be for unity among the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries? Is this not a deliberate attempt to create a split in the international communist movement?

The urgent task now facing the Communist and Workers' Parties is to defend the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and to uphold and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. We resolutely uphold unity on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and we resolutely oppose "unity" on the basis of the Yugoslav revisionist programme or on some other basis. Together with all fraternal Parties, the Chinese Communist Party will work indefatigably to this end.

The proletarian cause has always been international. To be victorious in this common cause, Communists of all countries must unite and wage a common struggle. Without the unity and solidarity of proletarian internationalism, the revolutionary cause cannot be victorious and consolidate its victory in any country.

The only correct way to uphold and strengthen this kind of unity is to abide by the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and fraternal countries laid down in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

The principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries, as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, are as follows: the principle of unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; the principle of mutual support and mutual

assistance; the principle of independence and equality; and the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation.

The primary test of a Communist's sincerity in upholding the unity of the international communist movement is whether he conscientiously abides by the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries.

The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, the two international documents unanimously agreed upon by the Communist and Workers' Parties, are binding on all the fraternal Parties. These Parties have the obligation to abide by them and have absolutely no right to wreck them. No single party or group of Parties have right to change them or to declare them null and void. In the international communist movement, the resolutions of any one fraternal Party, whether right or wrong, and however important the place and the role of that Party, can be binding on that Party alone. According to the principles laid down in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, it is impermissible to impose the programme, resolutions, lines or policies of any one Party on other fraternal Parties, or to require other fraternal Parties to obey the irresponsible self-contradictory statements made by the leader of a Party who talks one way today and another tomorrow, as if those statements were imperial decrees; and it is more impermissible for one or more Parties wantonly to kick out one or another fraternal Party from the international communist movement or pull in renegades to Marxism-Leninism.

Since the international situation is complicated and is changing rapidly and since each fraternal Party finds itself in different circumstances, the emergence of different views among fraternal Parties on one question or another can hardly be avoided. The important thing is that, once differences have emerged among fraternal Parties, they should iron out their differences and achieve unanimity through inter-Party consultation on the basis of equality, basing themselves on the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. In no circumstances should they make the differences among

the fraternal Parties public in the face of the enemy, nor should they make use of the press and other propaganda media for open attacks on other fraternal Parties, and still less should they make use of Congresses of one Party for this purpose. Clearly, if open attacks are directed against one fraternal Party today and another tomorrow, will there be any unity of the international communist movement to speak of?

We hold that continuing to make attacks while talking about one's desire to halt them is not the attitude an honest Communist should take. As the leader of the Korean Workers' Party delegation at the recent Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany pointed out:

"At this Congress which is not an international meeting of fraternal Parties, there has been some talk of ending open disputes over differences of view and strengthening unity, and yet differences of view among the fraternal Parties have again been brought up, and in particular there has been unilateral criticism of the Chinese Communist Party. We maintain that this cannot be regarded as a friendly and comradely attitude and that such an attitude is not conducive to the unity and unanimity which we are all calling for."

Better a single good deed contributing to unity than a thousand empty words about unity. It is time to rein in on the brink of the precipice! To do so late in the day is better than not to do it at all. We sincerely hope that the fraternal Party which launched the first attack will suit its action to its words, take the initiative, and return to the path of inter-Party consultation on the basis of equality, to the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

The Communist Party of China is profoundly conscious of the duty incumbent on it to uphold and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement. As always, we shall spare no effort in making our contribution in this connection. The Communist Party of China has advocated on more than one occasion, and still advocates, the convening of a meeting of representatives of

the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries at which all can sit down calmly, and through adequate and comradely discussion, harmonize their viewpoints, iron out their differences and strengthen their unity on a new basis. Together with all other fraternal Parties, we desire to take every possible step towards easing relations and strengthening unity, in order to improve the atmosphere and create the conditions necessary for convening the meeting of fraternal Parties.

Today, the imperialists headed by the United States and all the reactionaries are frantically and vainly struggling to halt and turn back the tide of our epoch, to prevent the emancipation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people and to disrupt the socialist camp. In the face of our arch-enemy, we Communists should more than ever, unite closely and wage the common battle unswervingly. No words or deeds detrimental to the struggles against imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries, to the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world or to the unity of all Communists and the revolutionary people of the world, will be countenanced by Communists anywhere, by the proletariat and working people of all countries, by all the oppressed nation and oppressed people and by all those engaged in the struggle to safeguard world peace.

The unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement is the source of our strength and the hope of the oppressed nations and the oppressed people of the world. The more closely we are united, the more the people of the world are heartened and inspired. The more closely we are united, the greater is our ability to strengthen the revolutionary people's confidence in victory and to deal telling blows at the imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries.

We should not disappoint the expectations of the people of the world. We must firmly uphold unity and oppose a split. We must have genuine unity and oppose sham unity. Let us unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement!

For Marxist-Leninist Unity of the Communist Movement, for Cohesion of the Socialist Countries

Editorial in "Pravda", 10 February, 1963

At this stage, when the world Communist movement has become an influential political force, when particularly favourable possibilities have opened up for the solution of the vital problems of our time in the interests of the peoples, unity of the Communist Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and solidarity of the countries of the world socialist community are needed more than ever before.

The great teachers of the international proletariat—Marx, Engels and Lenin emphasised more than once that the economic condition of the proletariat of various countries, the fact that it has a common class enemy—the bourgeoisie, and that the working class of all nations has the same aim—to struggle for socialism and communism—impel the workers to establish a fraternal alliance. In the lands where capital rules, where the means of production are owned by the bourgeoisie and landlords, the proletariat is compelled to sell its labour power and is subjected to unrestrained exploitation. In this respect the economic and social conditions of the working class are identical in all capitalist countries. Irrespective of nationality and race, language or colour of skin, the workers of all countries are united as class brothers. Under capitalism people are divided primarily into exploiters and exploited. Capital is an international force. That is why the emancipation of the proletariat, all working people, all oppressed peoples of the world is possible only on the basis of their unity, and, above all, on the basis of the fraternal solidarity of the working class.

Imperialism seeks to poison the minds of the workers, of all working people, with the venom of nationalism and chauvinism, to sow enmity among the peoples and bring them into collision. Throughout its history imperialism has drawn the peoples into wars for the redivision of the world, wars for which the working people have had to pay and which led to the intensification of oppression and exploitation of the working class and the peasantry.

The workers of the world oppose the misanthropic policy of capitalism with their class solidarity. This international solidarity has found expression in the inspiring programmatic slogan proclaimed by Marx and Engels: "*Workers of all lands, unite!*"

With this slogan on their lips the heroes of the Paris Commune went into the assault on the old world. This was the watchword of the heroic working class of Russia which in October 1917 accomplished a victorious socialist revolution, opening up a new era in the history of mankind. This watchword rallied the forces fighting to carry through socialist revolutions in China, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other countries in Europe and Asia.

In our time, when the working class of many countries has gained power and achieved emancipation from exploitation, when a world socialist system has emerged and is developing, the slogan of proletarian unity finds practical embodiment in the mutual relations between the socialist states. Proletarian socialist internationalism now rallies all countries of the world socialist community, the Communists of the whole world in their common struggle for the cause of peace, democracy, national freedom, socialism and communism.

The principles of socialist internationalism will be embodied to an increasing degree in relations between the peoples as more and more countries break out of the fetters of capitalism and take the road to socialism.

Never before has the Communist movement had such possibilities for influencing the entire progress of world

developments as it has in our time. Never before has it borne such a historic responsibility to the peoples of all countries as it does in our days. Communism has become a practical matter, a vital cause for many hundreds of millions of people in the world. Communists are at the helm of state in a large number of socialist states, which account for over one-third of the world's population.

In our time the peoples judge communism not only by its programmatic slogans and ideals, but also by the benefits it brings to society, to man. In the economic achievements of the countries of socialism, in the advancement of the well-being of the peoples of those countries they see an eloquent demonstration of the advantages of socialism over capitalism. In the friendship and co-operation between the countries of socialism the peoples see the birth and development of a new type of international relations, incompatible with the enmity and hatred, nationalism and chauvinism engendered by capitalism.

All mankind looks hopefully to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as a force able to deliver present and future generations from the catastrophe of a world thermonuclear war. The concepts of "socialism" and "peace" are becoming increasingly linked together in the minds of millions of people. The world socialist community is the true ally of the peoples in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism, against any forms of social and national oppression.

The world socialist system has moved onto a stage where the economic, political and cultural co-operation between the countries of socialism is rising to a new higher level. This is prompted by the matured economic requirements of each country and accords with the interests of the socialist community as a whole. It is necessary in order to win the economic competition with capitalism on a world scale in the shortest possible historical period. The firmer the unity of the socialist countries, the more concerted their efforts in the development of their economies in the struggle for

improving the welfare of the peoples and the closer their political co-operation, the more strikingly will socialism demonstrate its superiority over capitalism, the more effective will be the influence of the socialist countries on world development, on the revolutionary struggle of the working class, on the national-liberation movement.

All this has shown time and again the great responsibility the socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties and their leaders have, to carry out a consistent internationalist policy—the policy of cohesion and unity of all progressive anti-imperialist forces, to ensure that each of the steps they take promotes the strengthening of genuinely fraternal relations between the peoples. An awareness of this historical responsibility must serve as a guiding, defining principle also in resolving divergences arising inside the Communist movement, so that all practical actions of the Communists be directed towards strengthening the unity and cohesion of the movement. For the Communists of each country being true to Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, means marching in step with the entire Communist movement, in its common ranks, always bearing in mind that the strength of the proletariat and its Communist vanguard lies in cohesion and not in division.

The need for the cohesion of the world Communist movement arises from the entire present day international situation, and the feverish efforts the imperialist states are making to unite their forces in the struggle against the countries of socialism, the world working-class and national-liberation movement. In present conditions a tendency to which V. I. Lenin drew attention has begun to operate with great force in the camp of capitalism, a tendency to merge the finance capital of separate states into international amalgamated finance capital, to set up an alliance of imperialists in defence of capital. This tendency finds practical expression in an intensification of the processes of capitalist "integration", in the attempts to activate the system of military political blocs formed under United States' Countries direction.

Bellicose circles in the imperialist powers, above all, the United States and West Germany, have not renounced the mad plans for "rolling back" communism, including also by military means. Nor have they renounced the attempts to use the imperialist "policy of strength" to check the historically logical process of emancipation of peoples and liquidation of the system of capitalist exploitation. Imperialism seeks to overcome, or at least to alleviate, its internal contradictions by setting up international state-monopoly associations, by activising the aggressive war blocs, and by waging a joint struggle against world socialism.

In the struggle against the forces of peace and socialism the camp of imperialism places particular hopes in aggravating the differences within the international Communist movement in splitting the world socialist system. Imperialist reaction is seeking by all means to sow dissension among the Communist Parties. The Communists must not forget this for a single moment. Marxist-Leninists, all genuine internationalists, oppose the schemes of imperialist reaction by constantly striving for unity of their ranks, for a strengthening of the entire front of struggle for peace and progress.

"At a time when imperialist reaction is joining forces to fight communism it is particularly imperative vigorously to consolidate the world Communist movement," says the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties. "Unity and solidarity redouble the strength of our movement and provide a reliable guarantee that the great cause of communism will make victorious progress and all enemy attacks will be effectively repelled." Unity is the holy of holies for each Communist Party.

Unity flows from the very character of the Communist Parties as parties expressing the interests of the working class, which is vitally interested in uniting its forces. This unity is necessary for the victory of the proletariat both in each country and on an international scale. The militant solidarity of the workers of those countries which are already building socialism in practice is an indispensable

condition for their successful advance; at the same time it is a good example for the workers of the capitalist countries waging a revolutionary struggle.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, following the behests of the great Lenin, carries with honour the banner of proletarian internationalism. The Party is, as it always has been, educating all Soviet people in a spirit of great responsibility to the world Communist and Workers' movement. "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union," says the Programme adopted by the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, "like all the other Communist Parties, regards it as its internationalist duty to abide by the appraisals and conclusions which the fraternal parties have reached jointly concerning their common tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, and by the Declaration and the Statement adopted by the Communist Parties at their international meetings."

The tenets of the Programme of the CPSU, the entire practical activity of our Party are an embodiment of proletarian internationalism, of Leninist solicitude for the interests of the international working-class movement. The Party and the entire Soviet people regard Communist construction in the USSR as an integral part of the struggle of the working people of all countries for the victory of socialism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union attaches special importance to the strengthening of the socialist community—the principal achievement of the world Communist and working-class movement. The Soviet Union, firmly adhering to the principles of Lenin, is consistently following the line of maintaining cohesion among all socialist countries. These principles, reflecting the experience of the development of the world socialist system, have been recorded in the highly important documents of the Communist movement—the Declaration and the Statement of the Moscow Meetings:

—Full equality of all countries of socialism, respect for their territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty, non-interference in one another's home affairs;

—Close fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance on the basis of the principle of socialist internationalism;

—Steady expansion of economic, scientific, technical and cultural relations among the socialist countries; full utilization of the advantages of the world socialist system, of socialist division of labour;

—Education of the peoples of their countries in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and fraternal solidarity with the working people of all countries;

—Pursuance of a common line by the socialist countries in the international arena in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism for world peace;

—Impermissibility of any actions liable to undermine the unity of the countries of socialism.

The CPSU consistently implements these principles. Anyone who assesses the policy of the Soviet Union without prejudice cannot but admit that in its activities our Party abides by the line laid down in the Declaration and Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Adherence by all socialist states to these principles is a guarantee of the development of fraternal relations among them, a guarantee that the socialist nations will consistently draw nearer together and unite, a guarantee of the further growth of the might of the socialist community as a whole.

The countries of socialism are deeply interested in the strengthening of all-round cooperation and unity. This unity rests on such objective factors as their having socio-economic systems of the same type, community of interests of the working class, of all working people, community of ideology—Marxism-Leninism, deep interest in the victory of socialism and communism, community of aim in the struggle against imperialism. There is no doubt that the successful construction of socialism and communism in each country, the gradual evening out of levels of economic development, and the increasingly profound understanding by the peoples of Marxist-Leninist ideas will strengthen the basis for the unity of the socialist nations. It depends on the Communist

and Workers' Parties whether the fullest possible use is made of the laws governing the world socialist system in the interest of steadily strengthening the socialist countries.

Marxism-Leninism proceeds from the premise that the struggle for the carrying out of a socialist revolution and construction of socialism is based on several common laws. The Declaration of 1957 points out:

"The experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has fully borne out the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the processes of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism are governed by a number of basic laws applicable in all countries embarking on a socialist course. These laws manifest themselves everywhere, alongside a great variety of historic national peculiarities and traditions which must by all means be taken into account."

At the same time, despite unity of the fraternal parties of the socialist states on the basic questions, there may arise differences in approach to problems, friction or even disagreements on particular questions. We must clearly understand the reasons for this occurrence. Fourteen countries are now following the road of socialist development. Each of these countries has its own specific historical, national, and geographical features.

Lenin taught us that national and state distinctions among nations and countries would continue for a very long time, even after the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship on a world-wide scale. This is why, he pointed out, unity of the international tactics of the Communist and Workers' movement of all countries demands the elimination of diversity, not the obliteration of national differences, but an application of the basic principles of Communism that "will correctly modify these principles in certain particulars, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state differences" (*Works*, Vol. 31, p. 72).

Nor can one overlook the fact that our countries started the transition to socialism at different levels of economic,

political and cultural development, and are still at different stages of struggle for socialism and communism. Every country has its own concrete experience in the sphere of international relations, its responsibility for the solution of these or other international problems is not the same in all respects. The fact cannot be ruled out that this may be a source of different interpretations on concrete problems of socialist construction, of a different approach to one or other problems of our time. Moreover, we must look ahead, take into account the fact that when scores of other peoples in Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia embark upon the road of transition to socialism, they will doubtlessly introduce much of their own into the solution of questions of building socialism. The task is to ensure, despite the existing differences, unity of approach to basic questions, in the struggle for the triumph of peace and socialism on the Earth.

In its relations with the fraternal parties, the CPSU has done and is doing everything it can to secure in practice the consolidation of the unity of the socialist community, the world Communist movement, takes into account the actual conditions and positions of each party, strives to find the most effective ways of overcoming the difficulties, friction and disagreements arising.

It is common knowledge that a polemic on a number of important, fundamental problems of present world development has arisen of late in the Communist movement. The very fact of a different approach to some specific questions of our common struggle would not give rise to anxiety and alarm. Exchange of opinion and experience, and comradely discussions are quite a logical and natural feature in the activity of Marxist-Leninist parties. However, what does cause serious anxiety is the fact that representatives of some parties, instead of engaging in a comradely exchange of opinion, took the way, one utterly impermissible in relations between fraternal parties, of attacks on the line of the world Communist movement, which was collectively worked out by all Marxist-Leninist parties. In such a situation, the continuation of

open polemic could only lead to an aggravation of existing differences, which would seriously prejudice the unity of the world Communist movement.

The Central Committee of the CPSU, taking into consideration the situation which had arisen, took the initiative with a view to settling outstanding differences, to strengthening the international cohesion of the Communist movement. At the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Comrade Nikita Khrushchov, First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, suggested that an end be put to the polemic between Communist Parties on disputed issues in order to create more favourable conditions for holding a meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. The representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties supported the proposal of the CPSU, which is in the interests of the struggle for the unity of our entire movement.

The newspaper *Jen Min Jih Pao (People's Daily)*, the central organ of the Communist Party of China, published an editorial in connection with the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which says; "We are ready, together with all other fraternal parties, to take every possible step towards easing relations and strengthening unity in order to improve the atmosphere and create conditions necessary for convening a meeting of fraternal parties." Such a statement could only be welcomed. Unfortunately, the statement of the Chinese comrades quoted above is accompanied by unsubstantiated and sharp criticism of the speeches made by representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and by a one-sided interpretation of the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow Meetings, of the principles and practice of relations between socialist countries and between Communist Parties. The article contains unsubstantiated attacks on the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Should one assess the publication of that article as a desire, in effect, to continue the polemic with other fraternal parties? We should like to believe that this is not so.

It is the sincere wish of our Party that the Communist movement should not be drawn into a new round of polemics which could prejudice its unity. Motivated by these considerations, we want to set forth our views on some fundamental issues and to call again for the strengthening of unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

At the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany which adopted the programme for completing the building of socialism in the German Democratic Republic, the banner of unity of the socialist community and of the international Communist movement was raised aloft, and a new contribution made to the further strengthening of the entire socialist system. The congress not only marked an important stage in the development of the German Democratic Republic, but was also a big event in the international Communist and Workers' movement. How can one pass over this main, decisive result of the congress in silence and pretend that the focus of attention at the congress was the question of relations with Yugoslavia? How can one depict matters as if the difficulties that have arisen in the Communist movement are due to the fact that Yugoslavia's relations with other socialist countries are improving and a rapprochement taking place between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the international Communist movement?

The question of relations with Yugoslavia is a serious and fundamental one. In essence it is a question of the line to be followed in the relations between the Communist Parties of the socialist countries, of the principles of the relations between these countries. It is a question of an objective appraisal of the processes taking place in one socialist country or another, of the purposes of criticism by fraternal parties of mistakes made at a particular time and in particular conditions, of the methods and forms of struggle to rally all the forces of communism. What is needed is not a subjective approach but a genuinely scientific Marxist-Leninist approach to this question.

It is common knowledge that the differences between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the international Communist movement arose 15 years ago. Our Party, profoundly analysing the causes of the differences, frankly stated that most of the guilt for the deterioration in the relations between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the CPSU, between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the international Communist movement rests with Stalin who was responsible for high-handedness in the relations with Yugoslavia and gave an utterly unjustified appraisal to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The CPSU, in the course of liquidating the consequences of the cult of personality, resolutely corrected Stalin's mistakes with regard to Yugoslavia and the League of Communists. At the same time, the CPSU pointed out that the Yugoslav comrades, too, bore their share of the responsibility for the way the relations between Yugoslavia and the other socialist countries, between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the international Communist movement, had developed in that period.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia had serious differences with the world Communist movement on a number of ideological questions. The essence of these was expressed in the programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. This was pointed out in the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of 1960, which stressed that the revisionist mistakes made by the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia "created the danger of the loss of revolutionary gains, achieved through a heroic struggle of the Yugoslav people". Every unbiased person reading this thesis sees that the meeting, while subjecting to fundamental criticism the erroneous conceptions of the programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia at the same time proceeded on the basis that Yugoslavia, was a socialist country. The international Communist movement set the aim of helping Yugoslavia and its leaders to rectify the mistakes they had made, and to return to the road of unity with the world socialist system, with the fraternal parties.

It is this approach that underlies the policy of the Soviet State and the CPSU in their relations with Yugoslavia and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Subjecting to criticism the mistakes of the Yugoslav comrades, Nikita Khrushchov pointed out at the 21st CPSU Congress:

“We have the very friendliest feelings for the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia, for the Yugoslav Communists, those heroes of underground and partisan struggle. In a number of questions of foreign policy we hold common views. We shall continue to develop trade with Yugoslavia on a reciprocal basis. We shall work for co-operation with Yugoslavia in all questions of the anti-imperialist struggle, for peace, in which our attitudes will coincide.

“How will matters stand in the Party sphere? That will depend on the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Its leadership has isolated itself from the international Communist movement. Therefore, it is now up to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to make a turn towards rapprochement with the Communist Parties on a Marxist-Leninist basis. This would also be in the interests of the Yugoslav people.”

It is seen from this that the line of the CPSU was not to tear Yugoslavia away from the countries of socialism, not to perpetuate the departure of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia from the international Communist movement but to help it rectify its mistakes and take its place in the ranks of our movement. The steps taken by our Party and the Soviet Government with regard to Yugoslavia fully conform to the idea of the Statement that it is necessary to rally together all the forces of peace and socialism and to take into account the processes occurring in Yugoslavia herself.

