

ON THE IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

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[In 1967, the APSC of CPI(M) rejected (by majority) the document of CC (popularly known as Madhurai document) on the Ideological questions concerning the International Communist Movement. It requested the CC for permission to submit an alternative document and also demanded the opportunity to express views on the questions of debate in both committees when a comrade happens to be a member of two committees. D.Venkateswara Rao, the CCM has sent his alternative document (which is published here) to the CC with a demand to circulate the same among the party members as part of inner-party debate on Ideological Questions. CC rejected this demand and imposed the condition that he must not express his views down below. The AP State Plenum has adopted this document together with two other documents critical of neo revisionist ideological positions by an overwhelming majority. This document was presented and widely circulated in the Burdwan Central Plenum by the comrades opposed to the official document of the C.C.-EC.]

We, the Communists in India, had to conduct a series of inner party struggles against revisionism of the right opportunist leadership on a number of ideological, political questions, relating to Indian revolution.

This leadership tried from 1953 onwards to take the Indian Communist Movement into right opportunist channels. After the Second Five Year Plan, with its promise of the so-called Public Sector, building of an independent economy, and its readiness to take economic aid from the Socialist camp, the revisionist leadership tried to make the Indian Communist Movement support the economic and political policies of the Nehru Government, both nationally and internationally.

True, Communists basing themselves on their own experience applying Marxism-Leninism to the Indian conditions, tried to resist the right opportunist policies of this leadership.

From the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956, taking inspiration from the new revisionist theoretical propositions put forward by the present leadership, the revisionist leadership tried more doggedly to impose their right opportunist policy on the Communist Party.

They were greatly aided in this effort by the attitude of the revisionist leadership of the CPSU. The CPSU leadership openly and completely supported the reactionary policies of the Nehru Government and helped in the consolidation of the Dange clique at their collaborationist line.

The glorious CPC took up an open ideological battle against modern revisionism represented by the CPSU leadership. In the process of this great debate against revisionism, ideological, programmatic and tactical methods being adopted by various parties in the world were exposed as anti-Marxist. It came out sharply against the collaborationist policies of the revisionist leadership of our party. On the basis of Marxism-Leninism, it openly came out to debunk the revisionist characterisation of the Indian Government and its policies. It pointed out the reactionary class character and the reactionary policies of the Nehru Government, both internally and externally, and mercilessly exposed the right opportunist policy of the Dange Clique.

This international debate against modern revisionism represented by the CPSU leadership and the surrender policy of the Dange clique, further opened the eyes of our party members as to the danger of modern revisionism and helped totally the majority of our Party members against the class collaboration policies of the Dange clique.

Finally our seventh Party Congress adopted the Party programme and political organisational report and its own constitution.

This Congress laid the basis for our break with revisionism of the Dange clique and it is the beginning of the consolidation of our party.

Yet we have to conduct patient and dispassionate discussions inside our Party to further improve our Party Programme, to evolve a correct tactical line for the accomplishment of the Indian revolution, for the proper understanding of the various issues dividing the international communist movement. Such patient discussions, based on our own experience, based on the experience of the world events, alone will lead to the complete ideological and political unification of our Party at all levels.

Our own experience has demonstratively proved that the main danger to the international communist movement comes from modern revisionism.

An irreconcilable ideological fight against modern revisionism alone will help the further advance of the world communist movement both nationally and internationally.

The history of the world communist movement simply proves that whenever the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie gets fiercer, this class struggle is reflected in the ranks of the world communist movement in the form of the struggle of Marxism - Leninism against revisionism and opportunism.

Each time the struggle against revisionism and opportunism carried the international working class movement forward to a new and higher stage.

Today also the world communist movement is facing a similar situation.

New Epoch

With the successful completion of the Chinese People's Revolution a formidable socialist camp has come into existence and a new epoch of all-round people's struggles against decaying imperialism are unfolding throughout the world.

This is a new epoch—an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, an epoch when the international socialist system is becoming the decisive factor determining the course of world development, an epoch of national liberation and socialist revolution, an epoch of rapid decay and disintegration of colonialism.

But imperialism has not given up the battle for the preservation of the imperialist system.

Imperialist powers headed by American imperialism are conducting last ditch battles to drown the revolutionary struggles in blood and thus save the imperialist system from its inevitable doom.

It is significant to note that, when the imperialist system is on the verge of complete collapse, when the world socialist forces are on the verge of complete success, when the forces are on the verge of complete success, when the forces of the international working class movement are conducting titanic class struggles against the dying forces of capitalism, modern revisionism advocated and practiced by the present leadership of C P S U, has raised its ugly head within the ranks of the international working class movement, to abolish Marxism-Leninism at one stroke, to disrupt the revolutionary movement, to liquidate the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations and thus save the imperialists and the reactionaries of the various countries from their final doom.

The CPSU leadership, while paying lip-service to the new epoch is deliberately defining the new epoch as an epoch of peaceful transition to socialism and giving peaceful solutions to all the fundamental contradictions of the times.

In the name of the 'peaceful' nature of the present epoch, the C P S U leadership and modern revisionists are advocating the grossest class collaborationist theories on a number of questions facing the world communist movement today.

The fundamental contradiction of our epoch, the place and role of the national liberation movements, the concept of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the forms of transition to socialism, the assessment of the role of Stalin, the substitution of the concept of People's State and a Party of the whole people in place of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the party of the working class in the Soviet Union, the introduction of a host of measures which objectively help in the restoration of capitalism in the socialist society.

The consolidation and further rapid advance of the world communist movement to accomplish the tasks of the new epoch is inconceivable without

waging a principled and determined fight against this menace of modern revisionism as advocated and practiced by the present C P S U leadership.

We must analyse the class collaborationist theories of the present revisionist leadership of the C P S U on various questions facing the international communist movement, their pernicious manifestations in practice, and fight the treacherous betrayal of revolutionary class struggles by the present C P S U leadership and modern revisionists.

Such an irreconcilable ideological political struggle against modern revisionism represented by the C P S U leadership alone will help in the international consolidation of all true communists on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of revolutionary class struggles.

On Contradictions

History of society is the history of class struggles. Struggles between the various contradictions is the moving force of history.

A study of the concrete class analysis of world politics and economics as a whole, and of actual analysis of world conditions, that is to say, of the fundamental contradictions of the present epoch is absolutely necessary to determine the general direction of the world communist movement.

The fundamental contradictions of the contemporary world are:

- the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp,
- the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries;
- the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism;
- the contradictions among the imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups.

We must note that the basic contradiction of the present epoch is the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp.

These contradictions and the struggles to which they give rise are inter related and influence each other.

In spite of the basic contradiction of an epoch, the fundamental contradictions operate in such a way as to influence each other, interact upon each other, and in course of this, push forward one or the other fundamental contradiction to the forefront for solution.

Analysing the class contradictions in the epoch of imperialism, Lenin, while holding the contradiction between the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat as the basic contradiction of the epoch, clearly pointed out the contradiction of the imperialist groups for the division of the world was the fundamental contradiction at that time, and that Russia was the focus of all the fundamental contradictions.

As predicted by Lenin, the inter-imperialist contradiction led to the First World War of 1914 and which in turn led to the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia, to the establishment of First Socialist State.