Marxist-Leninists must analyse actual life, real facts. A distinctive feature of Marxists is that they soberly and impartially determine, by studying life, in what direction a particular party or country is developing. Life is the best teacher, it checks the correctness of particular conceptions, sweeps away all that is incorrect and superficial, and confirms everything that keeps in step with it, that contributes to the development of the forces of socialism.

In his work *Revolution Teaches* V. I. Lenin points out:

“Differences within or between political parties are usually resolved not only by polemics over principles, but also by the course of political developments. In particular, differences on a party’s tactics, i.e., its political conduct, are often resolved by those with incorrect opinions going over in fact to the correct path of struggle, under the pressure of the course of developments that simply brush aside erroneous opinions, making them pointless and devoid of any interest. This, of course, does not mean that fundamental differences on questions of tactics do not call for explanations of principles, explanations which alone can keep the Party equal to its theoretical convictions. No. This means only that decisions made with regard to tactics must be verified as often as possible in the light of new political events. Such verification is necessary from the standpoint of both theory and practice: from the standpoint of theory in order to ascertain in fact whether the decisions taken have been correct, and what amendments to these decisions subsequent political events make necessary; from the standpoint of practice, in order to learn how to use the decisions as a proper guide, to learn to consider them as directives for practical application” (*Works*, Vol. 9, p. 125).

The steps taken of late by the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the sphere of Party life, economy, home and foreign policy, have rectified much of what the international Communist movement regarded as erroneous and harmful to the cause of building socialism in Yugoslavia. This is an indisputable and very positive fact.

Some comrades try to convince us that the Yugoslav leaders themselves have never admitted that they have made any mistakes “and hence there is no reason to speak of the so-called elimination of mistakes”. But those who study the processes occurring in Yugoslavia could not fail to observe that at the 3rd Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in November 1961, at the enlarged meeting of the Executive Committee of the

Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in March 1962, in the letter of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to all Communists and heads of Party organs (April 1962) and at the 4th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in July 1962, Comrades J. Tito, A. Rankovic and other leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in several speeches criticised the mistakes that had been made and the existing shortcomings, and proposed practical measures for their rectification.

Addressing a meeting in Split on May 6, 1962, Comrade Tito pointed out: "If we now have objective difficulties, objective shortcomings, this is the result of subjective mistakes primarily by our leading people", resulting from the fact that the Communists "let the guiding role slip from their hands". The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia took measures to strengthen the guiding role of the party in all spheres of the country's life.

Steps are being taken in Yugoslavia to strengthen the centralised planning principle in the management of the economy, to put foreign trade in order, to step up socialist reorganisation of agriculture. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia stresses the need of improving the education of the working people in the spirit of socialism.

It is also noteworthy that the Yugoslav comrades found it necessary to explain their concept of the so-called special Yugoslav road to socialism. In view of the fact that this question was the subject of speculation by bourgeois propagandists, Comrade Tito said:

"The adulation we quite often hear from various sides, the allegations that we have our special and peculiarly national brand of socialism which is easily accessible and attractive to non-socialist countries also should be alien to us. We do not need such expressions of sympathy. We want a genuinely socialist society, we want such relations which are typical of socialist countries."

So we have here a clear expression of the position of the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, aimed at increasing the guiding role of the party, strengthening the principle of planning in the economy and in the socialist reorganisation of agriculture, with the emphasis placed by the leadership on the general laws governing the construction of socialism. Obviously all this must lead to a strengthening of the positions of socialism in the country and promote a rapprochement between Yugoslavia and other socialist States.

Yugoslavia's stand on the main international problems—war and peace, peaceful co-existence, disarmament, abolition of colonialism, the German problem and a number of other questions—is identical with or close to the positions of the USSR and the other socialist countries. The Yugoslav leaders are taking steps to strengthen economic, cultural and political contacts with the countries of socialism. Speaking in the town of Zheleznik late last year, Comrade Tito emphasised that in Soviet working men and women the Yugoslav working class has great friends. "And it cannot be otherwise," he said, "for we have common aims—the building of socialism and ultimately communism. These are our aims and they must be the main trend of our foreign policy, especially in our relations with them."

If one analyses the facts, one cannot fail to draw the conclusion that favourable processes are taking place in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, in the direction of rapprochement with the socialist community, with the world Communist movement. One can only wonder that voices are being heard just now alleging that "capitalism has been restored" in Yugoslavia and that its leaders must be denounced. We should like to recall the way *People's Daily* appraised the character of the social order in Yugoslavia. Here, for instance, is what an editorial of the newspaper on September 12, 1957, devoted to the arrival in China of a Yugoslav delegation, said: "Now the peoples of our countries are

advancing along the road of building socialism. We have the same approach to many international problems. Unity on these fundamental problems furnishes a foundation for friendly co-operation between our countries...for unity we must, above all, ascertain what we have in common in our approach to the main problems, must respect each other's achievements and each country's experience in building socialism in different historical conditions." The article pointed out that "Yugoslavia has achieved important successes in socialist construction. At the same time Yugoslavia is also active in international affairs." This was written six years ago. How can one now, in the light of the above-cited facts, which attest to positive changes in Yugoslavia, allege that her socialist achievements have been lost?

A subjective and arbitrary approach is impermissible in appraising the character of a particular system. There are objective scientific criteria for an understanding of this question. It is common knowledge that the working people of Yugoslavia, under the leadership of the Communists, brought about profound revolutionary changes in the country even during the national-liberation struggle. The main achievement was the nationalisation of the basic means of production and the establishment in the country of the power of the working class and the labouring peasantry. These achievements have been maintained and since then progress has been made in developing the economy and improving the people's wellbeing. For a long time now Yugoslavia had no landlord and capitalist classes, no capitalist enterprises, no foreign industrial or other enterprises or concessions. In 1961 the publicly owned sector accounted for 76 per cent of the total product and for 75 per cent of the national income.

The CPSU has never concealed that in relations with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia there are still differences on a number of ideological questions which found expression in the programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. This was frankly stated by Comrade Nikita Khrushchov at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the

USSR. The CPSU has criticised and will continue to criticise the attempts of some leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to identify the community of the socialist countries with a military bloc and in effect to put it on a par with NATO, for such identification means a departure from the class positions of Marxism-Leninism.

At the same time the CPSU holds that the socialist countries must help strengthen the positions of socialism in Yugoslavia and to improve relations between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the international Communist movement on the Marxist-Leninist basis. It goes without saying that the development of this process depends, above all, on the position of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, on its leadership. There can be no doubt that the improvement of relations between Yugoslavia and the other socialist countries is strengthening the positions of socialism in Yugoslavia and the forces of the socialist system, that it is in the interests of all the countries of socialism.

What would have happened if each Communist Party, at its own discretion, were to excommunicate other Communist Parties from socialism, to strive to expel them from the ranks of the Communist movement, and what is more, were to refuse whole nations the right to cooperate in the building of socialism? This would inevitably seriously hold up the world revolutionary process, the struggle for the victory of the new system, for the creation of the new society. Why should we push nations striving to improve friendly relations and to strengthen cooperation and unity with us into the camp of capitalism? This would mean permitting doctrinairism of the worst type, would mean sacrificing real political interests in the struggle for socialism under cover of loud phrases about "the purity of Marxism-Leninism". But the struggle for genuine purity and effectiveness of our theory is a struggle for the successful construction of socialism and communism, for the broadening of the ranks of its supporters, for the rallying together of all forces standing for socialism, for the creation of the widest possible anti-imperialist front.

The CPSU has always scrupulously safeguarded the purity of Marxism-Leninism, has creatively developed it in application to new historical conditions. It waged a struggle against Menshevism, Trotskyism and Right-Wing and "Left" opportunism in its own country, against the opportunism of the Second International, social democracy, and against revisionists, sectarians and dogmatists in the international arena. Our party will go on resolutely fighting all apostates of Marxism-Leninism, both Right and "Left"

The Statement of the Moscow Meeting, which declared war on revisionism as the main danger, also stressed with great force the need to fight dogmatism and sectarianism.

Consequently those who stress only the danger of revisionism and do not even mention the struggle against dogmatism are approaching the Statement one-sidedly and are distorting it. It is common knowledge that on the proposal of many parties the following was included in the Statement, on the basis of an analysis of the tendency already clearly discernible at that time:

"Dogmatism and sectarianism in theory and practice can also become the main danger at some stage of development of individual parties, unless combated unrelentingly. They rob revolutionary parties of the ability to develop Marxism-Leninism through scientific analysis and apply it creatively according to the specific conditions; they isolate Communists from the broad masses of the working people, doom them to passive expectation or Leftist, adventurist actions in the revolutionary struggle, prevent them from making a timely and correct estimate of the changing situation and of new experience, using all opportunities to bring about the victory of the working class and all democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and war danger, and thereby prevent the peoples from achieving victory in their just struggle."

Life shows that it is necessary to wage a resolute struggle both against Right-Wing and "Left" opportunism, which is no less dangerous than revisionism.

The aim of criticism of mistakes is not only to uphold the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist movement, but also to help those who make mistakes to rectify them.

Intolerance and animosity are impermissible in discussion of these or other questions. This will inevitably lead to sectarian paucity and narrow-mindedness, and far from promoting the consolidation of the forces of world communism, will, on the contrary, undermine our unity. To crucify people, to ignore the rectification of mistakes, to talk about them endlessly—this is a method of political reprisal, which has nothing in common with Leninist principles. More tolerance, more tact and more flexibility must be displayed in relations among Communist Parties for the sake of unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

To cut off and push away from communism the supporters of communism is not a Leninist policy. There is no need to recall how relentlessly Lenin fought against Right-Wing and “Left” opportunism. But it was precisely Lenin who stinted no effort to help those who had erred, had made mistakes, to realise their misconceptions and blunders and return to the ranks of the Communist movement. As an example one could also refer to Lenin’s criticism of the Left-opportunistic mistakes of the British, German, Dutch and other Communists. For it cannot be denied that afterwards Lenin and our Party, like other fraternal parties, continued their fruitful co-operation, within the framework of the Comintern, with those of them who took the correct line.

Lenin considered that a correct combination of the general laws governing socialist revolution and the concrete specific conditions of a given nation, a given State, was a necessary prerequisite for successful struggle against revisionism and sectarianism both in individual parties and in the world Communist movement. Let us recall that Lenin, in defining the nature of the Comintern’s activity, wrote in 1920: “it goes without saying that the Communist International and

its Executive Committee in all their activity must take into consideration all the variety of conditions in which different parties have to fight and operate...." (*Works*, Vol. 31, p. 186).

It is common knowledge that our Party took the initiative to restore genuinely Leninist principles in the relations between the socialist countries and Communist Parties. It was precisely on the initiative of the CPSU that the elements of inequality which existed in the relations between socialist countries and fraternal parties under Stalin were eliminated. It must be said bluntly that Stalin made mistakes on the national question, as was pointed out by Lenin. In connection with the solution of the national problem in our country Lenin pointed to Stalin's passion for issuing directives and his proneness to display animosity, emphasizing that "animosity in general usually plays the worst role in politics" (*Works*, Vol. 36, p. 554).

The CPSU has cleared its ranks once and for all of the Stalinist method of cutting off those who, although they make certain mistakes, are sincerely fighting for communism.

Our Party, remaining uncompromising on fundamental questions of principle relating to theory and practice in the Communist movement, at the same time has done and will continue to do everything to convince people who are vacillating or have made mistakes, to draw them into the ranks of the fighters for socialism. This, of course, refers to those who correct their mistakes. If people continue to follow their erroneous line, insist on their mistakes and even aggravate them and increasingly depart from Marxism-Leninism, it is imperative to continue and even step up decisive struggle against them.

If one adheres to the Leninist line in rallying the Communist movement on a basis of principle then all the necessary conditions exist for overcoming any difficulties and differences that may arise. We cannot agree to the allegation that the Communist movement is "on the brink of an abyss". There is no reason for such an appraisal.

Of course the CPSU, like the other fraternal parties, deeply regrets the existence of differences within the ranks of the Communist movement on certain important questions. But are these differences really insurmountable? It is our profound belief that what unites the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of China, all Marxist-Leninist parties, is immeasurably greater and more significant than the existing differences.

The speeches of the Chinese comrades emphasise that they adhere to the principles set out in the Declaration and the Statement of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, that the Chinese Communist Party is striving to avert another world war and believes in the feasibility of achieving this, advocates peaceful co-existence between States with differing social systems, admits the possibilities of using peaceful as well as armed forms of struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. If the Chinese comrades agree with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties on such fundamental problems of our time, is it not obvious that the necessary conditions exist for settling the differences between them?

Marxist-Leninists have always distinguished between strategic and tactical questions of the international Communist movement. The class struggle against exploitation and capitalism, for the victory of socialism and communism, for the triumph of the national-liberation movement, the struggle against imperialist wars—all this is the foundation of the single strategy of the Communist Parties. As regards tactical questions, the forms and methods of struggle for the common goals, these can be applied by the parties in different ways, depending upon their specific conditions, on the time and place. The Communist Parties must exercise caution in judging the tactics and methods of struggle chosen by a particular party in conformity with its historical, economic, geographical and other conditions and with due account for the experience of the international-liberation movement. No one knows the conditions of a country better than the Communist Party of

that particular country. Identity of views on fundamental, strategic questions is the foundation for the unity and cohesion of the Marxist-Leninist parties. At the same time, of course, the fraternal parties also seek to achieve unity on questions relating to the tactics of their struggle in the international arena, to overcome difficulties arising on these questions, in order to work out together forms and methods of struggle which will make it possible to strive most effectively for the attainment of the strategic aims.

Taking into account the real state of affairs and the prospects, we must take great care to ensure the development and improvement of genuinely fraternal relations between the Communist Parties, between the socialist nations, the development of effective methods and means of overcoming differences and difficulties that may arise.

What must be done so that present and possible future differences may not weaken our cohesion, that our movement develops and grows stronger and always comes out in a united front against the common enemy—imperialism?

What is needed above all is in all conditions to proceed from what we have in common, from what unites us, to proceed from our common class positions, from our strategic aims, the principles of Marxism-Leninism. One must not forget that the differences arising between the Communist Parties of the socialist countries, no matter how serious they may seem today, is, in the final count, of only fractional importance compared with the fundamental things uniting us for all time. If we are always guided by an understanding of this irrefutable truth, any differences will be overcome and the unity of the Communist movement and the socialist countries ensured.

It is our duty to do everything to bring the socialist nations closer together, to strengthen economic, political and cultural co-operation between them and to help them unite in a single fraternal family. As Communists, we all bear a great responsibility to our peoples, to world socialism, to all mankind, for the creation in practice of a model of genuinely

fraternal relations between the peoples of the socialist countries. This will not only be of importance for our countries, but will also exert a tremendous influence on the entire course of world events.

The Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist countries are parties holding leading positions in those countries. They bear the responsibility not only for the activity of their party, but for the entire economic and socio-political development of their country, for the kind of relations it has with other socialist States.

Development of economic co-operation, expansion of trade, ever more profound socialist division of labour, and co-operation and specialisation of production—all these are vital problems for each socialist country and the entire socialist community as a whole. Stable and dependable economic relations are an indispensable condition for the successful development of the economy of each socialist country and the entire world socialist economy. It is, therefore, understandable that it is impermissible to mechanically transfer ideological differences to the sphere of economic and State relations. The relations between the peoples of the socialist countries are now being established for centuries. In any conditions we must, therefore, constantly see to it that our economic, cultural and political contacts grow stronger.

We Communists can argue among ourselves. But in all conditions it is our immutable principle, our sacred duty to foster in the people of each country a spirit of profound solidarity with all peoples of the socialist economy. We must instil in them love not only for their own country, but also for the other socialist countries so that each person feels himself a patriot both of his country and of the entire world socialist community.

Differences on some ideological and tactical problems arising between Communist Parties must not be used to whip up nationalistic sentiments and prejudices, and distrust and enmity between the socialist peoples. It is the direct duty of the Communist Parties of the socialist countries to

educate the peoples in the spirit of the immortal slogan: "Workers of all lands, unite!" In the countries where the working class and the working people are in power, the best conditions have been created for cohesion, fraternal friendship and mutual assistance of the peoples. To abide in practice by the slogan: "Workers of all lands, unite!" means under no circumstances to tolerate manifestations of nationalism, it means to foster in the masses an implacable attitude to the nationalistic policy which our class enemies, the capitalists and landlords, pursued in the past and continue to pursue today.

Fully aware of its responsibility, the CPSU declares that it has never taken, and will not take, a single step which may sow hostility among the peoples of our country towards other peoples. On the contrary, in all conditions our Party has steadily and consistently propagated amidst the people the ideas of internationalism and warm friendship for the peoples of the socialist and other countries.

We are convinced that the differences that have arisen in the Communist movement have been generated by temporary factors and must not become a profound conflict. If good will is displayed to secure a settlement of differences no difficulties can prevent us from marching shoulder to shoulder along the common road to a single goal.

The Moscow Meeting worked out principles for the mutual relations between Marxist-Leninist parties in the present conditions. What are these principles? Allegiance to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; equality and independence of each party; the working out of single views through consultation and agreement upon joint action in the struggle for the common aim; solidarity in compliance with the appraisals and conclusions jointly worked out by the fraternal united parties at their meetings; concern to constantly strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement, refusal to permit any action that may undermine this unity. If all parties remain loyal to these principles, the unity of the Communist movement will be enduring and inviolable

When issues arise between other parties and our Party the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is firmly guided by the interests of the unity of our movement, and seeks to solve these problems on the basis of consultation and comradely exchange of opinion. Everybody knows how much patience and restraint was displayed by the CPSU with regard to the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour. Although it assumed a frankly hostile position with regard to the CPSU from the very outset, when the differences came to light our Party had repeatedly displayed the initiative for the holding of negotiations to settle the disputed questions. However, the Albanian leaders rejected all our proposals. They went farther and farther along the road of apostasy of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. And despite this N. S. Khrushchov again repeated at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany what he had stated in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 22nd Congress of the Party:

“If the Albanian leaders hold dear the interests of their own people and of socialist construction in Albania, and if they really want friendship with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, they must renounce their erroneous views and revert to the path of unity and close co-operation within the fraternal family, which is the socialist community, to the path of unity with the world Communist movement as a whole.”

In this way it was demonstrated that our Party is leaving the door open for the settlement of differences with the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour. This is an example of a genuine Leninist approach to the settlement of difficulties that arise, of genuinely Leninist devotion to principle in the struggle for the common line of the Communist movement.

In the practical experience of the development of the world Communist movement various forms and methods of overcoming differences and drawing up a common line have been worked out—bilateral and multilateral meetings, mutual

consultations, exchange of party delegations and party information, personal contacts of party leaders, mutual participation in the work of congresses and conferences, joint scientific and theoretical work and joint undertakings in the sphere of publishing. The most important form of exchange of experience among Marxist-Leninist parties, of working out identical views on pressing questions of our time, of enriching revolutionary theory is international meetings of Marxist-Leninist parties.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was the initiator of both Moscow Meetings. Now, too, the CPSU is for the holding of another meeting if the fraternal parties deem it expedient. Our Party, like the other Marxist-Leninist parties, is convinced that the success of the meeting would be prompted by the necessary preparatory work. This is what prompted the CPSU Central Committee to take the initiative to end open polemics among the fraternal parties. The CPSU proceeds from the fact that it is necessary to give time a chance to do its work. It will help us to see who is right and who is wrong, to clear away all the extraneous, irrelevant clutter heaped on in the passion of polemics, to make clear views which really require discussion and agreement. We are convinced that this is an important condition for the preparation of a meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Our Party deems it expedient to hold bilateral and broader meetings, which would make it possible to create better conditions for a meeting of all the fraternal parties. The CPSU states: "If in reply to this initiative of ours some party, regardless of how substantial the differences between us may be, shows an interest in a bilateral meeting, our Party is ready to have such a meeting at any level and at any time that is acceptable to both sides."

We stand for the genuine overcoming of existing differences and the achievement of real unity. It is not enough to end open polemics and freeze the existing disagreements, to remain on the same positions. Our Party is for active measures to

overcome the differences that have arisen, for the consolidation, by all means, of unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Declaration and Statement.

“Marxism-Leninism,” the Statement says, “is a great integral revolutionary doctrine, the lodestar of the working class and working people of the whole world at all stages of their great battle of peace, freedom and a better life, for the establishment of the most just society, communism. Its great creative, revolutionising power lies in its unbreakable link with life, in its continuous enrichment through a comprehensive analysis of reality. On the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the community of socialist countries and the international Communist, working-class and liberation movements have achieved great historic successes, and it is only on its basis that all the tasks facing the Communist and Workers’ Parties can be effectively accomplished.” The Supreme forum of the international Communist movement in this way stressed clearly and firmly that the rallying together of the ranks of our movement is possible and must be carried out on the unshakable basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will not stint its efforts to strengthen unity of the socialist community, of all the world Communist movement to increase its influence on the entire course of world events.

Workers of all lands, unite!

Selected Documents on Problems of International Communist Movement*

Speeches of Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the Communist Party of France

Moscow, November 1960

Comrades,

We have come together to examine the most burning issues now facing the international working class and mankind as a whole. We must determine the general orientation of the international communist movement

The French Communist Party totally approves the draft declaration drawn up by the appropriate commission. It also approves the report that Comrade Suslov has presented to this conference for the commission.

We would like, at the outset, to express our deep and unreserved agreement with the politically well-founded speech made by Comrade Khrushchov for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, we express our utter disagreement with the conceptions presented by Comrade Teng Siao Ping for the Communist Party of China. We consider them to be contrary to the general line defined by the Declaration of November 1957 which was adopted by the international communist movement as a whole.

We regret that the Chinese comrades thought it necessary to raise the question of their state relations with the Soviet Union at this conference whose object was to discuss ideological and political problems concerning the international communist movement. Such procedure can only divert the discussion, being prejudicial to the conference and preventing it from achieving the results we had all hoped for.

*Issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France

On July 1 the Central Committee of our party sent the comrades of the Chinese party a well-founded resolution expressing our disagreement with their political positions and our disapproval of certain of their methods. At the end of September the comrades of the Chinese party informed us that they had received our resolution which was, according to them, written on the basis of one-sided information. However, this was not the case: our attitude was based on a study of the texts published by the Chinese comrades in their pamphlet *Long Live Leninism!*, which was widely distributed in France and other countries.

At the same time, we were in possession of certain information given to the Central Committee by Comrade Frachon, Vice-Chairman of the World Federation of Trade Unions and a delegate to this conference. He had told us of the fractional activity upon which the comrades of the Chinese party had embarked during the General Council of the WFTU in Peking.

Since then, of course, we have become acquainted with the letter sent by the Chinese comrades to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and indeed we have at this conference heard the speech of Comrade Teng Siao Ping. We are now convinced that it is not a question of disagreements limited to two or three points of the Declaration now before the conference, but of a general line that is in opposition to the line of the international communist movement.

We have at the same time had confirmation that it is not a question of some divergence between the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but of deep disagreement between the Chinese comrades and the international communist movement as a whole.

I

Comrades,

Having given our general agreement to the draft Declaration, we would like to take up some of the questions before us

The appreciation given in the draft concerning the general characteristics of our times is absolutely correct.

The draft points out that part of the world remains in the power of imperialism, that is, of a social system that is essentially aggressive. We should understand this most clearly and stress it in order to heighten the activity of the peace forces and to make the work of the warmongers more difficult than ever.

At the same time, the draft shows convincingly that any underestimation of those forces that are opposed to war, of the forces capable of preventing aggressive imperialism from passing from plans to action, might well lead to limiting the perspectives before the mass of the people, to spreading a feeling of biding one's time, of fatalism in face of a catastrophe that seems inevitable, all of which would have the same result: the weakening of the peace forces.

Is our world the same that Lenin saw when he wrote his masterly work on imperialism?

At that time there was no socialist country.

Today socialism has triumphed in the Soviet Union. The land of Soviets, whose prosperity grows unceasingly, has reached an unprecedented level; it leads world development not only from the social and political point of view, but from that of science and technology, both in their peaceful and military uses.

Half a century ago, before the October Revolution, imperialism reigned throughout the world; its contradictions and the military disasters that stemmed from them went to make up the main content of history. Even after its October victory, the Soviet State was surrounded by capitalist countries whose combined strength considerably surpassed its own.

However, in 1920 Lenin stressed the great change that had come about: "The annihilation of capitalism and of its vestiges, the introduction of the basis of a communist order constitute the characteristic of the new era of world history which has just begun."

What Lenin so brilliantly predicted has become the main characteristic of our times.

Today, imperialism has not only ceased to be the force that reigns throughout the world, but it is faced with a powerful world socialist system grouping over a thousand million people from the Elbe to the Pacific. Together with the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have thrown off the colonial yoke, this socialist camp forms a vast zone of peace. The position of socialism is becoming better and better, that of imperialism shakier and shakier.

Half a century ago the international working class movement was weak, badly led, rotten with opportunism; the peace forces were dispersed and had an incorrect orientation.

Today, inspired by Marxism-Leninism the international working class movement has progressed enormously in size, in understanding, in vigour. A powerful world peace movement unites men and women from all sections of the population who, though disagreeing on many questions, are nevertheless determined to fight together against the danger of war, against the oppression of the people.

Today, thanks to the struggles carried out in the spirit of Leninism, we have entered the era of the disintegration of imperialism, the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism, of the formation and strengthening of socialism as a world system. We are now at a time of the impetuous renewal of the way of life of human society. Today we feel particularly sharply the historic consequences of the powerful impetus that the great October Socialist Revolution has given to social progress.

The socialist system has become the determining factor in world politics.

In another ten years—ten years of peace—the socialist system will have accounted for more than half the industrial production of the world. The USSR will have outstripped the most powerful imperialist countries, even in *per capita* production, and will give the Soviet people the highest living standard. China will have become a great industrial power

and the other socialist countries will also have experienced an upsurge of economic development.

In the peaceful competition of the two economic and social systems, which determines world politics, it is certain that socialism will win.

The appeal adopted by the Conference of Communist Parties from the European capitalist countries which met in Rome at the end of last year, declares, quite correctly: "We are now living at a time when socialism is proving its superiority in all political, economic and social fields. We are now at a time when, with the development of peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition, millions more people from all walks of life can be won for the great ideals of socialism more quickly than ever before."

Those who do not see the great changes taking place in the world, who cling to the definition given by Lenin half a century ago and continue to consider imperialism as the determining force, have lost their sense of reality, and lack the creative spirit of Marxism.

Neither is it enough to declare one's acceptance of the correct appreciation of our times. We have to come to practical conclusions that enable us to give the correct orientation to the policy of the Communist and Workers' Parties and to make the widest use of the possibilities that the new situation offers.

II

In particular, no one can deny that today it is possible to prevent an imperialist war, to banish wars from the life of all society, unless they seriously underestimate the changes that have taken place to the advantage of the peace camp and alter the fundamental characteristic of our times.

Of course, imperialism has not changed its nature, and the French Communist Party sees the concrete proof of this day by day. It insists on this fact in all its documents. As long as imperialism exists there remains a possibility that war may be unleashed

But the essential thing is this: today imperialism no longer has a free hand. It can no longer behave as the sovereign force in the world.

The American Congressman, Paul Schaeffer, visiting West-Berlin, was able to declare on November 21, 1948, that a trial of strength with the Russians was inevitable. And the sooner the better. Time, he said, worked for the Russians.

And two years later Mrs. Booth-Luce, then American ambassadress to Rome was just as peremptory and cynical when she said that if it came to the question of choosing between crisis and war, then the Americans would choose war.

We all know that such statements have been confirmed by what the late Foster Dulles called the "brink of war" policy, by military expenditure that swallowed up billions of dollars, by the ever widening network of American navy, army and air force bases throughout the world, by the feverish activity—which has never stopped—of espionage and provocation against the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp.

Yet all the same, we are bound to see that the American imperialists have not been able to drag the people into a new world war. Certainly they never lacked the desire to do this. But there is many a slip between the cup and the lip.

Despite themselves, they have had to face the facts: from now on they can no longer lay down the law in the world. They are no longer the strongest.

For the first time in history, the balance is tipped to the side of peace.

Thus, it is logical to give the people the aim of stopping war. We must do away with the harmful idea that war is inevitable—an idea that has for thousands of years been deeply anchored in people's minds and encouraged by the exploiting classes. When we convince the mass of the people that war can be prevented, we are striking a blow at the imperialists' ideological and practical preparation for war.

The French Communist Party is convinced of the truth of this and acts accordingly.

Ten years ago, at the conference of our party's Seine Federation, we stressed the growth of the peace forces in the world, declaring first that the struggle for peace was the decisive question and then that in these new conditions, war was neither inevitable nor necessary.

At that moment, in 1949-50, the threat of world war was building up, our people were fighting against the colonial war in Vietnam and we had to act firmly to combat the demobilising notion that war is inevitable, to fight the incorrect views of those who thought that the sooner the war came, the sooner we would end capitalism.

The Twelfth National Congress of our party, in April 1950, stressed the aggressors' plot against peace and the independence of the people. But it also showed how the world democratic camp was becoming stronger, how the Soviet Union was striding ahead, how the People's Democracies were scoring more and more successes, how the working class and democratic movement was developing on a world scale, and this Congress declared: "No, war is not inevitable!"

So when, today, we come out against the idea that war is inevitable, we are stating an opinion which has for long been held by our party. In this respect, the ideas put forward in the draft Declaration coincide with our own analysis and with our own political experience.

We must not allow the imperialists to get the people used to being "balanced between war and peace", that is, carrying on the cold war and encouraged local conflicts that might be transformed into a world war in which nuclear weapons would be used.

The firmness of the Soviet Union, the attitude of China, the behaviour of all the socialist states and the struggle of the peoples prevented the Korean war from becoming a generalised conflict and, finally, forced the imperialists to bring hostilities to an end. In 1956 the aggression against Egypt was countered by the firm attitude of the Soviet Union supported by the peaceful states.

We must never for one minute forget to count among the peaceful states those that have recently been freed from colonial oppression. The hatred of imperialism still bides in the heart of the people of these countries. This explains the peaceful aims of the foreign policy of such states as India, Indonesia, and so on. It is impossible to consider these countries in the same way as we consider the imperialist ones. This would endanger the very existence of a peace zone.

The Chinese comrade has spoken of the recent conflict over the Sino-Indian border. I must say quite openly that, while we understand and approve the People's Republic of China when she replies to foreign armed forces that make inroads on her territory, we understand less clearly how such frontier questions could have been brought up at such a moment. We were alarmed at the tension that developed between the two great states of Asia, both of them members of the peace camp and, with all French workers, we approved the wise policy of the Soviet Union in this question. We deplored the fact that Eisenhower was given the opportunity of being welcomed in India as he would never have been welcomed in other circumstances.

We are fighting to stop all imperialist wars, to prevent or end all local aggressions that bring with them the danger of a world war.

The imperialists are ready to pounce at any moment, to fan the flames and forward their aggressive policy. It is up to us to behave in such a way as to leave them no chance of this kind. That is why we consider it dangerous to declare that "it is time to stop saying that a tiny spark can unleash a world war." At the same time, we must make it clear that we do not understand the Chinese comrades' considerations about the paper tiger that should be despised strategically and taken seriously tactically. Such confused reasoning cannot enlighten the people on the state of the forces of imperialism and the way to combat them.

We would like to see truly peaceful coexistence of states with differing economic and social systems.

All our experience in France shows that the clear explanation of how war can be prevented, and support for peaceful coexistence do not demobilise the party and the mass of the people, do not foster illusions among the working class and its allies, but on the contrary show the people the perspective of the battles awaiting them, galvanising them into action.

Never before, in our country, has the struggle for peace been so active as it is today. Never before has the struggle against the war in Algeria been so widespread. Never before have we carried out such broad activity for disarmament and peaceful coexistence, against the formation of a French striking force, against the installation of the Bundeswehr on our territory.

We should not oppose the battle for peace and the struggle for the other interests and aims of the workers. In France great strikes for the workers' demands follow one after the other. Working class activity is stepping up. The General Confederation of Labour goes from success to success in trade union elections. Our party has also been successful in recent by-elections. Despite the pressure by the regime of personal power, the class struggle is growing sharper. Far from being weakened by the battle for peace, it is in fact strengthened.

The truth of this can also be seen in other countries. The gains made by our Italian comrades in the municipal elections is a striking example. We welcome this victory. It shows that the working masses have greater and greater confidence in communism, and that they condemn all who tried to split the united front by counting on temporary difficulties of the working class movement in 1956.

Thus, the facts show that peaceful coexistence does not weaken the class struggle; on the contrary, it creates the best conditions for an intensified and broader mass policy. In our times peaceful coexistence is a higher form of class struggle and not, as the Chinese pamphlet declares, "a continuation of imperialist policy" or a question of communist "tactics."

Peaceful coexistence means that we must strengthen the ideological battle against the imperialists and all their helpers and collaborators. In our country we have, in particular, fought steadfastly against the liquidationist conceptions of certain revisionists who asserted that peaceful coexistence should lead us to abandon the idea of socialist revolution.

We fully support the conclusions of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the effect that, by carrying out an unceasing struggle we can, today, avoid war.

In taking up this position, we are most aware of the fact that we are remaining faithful to the teachings of Lenin. *Firstly*, Lenin did not consider war to be necessary in order to bring about socialism. *Secondly*, Lenin did not believe that war would always remain inevitable, even though a certain number of capitalist states might still be in existence.

On the first point, there is no need to give a long explanation. Everyone recalls Lenin's attitude during the Brest-Litovsk peace talks, when he condemned the slogan: "Neither war nor peace". Condemning the authors of a draft resolution expressing the idea that the interests of world revolution ran counter to any kind of peace with the imperialists, Lenin wrote:

"Perhaps our authors imagine that the interests of world revolution make it imperative to stimulate it, and that war alone could be this stimulant, while peace would, on the contrary, give the masses the feeling of a kind of "recognition" of imperialism? Such a "theory" is in flagrant contradiction to Marxism which has always rejected the idea that revolutions can be "stimulated" since they develop as the class antagonisms that engender them develop. Support for such a theory is tantamount to declaring that armed insurrection is always and in all circumstances the only possible form of struggle (Lenin, "*A Strange and Monstrous Thing*")."

The profound verity of these remarks reminds us of the great Jacobin revolutionary, Robespierre, when he said so

sarcastically: "The people do not take to missionaries in boots".

Now let us consider Lenin's second point. During the first world war he many times insisted that when the immediate hostilities were over others would come, if their were not a series of socialist revolutions. He repeated this in 1921, speaking on the draft agrarian programme of the French Communist Party.

What Lenin hoped for has come true. We have seen a series of victorious revolutions take place and, because of this, it is now possible to banish war, even before socialism is established throughout the world.

The fight for complete and universal disarmament, as well as for partial measures of disarmament, takes on its true meaning. If disarmament is achieved, it means that the material possibility of unleashing war will have disappeared.

The slogan of disarmament has behind it a long tradition of working class and democratic struggle in France. Disarmament has always been the ideal of socialism. Such a slogan is in complete accord with the deepest aspirations of our people.

When we tell the people that, by their struggle they can impose effective partial disarmament measures and even achieve general disarmament this is no example of bourgeois pacifism, this fosters no illusions; on the contrary, it is an excellent lever for mobilising the masses against the threat of war.

From this point of view, the World Peace Movement an organised mass movement—has played a considerable role in the past and will continue to do so. There is sometimes a tendency to issue warnings about an imaginary lowering of the level of party principles in the peace movement, to be sarcastic about the peace movement, about armchair peace supporters, about the trend of recruiting petty-bourgeois or even bourgeois elements, and so on. In this respect we cannot help thinking of the tragic error made by certain comrades in 1932.

We know comrades who refused to take part in the Amsterdam movement, considering that such methods of struggle were quite all right for the petty-bourgeoisie, but that the working class should have nothing to do with them. These comrades confused the mobilisation of the masses against imperialism with bleating pacifism which counted passively on the "better feelings" of imperialist states.

They did not see that in defending peace, as in other questions, the *Leninist style of work* consists precisely in turning to the widest sections of the people, in warning them and in leading the most varied strata of society into action. Lenin always had this in mind when he fought for peace, beginning with November 1917, when the Decree on peace was issued.

Lenin has taught us that we must go out among all sectors of the people and take action against all corrupt practices, against all evils, irrespective of the class to which the victims belong.

Lenin's style has marked all the successful work for peace done by Comrade Khushchov. This was the case during his visit to France. Enthusiastic crowds gathered to welcome him on the great town squares from one end of the country to the other, millions of televiewers heard him speak.

Comrade Khrushchov had many meetings with representatives of all sections of the population, with militant trade unionists, with the members of the peace movement and of many other social organisations. Besides meeting members of parliament, journalists, clergymen, intellectuals, he also spoke to businessmen and to various chambers of commerce.

Everywhere the people saw him as the representative of the peaceful forces of victorious socialism, of the Soviet people confident of their future, and also of the great ideal of peace and friendship between the peoples. He made a decisive contribution towards encouraging the deep-rooted action of our people, and mobilising the forces of the rank and file against war.

He was a most excellent propagandist of the great ideas of communism.

A widespread mass policy gives powerful impetus to the forces of peace and democracy; it is a barrier to the forces of war and reaction. It heightens the vigilance of the people and, at the same time, prepares them to counter any adventurous attempt of the imperialists.

Questioned in a recent interview as to what he thought the most important event of the year, a well-known film producer replied: "Khrushchov's presence at the United Nations, because on this occasion diplomacy came out on the streets." Perhaps this is not such a bad definition.

It was precisely Comrade Khrushchov who put forward the great idea of mankind finally freed from the nightmare of war, from the burden and the danger of the arms race, when he spoke at the United Nations General Assembly in September 1959. This idea is spreading more and more widely among our people who welcome the proposals for total and general disarmament accompanied by effective control which the Soviet government made in New York a few weeks ago.

Disarmament is not merely a question of ethics, of humanity or of financial burdens. Much more than this is at stake—the very existence of the millions of French people who would be condemned to die in an atomic war, the health of generations to come which is endangered by atomic tests.

The Chinese comrades declare that we should not make propaganda about the horror of atomic war. But the imperialists have taken upon themselves the job of dwelling on the dread results of such a war. Indeed, everyone knows the fighting calibre of the anti-bomb movement in Japan. Everyone knows that the campaign for the Stockholm Appeal made a great contribution towards preventing the Korean war from becoming a worldwide nuclear war.

Atomic war means mass extermination: It is difficult to understand the tendency to underestimate the effects of a nuclear war: if it came, what would be left in Europe, for

example, of the population of such countries as Albania, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia? What would be left of France? And how could a better life be born from atomic hell? How can anyone present socialism as "the rewards of the sacrifices" made by the people in an atomic war?

This is why our party calls on the people to throw all their strength into the campaign to ban the tests and the nuclear weapons themselves, to bring about total and general disarmament, to force the imperialist governments to settle all outstanding questions by negotiation.

III

Yet another of the principal characteristics of our times is the awakening of those peoples who were once oppressed by the yoke of colonialism. Stimulated by the October Revolution and the success of the socialist camp, the development of the national liberation movements is speeding up the disintegration of imperialism which no longer holds the majority of mankind in its power.

The overthrow of the old colonial regime has taken on gigantic proportions. The political aspect of Asia and Africa is unrecognisable. In a mere fifteen years nearly fifteen hundred million people, that is, half the world populations, have set themselves free. The wave of national liberation has reached Latin America, as we have seen from the example of the heroic people of Cuba.

French imperialism can no longer stand up to the colonial peoples as a whole. The strength of our bourgeoisie is today very different from what it was half a century ago. Then proud French imperialism ruled sixty million colonial slaves. Today the face of Africa, once under French domination, has changed beyond recognition.

In 1958 Guinea proclaimed its total independence and adopted a general democratic orientation. Despite threats and turmoil, weakened imperialism was incapable of stopping the advance, of contesting this act of liberation.

Other countries of Central and West Africa as well as Madagascar followed suit and won their emancipation, which, despite the differing levels of independence, can only go forward from strength to strength under the pressure of the people. The narrow framework, the careful limits that the French bourgeoisie has drawn for the independence of these countries have proved themselves brittle enough: the movement of history smashes the barriers the moment they are raised.

The fate of the old French colonial empire bears out the great lesson of our times—all the colonial countries are eager to win their independence, their freedom to organise their own national states. Colonialism's hour has struck; it will disappear in all its forms.

The break-up of the French colonial empire calls for us to make an important remark: there are today very many ways by which the colonial people can win their liberation.

The people of Vietnam and of Algeria were forced to take to arms. The people of Tunisia and Morocco made use both of a powerful, peaceful mass struggle and of armed action. Other people, in Central and West Africa, have freed themselves without the use of arms.

These different ways of winning independence have developed because of the weakening of the imperialist countries, because of the growing solidarity between the people of the dominating imperialist countries and the people who fight colonial oppression.

French communists have always supported the people's right to self-government, the formation of independent national states in the former colonies, and this does not exclude the eventual establishment of free relations between these states and France, on the basis of equality and mutual advantage.

Taking up a Leninist position, the French Communist Party has always considered the national liberation movement as the ally of the proletariat in the dominating imperialist countries, for they are fighting the same exploiters. It

is fully aware that by coming out against colonialism it also defends the highest interests of the French people:

From its fight against the Moroccan War of 1925 to its fight against the colonialist wars waged in Vietnam and, later Algeria, our party has always followed the same path. In 1939 we declared in Algiers itself that the Algerian nation was in the process of formation, that its rights must be respected. On November 8, 1954, at the very beginning of the Algerian people's fight for liberation, we demanded the recognition of their national aspirations and their right to freedom. We demanded that negotiations should be opened with their representatives.

We led the fight against the war policy of the governments that followed one after the other since that date, including Guy Mollet's government. And today, by still continuing to refuse real negotiations, Guy Mollet and the other right-wing socialist leaders are playing into the hands of the de Gaulle government.

For a long time we stood alone in our fight against the war in Algeria, the fight for the Algerian people's self-determination. However, our ceaseless action succeeded in mobilising very wide sectors of the population going beyond those of the working class and peasantry, to include intellectuals, certain catholic circles, and influencing most particularly working-class youth and students.

On February 1, last, twelve million workers struck for peace in Algeria. On October 27 hundreds of thousands of strikers and demonstrators throughout the country answered the appeal launched in common by the big trade union organisations and, in many regions to the united appeal of socialist and communist organisations. They demanded that negotiations be re-opened with the Algerian fighting forces, that is, the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, on the armistice and the practical application of self-determination.

Throughout the struggle, our party has always firmly maintained its Leninist position, that of working among the masses, including the army.

Thus, in firm solidarity with the courageous Algerian Communist Party, our party is forcefully fighting against a war that has been waging for six years now and in which the independence of Algeria is at stake: In this it does everything to mobilise and co-ordinate into one great mass movement all the activity which arises in the most different sections of the population and which reflect the people's growing opposition to this colonial war.

IV

As we have just seen, one of the most striking elements of the weakening of French imperialism is the breaking up of its colonial empire. But this is not the only one.

Despite the somewhat precarious increase of production, certain basic branches of our economy are becoming more dependent on the United States than ever. What is more, the forces of the United French bourgeoisie are more and more affected by a sharpening rivalry between imperialists. The so-called organs of European cooperation to which France belongs cannot attenuate the fierce battle for markets which is in reality two-fold: on the one hand between the Free Trade Zone and the European Common Market, on the other within the Common Market where West Germany is becoming more influential day by day.

In world politics, the influence of French imperialism is shrinking continually. The slight inclinations for independence displayed by the government of our country, their attempts to assume some of the leadership of NATO can in no way hide the real orientation of their foreign policy which remains based on the aggressive coalition of the Atlantic bloc and which encourages the dangerous development of German imperialism.

The result of the bourgeoisie's abandoning the nation's interest is that its moral authority among the people is weakened at the very moment when the class struggle intensifies.