Between the two world wars, Stalin and the international communist movement, while holding the contradiction between the socialist state and the

imperialist states as the basic contradiction, still pointed out that the inter-imperialist contradiction was the fundamental contradiction of the time, was the driving force of history; Stalin successfully utilised these inter-imperialist contradictions for the successful construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, for the successful defence of the Soviet Union against Hitler's fascism.

As predicted by Stalin these inter-imperialist contradictions led to the Second World War, which in turn led to the establishment of a formidable socialist system in place of a single socialist state.

With the establishment of the People's Republic of China, with the establishment of a powerful socialist camp, with the enormous growth of worldwide communist movement, with the rapid disintegration of the colonial system, with the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism which has reached the third and final stage, with the sharpening of the inter-imperialist contradictions, a veritable storm of national liberation struggles is taking place in the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

These national liberation struggles, are bursting in country after country, taking to the course of armed struggle, inspite of the bloody counter-revolutionary force let loose by the imperialists.

That is why Marxist -Leninists hold that the fundamental contradiction between the oppressed people and nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America and imperialism has come to the forefront for an immediate solution.

At the present time, gigantic class battles are being waged in this area which will decide the future of the whole world.

Under the influence of the basic contradiction itself, the contradiction between the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America is the fundamental contradiction of this epoch, and the various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in these vast areas. At the present time, these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm centers of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism. That is why Marxist -Leninists hold that the *'whole cause of the world 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.'*

It is the duty of the whole socialist camp, the international working class movement to do everything for the success of these national liberation struggles, for the final destruction of imperialism, for the final success of the world socialist revolution.

Modern revisionists and the leaders of CPSU have rejected this Marxist -Leninist analysis of the contradictions of the present epoch. They are dogmatically asserting that basic contradiction between socialism and imperialism is almost the only contradiction which determines the course of world development, while the other fundamental contradictions play a very minor role in the development of world history.

With their anti-Marxist understanding of the present epoch as an epoch of peaceful transition to socialism, the revisionist leadership of C P S U is propagating

the view that the basic contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp can be resolved peacefully through peaceful economic competition and that a peaceful resolution of the basic contradiction will lead to a peaceful resolution of all the other fundamental contradictions of the epoch.

According to the CPSU revisionist leadership, peaceful coexistence, peaceful economic competition, peaceful transition to socialism are a panacea for the resolution of all the fundamental contradictions of the present epoch.

This is nothing but negation of all revolutions-negation of proletarian revolutions in capitalist countries and negation of national liberation revolutions of the oppressed people.

This is against the understanding of Marxist -Leninists who hold that the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp is resolved through world socialist revolutions the contradiction between colonialism and anti-colonialism is resolved through national liberation revolutions, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie of various countries through socialist revolutions.

Another controversy between Marxist - Leninists and modern revisionists presented by the C P S U leadership on the issue of contradictions manifests self on the role of the inter-imperialist contradictions in the present epoch.

U.S. imperialism, the strongest of the imperialist powers, after the second world war, has stepped into the shoes of the defeated fascist powers, and is trying to erect a huge world empire such as has never been known before. The strategic objectives of U.S. imperialism have been to enslave and dominate the intermediate zone lying between the United States and the Socialist camp, to put down the revolutions of the oppressed people and nations and to proceed to destroy the Socialist countries and thus subject all the people and countries of the world, including its allies, to domination and enslavement by U.S. monopoly capital.

The other imperialist powers are forced, in their own selfish interests, to resist this domination and enslavement by U.S. monopoly capital.

France is challenging the American leadership in Europe, Germany and Japan have entered the field of economic competition with American imperialism and Anglo-American contradictions are continuing in various spheres.

Thus the world capitalist system is rent with insoluble inter-imperialist contradictions which still further facilitate the growth of the National Liberation struggles.

People's Republic of China has been utilising these inter-imperialist contradictions, has been developing economic and political relations with other imperialist powers, and with countries like Pakistan, to break its isolation sought to be imposed by U.S. imperialism and in turn isolate the U.S. imperialism itself.

These efforts of P. R. C. have helped France to resist American domination in Europe and have helped Pakistan to resist American pressures.

The revisionist leadership of CPSU viciously attacks this approach of People's Republic of China as an attempt on its part to unite with imperialist powers against the socialist countries.

The C P S U leadership questioned in particular the relationship of P. R. C. with France and Pakistan.

But life disproved the false accusation of the C P S U leadership. It has to eat its own words and today we see its special efforts to cultivate friendship with France and Pakistan for its own ulterior objectives.

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

Contrary to this, the understanding of C P S U on the issue of the fundamental contradictions of the present epoch is an effort to cover up the growing contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism and to negate the decisive role of the national liberation struggles in deciding the success of the world socialist revolution. This understanding serves the interests of imperialism in the present-day world.

National Liberation Movements

Lenin said:

“ National wars waged by colonial and semi-colonial countries are not only possible but inevitable in the epoch of imperialism. The colonies, semi-colonies have a population of nearly one billion, i.e., more than half the population of the earth. In these countries the movements for national liberation are either very strong already or are growing and maturing. Every war is continuation of policies by other means. The national liberation policies of the colonies will inevitably be continued by national wars of the colonies against imperialism.”

How truly the post-Second World War history has testified to the correctness of this Lenin's prophecy.

While revolutions in the colonies and semi-colonies suffered serious setbacks after World War I owing to the suppression by imperialism and its lackeys, the situation after World War II is fundamentally different.

The victory of the Chinese People's revolutionary war breached the imperialist front in the East, brought a great change in the world balance of forces, and accelerated the revolutionary movement among the people of all countries. From then on the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America entered a new historical period. China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Cuba have taken to the road of socialism.

The imperialists are no longer able to extinguish the prairie fire of national liberation. This old colonial system is fast disintegrating. Their rear has become a front of raging, anti-imperialist struggles. Imperialist rule has been overthrown in many colonial and dependent countries and in others it has suffered heavy blows and is tottering. This inevitably weakens and shakes the rule of imperialism in the metropolitan countries themselves.

But the imperialist powers have not given up the battle for the preservation of the colonial order. They are more and more taking to the methods of neo-colonialism to save their imperialist structure.

American imperialism, the strongest imperialist power, striving for world domination, taking upon itself the responsibility for the preservation of the imperialist order, has created a huge war machine, has established more than 2,000 military bases throughout the world, has concentrated half of its military strength armed with atomic weapons in these military bases, has stationed its 6th and 7th Fleet in the Mediterranean and Pacific Oceans -has created reactionary military pacts like SEATO, CENTO-all with the intention of suppression of rising national liberation struggles. It is provoking civil wars, or setting up puppet governments in many colonial countries for the suppression of these struggles. Through its economic aid, American imperialism is penetrating many independent countries and trying to get them under its control.

Thus American imperialism has become the main prop of the imperialist system and is conducting ferocious, last ditch battles to save the crumbling imperialist system of exploitation.

Because of this, the national liberation struggles in all the backward countries have not only to fight the local counter revolutionary forces, but also the armed might of the old and neo-imperialist powers, in particular, the military might of American imperialism, in order to achieve victory in the liberation struggles.

Faced with the armed might of the American imperialism and other imperialist powers, faced with armed counter revolution, the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa, Latin America are taking more and more to the methods of People's War taking the inspiration from the experience of the Chinese Revolution.