The vast majority of the population is exploited by state

monopoly capitalism which brings about the fusion of state forces with monopolist forces—to the latter's advantage. Personal power was established with the precise aim of tightening the stranglehold of the trusts on the top political apparatus and all the life of the country.

The state has important economic positions. But only opportunists and revisionists can pretend that this is a modification of the nature of capitalism, or the transition to a progressive and humane capitalism. In fact, the state today only holds these positions in our economy in the interests of the monopolies.

The capitalist state offers the monopolies special low-priced tariffs for the use of the railways, power and fuel, and other products of nationalised industry. Profits made from the exploitation of the public sectors of economy go to pay for the budget of war preparations and social reaction.

Thanks to enormous military credits, the monopolist state is a source of wealth for the arms manufacturers, the electronic trusts, and so on. It enriches a circle of parasites which is developing all the time, which feeds like a canker upon the nation.

While there is this accumulation of wealth at one pole of our society, poverty grows at the other. It is in vain that all the official economists, the opportunists and revisionists have gone into battle against the law of pauperisation.

Today everyone is bound to admit that, under the regime of personal power, the living standard of both industrial and white-collar workers has dropped by 10 per cent compared with 1958. But even in 1958 the level of real wages was much lower than in 1938. And this does not take into account the worsening of working conditions, exhausting production rhythms, growing transport difficulties in getting to work, or deplorable housing conditions.

We should also add that the threat of unemployment has now appeared in France. Already thousands of miners and ship-building workers have been thrown out of work. Thousands more have just been sacked at the Renault works which

is always presented as a model of state monopoly capitalism.

The regime of personal power does not only attack the working class. The government plan means the break-up and ruin of 800,000 small or medium farms or vineyards, to the benefit of the big landlords and of agrarian capitalism.

An attack is also taking shape against the artisans and small shopkeepers. The restricted means of protection against the monopolies which they have acquired through long battles waged with the support of the working class are now being taken from them.

Intellectuals see all they most value trodden underfoot by the regime of personal power. French science has the greatest difficulties in keeping its place in international emulation. Serious attacks have been made on the non-denominational schools, thus encouraging the obscurantist activity of the Church. Teachers, writers, artists—all feel the effects of this repression.

As for the young people, all that the present regime can offer them is the indefinite continuation of the war in Algeria. It now seeks to lower the age limit for the call up to 18. With the enthusiasm they always display, young workers, students and peasants are actively fighting for peace and for their own demand. Our party is doing much to help the young communist movement to organise this battle, taking into account the aspirations of each section of the young generation.

The time is getting ripe for the united action of all those sections of the population that are threatened by the monopolies. The existence of a common enemy that must be beaten, of common interests that must be defended—here is the objective basis of the alliance between the working class, the working peasantry, intellectuals, the petty-bourgeoisie of the towns and even the owners of small and medium-sized factories which are the prey to monopoly competition.

In 1958, just after the referendum-plebiscite, our party considered that the regime of personal power could never

succeed in paralysing the fighting spirit of the workers and peasants struggling for their demands, of women and young people, of the great mass of peace supporters, of those who defend the non-denominational school against the clerical laws, of all sections of the population threatened by the monopolies. We said then that this fighting spirit would develop, that we would go forward towards the mobilisation of all working class and democratic forces.

It is true that in May 1958 in France these forces had not been able to throw back the reactionary attack because of the ideological confusion that existed over the Algerian problem, because of the splitting activity of the socialist leaders and of their betrayal. But, apart from the fact that the activity of our party prevented the bourgeoisie from completely achieving its aim—the destruction of all the people's civil liberties—it should be understood that the establishment of a regime of personal power is a reflection of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, and not of its consolidation.

Our party was not wrong in its estimation. In December 1958 the use of an iniquitous voting system virtually deprived it of its representation in parliament, although it remained the most important party from the point of view of the number of votes it gained. Three months later, the party won unprecedented success in the municipal elections.

The question that has to be solved is how to wield all the movements of protest and activity against the reactionary government into one current, how to bring together all the efforts of the people in order to strengthen to the utmost the struggle for the re-establishment and renewal of our democracy.

Our party knows only too well that it is faced with a difficult and arduous struggle against anti-democratic power which has at its disposal all the resources of state authority which is supported by the military bureaucracy and the most reactionary elements. The only way to fight this is to mobilise, to bring into action the mass of the people who have been prepared by our party for any eventuality.

In reality, in any situation, in any field of the struggle—whether it is a fight for democracy or for peace—the main thing is to win the masses.

It was to forward the necessary mobilisation that last year, at our Fifteenth Congress, the party adopted a wide programme for the renewal of republican institutions and of the country's life as a whole.

We do not present this programme to our possible allies as a series of conditions that they must take or leave. These are rather suggestions that we may discuss together and, eventually, put into practice together.

Socialist workers understand how wrong their leaders are to support the establishment of an arbitrary regime and to take part in its state bodies. While denouncing this dangerous policy, we continually do everything possible to persuade socialist workers and their organisations to participate in the common struggle. Thanks to our work, communists and socialists are now beginning to come together in the fight against the policy of reaction in all fields.

At the same time, catholic workers and former members of the resistance movement who have through confusion followed de Gaulle, have taken the fraternal hand we stretch out to them, and will do so in increasingly large numbers.

In this way, by the convergence of all working class and democratic forces, by the widespread struggle of the people we shall in France finally be able to bring back democracy, to renovate it.

It is obvious that the abolition of personal power, the establishment of a democratic regime in which the working class and its party play an important part, the economic measures taken, would all bring about a considerable weakening of the monopolies and thus a strengthening of the fight for socialism.

Our struggle for democracy is an integral part of the struggle for socialism. We entirely agree with what is said in the Declaration on this point.

Thus, the development of the class struggle in France in

conditions of peaceful coexistence together with the balance of forces in the world, creates a new situation and offers the working class the most favourable perspectives for its fight.

The decisions of our two recent congresses agree in this with the resolutions of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and with the Declaration published in 1957.

The transition to socialism necessarily implies socialist revolution, the destruction of the old state machine, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But it does not necessarily imply civil war.

In our times the transition to socialism may take place in many different ways. And the possibility of the peaceful transition will become more and more evident.

The working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard seek to bring the revolution about by peaceful means. This would be to the interests of the proletariat, of all the people, of the nation as a whole. And, in certain conditions, this is possible.

The use of a truly democratic parliament is one example of this peaceful transition, on condition that there is, of course, outside parliament, a powerful revolutionary upsurge of the people under the leadership and the guidance of the communist vanguard.

Each Communist Party must in this respect determine its own way taking into consideration the concrete conditions of its own country at a given moment.

For French communists there is nothing new in this conception. Just before the second world war, at a moment when the mass movement was growing in our country, when the party and its influence were becoming stronger, we publicly stressed this. In an interview given to the British newspaper *The Times* on November 18, 1946, we said:

“The progress of democracy throughout the world, except for a few exceptions that prove the rule allow us to envisage different ways to socialism than that taken by the Russian communists. In any case the road taken is necessarily different

in each country. We have always thought and said that the French people, with their glorious traditions, will find their own way to a wider democracy, to greater progress and social justice. However, history shows that there can be no progress without struggle. There is no ready-made road along which men can go forward the easy way. They have always had to overcome obstacles. This is the very meaning of life."

At that time we received little help or encouragement in this. Some refused to understand and treated this opinion as a manifestation of opportunism or parliamentarianism. At the first conference of the Information Bureau the Yugoslav delegates criticised us on this issue from what they thought to be a left-wing point of view; but their attitude later on showed quite well the value of such a claim. Those who hold that the possibility of the peaceful transition is always, in all cases, a rare exception, because Lenin said this half a century ago in a world that was very different from the world today, ignore the concrete character of scientific truth. Instead of a precise and vital study of the real facts, they prefer to quote a text that they have built up into a dogma.

This is the behaviour of the authors of the pamphlet: *Long Live Leninism!* At least three times in three pages they repeat that Lenin considered the peaceful transition as an "extremely rare possibility." But they take good care not to recall that he also qualified it as "extremely precious", and said that we should try to use this possibility, "even if there is only one chance in a hundred" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Editions sociales, Paris, Vol.25, pp. 334-35).

What is more, Lenin himself had come up against this possibility in Russia in 1917, in the interval between the February Revolution and the July events.

From Lenin's position during this period it follows that the possibility of the socialist revolution being carried through peacefully arises when the forces of the working class and its allies have an enormous superiority and when the bourgeoisie is forced to give in.

If Lenin came up against such a situation for a short time in 1917, then there is all the more reason that we should count on it, since we are living forty-three years later, in quite a different world. This is precisely why the possibility of the peaceful transition to socialism is not merely a propaganda slogan.

This possibility stems from an analysis of the historical facts, of the concrete conditions in which men live today, in which the present-day working class movement is developing.

Lenin always stressed the thesis of dialectical materialism to the effect that truth is always concrete, that it is not possible to face facts with general phrases and outlines learnt by heart. Dialectics mean that we must take the real facts into account, that we must study the whole series of phenomena, analyse changing conditions and organise our action in accordance with these new conditions.

It is also said that the theory of the peaceful transition to socialism has not been verified in practice. Why should this mean that the theory is false? The peculiarity of vanguard theory is that it precedes action, shows the way that action must take.

When Lenin put forward his thesis that it was possible to bring about the socialist revolution first in one country by itself, had there been any practical verification of this theory? No, not at all. Yet the theory, which was based on a concrete and attentive study of the facts, of the situation of imperialism, was absolutely correct.

It often happens in history that there is a certain lapse of time between the appearance of a new theoretical idea and its practical confirmation.

Those with a conservative trend of mind who speak of practical verification in order to justify their struggle against new ideas, like to make use of yesterday's experience. We *cannot judge the truth of the theory concerning the peaceful transition to socialism today by reasoning on the basis of yesterday's world.*

A theory which merely registers an event after it has

taken place can in no way be a vanguard theory. If Marx had awaited the fall of capitalism to develop his ideas about the socialist revolution, he would not have written the *Communist Manifesto* in 1847. If Lenin had waited for the weakest link in the chain of imperialism to snap before announcing it, he could not have been the leader of the October Revolution but, at the most, its commentator.

There is yet another question which is worth examining.

In accordance with the fundamental teachings of Marxism we have always thought and said that while the revolution may be carried out by peaceful means, this revolution itself is essential. It is impossible to go forward to socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat. In a letter to the French Marxist Paul Lafargue, dated March 6, 1894, in which he spoke of the French bourgeois republic, Engels said: "We may force it to make concessions, but never to undertake our own work". We have always remained faithful to this line.

Every effort of the opportunists and revisionists, in France as elsewhere, is aimed at wiping out the necessity of the act of revolution. Such people interpret the thesis of the diverse forms of transition from capitalism to socialism as one of possibility of carrying out or not carrying out a revolution, of setting up or not setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the day-to-day struggle against revisionism, our party shows the masses the vital need for this dictatorship to the oppressors, to all elements that seek to defend the old system of exploitation in the new era of building socialism.

While stressing the essential character of the dictatorship of the proletariat, our party brings out two ideas that are familiar to all Marxists. The first is that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not merely coercive; the second is that it represents a temporary necessity.

Lenin continually dwells on the idea that the dictatorship of the proletariat is democracy for the workers as a whole. It is not, as an anti-Communist sociologist claimed in France

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recently, a "technical organisation of power" that prevails over the "promise of real life". It is the expression of the real political life of the mass of the people, of the alliance of the proletariat and many non-proletarian sections of the workers against capital.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, with all the compulsion that it implies, is not power that aims at revenge. It has the positive and creative task to build socialism.

As socialism is built, as the old exploiting classes disappear the cohesion of the social structure grows. The people's ethical and political unity becomes stronger and the compulsion of the socialist state needs to be used less and less. To use Lenin's terms, "in our ideal there is no place for violence to men."

This is why we cannot consider that Stalin's formulation was correct when he said that class struggle sharpens as the forces of socialism grow. This notion, put forward in 1937, when socialism had triumphed in the Soviet Union, when the exploiting classes and their economic basis for existence had been eliminated, did damage to the construction of a new world. It facilitated the violation of revolutionary legality and unjustified acts of repression, all that has been denounced in the criticism of the personality cult.

We should neither minimise nor recommence such a mistake. We must above all be careful not to confuse the ideal of communism with the passing necessities arising from the heritage of the past.

The aim of communism is the happiness of mankind, the emancipation of society as a whole, the flowering of all human talent in each individual, the greatest freedom for all in social harmony and world peace.

Communists are not anarchists. They are aware of the necessity for the state in a class society. But while in the bourgeois regime the state serves to oppress the exploited masses, the immense majority of the people, in the regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the state serves to restrain the representatives of the old exploiting classes, the small

minority of the population, and those individuals who seek to set themselves apart from social work and discipline.

But once socialism has been achieved, communists set to work to build communism where the state will fade away.

The Soviet state is already putting all its efforts at home into developing the country's economy and, in foreign policy, into defending peace. A new man is being born. Democracy is being widened in every way. Functions that were previously carried by state administrative services are now being taken over by social organisations, by groups formed through the people's initiative. The same orientation is to be seen in the other socialist countries.

In the world of the future, the world of communism, the state will be replaced by social self-administration. Each man or woman, a fully integrated being, will enjoy the deepest and most concrete freedom. We should never forget our great aim of humanism.

V

The cohesion, the unity of the socialist camp, are decisive factors for the progress of socialism throughout the world.

The same should be said of the unity of the international communist movement. The unity of views and of action is more essential than ever.

This unity is forwarded by the consultations and discussions aimed at working out a common policy. We welcome the results of the Conference held in November 1957 in Moscow which together with the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto, provided the world movement with a charter.

We also approved the decisions taken by the Bucharest meeting which included in particular the convocation of the present conference.

For our part we have, in the past few years, sought to extend in the widest possible way these fraternal relations of equality—including ways of settling the differences of a political nature that may arise on the basis of principle. We have organised bilateral meetings, with several fraternal parties.

The Rome meeting between the Communist Parties of the European capitalist countries and its preparation contributed to the elaboration of useful and correct positions. The problems of peace, democracy, of the workers' demands and of their unity were raised in the most fitting manner.

We also took part in other meetings, such as those between the parties of the countries affected by the European coal and steel community, between the parties of the countries threatened by West German militarism, etc. We believe this method of consultation and conferences to be excellent and efficient.

The unity of our movement is only possible if there is full recognition, both in word and deed, of the vanguard role played by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This vanguard role is not due to historical reasons alone, to the fact that this party led the first victorious socialist revolution and made the first breach in the imperialist front. This role is also due to the present situation, to the fact that the Soviet Union is building a communist society and is thus at the peak of social development.

The existence and the strengthening of the Soviet Union, led by the party of Lenin, have been decisive for the victories of the socialist camp. They determined the great progress made by the communist and workers' movement in the capitalist countries.

We saw most clearly, both during and after the second world war, that the Soviet Union's victory over fascism was the factor that determined the national and social liberation of many peoples in Europe and Asia.

We reject any position that tends to weaken the unity of the socialist system or the international communist movement by considering that they could have several different centres. Our party has already fought this incorrect idea.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the most experienced party in every field. Its Twentieth and Twenty-first Congresses reflected the experience of the international working class movement as a whole and drew general

conclusions. This is why the lessons of these Congress concern all parties. And this should be stressed in the Declaration.

From this point of view we are in complete agreement with the amendment proposed by the Polish comrades. And we are surprised that the Chinese comrades no longer accept in 1960 the opinions they agreed to three years ago. The Declaration of 1957 said : "The historic decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are not merely of great importance for this party and for the construction of communism in the Soviet Union; they have opened a new stage in the world communist movement, have made a contribution to its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."

By their opposition to this appreciation, the Chinese comrades prove that they do, in fact, reject in principle the line laid down by the Twentieth Congress and confirmed by the 1957 Declaration, in order to replace it by their own line.

It seems to us that it is preferable to give concrete recognition of the pre-eminent role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, rather than to make use of the phrase about the Communist Party of the Soviet Union being "at the head" of the international communist movement. We have approved the position taken by the Twenty-first Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to this effect, and we approve all that Comrade Khrushchov has said here on this question.

The formulation rejected by Comrade Khrushchov is not necessary in estimating the special role played by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in our movement. It can even be harmful in as much as it gives the bourgeoisie a pretext for spreading lying propaganda about our parties.

At the same time, we realise that such a phrase actually covers up certain attempts to aim a blow at the prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at the authority of its leadership, and particularly of Comrade Khrushchov. We can only denounce such methods.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union bases all its activity on the principle of proletarian internationalism; this is particularly the case in its relations with the fraternal parties. It does everything to forward the progress of the socialist camp as a whole, the development of the working class movement and the national liberation movement, the consolidation of the communist parties. All our experience confirms the exemplary character of the internationalist attitude taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The unity we need is the voluntary but real unity of all the detachments of our movement rallied round the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This unity is not and cannot be formal. It has its roots in a community of principle that is continually proved and enriched in practice.

As the 1957 Declaration points out, "Marxism-Leninism calls for a creative application of general principles of socialist revolution and socialist construction according to the concrete historic conditions of each country....Lenin repeatedly called attention to the necessity of correctly applying the basic principles of communism, in keeping with the specific features of each nation, of each national state". This conception is absolutely correct. It has nothing in common with the curious theories put forward by the Chinese comrades about "Sinifying" Marxism-Leninism or even, if we prefer the words they themselves have used, the *adapting* of Marxism-Leninism in China. What would remain of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism if they are "Sinified" by some, "Frenchified" by others or even "Russianised", as the social democrats used to say when they attacked Lenin.

By taking into account the conditions existing in its country, each communist party makes its contribution to enriching our theory and not to "adapting" it, which in the long run means impoverishing it, limiting it to the narrow framework of a given country.

The unity of will and of action is just as essential as the unity of thought.

This is why we totally approve of that part of the draft

Declaration that appeals to our movement to defend its Marxist-Leninist unity and to fight any fractional activity or group that might undermine this unity. Communists are familiar with this principle. It is essential that it should be brought out clearly in the conference document. We agree with the amendment proposed on this point by the representatives of the Brazilian and Cuban parties.

We all know that a communist party's capacity for action lies precisely in its refusal to allow any kind of fractions to exist within it. In the same way, there could be no single international communist movement if groups were to be formed or trends crystallised within it.

The conception that this movement could accept within it a permanent and organised minority with the right to carry out activity in contradiction to the line laid down by the documents adopted by the majority, endangers the very unity of the movement.

Some declare that the principles of democratic centralism cannot be applied on a world scale because there is no longer a Communist International. But they forget what Marx said when he condemned national narrow-mindedness in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* : "The international activity of the working class does not in the least depend on the existence of the International Working Men's Association."

The fundamental truth of this has not been changed by the fact that the Communist and working class movement has been considerably strengthened and that some of its detachments are now at the head of a number of states. On the contrary, the responsibility of all parties to their own people and to all the peoples is heightened and this should result in strengthening unity of thought and action.

Apparently the Chinese comrades do not agree with these elementary ideas. That is why they refuse to condemn fractional work. They confuse the right to have their own opinion on the problems discussed and the "right" to spread their mistaken ideas once the majority of the parties have rejected them.

We consider that fractional activity was carried out when a meeting was held of the Communists of different parties present in Peking for the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions, in order to try and make them change the policy of this organisation. At this meeting the Chinese comrades attacked the principles of the 1957 Declaration.

Here are some of their claims : letting it be thought that war can be prevented while capitalism exists in deceiving the working class; speaking of disarmament and letting it be thought that it can be forced on the imperialists is deceiving the working class, creating illusions; thinking that peaceful coexistence can be achieved is revising the accepted idea of imperialism.

At the meeting of Communists of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Comrade Liu Ning-l devoted much of his speech to denouncing present-day revisionism, making sure that there was no doubt as to what he meant by this. He was attacking the policy of the Soviet Union and, in particular, Comrade Khrushchov. At the same time the Chinese comrades have attacked the resolution adopted by the seventeen parties that met at the Rome Conference last year.

What can all this be, if not fractional work.

The Communists present at these meetings protested vigorously against such methods which do not encourage the unity of the international communist movement.

It is with regret that we are obliged to make similar remarks concerning the conduct of the Chinese representatives in other international organisations, such as the World Peace Movement. Fractional activity was also carried out more recently at the International Congress of Democratic Lawyers, meeting in Sofia

The Chairman of the Chinese delegation met two of the French delegates, one of whom is not a communist, and spoke to them in the most impermissible way. In particular, he reproached the French Communist Party for what he called the "systematic and unconditional way" they followed "the line" of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We are used to this caricature of the close bonds that have always existed between French and Soviet Communists. But until now it has only been made by our enemies, by reactionaries and by the socialist leaders. Never before has it been made by comrades.

We approve the Drafting Commission for including one of the most important indications of the 1957 Declaration, to the effect that, in the interests of the communist and workers' movement, a firm combat must be waged on two fronts, against revisionism, the main danger, and against dogmatism, against sectarianism.

Our party has never ceased fighting revisionism, this manifestation of bourgeois ideology that paralyses the revolutionary force of the working class and implies the continuation of capitalism. It has never ceased denouncing the theories of "national communism" which were, in particular, put forward by the Yugoslavs, while at the same time it revealed their splitting activity.

Even when the fight against revisionism grew sharpest, our party never lost sight of the danger that sectarianism and dogmatism may cause to a wide mass policy. Indeed, the two deviations converge on several points for they both lead to impeding mass action, to passivity.

Today, when in our country a mass movement is developing so widely against the war in Algeria, certain petty-bourgeois elements have been overcome by impatience. With left-wing phrasemongering, they have recently sought to drag the peace supporters into a trial of strength with the de Gaulle government concerning a banned demonstration. We firmly rejected these adventurous attempts which would have played into the hands of the regime of personal power and disorganised the mobilisation of the mass of the people against its policy of war.

We would not forget that it was precisely in a period of the swift development of the revolutionary movement that Lenin considered it necessary to warn the young communist parties against the dangers of left-wing communism and sectarianism, against this "infantile disorder".