Marxist-Leninists in these countries are faced with the tasks of building broad United National Front, or People's Democratic Front, as the case may be, under the leadership of the working class and with the worker-peasant alliance as the axis of the Front. They are faced with the urgent task of heading these national liberation struggles against old and new imperialist powers and their lackeys. They are faced with the urgent task of organising and leading armed people's war against armed counter-revolution. Marxist - Leninists are valiantly struggling and making great sacrifices in the discharge of these arduous tasks.

Lenin has enjoined upon the international working class movement to lend resolute support to the national liberation struggles for the final burial of imperialism.

He has especially enjoined upon the socialist states to act as the base of the world socialist revolution, and support the national liberation struggles through all means. He said:

"If we do not want to betray socialism every rebellion against our main enemy, the bourgeoisie of the big states, should be supported, provided it is not the rebellion of a reactionary class. By refusing to support rebellions of annexed territories we objectively become

annexationists. Precisely 'in the era of imperialism', which is the era of incipient social revolution, the proletariat makes special efforts to support the rebellion of annexed territories today, in order that tomorrow, or simultaneously with the rebellion, it may attack the bourgeoisie of the 'Great' power which is weakened by that rebellion."

People's republic of China has taken this behest of Lenin, and acting as the base of the world revolution, is giving every support-ideological, economic, political, diplomatic and military, to the national liberation struggles. It is in the forefront of the struggle against wars of aggression against oppressed nations let loose by U.S. imperialism.

The storm of people's revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America requires every political force in the world to take a stand.

An important line of demarcation between the Marxist - Leninists and modern Revisionists including the revisionist leadership of CPSU is the attitude taken towards this extremely sharp issue of contemporary world politics.

Marxist - Leninists, firmly adhering to the behests of Lenin, are actively supporting, organising and leading the national liberation struggles. But modern Revisionists, the revisionist leaders of the CPSU, through a host of revisionist theories and practices, while pretending to support the national liberation struggles are, in actual practice, discouraging, disarming and disrupting the national liberation struggles and thus facilitating the imperialist oppression against oppressed nations and objectively helping in the bloody suppression of the national liberation struggles by imperialism.

An analysis of the various theories of the revisionist leadership of CPSU on imperialism and the task of the national liberation struggle will be sufficient to prove this fact.

The CPSU leadership says that imperialism is already a dead force, and the majority of the world population is already out of the grip of imperialism, that 'mere fragments remain of what were once vast empires', that 'today less than one per cent remain under it.'

This understanding of imperialism is a complete negation of historical facts.

Imperialism has no doubt changed from direct to indirect rule. Many countries have declared their independence. But many of the countries have not completely shaken off imperialism and colonial control and enslavement and remain objects of imperialist plunder and aggression as well as areas of contention between the old and new colonialists and in others the old colonialism is being replaced by the new, powerful, and more dangerous U.S. colonialism. The people of Asia, Africa, Latin America are seriously menaced by the tentacles of neo-colonialism, represented by U.S. imperialism.

Thus, the new theory of the CPSU leadership is only a cover for the neo-colonialist aggressions of the imperialists, the American imperialists in particular, against the national liberation struggles.

The present leaders of the CPSU propagate the view that the overwhelming majority of the oppressed nations, having gained political independence, are faced with economic reconstruction, the economic struggle being 'the central task, the basic link in the further development of the revolution.'

This is an utter anti-Marxist view of the existing situation in all backward countries that have declared their independence. The primary and most urgent task facing those countries is still the further development of the struggle against imperialism, old and new, and their lackeys. This struggle is still being waged fiercely in the political, economic, military, cultural ideological and other spheres.

This new theory of the CPSU leadership is only an attempt on the part of the C P S U leadership to divert the people of these countries from their struggles against imperialism.

The leaders of CPSU hold the view that the governments of the newly independent countries are revolutionary, anti-imperialist and anti-war; that these governments are introducing basic social reforms and are taking the path of non capitalist path of development.

This again is another travesty of truth. Many of these newly independent countries have collaborationist bourgeois landlord governments who try to build their economy in collaboration with imperialism. The experience of India is in complete refutation of this theory of the C P S U leadership.

This theory of the CPSU leaders is merely an attempt on their part to buttress reactionary governments in those countries, to create illusions in the labouring masses of these countries about the reactionary bourgeoisie of these countries and thus disrupt their revolutionary struggles.

CPSU leaders extol the bourgeois leaders of the newly independent countries as having socialist views. Suslov says:

"Capitalism has discredited itself in the eyes of the people and the appeal of socialism in the newly free countries is so strong, that the advanced forces, and the national leaders of many countries advocate taking the socialist path, and are actually taking steps in this direction, counting with good reason on the support from the socialist countries and the Marxist-Leninist parties."

Only those who have discarded Marxism - Leninism completely, and have embraced bourgeois ideology could praise the bourgeois leaders like Nehru having socialist views.

Having characterised the bourgeois leaders as revolutionary democratic who 'can act as the key factor of social progress' the revisionist leaders of C P S U advocate 'unity and fraternal co-operation between the Communists and revolutionary democrats in the interests of the people, in the interests of national liberation struggle', and that the 'ideological differences is no obstacle to joint participation of the Communists and revolutionary democrats in the practical implementation of the programme of social progress, in a joint struggle for the socialist future of the newly independent countries', and they even shamelessly declare that 'the struggle for the general democratic programme does not require a new revolution.'

Herein lies that the utter bankruptcy, the utter anti-Marxist-Leninist theories of the revisionist leadership of the C P S U. They have completely distorted the Marxist - Leninist teachings on the national liberation struggles. They distorted Lenin's teachings on the stages of revolution for the colonial and semi-colonial countries. They have replaced Lenin's teachings on the working class hegemony over the national liberation movement with bourgeois hegemony over the same. They have replaced Lenin's teachings on the worker-peasant alliance as the basis of the democratic front with an alliance of the working class and bourgeoisie. They have replaced Lenin's teachings on the dual nature of national bourgeoisie in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the necessity of 'unity and struggle' with regard to the national bourgeoisie with all-round co-operation with the national bourgeoisie. They have replaced Lenin's teachings on the necessity of an uncompromising ideological struggle against bourgeois ideology with the adoption of bourgeois ideology itself as Marxist ideology. They have replaced Lenin's behest that the first socialist state should act as the base of the world socialist revolution and help the national liberation struggles economically, politically and militarily with the sole economic aid to reactionary governments of the newly independent countries.

All these anti- Marxist - Leninist propositions are being practiced by the revisionist leadership of the CPSU in the name of non-capitalist path and national democracy.

It is true that *Lenin* declared at the *Second Congress of the Third International in 1920*:

" The Communist International should advance and theoretically substantiate the proposition that those backward countries can, with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, go over to the Soviet system and through definite stages of development, to Communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage. "

But Lenin never said that this non-capitalist path is possible for almost all the newly liberated countries of the world as the present revisionist leadership of the CPSU is advocating.

Lenin entirely depended on the struggles of the labouring masses of these countries and the help that the socialist states give to these labouring masses for the success of this non-capitalist path.

Without the nationalisation of imperialist capital, without abolition of feudalism, any amount of economic aid to the Governments of the newly independent countries will not help in building an independent economy in these countries; it will only result in helping the reactionary Governments to save the colonial and semi-colonial order, and make them more and more dependent on imperialist economic aid.

But the present revisionist leadership of the C P S U have distorted this Lenin's behest on the support the Soviet Government has to give to the labouring masses, and have taken to the path of economic aid to the bourgeois Governments.

India is a classical example to show how Soviet economic aid is being utilised to build monopoly capitalism.

The present revisionist leadership of C P S U has extolled the public sector in India as an instrument to industrialise the country and to build an independent economy, and they have lavishly helped the Indian public sector with large funds and machinery to build certain heavy industries.

But we know from our experience that the public sector in India in the hands of the big business- landlord Government is an instrument for exploitation of the Indian people by monopoly capitalists and the imperialists.

Not only that. Having taken to an all-round class collaborationist policy, the revisionist leadership of the C P S U is using its economic aid to the bourgeoisie of the backward countries as a lever to create its own spheres of influence, to get those Governments under its control.

The revisionist leadership of the C P S U does not make any attempt to distinguish between the pro-imperialist collaborationist Governments and the anti-imperialist Governments when giving any economic aid.

They do not make a distinction in their military aid to the countries, which use that aid to fight imperialism and to countries which use the very same aid to fight fraternal socialist countries and to suppress the people's struggles in those countries.

The present revisionist leadership of the CPSU is not supporting the national liberation struggles with all the means at its command; it is prescribing such methods for the success of the NLM which in practice obstruct and sabotage those struggles.

They say that successful building of socialism and communism in the socialist countries and the economic aid it renders to those backward countries is a guarantee for the success of those struggles.

Marxist - Leninists always hold that the development of society is a product of the struggle of the internal contradictions of society; Marxist - Leninists hold that the revolutionary forces in any given country should mainly depend on their own internal strength for the success of their revolution and outside help can only play a secondary role. Marxist - Leninists hold that building of socialism and communism in socialist countries and its economic aid to the backward countries can never replace the necessity of people's revolutionary struggles for the success of their revolution.

Thus we see that this theory of the revisionist leadership of the C P S U is only an attempt on its part to create illusions in the revolutionary masses about a peaceful path and disarm them politically and make them abandon the path of revolutionary struggle.

The present leadership of the CPSU is so enamoured of the economic aid as a lever for the completion of the democratic revolution in the backward countries, that they even advocate imperialist aid as a lever for economic development of the backward countries.

Khrushchov shamelessly declared:

"Your and our economic successes will be hailed by the whole world, which expects our two great powers to help the peoples who are centuries behind in their economic development to get on their feet more quickly."

The present CPSU leaders, following in the footsteps of *Khrushchov*, revise Lenin's teachings on the exploiting nature of imperialist capital and extend imperialist economic aid as a lever to build an independent economy in the backward countries.

The CPSU leaders have become shameless advocates for the penetration of imperialist capital into the backward countries.

Modern revisionists and the revisionist leaders of the CPSU are stubbornly opposed to the people of the backward countries taking to the path of revolutionary struggles and declare that *"local wars in our time are very dangerous"*, that *"even a tiny spark can cause a world conflagration"* and further declare *"we will work hard to put out the sparks that may set off the flames of war."*

Here we see an attempt on the part of the CPSU leadership not to make a distinction between just and unjust wars, between wars of aggression by the imperialists and liberation wars of the oppressed people against the oppression.

Everybody knows that the present UNO is an instrument in the hands of the imperialists particularly the American imperialists for wars of aggression against the oppressed nations.

But the revisionist leadership of the CPSU, who are opposed to the armed struggles of the oppressed people against their oppression, ask these backward countries to pin their confidence in this very same UNO to achieve their liberation.

The CPSU leadership is actively helping the imperialism to use UNO as the instrument of aggression against other people.

Sometimes, modern revisionists and the revisionist leadership of the CPSU pretend to be supporting the national liberation struggles and sometimes they do give some limited help to justify themselves as Communists in the eyes of the world public.

But if we go into the essence of the matter, if we scrutinise their practical steps, we see that the CPSU leadership is betraying the national liberation struggles one by one.

They betrayed the Congolese people's struggle by voting with the imperialists for the intervention of UNO.

They voted with the imperialists in the UNO for a mere boycott of Rhodesian white lords which did not do any harm to them.

While pretending to be supporting the national liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people against American imperialism, on all the key issues of the day they are allying and collaborating with American imperialists.

While pretending to be supporting the national liberation struggles of Latin American people they are giving economic aid to the reactionary regimes in these countries to suppress those very struggles.

While pretending to be condemning the butchery the Indonesian fascist militarists perpetrated on the Indonesian Communists, they have begun to give economic concessions to the very same butchers.

And the betrayal of the Arab people's struggles against American-inspired Israeli aggression is the final act of betrayal of the national liberation struggles by the CPSU leadership.

What does all this show?

Modern revisionists and the revisionist leadership of the CPSU with its theories and practices on the national liberation struggle have disarmed and disrupted the national liberation struggles.

The heroes of the Second International, Bernstein and Kautsky, served the interests of the old imperialists. But the modern revisionists, the revisionist leaders of CPSU, serve the interests of neo-colonialists.

Thus the policy of Marxist-Leninists on the question of the national liberation struggles is diametrically opposed to that of the modern revisionists and the revisionist leadership of the CPSU.

And it is the sacred duty of the Marxist-Leninists to resolutely fight modern revisionism within the ranks of NLM, and eradicate its influence within the ranks of NLM, in order to achieve victory in their struggle against imperialism, for modern revisionists act as the hidden agents of imperialism within the ranks of the international working class movement, and *Lenin* rightly said, "*the fight against imperialism is sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism.*"

War and Peace

Modern war is born of imperialism. Already imperialism has plunged the world into two destructive world wars resulting in colossal destruction of man and material. Even after the Second World War, the imperialist powers have been conducting innumerable wars against the people of the oppressed nations to impose colonial or neo-colonial slavery upon them.

Today the imperialists are once again feverishly preparing to plunge the world into another global war with the most destructive atomic and hydrogen weapons.

Today, American imperialism, leader of the imperialist camp with its huge military machine, possessing the deadliest nuclear weapons, with its world-wide military bases, thirsting for world domination, is feverishly preparing for another world war.

Thus we see America is the source of the Third World War-the number one enemy of the people of the whole world.

But today the balance of forces is in favour of the peace forces. The existence of the mighty socialist camp, growing national liberation struggles, the growing international working class and communist movement, the existence of a number of independent countries which are genuinely interested in the preservation of world peace-innumerable peace forces throughout the world vigorously working for the preservation of world peace, if these forces are united and determined to expose and resist the war plans of the imperialists, a new world war can be prevented.

Marxist-Leninists hold that *“the menace of war by the imperialists still exists, the possibility of a Third World War still exists. But the forces thwarting the danger of war and preventing a Third World War are rapidly developing and the political consciousness of the masses of the people of the world is rising. A new world war can be prevented, provided the Communist Parties of the world keep on uniting and strengthening all the forces of peace and democracy that can be united.”* Stalin said:

“Peace will be preserved and consolidated if the people will take the cause of preserving peace into their own hands and defend it to the end. War may become inevitable if the warmongers succeed in entangling the masses of the people in lies, in deceiving them and drawing them into a new world war.”