Sectarian and dogmatic tendencies can cause the greatest harm to the development and action of mass organisations. These organisations have a very important role to play. Those who attempt to make them adopt communist slogans repudiate their particular character, limit their opportunities for taking action, harm their influence and seriously underestimate all that such democratic mass organisations represent. In the long run, they confuse the vanguard with the masses, they deny the party its leading role while claiming to strengthen it.

Comrades : We expect much from this conference and we take the occasion to bring the fraternal greetings of French communists to the representatives of all the parties meeting here.

We ourselves greatly respect our brother parties, big or small, and their leaders, even though we do not always share their views. We also believe that mutual criticism can be both useful and necessary as it is made on the basis of principle and in such forms as correspond to the interests of our cause.

It is only by learning from the collective experience of our movement, by respecting the principles guiding the relations between communist parties, by coordinating our efforts, that we shall continue to go forward.

We shall have accomplished our duty at this conference if together we work out a single line of action on the firm basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, if we appear as a united international force.

For the mobilisation of the working class, of all workers, of all the forces that seek peace and freedom, there must above all be the unity of the international communist parties.

The adoption of the draft Declaration will be proof of this unity. It will show that after discussion we are united in our appreciation of the international situation and on all the fundamental questions concerning our movement.

In doing this we shall have made our contribution to the

great cause of communism, the cause of peace and the progress of mankind.

**EXTRACTS FROM REPORT
TO CC CPF BY MAURICE THOREZ***

AS THE COMRADES are aware, the results achieved have not come by themselves, or without difficulty. Members of the Central Committee know of the existing differences which were, in particular, due to the Chinese comrades.

In particular these differences were expressed last April in the collection of articles entitled *Long Live Leninism!* distributed everywhere.

The first disagreement concerned the characteristics of our times. The Communist Party of China abided by the definition that Lenin gave half a century ago when he spoke of the "epoch of imperialism, wars and revolutions". Thus, in their view, imperialism remained the decisive factor in the evolution of human society, despite the present preponderance of the forces of socialism.

Secondly, the Chinese comrades accuse those who support peaceful coexistence of embellishing imperialism, of spreading illusions as to the possibility of forcing the imperialists to accept peace.

At the same time, with flagrant contradiction, the Chinese comrades reproach them with being afraid of imperialism, of overestimating its might. They have described imperialism as a paper tiger which should be scorned from the strategical point of view, from the point of view of long-range action, yet taken seriously tactically, for short-term action. One wonders how such confused reasoning could enlighten the people as to the situation of the imperialist forces and the ways of fighting them!

The Chinese comrades maintain a dangerous theory about local wars, failing to realise that they are always fraught with the danger of becoming a general conflict. They ask us to stop the propaganda pointing out that a tiny spark from a local war might set the world aflame. Such an attitude is

* *Ivry*, 15 December 1960

certainly not calculated to make the people vigilant in face of the war danger!

In relation to the recent conflict over the Sino-Indian border, I openly declared at the Moscow conference that while we understood and approved the People's Republic of China when she replied to foreign armed forces that made inroads on her territory, we understood less clearly how such frontier questions could have been brought up at such a moment. We do not consider it possible to ignore the difference between a state that has just thrown off the colonial yoke, and an imperialist state.

We have been alarmed at the tense situation that has arisen between the two great Asian states, both members of the peace camp, and, like all French workers, we have welcomed the wise policy of the Soviet Union in this question. We deplored the fact that the President of the United States was given the opportunity of being welcomed in India as he would never have been welcomed in other circumstances.

The Chinese comrades expressed equally incorrect opinions concerning the transition to socialism. They present the thesis of the possibility of peaceful transition in certain conditions, as a slogan just good enough for propaganda and tactics. To really believe it, they said, would be opportunism.

For us, French Communists, this was no new objection. We were neither helped nor understood in 1946 when, in an interview given to *The Times*, we said that the progress of *democracy throughout the world enabled us to envisage other ways of going forward to socialism. At the first conference of the Information Bureau, the Yugoslav delegates criticised us on this point from what they considered a left-wing position; later on their attitude was sufficient to show the value of such a claim.*

The Chinese comrades also disagreed with the condemnation of the personality cult and the insistence put on the need to eliminate its consequences.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the Chinese comrades have systematically carried out fractional activity in all the international democratic organisations, thus undermining the international movement.

The harmful activity reached its height during the General Council meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Peking.

The assembly of Communist Parties held in Bucharest during the Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party was the first to counter this activity by adopting a resolution confirming the parties' deep agreement with the theses of the 1957 Declaration. The assembly convened a conference of all the parties to take place in Moscow in November.

For this conference, the Soviet comrades had drawn up a draft Declaration which, in October, was submitted to a drafting commission composed of the representatives of twenty-six parties. After a month of work, the drafting commission drew up a serious and well-considered document which was adopted unanimously. However, four points remained unsettled.

The first difference concerned the problems of war and peace. The Chinese comrades continued to declare that as long as the imperialist states existed it would not be possible to prevent war.

Secondly, the Chinese comrades refused to accept the expression "national communism" which was used in the passage of this document referring to Yugoslav revisionism. They considered that in reality this expression was a criticism of their own party.

After that, the Chinese comrades refused to accept the Czechoslovak and Polish amendment stressing the international importance of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In this they showed that they did not agree with the line of principle adopted at the Twentieth Congress although they had themselves accepted this line at the time.

Finally, the Chinese communists criticised the passage of

the documents declaring that any fractional or group activity was impermissible in the world communist movement.

They were supported by the Albanian Workers' Party. They also had the backing of a certain number of Asian parties and of the Australian Party, especially on the question of fractions.

These, then, were the conditions in which the conference opened.

First the conference heard a very high-principled speech made by Comrade Khrushchov who explained and developed the essential theses contained in the draft Declaration. Khrushchov confined himself to ideological and political considerations, without once mentioning the contentions that had arisen in the relations between socialist states without going into secondary or personal polemics. This speech—one of true nobility—had a deep influence on all the work of the conference.

The vast majority of parties followed the same line. Their Delegates supported the draft Declaration and approved the speech made by the representative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

You have read the speech made in the name of our own delegation. It made a great impression and played an important part in furthering the progress of the conference.

The Chinese speaker, Comrade Teng Siao Ping, made a very long contribution in which he confused state problems with ideological and political ones, and from which it became clear that, far from disagreeing on isolated points, the Chinese Communist Party did not agree with the line of the international working class movement, proposing in its place another line of a sectarian and left-wing nature.

Only one European party showed itself in solidarity with this line—the Albanian Party of Labour. The speech, or rather the diatribe of Enver Hoxa, proved that the Albanian leaders had for years been in disagreement with the international communist movement and especially with the policy carried out in order to normalise relations with Yugoslavia. Among

other things, they had not approved the withdrawal of the Second Resolution of the Information Bureau concerning the Yugoslav League of Communists and Khrushchov's visit to Belgrade in 1955

This speech made a most painful impression on the conference. It was condemned by practically all the delegations. As we had spoken before Enver Hoxa, our delegation afterwards submitted a written Declaration sharply criticising his speech. Our text brought out the flagrant contradiction between the line of the Albanian leaders and the political positions contained in the Joint Declaration signed by the Central Committees of the French Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labour in Tirana on July 2, 1957.

Apart from the Albanian Party, the parties of Korea, Burma, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and Australia supported the Chinese Communist Party to varying degrees. As for the Vietnamese and Japanese comrades, while agreeing with the vast majority on the general line, they expressed a conciliatory point of view.

The General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, Comrade Ghosh, also supported the general line of the conference. He courageously exposed the Chinese comrades' responsibility in the Sino-Indian conflict and pointed out that the Chinese comrades had received all the communications of the Indian Party on this question in complete silence. However, he requested that the conference should not insist on the condemnation of fractional activity being inserted in the Declaration.

All the other parties, that is, the vast majority, came out against the opinion of the Chinese comrades, for the theses of the draft Declaration. Except for the Albanian Party, not one European party, not one African or American party showed the slightest hesitation. The Chinese comrades had counted on the inexperience of certain recently formed communist parties, especially in the colonial and dependent countries. These hopes proved to be unfounded.

After this exchange of opinions, Comrade Teng Siao Ping

again got up to speak. The Chinese delegation continued to uphold all its positions, refusing to accept any criticism of its mistaken opinions, thus creating a difficult situation. Our delegation then drew the Chinese comrade's attention to their responsibilities and requested that they refer the matter to their Central Committee.

The conference was adjourned and the drafting commission met once more. On the initiative of the Soviet comrades, and with our approval, the commission worked out certain formulations concerning the disputed questions to which the Chinese comrades could not refuse to agree.

In Section III of the Declaration, concerning the possibility of preventing war, the following sentence was inserted: "The victory of socialism throughout the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars."

The expression "national communism" was withdrawn. It was considered, quite rightly, that the withdrawal of this formulation which had been misinterpreted by the Chinese comrades, did not in any way weaken the sharp condemnation of Yugoslav revisionism made in Section VI.

On the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the delegation reiterated word for word the sentence of the Declaration adopted by all the parties in 1957 which pointed out that this congress had opened a new state in the international communist movement.

The final text continued to stress the need to do away with "the harmful consequences of the personality cult". The words "in the communist movement" were simply cut out.

In the same way the point referring to the necessity of "firmly defending the unity of the international communist movement" and of "refusing to accept any activity that might undermine that unity" was kept in. It is true that the words "fractional or group activity" had been taken out, but as a whole the passage was strengthened. The pledge to respect political discipline within the international movement is clearly stressed.

Thus, we have won a fundamental victory for the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Unity was achieved without any concession of principle. The attempt to replace the line of the international movement by a different one was beaten.

By changing certain formulations of the original text, we had facilitated the adoption of the Declaration by the Chinese comrades and by the few parties who were confused on these issues. We frustrated the intentions of our adversaries and achieved the unanimity of the conference, which was essential to the highest interest of our movement and which corresponds to the desire of the communist and revolutionary workers throughout the world.

**EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH
BY MAURICE THOREZ BEFORE CC CPF***

Our Central Committee unreservedly approves the theses and decisions of the Twentysecond Congress, as it approved those of the Twentieth Congress. These two Congresses, together with the Declarations adopted by the international conference of 1957 and 1960 show the only correct road.

The theses of the Twentieth and Twenty-second Congresses were generally accepted by the international communist movement. Apparently the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour were the only ones to oppose this orientation. They deviated from the general line of the world communist movement concerning the important problems of our times—the possibility of avoiding war, the possibility of the peaceful transition to socialism, the struggle against the cult of personality.

The Albanian leaders did not accept the line of the Twentieth Congress, the practice of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet government's disarmament proposals. They have publicly broken the solidarity of the socialist camp by refusing to associate themselves with the Bulgarian and Rumanian governments' project for disengagement and disarmament in

*Ivry, 26 November 1961

the Balkans. The personality cult is practised in Albania, as are the methods of leadership that were condemned by the Declaration of the 81 parties.

Foundering in nationalism, the Albanian leaders slander the Soviet Union in the most shameful way. The documents concerning the Soviet Union's generous aid to Albania are well-known: for example, the Soviet-Albanian Declaration of 1957 which gave details of the factories and all the other installations built by the Soviet Union in Albania and freely given to this country.

The Chinese comrades have reproached Comrade Khrushchov with the fact that at the Twenty-second Congress he publicly raised the question of harmful orientation of the Albanian Party of Labour leaders, basing himself on the Declaration of the 81 Parties. In this they forgot that our Soviet comrades had patiently exhausted all the means indicated in this Declaration.

What remained to be done? Hide the truth from the Soviet people, publish in the *Pravda* the hypocritical greetings telegram sent by the Albanian Party leaders to the Twenty-second Congress, swearing eternal friendship for the Soviet people, and remain silent as to the real situation? This would not have been possible. It would have been a lack of honesty towards the Soviet people and, at the same time, would have done a bad turn to the Albanian people, to the cause of international unity.

The Declaration of the Chinese comrades concerning the form of the discussion is to some extent explained by the efforts now being made by the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party to spread the mistaken theses of the Albanian leaders whom they present as the guardians of "the purity of Marxism-Leninism".

In his report Waldeck Rochet has said that Comrade Giovonni—the only member of our leading organs to hold this opinion—had not approved the attitude of our delegation to the Twenty-second Congress concerning the public criticism made of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour.

In his contribution to the discussion. Comrade Giovanni has repeated that it is a question of form. He said : " I consider it proved that the Albanian Party of Labour has not respected the charter of the 81 Parties." If he were to think again, he would understand that our delegation, and indeed the Twenty-second Congress, had adopted the only correct position that was in line with the Declaration of the 1960 conference.

The Marxist-Leninist bases of principle *that are common to all parties* and the universal laws that govern their activity should be regarded as our most precious possession. So should international solidarity, confidence and unity. For our part, we continue to do everything to safeguard them, to fight any fractional behaviour in the international communist movement.

Some continue to develop the thesis of "polycentrism". We fear that this formulation hides a tendency to fractionalism and we are determined to save international unity from such a danger.

Of course, neither the Communist International nor the Information Bureau exist any more. But last Sunday I gave the reasons for this—the considerable growth of the communist movement, the great variety of objective conditions, the inevitable differences in methods of work. Each communist party is completely independent from the point of view of organisation and policy.

And this is precisely why we find the thesis of polycentrism surprising and alarming.

There is no longer any one centre of leadership: why speak of forming several?

From what we have read, we have noticed that some say the Twenty-second Congress was not a step forward because it upheld the thesis that everywhere the same general laws governed the transition to socialism. Such a thesis, it is claimed, would be in opposition to the assertion of national ways to socialism.

It is clear that such a position denies the universal value-

of the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution. It is correct to put sufficient stress on the national peculiarities and historical conditions of the socialist revolution in a given country. But it is incorrect to pick out these points exclusively to the detriment of the important laws outlined in the 1957 Declaration such as the necessity of the dictatorship of the working class "whose core is the Marxist-Leninist party": the socialist transformation of industry and agriculture, the defence of revolutionary achievements, and so on.

The Twenty-second Congress has also been presented as a correction of the Declaration of the 81 parties that brought the "fictitious unanimity" to an end.

Insofar as Party organisation is concerned, some people consider possible the formation of majorities and minorities, that is to go back to the system of tendencies, of fractions, giving up the Leninist conception of the party of new type.

A national organisation of the Young Communist movement has just published a magazine in which one page is taken up by the head-line: "The degeneration of the socialist state". The article even speaks of giving back his place to Trotsky!

As to the role played by Trotsky, I would like briefly to repeat what I told the active party members of the twentieth arrondissement of Paris.

I was present at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the International which excluded Trotsky from its ranks in 1927. He was excluded after four years of political battle within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all fraternal parties. He was excluded for his political attitude and for his fractional activity in the Soviet Union and in the international communist movement.

Contrary to the legend that is built up around him, Trotsky had never been either a Leninist or a Bolshevik. He was a fellow traveller at the moment of revolutionary upsurge. He joined the Bolshevik Party a few months before October. Until then he had been the outspoken adversary of Lenin and the main leader of the famous "August bloc" which

grouped all the Mensheviks, Trotskyites and other adversaries of Leninism.

And like a petty-bourgeois who launches out only when things go well, Trotsky, became totally confused as do all unstable elements, when things got difficult, failing to see the perspectives and showing a tendency to use bureaucratic military methods in order to meet the difficulties.

He never understood the peasantry. He proposed the militarisation of the Soviet trade unions. At the same time he endangered party unity, its basis of principle and of organization.

With his slogan "Neither peace nor war!" which Lenin correctly countered, he would have thrown the Soviet Union into catastrophe. He had no confidence in the creative forces of the Soviet people, in the possibility of building socialism in one country. He wanted "to stimulate revolution by war." We should add that Trotsky possessed the art of flattering youth.

Comrades : While fighting against revisionist and opportunist trends we should not neglect sectarian and dogmatic deviations which could become the greatest danger if we stopped fighting against them.

Dogmatic elements seek to give the impression of revolutionary purity. But in fact, like the opportunists, they too lack confidence in the might and progress of the socialist camp, the world working class movement, of all the peoples. They cannot see all that is new in the international situation. They do not realise that imperialism is on the decline.

The Twenty-second Congress denounced the dogmatic antiparty fraction which refused to accept the theses of the Twentieth Congress and which, in 1957, tried by plotting to prevent the party from putting them into practice. They sought to force the Soviet people and the communist party to retreat.

Waldeck Rochet has recalled that at the time our party approved unreservedly and immediately the measures taken

by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union against this group. If the group had not been exposed and rendered powerless, the Soviet Union's foreign policy, in particular, would have taken another orientation and the country's prestige in the world would have been weakened. International relations would have deteriorated.

Thus, in fighting on two fronts, against cowardly opportunism and sectarian dogmatism, we are strengthening the party. We are steeling it. We are welding its ranks still more solidly. We are making it yet more capable of opening the doors of the future, of bringing France, in its turn, to socialism, to communism, on the example of the Soviet Party whose history has been enriched by yet another brilliant and glorious page—the Twenty-second Congress.

LETTER FROM CC CPF TO CC CPC

DEAR COMRADES,

Having heard a report on the Stockholm meeting of the World Peace Council, our Party's Political Bureau approved the decisions taken at this meeting, particularly that concerning the convocation of a World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace in 1962.

In view of this World Congress, our Political Bureau has taken the necessary steps to ensure the success of the national Congress of the Peace Movement in France, that has been convened for March 10 and 11 and with the following items on its agenda: the fight for disarmament and the development of the struggle for peace in Algeria and against fascism, against the revenge-seeking militarism in Germany and for settling the German question.

Our Political Bureau also discussed the attitude taken by the Chinese delegation at the last meeting of the World Peace Council. In this respect we would like to draw your attention to certain problems of common interest.

Before the Council the Chinese delegation cast doubt on the decisive importance at the present time of the struggle for general total and controlled disarmament, the peaceful

coexistence between states of differing social systems and the settling of outstanding international problems by negotiation. It even voted against the motion to convene a World Peace Congress for general disarmament and peace.

Counterposing the struggle for national liberation to the struggle for disarmament and peace, as the Chinese delegation did, results in underestimating and sometimes denying the activity of the world peace movement in showing solidarity and support for the peoples fighting for their independence, which is one of the most important factors in the people's overall struggle for peace against imperialism.

We were also surprised by another position taken up by the Chinese delegation—its opposition to the World Peace Council's participation in the preparation and the session of the Conference of the peoples of three continents (Asia, Africa and Latin America), although the World Peace Council itself had proposed such a conference as far back as in 1959. It is also well-known that your delegates to the Gaza meeting of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian solidarity organization behaved in the same manner.

It is to be feared that such a position might encourage those forces that try to strain and even split the unity of the world movement for peace. It might create a harmful situation in which these countries would be isolated from the working class movement and from the peace-loving and progressive people in Europe, including those of the socialist countries, and might even go as far as setting up a centre opposed to World Peace Movement.

As far as the German question is concerned, we believe that it is contrary to the most elementary facts to consider, as the Chinese delegation at Stockholm did, that West German imperialism and militarism are not a real danger. Today there exists in the centre of Europe—with a bridgehead within the socialist camp itself, at West Berlin—an aggressive power that seeks revenge and, with the support of the imperialists of the United States, Great Britain and France, thus creates a great danger to peace in Europe and throughout the world.

In Stockholm the Chinese delegation's attitude to these questions was happily rejected by the Council as a whole, except for the Albanian delegation and few individuals. Instead of drawing the conclusions necessary for preserving the unity of the world peace movement, the Chinese delegation on the contrary, adopted a line of conduct that was severely condemned by the World Council (obstruction, the demonstrative way delegates left the meeting, attacks on the Soviet delegation and so on).

We do not believe that such behaviour corresponds to the line of the world communist movement as laid down in the Declaration of the Conference of the 81 parties either concerning the fundamental question of the struggle for peace in our time or concerning the character of the world peace movement which is a broad non-party movement. The method that consists of bringing up in mass movements the differences that may exist or arise between communists is not in accordance with the joint decisions made at conferences of the Communist and Workers' Parties. We consider this all the more regrettable since the cohesion and unity of all forces against the danger of war are today more essential than ever.

In the past few years our party has fraternally drawn the attention of your party to certain positions that you have taken in the international movement.

In July 1960 we communicated to you a resolution adopted by the Central Committee of our Party on July 1st 1960 for purely party use. In this resolution, which expressed its complete agreement with the Bucharest Declaration, our party stressed the fact that the question of disarmament is closely bound up with the possibility of preventing war in our time.

While it would be wrong to let the masses think that disarmament could come by itself, without any effort on their part it is just as dangerous to let them think that any disarmament is impossible as long as imperialism still exists, for this would result in resignation and passivity instead of developing fighting spirit.

The socialist countries favour disarmament, and the same

cannot be said of the imperialist states. But disarmament is so much the desire of the masses that it is a factor for their mobilisation, a fighting aim that will enable us to fight effectively against the aggressive policy of the imperialists.

In 1957, the Moscow Declaration stated: "At present the forces of peace have so grown that there is a real possibility of averting war, as was demonstrated by the collapse of the imperialist designs in Egypt which in itself contributed to the development of the colonial peoples' liberation movement."

Again in November 1960, at the Conference of the 81 Parties, our Party's delegation expressed our disagreement with the theses presented in the name of the Communist Party of China, and declared: "No one can doubt today that it is possible to prevent an imperialist war, to banish it from the life of our society, unless he seriously underestimates the changes that have taken place in favour of the peace camp and falsifies the fundamental characteristic of our times."

Imperialism has not changed its nature, and the French Communist Party is aware of this every day of its life. It stresses this reality in all its documents. As long as imperialism exists, the basis for unleashing war also exists. But the main thing is that today imperialism no longer has a free hand. It can no longer behave as a sovereign force in the world.

Facts show that peaceful coexistence does not weaken the class struggle; on the contrary, it creates the best conditions for a mass political struggle on a still sharper and wider scale. It is, in our time, a superior form of the class struggle.