What are the tasks that Marxist-Leninists have to carry out if this behest of Stalin is to be put into practice?

- Strengthen the unity, the political, economic and military weight of the socialist camp.
- Strengthen the national liberation struggles with all the means at the command of the socialist states.
- Relentless exposure of the war plans of the imperialists, and thus raise the vigilance of the world people.
- Resolutely oppose and resist the export of counter-revolution that the imperialists constantly carry out throughout the world.
- While propagating for the general disarmament, breed no illusions about its immediate possibility and strengthen the military might of the socialist states including the atomic weapons to match the atomic weapons of the imperialists.

Marxist-Leninists everywhere are vigorously struggling to carry out the above tasks. The glorious PRC resolutely exposing the war plans of the American imperialists, helping the NIM with all the means at its command, strengthening its own military weight, trying to unite all the peace forces, is acting as the bastion of peace.

Today the raging national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa, Latin America are giving hammer blows on the war plans of the American imperialists and they are meeting with defeat after defeat.

Just at this time, when the war plans of the American imperialists are meeting with defeat after defeat, modern revisionists and the revisionist leaders of C P S U have come forward with a host of revisionist theories on war and peace which in practice create illusions about peace intentions of the imperialists, lull the vigilance of the peace forces against the war plans and thus serve the war plans of the imperialists.

From the time of the 20th Congress of the C P S U, the revisionist leadership of C P S U has been advocating that Lenin's teachings on imperialism and war, his theory that “Wars are inevitable as long as imperialism exists,” have become

outmoded, and since imperialism has ceased to be the all-embracing world system and because strong political social forces opposed to war have emerged and are in a position to compel the imperialists to renounce wars, they advance the new thesis that today *'war is not fatalistically inevitable'* and that war can be abolished from society altogether even though imperialism still exists in a part of the world.

The world capitalist and imperialist social order is still in existence over 3/4ths of the globe's surface, all the traditional imperialist states like America, Britain, West Germany, France, Italy, Japan, etc., are feverishly arming themselves. In the face of these facts, for the modern revisionists to say that war can be abolished even if imperialists exist in a part of the world is utterly anti-Marxist-Leninist. This new theory of the CPSU leadership is only intended to create illusions in the fighting masses about the possibility of peace without struggle.

Not only that, the CPSU leadership is talking about preventing a future war like the imperialists have been continuously waging wars of aggression against the struggling oppressed nations. It only shows that they do not recognise the wars of aggression that the imperialists are carrying against the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America as real wars, but they recognise wars only when they occur between themselves and the imperialists. But *Lenin* recognised them as wars and condemned those who do not recognise them as wars, He said:

"Peace prevailed in Europe but continued because the European people's domination over hundreds of millions of colonial inhabitants was affected by constant uninterrupted never-ending wars which, we, Europeans, do not consider to be wars but the most brutal slaughter extermination of unarmed people."

It is true that if the peace forces are united, if they are vigilant and resolutely oppose wars they can prevent a particular war.

But to say that war can be abolished completely in today's circumstances is utter pacifist illusion.

Stalin said:

"to eliminate the inevitability of war it is necessary to abolish imperialism."

Marxist-Leninists hold that world peace can be won only by the struggles of the people of the world and not by begging the imperialist for it.

But CPSU leadership refuses to rely on the world people's struggles for the preservation of peace but by making peace with the imperialists by coming to agreements with them, by giving them costly concessions. In the last analysis they are striving their utmost to make peace with American imperialists, enemy number one of the world people.

To achieve this they are never tired of praising the peace nature of the rulers of America; Whenever they succeeded in getting the signature of the imperialists on an empty call for peace, they praised that call as a great event which will lead to a relaxation of tension in the world.

But the whole world knows that these very war-mongering rulers of America while paying lip service to peace have created a huge war machinery, have been

continuously conducting wars of aggression against oppressed nations, have been continuously conspiring against the Socialist States. It is on such war-mongers that the CPSU leaders have been lavishing praises for their 'dedication to peace'.

They forget Lenin's behest that the imperialists either in war or in peace pursue the same policies of plunder of the weaker nations.

This effort on the part of the C P S U leadership is only an attempt on their part to cover the aggressive nature of the imperialists to create pacifist illusions among the people about the peace intentions of the imperialists.

Marxist - Leninists hold that national liberation wars are powerful weapons in thwarting the war plans of the imperialists. The war of resistance in Korea, the liberation war in Vietnam, the various liberation struggles have dealt powerful blows in defeating the war plans of the imperialists.

Marxist - Leninists firmly hold that the export of the counter revolution by the imperialists must be resolutely resisted by revolutionary wars, that the people must wage tit for tat struggle against the war plans of the imperialists.

But the revisionist leadership of C P S U opposes such a tit for tat struggle, opposes national liberation struggle, as such wars they claim would lead to a world war.

While they do not raise a single finger to resist the import of counter-revolution by the imperialists to the various parts of the world, they resolutely oppose the national liberation struggles.

This reasoning of the revisionist leadership of the C P S U is akin to the teachings of *Kautsky* who said:

'.... the danger to world peace from imperialists is only slight. The great danger appears to come from the national strivings in the East and various dictatorships.'

Disarmament and the Banning of Nuclear Weapons:

In the face of growing danger of the Third World War the peace forces and the International Communist Movement should mobilise the world public opinion for a general disarmament to expose the war intentions of the imperialists and also to compel the imperialists either to restrain their arms drive or even to accept some partial agreements.

But Communists should have no illusions or create illusions among the people that the imperialists would accept general disarmament and agree to abandon their arms drive and military build up.

But the modern revisionists and the CPSU leadership carry on disarmament campaign in so pacifist a manner as to breed worst illusions about the imperialists, they paint the picture of the total and general disarmament being an immediate and practical possibility, that certain sections, the ruling classes of the imperialist states are willing to accept disarmament etc.

It is a pacifist utopia to expect the imperialists to willingly accept total and general disarmament. Lenin always warned against pacifist illusions about disarmament and said that arming of the people is only way to disarm the bourgeoisie.

In the face of the ever-growing menace of arms drive of the imperialists, the socialist states must develop their armed might including nuclear weapons to defend the socialist states, to defend the cause of world socialist revolution and peace.

But the CPSU viciously attacked this policy of PRC as war policy, tore off the agreement with it to provide it with atomic technical know-how and rushed to conclude the partial test ban treaty with America and Britain.

Thus the C P S U leadership disrupted the socialist camp in its eagerness to come to an agreement with the American imperialists.

Subsequent events have proved that this Test Ban Treaty is only intended to save the supremacy of the USSR and USA in atomic weapons.

And how both USSR and USA are proceeding to conclude so-called non-proliferation treaty which nakedly proves their desire to keep the atomic secrets to themselves and keep all the other countries at their mercy for protection.

The policy of USSR under the present leadership with regard to atomic weapons coincides with those of the American imperialists.

Instead of rousing the consciousness of the people, the revisionist leaders of the CPSU inculcate fears among the people that war between the two opposite systems will lead to nuclear war, would lead to the destruction of the whole world, that atom bomb does not distinguish between the imperialists and the working people, that 'millions of workers would be destroyed per one monopolist' and that it would be useless to think of what society could be built on the ruins of human civilisation.