At the Conference of 81 Parties, our Delegation once again stressed the fact that in telling the people that by their struggle they can force effective measures of partial disarmament to be taken and achieve general disarmament, we are not expressing bourgeois pacifist tendencies or fostering illusions. We are, on the contrary, seizing an excellent lever for mobilising the masses against the threat of war. In this field the world peace movement, as an organised mass

movement, has played a great role in the past and should continue to do so.

The political positions and conduct of your delegates in Stockholm, that is, within a mass, non-party movement, would, if they had not been rejected, have resulted in restricting the very basis of the movement, and in splitting it. The fact that your delegates have shown such behaviour not only in the World Peace Movement but also in several other international mass organisations, can only increase difficulties within these movements.

We are informing you of our opinion because we wish to safeguard not only the unity of the World Peace Movement, but also the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism, as contained in the Declaration of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties.

We believe that in order to safeguard this unity, it is the duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties that signed this Declaration in November 1960 to respect it. It is essential that on this basis all the communist parties should adopt the same attitude in international organisations. We are convinced that the Communist Party of China—whose outstanding role in the great communist family and for the victory of the cause of communism in the world has always been stressed by our party—will take measures to ensure that the essential unity of these organisations is not only preserved, but strengthened.

Yours fraternally,

FOR THE POLITICAL BUREAU
WALDECK ROCHET
DEPUTY GENERAL SECRETARY
OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

24 January 1962

REPORT BY RAYMOND GUYOT TO CC CPF*

Recently, and particularly at several congresses of fraternal parties—those of the Bulgarian, Hungarian, Italian and

* Malakoff, 13-14 December 1962

Czechoslovak parties—the delegates of the Chinese Communist Party have made use of the congress platform to which they had been invited, to demonstrate their opposition to the decisions of the 1957 and 1960 conferences, to support and encourage the sectarian and splitting campaigns launched by the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour.

The Political Bureau believes that this situation should be examined by the Central Committee. And this is the reason for my brief report.

World War not Inevitable

It is now two years since our Central Committee discussed the differences that had arisen, with growing breadth and violence, between the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour and of the Chinese Communist Party and the international communist and working class movement as a whole.

It is now clear that the publication in all languages of the Chinese Communist Party pamphlet *Long live Leninism!* in the summer of 1960, the attack against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union carried out by the Albanian delegate to the Rumanian Workers' Party and then the attempt to use a Peking meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions to the same end, are all part of the same plan.

This was the starting point for an open campaign against the historic decisions of world importance taken by the Twentieth Congress which, we should not forget, were the basis for the conference of the parties in 1957. These decisions concerned the possibility of preventing war today, of envisaging, in certain conditions the peaceful transition to socialism, the condemnation and struggle against the personality cult and the liquidation of all its consequences.

From the summer of 1960 on, the Communist Party of China supported the Albanian Party of Labour while swearing that their intentions were pure. At that time we said that if the Communist Party of China was sincere when it spoke of their desire to safeguard the cohesion and unity of the international movement, then it should use its influence with

the Albanians. But, as we have seen, this influence was used to quite a different end.

On October 2, 1960, Maurice Thorez spoke at a conference devoted to educational work held in Choisy-le-Roi and denounced the dogmatic theses then being developed by the Chinese Communist Party. He said:

“We can no longer say, as it was correct to do so at the beginning of the century and as some of the more dogmatically minded still repeat, that we are living “in the era of imperialism. war and proletarian revolution”. The times in which we live are those of the disintegration of imperialism, of proletarian revolution, of the formation and consolidation of the world socialist system.”

In the same speech, our comrade recalled that in his Decree on Peace, of November 8, 1917, Lenin already thought that communism should make its way through the world not by force of arms but by the force of example, by the demonstration of its political, economic and cultural superiority.

With his unshakable faith in the superiority of socialism over capitalism, Lenin supported the idea of the competition between the two social systems. The difference between that time and the present is that the perspectives of success have now grown enormously.

Imperialism has ceased to exercise its domination over the vast majority of mankind. There are sufficiently strong forces in the world today to stop the worst pirates from launching into aggression, to oblige them to respect peace. Imperialism has not changed, but the conditions surrounding it have changed. Events have borne out the views put forward by our party's Twelfth Congress, twelve years ago, when it declared: “War is not inevitable.”

Differences over Fundamental Problems

The report on the work of the Conference of the 81 Parties held in Moscow in November 1960, was presented to the Central Committee meeting of December 15, 1960 by Comrade Maurice Thorez. The meeting adopted a resolution support-

ing the Declaration of the 81 Parties and the Message to the Peoples of the World, and "entirely approving the work of the French Communist Party delegation."

Those passages of the report concerning the differences that had arisen were not made public. We took into account the fact that the Declaration of the 81 Parties had finally been adopted unanimously. We thought that all the parties would respect the common decisions that had been taken. This should have meant that the Chinese comrades acted together with the other parties to carry out these decisions. But it was not so.

Thus, the Central Committee decided to publish a pamphlet reserved for the use of party members that would include all the documents concerning the positions adopted by the delegation of our party to the conference of the 81 Parties, condemning the sectarian and adventurist positions of the Albanian leaders and the support they had received from the Chinese delegation.

In this speech Comrade Maurice Thorez, in the name of our party delegation, expressed our disagreement with the theses presented by the delegate of the Chinese Communist Party. We recalled that on July 1, 1960, the Central Committee of our Party sent the Chinese comrades a firm resolution expressing our disagreement with their political positions and disapproving of certain of their methods.

The comrades of the Communist Party of China acknowledged our resolution, saying that it had been drawn up on the basis of one-sided information. However, this was not so. Our attitude was based on the study of the texts published by the Chinese comrades in the pamphlet *Long Live Leninism!* We stressed that it was not a question of differences between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of Soviet Union, but of a deep disagreement between the Chinese comrades and the rest of the international communist movement.

The publication of all these documents was welcomed by all party members. It considerably helped the party as a

whole to understand *the basis* of the problem and the grave nature of the differences. It contributed to strengthening the confidence of the whole party in the Central Committee. It also helped to develop a spirit of internationalism and to heighten the party's ideological level on the decisive problems of our times.

Sectarian and Splitting Activities

At the Twentysecond Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (October 17, 1961), the delegation of the Communist Party of China spoke from the platform of this congress to cover up the attitude of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour and thus expressed solidarity for these positions.

As for our delegation, in the speech made by Maurice Thorez to greet the congress in the name of our party, we again condemned the "behaviour of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour who, continuing in their sectarian and adventurist attitude, deviate from the principles of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement, thus causing great harm to the Albanian people themselves."

On November 25, 1961, we held a Central Committee meeting whose agenda included the report of our party's delegation to the Twentysecond Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union. This report was presented by Comrade Waldeck Rochet.

Speaking of the case of the Albanian Party of Labour leaders, Waldeck Rochet first pointed out that Comrade Khrushchov had publicly told the Congress of the abnormal and alarming situation that had arisen in the Albanian Party. He then went on to denounce the attitude of this Party on the following points: refusal to condemn the personality cult which still reigns in their party alongside despotism and violence; the practice of an adventurist and sectarian policy in all fields.

The report pointed out that in a recent speech Enver Hoxa had openly expressed his hostility for the policy of peaceful

co existence carried out by the Soviet Union and attempted to make it seem that the Soviet Union had suffered a setback over the German question and over Berlin. It is thus that they fan the propaganda of the imperialists.

The report stressed that the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party had not wished the attitude of the Albanian leaders to be publicly discussed from the platform of the Twentysecond Congress. Our delegation considered that it would be neither possible nor correct to remain silent.

In the speech he made to this meeting of November 1961, Comrade Maurice Thorez also dealt with these questions, saying:

“The Chinese comrades have reproached Comrade Khrushchov with the fact that at the Twentysecond Congress he publicly raised the question of the harmful orientation of the Albanian Party of Labour leaders, basing himself on the Declaration of the 81 Parties. In this they forgot that our Soviet Comrades had patiently exhausted all the means indicated in this Declaration.

“What remained to be done? Hide the truth from the Soviet people, publish in the *Pravda* the hypocritical greetings telegram sent by the Albanian party leaders to the Twentysecond Congress swearing fraternal friendship to the Soviet people, and remain silent as to the real situation? This would not have been possible. It would have been a lack of honesty towards the Soviet people and, at the same time, would have done a bad turn to the Albanian people, to cause of international unity.

“The Declaration of the Chinese comrades concerning the form of the discussion is to some extent explained by the efforts now being made by the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party to spread the mistaken theses of the Albanian leaders whom they present as the guardians of ‘the purity of Marxism-Leninism’.”

The Central Committee adopted a resolution on the universal character of the decisions of the Twenty-second Congress which approved the activity of our party's delegation

and stressed that "the duty of each communist party was to condemn such a line and such activity that could only harm the Albanian people, that were contrary to the cause of socialism and that broke with the collective decisions taken by the fraternal parties."

These texts were published in a pamphlet entitled "The Universal Importance of the Twentyscond Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union", which appeared as a supplement to the *Cahiers du Communism* of December 1961.

Shortly after the Twentyscond Congress, a meeting of the World Peace Council was held in Stockholm. There the question was raised of convening world congress for general disarmament and peace. The Chinese delegation would not agree to disarmament being the main item on the agenda of the world congress. Even in the meetings of the World Peace Council, several members of the Chinese delegation behaved in an unfraternal way to the Soviet delegates. This received general censure.

On this question, our party sent the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party a letter stressing how such an attitude could harm the cause of peace, the cause of all the peoples and unity of all the peace supporters of the world so essential to overcome the warmongers.

These campaigns were continued throughout the year of 1962. They reached their culminating point against the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Comrade Khrushchov during the Cuban crisis. In November 1961, Enver Hoxa accused the Soviet Union of having retreated over Berlin; now the question of Cuba is referred to as surrender to imperialism, a new Munich, and so on. It is even insinuated that the Soviet Union is guilty of "big power chauvinism"—yet, for us all, the Soviet Union has, throughout its history, been an example of the active struggle for the sacred cause of proletarian internationalism. During November and December 1962 the delegates of the Chinese Communist Party made use of four congresses of fraternal parties in

order to continue and develop their campaign. Our party delegations to these congresses have denounced and condemned the behaviour of the Albanian Party of Labour leaders and drawn the attention of the Chinese comrades to their attitude during these congresses and the harm that it causes to the international movement as a whole. The Political Bureau proposes that the work of the party delegations to the four congresses that have just been held should be approved.

Struggle on Two Fronts and Unity of International Communist Movement

The struggle for the theses of the Twentieth and Twenty-second Congresses, for the application of the decisions of the international conferences of 1957 and 1960, demands, and will continue to demand considerable vigilance, perseverance and effort. New problems have arisen, due to our successes throughout the world. In this new situation we must raise to a still higher level the struggle of the peoples throughout the world for democracy and peace, for socialism and communism.

If we are to go forward we must carry out the struggle on two fronts. The 1957 and 1960 Declarations stressed that at the moment revisionism was the main danger. The ideological struggle has been successfully waged in the world movement against opportunism and revisionism. Our party has taken an active part in this struggle within our party and in particular at our Sixteenth Congress against the opportunist and liquidationist positions held by Marcel Servin and Laurent Casanova; at the same time it fought in the international movement against certain theses concerning "national communism", against the reformist views about the ways of the transition to socialism, polycentrism, and so on. We have always expressed our opinion—both at conferences and meetings, and publicly in our reviews—in a fraternal way, concerning ourselves with the ideological aspects, in the common interest.

In the present situation dogmatism and sectarianism are the main danger. The conference of the 81 Parties had indicated

that this danger could become the main threat at a given stage of the development of a given party.

This is what has happened in the Albanian Party of Labour; it is also true for the Communist Party of China. It is clear that from now on the danger exists for all the international movement. This is all the more true since the differences have arisen mainly on subjects of general importance, such as the essential question of war and peace.

Thus it is necessary to examine all that is new in the conduct of the Albanian Party of Labour leaders when we compare the period of which I have just spoken with that of the Twentysecond Congress.

Apart from the fact that the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour have now begun to use insults systematically, what is new in their behaviour is the open appeal for a *split* in the international communist and working class movement.

Last October, *Zeri I Popullit*, the organ of the Albanian Party of Labour, referred to Comrade Khrushchov in the following terms:

“The mass of communists and workers are realising more and more that they have been betrayed behind their backs. Everyone knows how the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, behaved when they saw that there was no hope of improving the Mensheviks and that it had become harmful *and impossible to remain in the same united party with them....*”

At the same time, the *Red flag*, the newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party, devoted an article to current affairs and to the situation in Cuba, saying that in the history of the working class movement a great party had already betrayed the movement in the past—this was the German Social Democratic Party.

The allusion is only too clear. Here are the words used by the *Red Flag*:

“During the first world war, a prey to social-chauvinism, the German Social -Democratic Party which was then the strongest and most influential party in the world led the way

to the betrayal of proletarian internationalism, and other social democratic parties in most of the European countries became the lackeys of the bourgeoisie of their own countries. The Second International went bankrupt. At this time the Russian Bolsheviks, led by the great Lenin, held high the red flag of proletarian internationalism, united revolutionary Marxists from different countries and waged resolute battles against the social-chauvinists of the Second International..."

These texts arouse our indignation. They oblige us to recall one of the main points of the Declaration of the 81 Parties :

"To defend resolutely the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism, to allow no activity that might undermine this unity—these are the essential conditions of victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the success of the aims of the socialist revolution, of the construction of socialism and communism."

Firm and Wise Policy of Soviet Union

In support of their theses, which could create the danger of a split, the supporters of dogmatism give a distorted version of events in Cuba, and their development, thus trying to mobilise the communists and the national movements in Latin America, Africa and Asia not against the American imperialists but against the Soviet Union and the international communist movement.

They use every possible means to do this: they distribute their texts and seek support in a large number of countries. In the international organisations they multiply the difficulties, especially among the editorial board of the *World Marxist Review*, within the peace movement they are carrying out a campaign to discredit the World Congress for Disarmament and Peace which was held in Moscow last July.

These sectarian and adventurist positions have had a certain repercussion in some communist parties, especially in

Asia and within some national movements. They encourage the "leftism" that sometimes exists in these parties and movements.

In the gigantic battle where the forces of peace and of war face each other, every moment of difficulty that demands cool thinking, wisdom and firmness, is exploited by the Chinese Communist Party against the Soviet Union. This is what happened during the Cuban affair. And it could only be to the advantage of the American imperialists, making it more difficult to maintain peace and the respect of Cuba's independence. However, peace was won and Cuba's independence respected, finally, which offered great new possibilities for peaceful coexistence, for doing away with foreign bases, for disarmament. This victory was won by the firm and wise policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Comrade Khrushchov whom our people already welcomed as "the messenger of peace" when he visited France. Our party fully approves this policy.

A permanent state of tension has been created in some parties by dogmatic positions. This is true of certain parties of Asia and America. The situation of our brother party, the Communist Party of India, is difficult. The imperialists and reactionary elements won certain points over the situation that arose on the Chinese-Indian frontier and which was already worrying us at the time of the conference of the 81 parties. Speaking on this question then, our Comrade Maurice Thorez said:

"The Chinese comrade has referred to the recent conflict on the Chinese-Indian frontier I must openly say that while we understand and approve the People's Republic of China when she replied to foreign armed forces that made inroads on her territory we understand less clearly how such frontier questions could have been brought up at such a moment. We were alarmed at the tense situation which has arisen between the two great Asian states, both members of the peace camp, and like all French workers, we have welcomed the wise policy of the Soviet Union in this question. We deplored the

fact that Eisenhower was given the opportunity of being welcomed in India as he would never have been welcomed in other circumstances..."

In the same way it is clear that the existence of a real Chinese-Indian war front would not contribute to the mobilisation of all anti-imperialist forces, particularly in the so-called non-engaged countries, against the American war plans for Cuba.

This is why we are all the more pleased with the cease-fire decision taken by the Chinese comrades and we greet this initiative as a wise and positive decision. We now hope that negotiations will soon be opened between China and India and that they will lead to the restoration of a friendship that is necessary for the battle against imperialism and for peace. In the same spirit, we have never reproached the Chinese comrades for showing great patience and evident realism concerning their own territories still under imperialist occupation.

Common Enemies

Happily, all the campaigns against the policy of peaceful coexistence have, by their very violence and exaggeration, brought forth the condemnation and reprobation of the parties as a whole. This fact is decisive for the future of the international communist movement and its unity. In this way the conditions are created for discussion on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Communists throughout the world have the same enemies. They must do everything to strengthen their unity and to oppose a split; they must struggle for new victories in the cause of the people for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

To the agitational pretexts of which we have already spoke (the policy of peace and independence in the Caribbean, the condemnation of the sectarian and splitting positions of the Albanian Party of Labour leaders) the Chinese comrades have now added a third—Tito's visit to the Soviet Union.

As for ourselves, we believe that the efforts made by our Soviet comrades were positive, not only for maintaining good relations with the Yugoslav socialist state, whose views on many international problems correspond to those of the socialist camp, but also for helping the Yugoslav League of Communists to take its place in the great communist family. Whatever ideological differences may still exist with the Yugoslav comrades, we have never in reality resigned ourselves, and never shall resign ourselves to socialist Yugoslavia remaining outside the united struggle of the world revolutionary movement. We have expressed our disagreement over a certain number of the theses contained in the programme of the Yugoslav League of Communists. At the same time, we have done our best to improve our relations in the common interest. In 1957 there was a meeting in Belgrade between a delegation from our party and one from the Yugoslav League of Communists. A common Declaration was adopted and published both in *l'Humanite* and in *Borba*. Later, on the invitation of the League, our party sent a delegation to visit Yugoslavia and a delegate represented our party at the recent congress of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance. We will do everything, here and elsewhere, to strengthen the unity and cohesion of all the forces that are building socialism and fighting for peace, as our Comrade Khrushchov put it yesterday.

Proletarian Internationalism and Tasks of Party

In conclusion we put the following proposals to the Central Committee :

1. To strengthen our ideological struggle concerning peaceful coexistence, the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism, the liquidation of the personality cult, the struggle on two fronts and the unity of the international communist and working class movement, in accordance with the decisions of our Fifteenth and Sixteenth Congresses. In this we expect that *l'Humanite*, *France Nouvelle* and the *Cahiers du Communisme* will make a special effort;

2. To inform the party of all these problems, in particular through report-back meetings on this session of the Central Committee; to publish a pamphlet including the texts of the 81 Parties (already published), the letter from our party to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party of July 1, 1960, hitherto unpublished, extracts from the reports, and speeches made before the Central Committee and its resolutions, extracts from the report of Waldeck Rochet, that of Maurice Thorez, and the Central Committee resolution of November 1961; the letter on the problems of peace addressed to the Chinese Communist Party after the Stockholm meeting. A preface could be written that would take into account the present Central Committee meeting, whose resolution would also be published;

3. In our struggle for peace we should continue to give the utmost attention to the following problems :

Cuba, where the sovereignty of this heroic island and, thus, peace is still in danger, so that we must strengthen our vigilance towards the warmongers and develop solidarity for the Cuban revolution :

Berlin, where the abnormal situation of West Berlin still exists, necessitating the development of activity of peace supporters for the signature of the German peace treaty and for true friendship between the French and German people:

The Chinese-Indian frontier, because of the dangerous situation which has developed and which demands that we do everything to facilitate the opening of negotiations.

However, the main task remains to develop a wide campaign for general disarmament in the spirit of the appeal of the World Congress (Moscow, July last), that is, in the widest unity for general disarmament and peace, in particular by helping to give impetus to the French peace movement and to organise the "States General of Disarmament" which will be held in Paris in the spring;

4. Continue to consider the solidarity campaigns of great importance :

In Spain where the struggle is developing but where Franco

is trying, by increasing repression, to intimidate the people's forces, which means that we must make a great effort in the fight to save Julian Grimau, for the amnesty and in support of the magnificent struggle of the Spanish working class, the Spanish people.

In *Portugal* where the people are carrying out fine battles, our work for solidarity has stepped up of late, during the preparation of the conference of the West European countries for the amnesty of political prisoners and exiles which was held in Puteaux on December 15 and 16.

In *Greece*, a country with which our party has a fine tradition of solidarity, 400 imprisoned resistance fighters have recently been set free. We must help to free from prison and camps the 1,200 resistance fighters who are still captive, with their head Manolis Glezos. Organisations and personalities intend organising a conference for amnesty in 1963.

In the *United States*, the persecution suffered by our American comrades and the democratic forces of the United States, corresponding to the needs of the cold war forces in this country, demand great solidarity from us in face of American imperialism which seeks to give an example of what it would like to see done in other countries of the "free world".

In *Germany* the recent victorious activity carried out in solidarity with the Association of the Victims of Nazism shows that our work is fruitful. We must not slow down our efforts.

In *India*, taking advantage of the Chinese-Indian frontier conflict, Indian reaction has tried to attack the democratic forces and particularly the Communist Party of India. In all the states, many leading party members have been arrested. We express our solidarity for them and demand that all Indian Communists in prison should be set free. At the same time we are developing our support for the people of South Vietnam who are fighting oppression, for their independence.

In *Algeria*, in the face of the Algerian Government's decision to ban the Algerian Communist Party and its newspaper *Al Houriya*, we are developing our solidarity with our brother

party which has carried out such a glorious struggle beside the other national forces, and paid heavy tribute in the cause of Algerian liberation.

Without wishing to interfere in Algerian affairs, it is our duty as the friend and ally of the Algerian people, and thus concerned with their future, with the future of fruitful Franco-Algerian cooperation, with the interests of the general movement of the forces of peace and progress throughout the world, to express our alarm and reprobation to the present leaders.

After the Declaration of the Political Bureau the Central Committee will reaffirm its complete fraternal solidarity with the Algerian Communist Party. Angry workers and democrats whose protests are growing in France and in Algeria hope that this unjust and dangerous measure may be withdrawn immediately.

5. To give more and more attention to our party's participation in the different international meetings of all kinds which are held on various subjects, and in particular those organised by the *World Marxist Review*.

The Communist parties of the "Little Europe" countries which have already met in Brussels agreed on the principle of holding another meeting to discuss what they have in common in the struggle against the Common Market. To ensure the best possible preparation of this meeting we have agreed to exchanging our opinions with our comrades of the Italian Communist Party in the near future.

At the same time we shall have discussions with representatives of the Communist Party of India, and other parties.

6. The Central Committee will certainly want to adopt a resolution on the situation in the international movement. A draft resolution has been submitted to the Central Committee (the text adopted was later published in *l'Humanite* on December 15).

* * *

Our party will continue its work to ensure the application of the correct policy laid down by the Conference of the 81

Communist and Workers' Parties and to preserve the unity of the world communist movement. We shall continue to fight firmly against revisionism and against dogmatism and sectarianism, which have become the main danger in the international communist and working-class movement. We shall work together with all our brother parties, with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which is universally recognised as the vanguard of the international communist and working-class movement.

The world communist movement is growing all the time. There is no force, no obstacle that can halt the development and the influence of the communist movement and the victory of communism.

Whence the Differences?

**(A Reply to Thorez and Other Comrades)
"People's Daily" Editorial, 27 February 1963**

Comrades Thorez, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, and certain other members of the CPF have a prominent place in the present adverse current of attacks on the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties, a current which is undermining the unity of the international communist movement.

Since the latter part of November 1962, they have made numerous statements in quick succession attacking the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties and published many related inner-Party documents. The following are among the main ones:

Thorez's speech at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party on December 14, 1962;

The report on problems relating to the international situation and to the unity of the international communist and working class movement, made by R. Guyot, member of the Political Bureau of the CPF, at the Plenary session of the Central Committee of the CPF on December 14, 1962;

The resolution on problems relating to the international situation and to the unity of the international communist and working class movement adopted by the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CPF on December 14, 1962;

The editorial written by R. Guyot in *L'Humanite.*, organ of the Central Committee of the CPF, on January 9, 1963;

The article entitled "War, Peace and Dogmatism", which appeared on the same day in *France Nouvelle*, a weekly published by the Central Committee of the CPF;

Ten successive articles attacking the Chinese Communist Party by name in *L'Humanite*, from January 5 to January 16, 1963;

The article entitled "In What Epoch Do We Live?" in *France Nouvelle*, on January 16, 1963;

The pamphlet entitled *Problems of the International Communist Movement*, Published by the Central Committee of the CPF in January 1963, containing fifteen documents attacking the Chinese Communist Party written by CPF leaders over the last three years, including Thorez's speech at the Moscow Meeting of the fraternal Parties in November 1960 and his subsequent report on the Moscow Meeting to a Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CPF;

The article by R. Guyot in *L'Humanite*, on February 15, 1963.

The main content of these statements has already been published in the *People's Daily*, of February 24. It is evident from these statements that in the recent anti-Chinese chorus and in the emulation campaign against the Chinese Communist Party, Thorez and other comrades have been particularly energetic and have outdone many other comrades in assailing the Chinese Communist Party.

Besides their assaults on us, Thorez and other comrades have levelled malevolent attacks at the Albanian Party of Labour, censured the fraternal Parties of Korea, Burma, Malaya, Thailand, Indonesia, Vietnam and Japan and even gone so far as to assail the national liberation movement which is heroically fighting imperialism and colonialism. They have slanderously alleged that the "sectarian and adventurist" positions taken by the Chinese Communist Party "have found some echoes in certain Communist Parties, particularly in Asia, and within nationalist movements" and that they "feed the 'Leftism' which exists at time in these Parties and movements". The attitude of certain French comrades towards the

revolutionary cause of the oppressed nations is indeed shocking. They have truly gone too far in disrupting the unity of the international communist movement.

The Chinese Communist Party has long held, and still holds, that differences between fraternal Parties should and must be settled within our own ranks, and through full and comradely discussion and consultation on an equal footing in accordance with the principles set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. In no instance have we been the first to launch public criticism of any fraternal Party or to provoke public debate. Nevertheless, it would be miscalculation for anyone to suppose that he can take advantage of our correct stand of giving first place to the interests of unity against the enemy and that he can launch public attacks on the Chinese Communist Party at will without evoking a deserved rebuff.

We should like to tell those comrades who have wantonly attacked the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties: The fraternal Parties are equal. Since you have publicly lashed out at the Chinese Communist Party, you have no right to demand that we should refrain from publicly answering you. Similarly, since you have made public and vicious attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour, the Albanian comrades have the full and equal right to answer you publicly. At present, certain comrades of fraternal Parties, which talking about a halt to the public polemics, are themselves continuing to attack the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties. This double-faced attitude actually implies that only you are permitted to attack others and that it is impermissible for others to reply. This will never work. In the words of an old Chinese saying; "Courtesy demands reciprocity. It is discourteous not to give after receiving." In all seriousness we feel it necessary to bring this point to the attention of those who have been assailing the Chinese Communist Party.

In attacking the Chinese Communist Party, Thorez and other comrades have touched on the nature of our epoch, the

appraisal of imperialism, war and peace, peaceful coexistence, peaceful transition, and other questions. But a close look reveals that they have merely repeated other people's stale arguments. Since we have already answered their erroneous arguments on these questions in our editorials entitled "Workers of All Countries, Unite, Oppose Our Common Enemy!", "The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us" and "Let Us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement", and also in the editorial entitled "Leninism and Modern Revisionism" in the periodical *Red Flag*, there is no need to go over the same ground again.

It is worth pointing out that in their speeches, reports and articles, Thorez and the other comrades use a great many words to distort the facts, confound right and wrong and mislead the people, thus seeking to make the Chinese Communist party shoulder the responsibility for undermining the unity of the international communist movement and creating a split. They endlessly repeat that the differences in the international communist movement "were in particular the act of the Chinese comrades" and that the differences arose because the Chinese comrades "have not yet fundamentally accepted the theses of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." They also allege that the greater the lapse of time since the first and Second Moscow Meetings of the fraternal Parties, the more does the position of the Chinese comrades "diverge from the theses which they had nevertheless approved and voted for."

Since Thorez and other comrades have brought up the question of who is responsible for the emergence of differences in the international communist movement, let us discuss it.

Whence the differences in the international communist movement?

Thorez and other comrades state that these differences arose because the Chinese Communist Party did not accept the theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. This very statement is a violation of the principles guiding relations

among fraternal Parties as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and Statement. According to these two documents which were jointly agreed upon, the fraternal Parties are equal and independent in their relations. No one has the right to demand that all fraternal Parties should accept the theses of any one party. No resolution of any congress of any one Party can be taken as the common line of the international communist movement or be binding on other fraternal Parties. If Thorez and other comrades are willing to accept the viewpoints and resolutions of another Party, that is their business. As for the Chinese Communist Party, we have always held that the only common principles of action which can have binding force on us and on all other fraternal Parties are Marxism-Leninism and the common documents unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties, and not the resolutions of the congress of any one fraternal Party, or anything else.

As for the 20th Congress of the CPSU, it had both its positive and negative aspects. We have expressed our support for its positive aspects. As for its negative aspects, namely, the wrong viewpoints put forward on certain important questions of principle relating to the international communist movement, we have held different views all along. In talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and at meetings of fraternal Parties, we have made no secret of our view and have clearly set forth our opinions on many occasions. But in the interests of the international communist movement, we have never publicly discussed this matter, nor do we intend to do so in the present article.

The facts are clear. The differences in the international communist movement in recent years arose entirely because certain comrades of a fraternal Party had violated the Moscow Declaration which was unanimously agreed upon by all the Communist and Workers' Parties.

As is well known, the 1957 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, basing itself on Marxism-Leninism eliminated certain differences among the fraternal

Parties, reached agreement on the current major issues in the international communist movement, and produced the Moscow Declaration as a result of comradely consultation and collective effort. The Declaration is the common programme of the international communist movement. Every fraternal Party has proclaimed its acceptance of this programme.

If the Declaration had been strictly adhered to by all the fraternal Parties in their practice and had not been violated, the unity of the international communist movement would have been strengthened and our common struggle advanced.

For some time after the Moscow Meeting of 1957, The Communist and Workers' Parties were fairly successful and effective in their united struggle against the common enemy, and above all against U.S. imperialism, and in their struggle against Yugoslav revisionists, who had betrayed Marxism-Leninism.

But, because certain comrades of a fraternal Party repeatedly attempted to place the resolutions of the congress of one Party above the Moscow Declaration, above the common programme of all the fraternal Parties, differences within the international communist movement inevitably ensued. Particularly around the time of the Camp David talks in September 1959, certain comrades of a fraternal Party put forward a series of erroneous views on many important issues relating to the international situation and the international communist movement, views which departed from Marxism-Leninism and violated the Moscow Declaration.

They contravened the Moscow Declaration's scientific theses *that imperialism is the source of modern wars, and that "so long as imperialism exists, there will always be soil for aggressive wars"*. They incessantly proclaimed that even while the imperialist system and the system of exploitation and oppression of man by man continue to exist in the greater part of the world, 'already in our time, the practical possibility is being created of banishing war from the life of ~~the~~ finally and for ever" and "a world without weapons,

without armies and without wars" can be brought into being. They also predicted that 1960 "would go down in history as a year in which the long-cherished hope of mankind for a world without weapons and armies and a world without wars begins to come true."

They contravened the theses of the Moscow Declaration that in order to prevent another world war we should rely on the joint struggle of the socialist camp, the national liberation movement, the international working class and the mass movement of the peoples for peace. They pinned their hopes for defending world peace on the "wisdom" of the heads of the major powers, holding that the historical fate of the present epoch is actually decided by individual "great men" and their "wisdom" and that summit meetings of the major powers can determine and change the course of history. They made such statements as: "We have already said more than once that it is only the heads of governments who are invested with great powers, who are able to settle the most complicated international questions." They portrayed the Camp David talks as a "new stage", a "new era" in international relations, and even "a turning point in the history of mankind."

They contravened the theses of the Moscow Declaration that the U.S. imperialists "are becoming the centre of world reaction, the sworn enemies of the people." They were especially ardent in lauding Dwight Eisenhower, the chieftain of U.S. imperialism, as one who had "a sincere desire for peace", who "sincerely hopes to eliminate the state of 'cold war', "and who "also worries about ensuring peace just as we do."

They violated the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between the two different social systems as set forth in the Moscow Declaration, and interpreted peaceful coexistence as nothing but ideological struggle and economic competition, saying: "The inevitable struggle between the two systems must be made to take the form exclusively of a struggle of ideas and peaceful emulation, as we say, or

competition, to use a word more common in the capitalist lexicon." They even extended peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems to the relations between oppressor and oppressed classes and between oppressor and oppressed nations, maintaining that for various countries peaceful coexistence is the road leading to socialism. All this represents a complete departure from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint of class struggle. They thus actually used the pretext of peaceful coexistence to negate the political struggle against imperialism and for the liberation cause of the people of all countries and to negate the international class struggle.

They contravened the thesis of the Moscow Declaration that U.S. imperialism vigorously seeks "to enmesh the liberated peoples in new forms of colonialism", and proclaimed far and wide that imperialism could help the underdeveloped countries to develop their economies on an unprecedented scale, thus virtually denying that it is the nature of imperialism to plunder the underdeveloped countries. They made such statements as: "General and complete disarmament would also create entirely new opportunities for aid to the countries whose economies are still underdeveloped and need assistance on the part of more developed countries. Even if only a small part of the money released by the termination of the military expenditures of the great powers were devoted to such aid it could open up literally a new epoch in the economic development of Asia, Africa and Latin America."

They contravened the thesis of the Moscow Declaration that in our day the liberation movement of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and the revolutionary struggle of the working class of various countries are powerful forces for the defence of world peace, and counterposed the national liberation movement and the people's revolutionary struggle in various countries to the struggle for the defence of world peace. Although they occasionally spoke of the necessity of supporting national liberation wars and people's revolutionary wars, they repeatedly stressed that "a war under contemporary

conditions would inevitably become a world war", that "even a tiny spark can cause a world conflagration" and that it was necessary to "oppose all kinds of wars." This amounts to making no distinction between just and unjust wars and to opposing wars of national liberation, people's revolutionary wars and just wars of all kinds on the pretext of preventing a world war.

They contravened the thesis of the Moscow Declaration that there are two possibilities, peaceful and non-peaceful, with regard to the transition from capitalism to socialism and that "the ruling classes will never relinquish power voluntarily", and laid a one-sided stress on the "growing immediate possibility" of peaceful transition, alleging that peaceful transition "is already a realistic perspective in a number of countries."

From this series of erroneous views, one can only draw the conclusions that the nature of imperialism has changed, that all its insuperable inherent contradictions no longer exist, that Marxism-Leninism is outmoded and that the Moscow Declaration should be cast aside.

But no matter what pretexts they may resort to whether "diplomatic language" or "flexibility", the comrades of a fraternal Party who spread these erroneous views cannot cover up their deviation from Marxism-Leninism and from the principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration or absolve themselves from their responsibility for the creation of difference in the international communist movement.

Such is the origin of the differences in the international communist movement which have arisen in recent years.

How did these differences come to be exposed before the enemy?

Thorez and other comrades allege that the differences were brought into the open with "the Chinese Communist Party's publication of the pamphlet *Long Live Leninism* in all languages in the summer of 1960." But what are the actual facts?

The truth is that the internal differences among the fraternal

Parties were first brought into the open, not in the summer of 1960, but on the eve of the Camp David talks in September 1959—on September 9, 1959, to be exact. On that day a socialist country, turning a deaf ear to China's repeated explanations of the true situation and to China's advice, hastily issued a statement on a Sino-Indian border incident through its official news agency. Making no distinction between right and wrong, the statement expressed "regret" over the border clash and in reality condemned China's correct stand. They even said that it was "tragic" and "deplorable". Here is the first instance in history in which a socialist country, instead of condemning the armed provocations of the reactionaries of a capitalist country, condemned another fraternal socialist country when it was confronted with such armed provocation. The imperialists and reactionaries immediately sensed that there were differences among the socialist countries, and they made venomous use of this erroneous statement to sow dissension. The bourgeois propaganda machines at the time made a great deal of it, saying that the statement was like a "diplomatic rocket launched at China" and that "the language of the statement was to some extent like that of a stern father coldly rebuking a child and telling him to behave himself."

After the Camp David talks, the heads of certain comrades were turned and they became more and more intemperate in their public attacks on the foreign and domestic policies of the Chinese Communist Party. They publicly abused the Chinese Communist Party as attempting "to test by force the stability of the capitalist system", and as "craving for war like a cock for a fight". They also attacked the Chinese Communist Party for its general line of socialist construction, its big leap forward and its people's communes, and they spread the slander that the Chinese Party was carrying out an "adventurist" policy in its direction of the state.

For a long time these comrades have eagerly propagated their erroneous views and attacked the Chinese Communist Party, banishing the Moscow Declaration from their minds.

They have thus created confusion within the international communist movement and placed the people of the world in danger of losing their bearings in the struggle against imperialism. Comrade Thorez can no doubt recall what was vigorously propagated at the time in the organ of the French Communist Party, *L'Humanite*: "Between Washington and Moscow a common language has been found, that of peaceful coexistence, America has taken the turning."

It was in those circumstances, and for the sake of upholding the Moscow Declaration, defending Marxism-Leninism and enabling the people of the world to understand our point of view on the current international situation that the Chinese Communist Party published, on the ninetieth anniversary of Lenin's birth, the three articles, "Long Live Leninism!" "Forward Along the Path of the Great Lenin!", and "Unite Under Lenin's Revolutionary Banner!". Although we had already been under attack for more than half a year, we set store by unity and made imperialism and Yugoslav revisionism the targets of the struggle in our discussion of the erroneous views which contravened the Moscow Declaration.

Thorez and other comrades turned the truth upside down when they alleged that the publication of the three articles was the point at which the differences in the international communist movement were brought into the open.

In May 1960, the American U-2 spy plane intruded into the Soviet Union, and the four-power summit meeting in Paris was aborted. We then hoped that the comrades who had so loudly sung the praises of the so-called spirit of Camp David would draw a lesson from these events, and would strengthen the unity of the fraternal Parties and countries in the common struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. But contrary to our hopes at the Peking Session of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions held early in June of the same year, certain comrades of fraternal Parties still refused to denounce Eisenhower, spread many erroneous views and

opposed the correct views put forward by the Chinese comrades. It was a fact of particular gravity that late in June 1960 someone went so far as to wave the baton and launch an all-out and converging surprise attack on the Chinese Communist Party at the meeting of the fraternal Parties in Bucharest. This action was a crude violation of the principle that questions of common interest should be solved through consultation among fraternal Parties. It set an extremely bad precedent for the international communist movement.

Thorez and other comrades have alleged that the delegate of the Albanian Party of Labour "attacked the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" at the meeting in Bucharest. But all the comrades who attended the meeting are very well aware that the Albanian comrade did not attack anyone during the meeting. All he did was to adhere to his own views, disobey the baton and take exception to the attack on China. In the eyes of those who regard the relations between fraternal Parties as those between patriarchal father and son, it was indeed an appalling act of impudent insubordination for tiny Albania to dare to disobey the baton. From that time on they harboured a grudge against the Albanian comrades, employed all kinds of base devices against them and would not be satisfied until they had destroyed them.

After the Bucharest meeting, some comrades who had attacked the Chinese Communist Party lost no time in taking a series of grave steps to apply economic and political pressure, even to the extent of perfidiously and unilaterally tearing up agreements and contracts they had concluded with a fraternal country, in disregard of international practice. These agreements and contracts are to be counted, not in twos or threes or in scores, but in hundreds. These malicious acts, which extended ideological differences to state relations, were out-and-out violations of proletarian internationalism and of the principles guiding relations among fraternal socialist countries as set forth in the Moscow Declaration. Instead of criticising their own errors of great nation chauvinism, these comrades charged the Chinese Communist Party with the errors of "going it

alone", sectarianism, splitting national communism. etc. Does this accord with communist ethics? Thorez and other comrades were aware of the facts, yet they dared not criticise those who actually committed the error of extending political and ideological disputes to the damage of state relations, but on the contrary charged the Chinese comrades with "mixing problems of state with ideological and political question." This attitude which confuses right and wrong and makes black white and white black is indeed deplorable.

It is clear from the foregoing facts that the aggravation of differences in the international communist movement after the Moscow Meeting of 1957 was due entirely to the fact that with respect to series of important issues certain comrades of fraternal Parties committed increasingly serious violations of the common line unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties and of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries.

The fact that Comrade Thorez disregards the facts and perverts the truth is also strikingly manifested in his distortion of what actually happened at the 1960 Moscow Meeting. He has charged that the Chinese Communist Party "did not approve the line of the international working class movement...and thus created a difficult situation" for the meeting.

For the good of the international communist movement we prefer not to go into detail here about what went on at this internal meeting of the fraternal Parties; we intend to give the picture and clarify right and wrong at the proper time and place. It must be pointed out here, however, that the Chinese Communist Party was an initiator of the 1960 Meeting of all the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world. We made great efforts to bring about its convocation. During the meeting we upheld Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and opposed the erroneous views put forward by certain comrades of fraternal Parties; at the same time, we made necessary compromises on certain questions. Together with other fraternal Parties, we made

concerted efforts to overcome a variety of difficulties and enabled the meeting to achieve positive results, reach unanimous agreement and issue the Moscow statement. These facts alone give the lie to Thorez and certain other comrades.

After the Moscow meeting of 1960, the fraternal Parties should have strengthened the unity of the international communist movement and concentrated their forces for the common struggle against the enemy in accordance with the statement to which they had unanimously agreed. In the resolution of the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties adopted at the Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in January 1961, we pointed out:

"The Communist Party of China, always unswervingly upholding Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism, will uphold the Statement of this Meeting, just as it has upheld the Moscow Declaration of 1957, and will resolutely strive for the realization of the common tasks set forth by this document."

In the two years and more that have passed, the Chinese Communist Party has faithfully carried out the common agreements of the international communist movement and devoted sustained efforts to upholding the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement.

Yet Thorez and other comrades have charged that after the Moscow Meeting of 1960 the Chinese Communist Party "continued to express divergences on essential aspects of the policy worked out in common by all the Parties" and that "the positions taken by the Chinese comrades are prejudicial to the interests of the whole movement."

Since the Moscow Meeting of 1960, who is it that has committed increasingly serious violations of the Moscow Declaration and Statement with respect to a number of issues?

Shortly after the Moscow meeting there was a further deterioration in the relations between the Soviet Union and

Albania. Comrade Thorez has tried to shift the responsibility for this deterioration onto Chinese Communist Party. He has accused China of failing "to use its influence to bring the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour to a more correct understanding of their duty."

In fact, the Chinese Communist Party has always maintained that the relations between fraternal Parties and fraternal countries should be guided by the principles of independence, equality and the attainment of unanimity through consultation as laid down in the Moscow Declaration and Statement. We have consistently upheld this view in regard to Soviet-Albanian relations. It has been our earnest hope that the relations between the two countries would improve and we have done our internationalist duty to this end. We have offered our advice to the Soviet comrades many times, stating that the larger Party and the larger country should take the initiative in improving Soviet-Albanian relations and settle the differences through inter-Party consultation on an equal footing, and that even if it were not possible to settle some differences for the time being they should exercise patience instead of taking any steps that might worsen relations. Accordingly, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party wrote to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party expressing the hope that the question of Soviet-Albanian relations would be resolved through consultation.

But no consideration was given to our sincere efforts. A number of incidents occurred—the withdrawal of the fleet from the naval base of Vlore, the recall of experts from Albania, the cessation of aid to Albania, interference in her internal affairs etc.

The Chinese Communist Party was pained by these crude violations of the principles guiding relations among fraternal countries. On the eve of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party once again gave the Soviet comrades comradely advice concerning the improvement of Soviet-Albanian relations. But to our surprise

at the 22nd Congress there occurred the grave incident in which the Albanian Party of Labour was publicly named and attacked and the odious precedent was thus created of one Party using its own Congress to make a public attack on another fraternal Party. In defence of the principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement guiding relations among fraternal Parties and in the interest of unity against the enemy, the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party attending the Congress explicitly stated our objection to a course of behaviour which can only grieve those near and dear to us all and gladden the enemy.