This reasoning is entirely against historical experience. War always demands heavy sacrifices from the people.

Marxist - Leninists have no use of war as a means to create socialist revolution. But at the same time they are not afraid of war. Basing themselves on the past experience they boldly declare that if the imperialists should succeed in launching a Third World War many more hundreds of millions of people will turn to socialism, that the imperialists will then have little room left on the globe and it is possible that the whole structure of imperialism will collapse.

This is the Marxist - Leninist way of rousing the consciousness of the people, of instilling confidence in the people about this future and prepare them politically, ideologically for heavy sacrifices that are necessary to defeat imperialism.

But CPSU leadership which has abandoned Marxism - Leninism is trying to inculcate the worst fears among the people about the war, destroy their will to resist imperialist aggression, make them bow before imperialist aggression and thus facilitate the aggressive war of the imperialists.

Having taken to the line of collaboration with the imperialists the revisionist leadership of the C P S U is propagating that nuclear weapons have changed the character of war, have changed the old notions about war, that atom bomb does not adhere to the class principle.

This is an utter anti - Marxist - Leninist proposition. Imperialists have always been introducing new military techniques in war but they did not change the character of war.

The emergence of nuclear weapons can neither arrest the progress of the human history nor save the imperialist system from its doom any more than the emergence of the new technique could save the old system 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, does not and cannot change the nature of imperialism and reaction.

Marxist- Leninists never hold the view that the superiority in arms will decide the fate of war. They believe in Lenin saying that every victory is conditioned in the final analysis by the spiritual state of those masses who shed their blood on the battlefield. This comprehension by the masses of the aims and reasons of the war has an immense significance and guarantee of victory.

Thus it is clear that the main purpose of the CPSU leaders is to discourage and disorganise the people against the atomic blackmail of U.S. imperialists and this facilitates their war plans.

Of late, the CPSU leadership has almost stopped exposing the American imperialism as the source of Third World War, as the enemy No. 1 of the people of the whole world. On the other hand more and more the CPSU leadership is hurling the worst slanders against the great PRC accusing it as "*adversaries of the policy of peace,*" as a country which wants "*to preserve and intensify the international tensions,*" as a country which wants war to give a "*push*" to revolutions, as a country manoeuvring for a nuclear war between USA and USSR working for Asian domination, that its policy is a threat to the independence of the other Asian countries.

While making efforts to come to an agreement with the mightiest imperialists plunderers, the CPSU leadership is doing everything to isolate the PRC.

The degeneration of the CPSU leadership has gone to such lengths that Humphrey, the U.S. Vice -president, who openly declared in 1966, "*the Soviet is attempting to build a containment wall, so to speak, around Communist China*" and that "*the Government of the Soviet Union is much more concerned today about its relations throughout the entire world, vis-a-vis Communist China than it is over anything the United States may be doing in any part of the world.*" It is significant to note the C P S U leadership has not refused this claim of the US imperialist.

Warm friendship with No. 1 enemy of the whole world, cold war attitude towards the mighty socialist state, the staunchest friend of the oppressed people- this is the cruel logic of the modern revisionism.

To sum up, while the Marxist - Leninists want to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp as a reliable guarantee of the world peace, the policy of the

C P S U leadership disrupts the unity of the socialist camp and thus paves the way for the war plans of the imperialists.

While the policy of the Marxist - Leninists is to strengthen the national liberation struggles as a powerful weapon to thwart the war plans of the imperialists the policy of the C P S U leadership disrupts the NLM and thus paves the way for war plans of the imperialists.

While the policy of the Marxist - Leninists is to smash the nuclear blackmail practiced by the U.S. imperialists, the policy of the CPSU leadership helps the nuclear blackmail of the U.S. imperialists.

While the policy of the Marxist - Leninists takes into account all the available factors, including the inter- imperialist contradictions and is directed to isolate the American warmongers, the policy of the CPSU leadership is directed not against the American imperialists, the enemy of world peace, but is directed against the socialist camp, against the peace camp.

While the policy of the Marxist - Leninists is directed against the "global strategy" of the U.S. imperialists, the policy of the CPSU leadership is intended to serve the interests of the 'global strategy' of the U.S. imperialists.

Thus we see the policy of the Marxist - Leninists on the question of War and Peace is in diametrical opposition to the policy of the modern revisionists represented by the C P S U leadership.

Peaceful Co-existence

With the first socialist state in Russia in 1917, the concept of peaceful co-existence between capitalist and socialist states arose.

Lenin visualised, within a certain period of time, socialist countries would exist side by side with capitalist or pre-capitalist countries.

Because the socialist state is faced with the encirclement of capitalist states, Lenin and Stalin made the policy of peaceful co-existence obligatory on the socialist states.

But Lenin had no illusion about the imperialist states that they would abandon their efforts to destroy the socialist states.

He never visualised permanent peace between socialist and capitalist states. He said:

"..... The existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable."

Therefore he enjoined upon the socialist states, while practicing the policy of peaceful co-existence with capitalist states to be ever vigilant against the conspiracies of the imperialist states against the socialist states, and always to be in a state of military preparedness to meet any military threat from the imperialist states.

That is why we said that the socialist states could win their right to peaceful co-existence with the capitalist states only through incessant struggle with them in the political, economic and ideological spheres.

In carrying out the policy of peaceful co-existence, Lenin adopted different principles with regard to the different types of countries in the capitalist world.

Lenin tried to establish friendly relations with all those capitalist nations which are bullied and oppressed by imperialist states.

While practicing peaceful co-existence Lenin said that the first the socialist state should do everything to promote socialist revolutions in the capitalist states. He regarded the first state as the base of the world socialist revolution and enjoined upon the socialist state to do everything in its power to make the revolution of the oppressed nations and oppressed classes a success. He never viewed peaceful co-existence as the 'general line' or the 'essential' part of the foreign policy of the socialist state. On the other hand support to the revolutions of the oppressed nations and oppressed classes was made the fundamental principle of the foreign policy of the socialist state. He 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 Russian Revolution."

Thus we see Lenin laid down four cardinal principles of the foreign policy of the socialist state—peaceful co-existence with capitalist states, struggle against the imperialist states in the political, economic, ideological spheres, friendship with oppressed bourgeois states, support to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and oppressed classes to complete the world socialist revolution.

Lenin and Stalin successfully implemented these principles of foreign policy of the first socialist state.

Lenin and Stalin practicing peaceful co-existence with imperialist states, at the same time conducted incessant class struggles against the imperialism in all spheres, defended the Soviet Union against all attacks of the imperialist states, and at the same time resolutely supported the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed nations and classes.

Steadfastly adhering to Marxism - Leninism, the PRC is struggling hard to execute the foreign policy of the socialist states. But the CPSU leadership which has betrayed Marxism - Leninism is adopting the worst collaborationist policy in its foreign policy.

They have betrayed Lenin's teachings on the foreign policy of the socialist state and declare that peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems is the general line of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp.

Thus we see they have abandoned Lenin's behest that the socialist state should resolutely struggle with the imperialist states in all spheres, should resist the imperialist wars of aggression and should help the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and oppressed classes for the completion of the world

socialist revolution. They have reduced the foreign policy of the socialist state to a policy of permanent peace with the imperialist states.

They not only practice peaceful co-existence with imperialist states, but they advocate peaceful co-existence as a panacea to solve all the fundamental contradictions of the contemporary world. They shamelessly declare that peaceful co-existence is the highest form of class struggle, that *'peaceful co-existence alone is the best and sole way to solve the vitally important problem confronting society.'*

They forget that peaceful co-existence cannot replace the revolutionary struggles of the people for their social emancipation.

Disregarding this elementary truth of present-day history the CPSU leaders falsely claim that it is their policy of peaceful co-existence that achieved independence of many countries, thus negating the role of liberation struggles.

Having abandoned the role of liberation struggles against imperialism, the revisionist leadership of the CPSU have developed an all round peace policy with the American imperialists. Instead of vigilance against the war plans of the American imperialists, instead of constantly exposing war plans of the imperialists they are propagating that the ruling circles of America are sincerely interested in peaceful co-existence.

As a matter of fact, friendship with America is the heart and soul of the peaceful co-existence policy of CPSU leadership. They are not making a secret of this policy. They openly declare:

"Each of these two powers is leading a large group of nations, the Soviet Union leading the socialist system and the United States the capitalist camp."

"If there is agreement between N.S.Khrushchov, the head of Soviet Government, and J.Kennedy, the President of the United States, there will be a solution of international problems on which mankind's destinies depend."

Therefore not active opposition to American imperialism, but co-operation and collaboration with American imperialism-that is the essence of the policy of peaceful co-existence as practiced by the CPSU leadership.

In order to achieve peace with America, they have begun to abandon one revolutionary post after another-Congo, Rhodesia, Dominican Republic and now the Middle East.

While doing everything to appease America to purchase peaceful co-existence with it, CPSU leadership is at the same time maintaining a 'cold war' relationship with socialist states like China and Albania, maligning and slandering them as enemies of peace, breaking even economic relations with them, and joining hands with all the reactionaries against Socialist China.

In their pursuit of U.S.-Soviet collaboration, the CPSU leadership has sabotaged national liberation struggles and by prevailing social reformist, they are sapping the revolutionary fighting will of the world proletariat.

On the other hand, People's Republic of China strictly adhering to the Marxist-Leninist principles of the "foreign policy of Lenin, working as the base of the world revolution, is resolutely supporting the revolutionary struggles of oppressed nations and classes throughout the world, firmly resisting the American imperialist

wars of aggression, is standing in the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggles and is standing as a bulwark against expansionist war plans of the American imperialists in the East.

That is why the reactionaries throughout the world, the American imperialism, in particular, are vilifying China with wildest slanders, and ceaselessly conspiring to destroy socialist China.

It is the international duty of every Communist to valiantly support China in its struggle against all reactionaries, in its struggle against American imperialism, and beat back all the slanders and vilifications against China and stand by it in its struggle to win the right of peaceful co-existence.

Forms of Transition to Socialism

The attention of the proletarian revolutionaries has always been engaged on the forms of transition to socialism.

The founders of Marxism - Leninism have scientifically analysed the question of state and revolution and laid down clear laws for the forms of transition to socialism.

State is an organ of power, an instrument of suppression of one class by another. Bourgeois state is an organ of the exploiting classes for the suppression of the exploited class, is an organ to maintain their class rule.

Army and the police are the chief instruments of class rule in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

Parliamentary democracy is only an ornament to cover the class rule of the bourgeoisie, the best possible political shell for capitalism.

Every Marxist - Leninist knows that bourgeois states, whatever their forms, are in essence bourgeois dictatorships and proletarian states, whatever their forms, are, in essence, proletarian dictatorships and that "*Wage slavery is the lot of the people even in the most democratic bourgeois state.*"

The exploited classes in their struggle for social emancipation are inevitably faced with the violence of the bourgeois state and destruction of bureaucratic military state machine is the 'pre-condition for every real people's revolution.'

According to the teachings of Marxism - Leninism the key question in every revolution is that of the 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 proletarian dictatorship and the replacement of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state.

Proletariat, while striving to achieve its emancipation through peaceful means, should have no illusions about bourgeois democracy and organise revolutionary force against counter-revolutionary force.

The bourgeoisie will not step down from the stage of history voluntarily. This is universal law of class struggle.

It is true that Marx expected a peaceful revolution in countries like England and America in the 19th century when militarism had not developed to the present

level. Even then Marx treated it as an exception. But Lenin, analysing the situation in the imperialist era, said that the proletariat could not achieve its emancipation except through violent revolution even in those countries.

After the February Revolution in Russia in 1917, Lenin visualised the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism up to July. But he depended for his analysis on the dual state power, on the arms in the hands of the people.

But the experience of the whole history of international working class movement, the history of all the real people's revolution, has shown that the exploited classes had to face the brutal force of the bourgeois classes, that they had to smash the repressive machine of the bourgeois state in order to achieve their social emancipation; countless revolutionaries had to sacrifice their lives at the altar of revolution.

There is no single example in the whole world history where a peaceful revolution has taken place.

The entire history of the working class movement tells us that violent revolution is a universal law of proletarian revolution, that it is absolutely necessary to smash the bourgeois state machine for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This has been the teaching of Marxism - Leninism. This has been the experience of the international working class movement.

Attitude to violent proletarian revolution, attitude to the smashing of the bourgeois state machine, establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is the watershed between Marxism - Leninism and all forms of revisionism, between all proletarian revolutionaries and all renegades from the proletariat.

Modern revisionists and the revisionist leaders of the CPSU, who betrayed every tenet of Marxism - Leninism, have now come forward to declare that this universal law of violent revolution, this Marxist- Leninist theory has become outmoded.

From 20th congress of CPSU, the CPSU leaders are propagating that, in view of the changed correlation of forces in favour of socialism, both nationally and internationally, in view of the ever increasing influence of the ideas of socialism on the minds of the masses, universal law of violent revolution has become outmoded and parliamentary road to socialism has opened to the proletariat of many countries.

Marxist - Leninists hold that universal franchise is a measure to gauge public opinion and it cannot transfer real power into the hands of the exploited classes.

But the revisionist leadership of the CPSU says that the proletariat by winning majority in Parliament, could effect transfer of power into its hands and this tantamounts to the breaking of the bourgeois repressive state machine.

In the present day situation when all the means of propaganda, all the means of wealth are concentrated in the hands of the exploiting classes wielding state power, the revolutionary proletariat will not be allowed to get a majority, or even if they get it, will not be allowed to rule. Experience of many countries proves this.

These new teachings of the modern revisionists have been merely copies from Kautsky who said:

"Parliamentary Republic-with a monarchy on the English model or without - is to my mind the base out of which proletarian dictatorship and socialist state grow."

CPSU leadership even makes bold to 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' and that 'this lessens possibilities for the unleashing of civil war by the bourgeoisie.'

The experience of Indonesia, Ghana, Congo, Vietnam etc., where gigantic class battles are being waged against the intervention of the American imperialists growing militarisation of all West, all the capitalist states, exposes the falsehood of CPSU leadership on this account.

Marxist-Leninists always hold the view that while conducting partial struggles, while working in Parliament to achieve certain democratic reforms, they should always keep before the people the alternate goal, capture of power through revolutionary means.