It is a matter for regret that this serious and just attitude of ours should have been censured. One comrade even said, "If the Chinese comrades wish to contribute to normalising relations between the Albanian Party of Labour and fraternal Parties there is hardly anyone who could do more than the Communist Party of China to help solve this problem." What did this remark mean? If it meant to hold the Chinese comrades responsible for the deterioration of Soviet-Albanian relations that was shirking one's own responsibility and trying to impute it to others. If it meant that the Chinese comrades should help to bring about an improvement in Soviet-Albanian relations, we would point that some comrades actually deprived other fraternal Parties of the possibility of effectively contributing to the improvement of those relations by completely ignoring our repeated advice and by obdurately exacerbating Soviet-Albanian relations even to the length of openly calling for a change in the leadership of the Albanian Party and state. After the CPSU Congress these comrades broke off the Soviet Union's diplomatic relations with the fraternal socialist country of Albania without any scruples. Did this not convincingly demonstrate that they had not the slightest desire to improve relations between the Soviet Union and Albania?

Thorez and other comrades have blamed the Chinese press for "spreading the erroneous propositions of the Albanian leaders". We must point out that the Chinese Communist

Party has always opposed bringing inter-Party differences into the open and that it was certain comrades of a fraternal Party who insisted on doing this and maintained, moreover, that not to do so was inconsistent with the Marxist-Leninist stand. In these circumstances, when the differences between the Soviet Union and Albania came into the open, we simultaneously published some of the material on both sides of the controversy in order to let the Chinese people understand how matters actually stood. Can it possibly be considered right that certain comrades of a fraternal Party may repeatedly and freely condemn another fraternal Party, may say that its leaders are anti-Leninist, that those leaders want to earn the privilege of receiving an imperialist hand-out of their pieces of silver, that they are executioners with blood on their hands, and so on and so forth, while this fraternal Party is not allowed to defend itself, and other fraternal Parties are not allowed to publish material on both sides of the controversy simultaneously? Those who claim to be "completely correct" have published one article after another attacking Albania but they are mortally afraid of the Albanian comrades' replies, they dare not publish them and are afraid of others doing so. It simply shows that justice is not on their side and that they have a guilty conscience.

Furthermore, Comrade Thorez and other comrades accuse the Chinese Communist Party of having "transferred into the mass movements the differences which may exist or arise among communists" referring especially to the Stockholm Conference of the World Peace Council in December 1961, where, they say, the Chinese Communist Party "counterposed the struggle for national liberation to the struggle for disarmament and peace."

But this is the diametrical opposite of the facts. It is not the Chinese comrades but certain comrades of a fraternal Party who have injected the differences between fraternal Parties into the international democratic organisations. They have repeatedly tried to impose on these international democratic organisations their own wrong line, which runs

counter to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. They have counterposed the struggle for national liberation to the struggle for world peace. In disregard of the widespread desire of the masses represented by these organisations to oppose imperialism and colonialism, to win or safeguard national independence, these comrades insist on making "every effort for disarmament" the overriding task and they energetically peddle the wrong idea that 'a world without weapons, without armies, without wars' can be realised while imperialism and the system of exploitation still exist. It is this that has given rise to continual sharp controversies in these organisations. Similar controversies broke out at the Stockholm Conference of the World Peace Council in December 1961. The demand made by certain persons at this conference was that colonial and semi-colonial people living under the bayonets of imperialism and colonialism should wait until the imperialists and colonialists accept general and complete disarmament, renounce their armed suppression of the national independence movement and help the underdeveloped countries 'with the money saved from disarmament. In fact, what these persons want is that, while waiting for all this, the oppressed nations should not fight imperialism and colonialism or resist the armed suppression by their colonial rulers, for otherwise, they say, a world war would be touched off, causing the death of millions upon millions of people. Proceeding from precisely this absurd "theory" these persons have vilified the national independence movement as a "movement for piling up corpses." It is these persons and not the Chinese comrades, who violated the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

The two most recent major issues in the international situation were the Caribbean crisis and the Sino-Indian border conflict. The stand taken by the Chinese Communist Party on these issues conforms entirely with Maxism-Leninsm and with the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. Yet in this connection Thorez and other comrades have made vicious attacks on the Chinese Communist Party.

With regard to the Caribbean crisis, Thorez and the other comrades have accused China of wanting to "bring on a war between the Soviet Union and the United States and so plunge the world into the thermonuclear catastrophe." Do the facts bear out this charge? What did the Chinese people do during the Caribbean crisis? They firmly condemned the acts of aggression perpetrated by U.S. imperialism, they firmly supported the five demands of the Cuban people in defence of their independence and sovereignty, and they firmly opposed the attempt to impose "international inspection" on Cuba which was made for the sake of an unprincipled compromise. In all this what exactly did we do that was wrong? Did not the French Communist Party's statement of October 23, 1962 also call for "vigorously protesting U.S. imperialism's warlike and provocative action"? Did not *l'Humanite* of the same date condemn the U.S. aggression as "pure and simple aggression prepared a long time ago against Cuba" and did it not appeal to the people of all countries as "a matter of urgency that the peoples reinforce their solidarity with Cuba and intensify their struggle?" May we ask Comrade Thorez: In thus supporting the Cuban people and opposing U.S. aggression, did you too want to plunge the world into a thermonuclear catastrophe? Why was it all right for you to do this at one time and why has it become a crime for China consistently to do the same thing? Plainly the reason is that, following the baton you suddenly changed your stand and began to hold forth about the need for "reasonable concessions" and "sensible compromise" in the face of the U.S. acts of aggression. That is why you turned your artillery from the Yankee Pirates to those fraternal Parties which have consistently maintained a correct stand.

Worse still, certain comrades in the CPF have vilified all who stand firm against the U.S. aggressors, calling them such insulting name as "heroes of the revolutionary phrase" and accusing them of "using fine words" and "speculating on the admiration which the Cuban people's courage has legitimately inspired." These comrades said that against

hydrogen bombs courage alone is not sufficient and "let us beware of sacrificing Cuban breasts on the altar of revolutionary phrases". What kind of talk is this? Whom are you accusing? If you are accusing the heroic Cuban people, that is disgraceful. If you are accusing the Chinese people and the people of other countries who oppose the U.S. pirates and support the Cuban people, does this not expose your support for the Cuban people as an utter fraud? As Thorez and certain other French comrades see it, if those who do not possess hydrogen bombs support the Cuban people, they are simply using "fine words" and indulging in "speculation", while the Cuban people who do not possess hydrogen bombs must submit to the countries which have them, sell out their state sovereignty, accept "international inspection" and allow themselves to be sacrificed on the altar of U.S. imperialist aggression. This is naked power politics. It makes an unqualified fetish of nuclear weapons. It is no way for Communists to talk.

We should like to say to Thorez and the other comrades that the eyes of the people of the world are clear; it is not we but you who have committed mistakes in connection with the Caribbean crisis. For you have tried to help out the Kennedy Administration, which provoked the crisis in the Caribbean, by insisting that the people should believe the U.S. promise not to attack Cuba, although the Kennedy Administration has itself denied having made any such promise. You have defended those comrades who committed both the error of adventurism and the error of capitulationism. You have defended infringements upon the sovereignty of a fraternal country. And you are making the fight against the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist Parties, rather than the fight against U.S. imperialism, your prime concern.

On the Sino-Indian boundary question, Thorez and other comrades have accused China of lacking the "minimum of good will" for a settlement of the dispute. This charge is ludicrous.

We have already had occasion to deal at length with the

Chinese Government's consistent stand for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian border issue and with the efforts it has exerted in this connection over a number of years. At the moment, the situation on the border has begun to relax, as a result of the serious defeat which the Indian forces sustained in their massive attacks and of the cease-fire and withdrawal which the Chinese force effected on China's initiative after having fought back successfully in self-defence. The three years and more of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute have furnished conclusive proof that the Chinese Government has been absolutely right in waging a necessary struggle against the reactionary policy of the Nehru Government of India.

The surprising thing is that when a fraternal socialist country was facing the Nehru Government's provocations and attacks, certain self-styled Marxist-Leninists should abandon the principle of proletarian internationalism and assume a "neutral" stand. In practice, they have not only been giving political support to the anti-China policy of the Nehru Government, but have been supplying the Government with *war material*. Instead of condemning these wrong actions, Thorez and other comrades have described them as a "sensible policy." What has happened to your Marxism-Leninism and your proletarian internationalism?

Time and again, Comrade Thorez has denounced China's policy towards India as benefiting imperialism. As early as 1960, he said that the Chinese Communist Party "gives Eisenhower the opportunity to obtain a welcome in India which he would not have received in other circumstances". To this day, some French comrades are repeating this charge.

To anybody with political judgment it is hardly necessary to dwell on the fact that one of the objects of the Nehru Government in stirring up conflict on the Sino-Indian border was to serve the needs of U.S. imperialism and secure more U.S. aid. We would only like to ask Comrade Thorez and certain other members of the CPF: Is it possible you have forgotten that Eisenhower was accorded not only a welcome

in India but a rousing welcome in France too? Comrade Thorez sharply criticised a number of elected Communist municipal and general councillors of the Paris region at the Plenary Session the Central Committee of the French Communist Party for not attending the reception to welcome Eisenhower when the latter was visiting Paris in September 1959. To quote Comrade Thorez, "It is necessary to say that we considered it a mistake that in spite of the decision of the Political Bureau, which wanted the elected municipal and general councillors of the Paris region to be present, they were not all present at the reception for Eisenhower at the Town Hall. That was an erroneous position. I have also criticised it since my return (Comrade Thorez had just returned from a trip abroad—*Ed. P.D.*) I wish to repeat that the Political Bureau had taken a correct decision but that it did not know how to secure its application." (*L'Humanite*, November 11, 1959). If the Chinese Communist Party is to blame for the welcome Nehru gave to Eisenhower, who is to blame, we would like to ask Comrade Thorez, for his endeavours to get all the elected Communist municipal and general councillors of the Paris region to attend the reception welcoming Eisenhower? From the class viewpoint of Marxism, no one need be surprised at Nehru's welcome to Eisenhower, but when a Communist Party leader shows such eagerness to welcome the chieftain of U.S. imperialism and uses such stern language in criticism of comrades for failing to attend the reception, one cannot help being amazed.

These two issues, the Caribbean crisis and the Sino-Indian border question, have once again thoroughly exposed the line and policy followed by those who claim to be "completely correct" and shown them to be contrary to Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. Nevertheless, they did not draw the proper lesson or show any desire to correct their errors and return to the path of Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration and Statement. Instead, angrier and more red-faced than ever, they have slid further and further down the wrong path; and

in an effort to divert people's attention and cover up their mistakes, they have started a still bigger adverse current directed against the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties, a current that is destructive of the unity of the international communist movement.

Several fraternal European Parties held their congresses between November 1962 and January 1963. At these congresses, by careful arrangements, a disgusting situation was created with large-scale and systematic public attacks made on the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties by name. In particular, at the recent congress of the German Socialist Unity Party, this adverse current reached a new high in the attacks on the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties and the disruption of the unity of the international communist movement. At this congress, certain comrades, while talking about ending the attacks, continued violently to assail the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties and, moreover, they openly tried to reverse the verdict on the traitorous Tito clique. Can these comrades deceive anybody by their double dealing? Obviously not. Such double-dealing just shows that they are not sincere about stopping the polemics and restoring unity.

In particular, it must be pointed out that the question of how to treat the Tito clique is a major question of principle. It is not a question of how to interpret the Moscow Statement but of whether to defend it or tear it up. It is not a question of what attitude to take towards a fraternal Party, but of what attitude to take towards traitors to the communist cause. It is not a question of helping comrades rectify the mistakes they have made, but of unmasking and denouncing enemies of Marxism-Leninism. Adhering faithfully to Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Statement the Chinese Communist Party will never allow the common agreement of the fraternal Parties to be either doctored or scraped, will never allow traitors to be pulled into our ranks, and will never agree to any trading in Marxist-Leninist principles or bartering away of the interests of the international communist movement.

From the facts cited above one can clearly see that on a whole series of questions it is not we but certain comrades of fraternal Parties who have been committing increasingly serious violations of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. It is not we but certain comrades of fraternal Parties who have failed to try to remove the differences among fraternal Parties in accordance with these two common documents, but have on the contrary exacerbated these differences. It is not we but certain comrades of fraternal Parties who have further exposed to the enemy the differences among fraternal Parties and publicly attacked fraternal Parties by name and with increasing violence. It is not we but certain comrades of fraternal Parties who have counterposed to the common line of the international communist movement their won erroneous line and who have thus exposed the socialist camp and the international communist movement to the more and more serious danger of a split.

From the facts cited above one can also clearly see that Thorez and certain other comrades of the French Communist Party have been taking a surprisingly irresponsible attitude towards the present serious debate in the international communist movement. They have been resorting to deception, blocking information, concealing facts and distorting the views of the Chinese Communist Party in order to be able to make unbridled attacks on it. This is certainly not the proper way to carry on a debate, nor does it show a responsible attitude towards the members of the French Communist Party and the French working class. If Thorez and the other comrades dare to face the facts and believe themselves to be right, they ought to publish the material of the Chinese Communist Party which explains its views including the relevant articles we have published recently, and let all the members of the French Communist Party and the French working class learn the truth and decide for themselves what is right and what is wrong. Comrade Thorez and the other comrades! We have already published your statement accusing us. Will you do the same? Do you have

that kind of statesmanship? Do you have that kind of courage?

Comrade Thorez and certain other comrades of the French Communist Party have distorted facts and reversed right and wrong to an extent that is real astonishing and yet they keep on calling themselves "creative Marxist-Leninists" very well, let's look at this kind of "creativity".

We note that, prior to 1959, Thorez and the other comrades rightly pointed out that U.S. imperialism was the leader of the forces of aggression and that they denounced the U.S. Government's policies of aggression and war. But on the eve of the Camp David talks someone said that Eisenhower hoped for "the elimination of tension in the relation between states", and so Thorez and the others vied with each other in lauding Eisenhower and decided that the parliamentary deputies of the French Communist Party should welcome this "peace emissary". This was a complete turn of 180 degrees in response to the baton.

We also note that in September 1959, after de Gaulle had issued a statement about "self-determination" for Algeria in which he totally refused to recognise her independence and sovereignty, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party issued a statement which rightly exposed this as a "purely demagogic manoeuvre." At that time Comrade Thorez himself said that it was "nothing but a political manoeuvre." But in little more than a month as soon as a foreign comrade said that de Gaulle's statement had "great significance", Comrade Thorez severely criticised the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party for having made a "false appreciation" declaring that the Political Bureau's original statement had been "hasty, precipitate." This was another complete turn of 180 degrees in response to the baton.

We note further that in the past Thorez and the other comrades correctly denounced the revisionist programme of the Yugoslav Tito clique, saying that the Tito clique was accepting "the subsidies of the American capitalists", and

that these "capitalists clearly do not bestow them in order to facilitate the construction of socialism." But recently someone spoke of "helping" the Tito clique "to resume its place in the great family of all fraternal Parties", and so Thorez and other comrades began to talk a great deal about "helping the League of Yugoslav Communists to return once again to the fold of the great communist family." This was another complete turn of 180 degrees in response to the baton.

We also note that a year or so ago when the Chinese Communist Party opposed the practice of one Party publicly attacking another fraternal Party at its own congress, someone condemned this as being "contrary to the Marxist-Leninist stand." And then Comrade Thorez followed him by saying that the Chinese comrades were "wrong" to take such an attitude, which was "not right." Recently, someone continued the attacks while saying that polemics should halt, and so certain comrades of the French Communist Party again followed suit and said this was "sensible, Leninist". This was still another turn in response to the baton.

Instances of these sort are too numerous to mention. Turning about in this way and following the baton so unconditionally cannot possibly be regarded as indicative of the normal relationship of independence and equality that should exist among fraternal Parties, but rather of abnormal, feudal, patriarchal relationships. Some comrades apparently believe that the interests of the proletariat and of the people in their own country may be disregarded completely, that the interests of the international proletariat and of the people of the world may also be completely disregarded, and that it is good enough just to follow others. Is it right to go east or is it right to go west? Is it right to advance or is it right to retreat?—about all such questions they do not care at all. What someone else says, they repeat word for word. If someone else takes one step, they follow with the same step. Here there is all too much ability to parrot and all too little of Marxist-Leninist principle. Are "creative Marxist-Leninists" of this kind something to be proud of?

However much Comrade Thorez and certain other comrades of the French Party publish in order to slander and viciously attack the Chinese Communist Party, they cannot in the least sully the glory of the great Chinese Communist Party. These practices of theirs run counter to the desire of all Communists to remove differences and strengthen unity and they are not in keeping with the glorious tradition of the French working class and the French Communist Party.

The working class and the labouring people of France have a long and glorious revolutionary tradition. In their heroic endeavour to found the Paris Commune, the French working class set a brilliant example for the proletarian revolution in all countries of the world. The *Internationale*, the immortal battle-march created by an outstanding fighter and gifted composer of the French working class, is a clarion call to the people of the world to fight for their own emancipation and carry the revolution to the end. Founded under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the French Communist Party gathered together a vast number of the finest sons and daughters of the French people and waged determined struggles jointly with the French working class and the labouring people. In the resistance movement against fascism, the French people under the leadership of the French Party enriched the revolutionary tradition of the French working class and showed dauntless heroism. In the post-war period the French Communists played an important role in the struggle to defend world peace, to preserve democratic rights, to better the living conditions of the working people and to oppose monopoly capital. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have always had the greatest respect for the French Communist Party and the French working class.

Comrade Thorez and the other comrades have repeatedly stressed that the Chinese comrades should correct their mistakes. But it is Comrade Thorez and the others, and not we, who really need to correct mistakes. In spite of the fact that we have no alternative but to debate with Comrade Thorez and certain other French comrades in this article, we

sincerely hope that they will honour the history of the French Communist Party and treasure their own record of militant struggle for the cause of communism. We hope that they will take the basic interests of the international communist movement to heart, correct their errors which are out of keeping with the revolutionary tradition of the French proletariat, out of keeping with the glorious tradition of the French Communist Party and out of keeping with their oath of dedication to communism, and will return to the banner of Marxism-Leninism and to the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

As always, the Chinese Communist Party firmly upholds the unity of the socialist camp, the unity of the international communist movement and the unity of the revolutionary people throughout the world, and opposes any disruption of this unity by word or deed. As always, we firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and we are against all words and deeds that run counter to these revolutionary principles.

Naturally, the occurrence of one kind of difference or another in the international communist movement can hardly be avoided. When differences occur, and especially when they concern the line of the movement, the only way to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement is to start from the desire for unity and, through serious debate, eliminate these differences on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The question is not whether to debate, but through what channels and by what methods to conduct the debate. We have always maintained that debates should be conducted only among the fraternal Parties and not in public. Although this stand of ours is irrefutable, it has been under attack by certain comrades of the fraternal Parties. After having publicly attacked us and other fraternal Parties for more than a year, they have now changed their tune and say they want to stop open polemics. We should like to ask: Do you or do you not consider now that the public attacks you have been

making on fraternal Parties were a mistake? Are you or are you not ready to admit this mistake and to apologise to the fraternal Parties you have attacked? Are you truly and sincerely ready to return to the proper course of inter-Party consultation on the basis of equality?

In order to eliminate differences and strengthen unity, the Chinese Communist Party has many times proposed, and still holds today, that a meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries should be convened; moreover, the Chinese Communist Party is ready to take the necessary steps together with all the fraternal Parties to prepare the conditions for the convening of such a meeting.

One of the preparatory steps for such a meeting is the cessation of the public polemics which are still going on. The Chinese Communist Party made this proposal long ago. We are of the opinion that in ceasing public polemics the actions must suit the words, and that the cessation must be mutual and general. While professing to terminate these polemics, some persons have continued to make attacks. Actually they want to forbid you to strike back after they have beaten you up. This will not do. Not only must attacks on the Chinese Communist Party cease, the attacks levelled at the Albanian Party of Labour and other fraternal Parties must also stop. Moreover, it is absolutely impermissible to use the pretext of stopping polemics in order to forbid the exposure and condemnation of Yugoslav revisionism, because this violates the provision of the Moscow Statement on the obligation to expose further the revisionist leaders of Yugoslavia. Some persons now want to cut the fraternal Albanian Party of Labour from the international communist movement on the one hand, and to pull in the renegade Tito clique on the other. We want to tell these people frankly that this is absolutely impossible.

A necessary step for preparing such a meeting is to hold bilateral and multilateral talks among the fraternal Parties. This was proposed by the Chinese Communist Party as far

back as ten months ago. We have always been willing to have talks with all the fraternal Parties which share our desire to eliminate differences and strengthen unity. As a matter of fact, we have had such talks with a number of fraternal Parties. We have never refused to hold bilateral talks with any fraternal Party. In their statement of January 12 the Executive Committee of the British Communist Party alleged that the Chinese Communist Party had not accepted the CPSU's request "for joint discussion." It has been said they were told this by another Party. However, we must point out in all seriousness that this is a sheer fabrication. We wish to reiterate that we are ready to hold talks and to exchange views with any fraternal Party or Parties in order to facilitate the convening of a meeting of representatives of the Communist Parties of all countries.

At present the imperialists, and particularly the U.S. imperialists, are stepping up their policies of aggression and war, are frantically opposing the Communist Parties and the socialist camp, and are savagely suppressing national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the people's revolutionary struggles in various countries. At this juncture all Communist Parties, the proletariat of the world and the people of all countries are urgently calling for the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp, the unity of the international communist ranks and the unity of the people of the whole world against our common enemy. Let us eliminate differences and strengthen unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement! Let us work together to strengthen our struggle against imperialism, to win victory for the cause of world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism, and to attain our great goal of communism!

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