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 the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

While working in parliament we should organise the revolutionary forces for the ultimate goal. This attitude to the ultimate goal, the seizure of power through revolutionary means, must demarcate our Party from other social democratic parties and other bourgeois, liberal parties.

While preparing for a peaceful development, the Marxist - Leninist Party must fully prepare for a non- peaceful development. But we should never over- emphasise the chances of peaceful development as that will only reduce the revolutionary consciousness of the people.

Not able to show a single incident in history to prove its theory of peaceful transition to socialism, the CPSU leadership has begun to falsify history. They are citing 1919 Hungary revolution, establishment of People's Democracies in East Europe after the Second World War as examples of peaceful transition. Everybody knows that these are merely falsehoods.

Thus we see that CPSU leadership and modern revisionists have abandoned the path of proletarian revolution, have taken to the path of bourgeois democracy. All their new theories are intended to lull the revolutionary consciousness of the masses and thus maintain the present status quo in the capitalist states. And to achieve this end they have taken to utter falsehoods. 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."

The present C P S U leadership has exactly taken to this course, has deserted to the bourgeoisie.

The policy of Marxist - Leninists on the forms of transition to Socialism is diametrically opposed to that of the modern revisionists. The revolutionary working class movement has to eradicate this hated revisionism from its ranks in order to make a successful revolution.

Evaluation of the Role of Stalin

After Lenin's death, Stalin became not only the leader of the Party and the Government of the Soviet Union but the acknowledged leader of the international communist movement as well. For thirty years he led the Soviet state and the international communist movement.

Stalin led the CPSU and the Soviet people after Lenin's death in resolutely fighting both internal and external foes, and in safeguarding and consolidating the first socialist state in the world.

Stalin upheld the line of socialist industrialisation and agricultural collectivisation and in achieving great success in the socialist transformation and socialist construction. He led the CPSU and the soviet people and the Soviet Red Army to the great victory in the anti-fascist war.

He defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the fight against various kinds of opportunism, against the enemies of Leninism, the Trotskyites, revisionists, Bukharinists and Titoites.

He led the Soviet state in pursuing a foreign policy which was in keeping with proletarian internationalism and in greatly assisting the revolutionary struggles of all people.

He stood in the forefront of the tide of history leading the struggle, and was an irreconcilable enemy of the imperialists and all reactionaries.

He made an indelible contribution to the international communist movement in a number of theoretical writings which are immortal Marxist-Leninist works.

In his arduous struggles against all kinds of enemies, he might have committed certain mistakes, some subjective and some unavoidable in the then existing circumstances.

But his work taken as a whole, Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist, a great proletarian revolutionary.

But the C P S U leadership in a secret report at the 20th Congress and then again at the 22nd Congress, and in various writings viciously attacked the work and role of Stalin, all in the name of correcting the personality cult.

In all these writings, instead of critically analysing the work of Stalin and drawing proper lessons for the future, they completely disregarded the life of Stalin.

They accused Stalin of weakening the struggle against fascism by his resolute struggle against social democracy with his slogan 'social democracy is social fascism' and his fighting slogan 'class against class'.

They accused Stalin of not adequately preparing the country for defence against Hitler's invasion.

They accused Stalin of violating Socialist democracy and employing ruthless repression against suspects and even innocent persons.

They denounced Stalin's great work Dialectical and Historical Materialism..

Thus we see the revisionist leadership of the CPSU attacking the whole life of Stalin.

In their hatred for Stalin the CPSU leadership went to the extent of falsifying CPSU history to place Stalin in a wrong position.

In their hatred for Stalin, they described Stalin as a '*murderer*', '*criminal*', '*gambler*', '*despot of the type of Ivan the Terrible*', '*greatest dictator in Russian history*', '*fool*', '*idiot*', etc.

Thus we see the evaluation of the role of Stalin by the present leadership of the C P S U has nothing to do with Marxism.

Their hatred for Stalin reached such low depths as to bury his dead body.

Safe burial for the dead body of Stalin, Marxist - Leninist and television show for the dead body of Kennedy, the imperialist.

Marxist - Leninist Stalin a murderer.

The imperialist rulers of America - peace lovers.

This is the cruel logic of the revisionism of the C P S U leadership.

They attacked Stalin because they wanted to destroy his image as a great Marxist - Leninist, as an uncompromising anti-imperialist.

The attack of the C P S U leadership on Stalin is closely linked with their betrayal of Marxism - Leninism and it was done with a purpose.

It is significant to note that the vicious attacks of the C P S U leadership on Stalin were fully utilised by the reactionaries throughout the world to undermine confidence in Socialist democracy, in the Socialist system, in the whole international communist movement.

Thus we see the attack on Stalin by the C P S U leadership did great damage to the international communist movement; it served the interests of the imperialists.

Building of Communism in the Soviet Union:

The state of the whole people, party of the entire people

The C P S U leadership has declared at its 22nd Congress that it will build Communism in the Soviet Union within 20 years, that their state is no more a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but a state of the whole people, and that the great C P S U is not a party of the working class but a party of the whole people.

These issues have aroused serious controversy within the international communist movement.

Building of Communism in U. S. S. R

With the great October Revolution the First Socialist state was established and the Soviet people began the task of building socialism in the U. S. S. R.

The replacement of capitalist society by socialist society is a great advance in the historical development of human society. Socialist society covers the historical period of transition from class to classless society. It is by going through socialist society that mankind will enter communist society.

However, one cannot but see that socialist society is a society born out of capitalism and is only the first phase of communism. It is not yet a fully mature communist society in the economic and other fields. It is inevitably stamped with the birth-marks of capitalist society.

The practice of the socialist states teaches us that socialist society covers a very long historical period. Throughout this historical period the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat continues and the question of 'who will win'-the capitalist road or the socialist road-remains. Thus, till society enters the period of communism, the danger of restoration of capitalism persists.

The dictatorship of the proletariat has to put down the resistance of the overthrown capitalist classes, prevent the emergence of new capitalist elements, firmly deal with the political degenerates in the Government and party apparatus, struggle to replace the capitalist encirclement with the encirclement of socialist states, create abundance of wealth through socialisation of the industry and collectivisation of agriculture, and thus prepare the ground to go over from '*each according to work*' to '*each according to needs*', remould human element and create a new man who will habitually work for the good of society, remove difference between physical and mental labour, difference between town and country and thus build a classless society when the state itself withers away.

These are the prescriptions of Marx and Lenin to build communism.

But the revisionist leadership of the C P S U which has betrayed Marxism - Leninism has arbitrarily fixed the first 10-year period to build the industrial prerequisite for communism and the next 10-year period to build full-scale communism.

It is significant to note that the plan of the C P S U leadership to build communism is not related to the eradication of difference between mental and physical labour, the difference between town and country, the building of a new way, but is related to the level of production with the American imperialists.

Classes still exist in Soviet society. Corrupt elements frequently appear both in Government and party apparatus in the Soviet Union. And the Soviet State is still threatened with the threat of intervention from the imperialist states. When such is the situation internally and externally, for the Soviet leadership to think of building communism is either an utopia or deception practiced by the C P S U leadership on the Soviet people and the world public.

If we look closely at some of the measures that the present leadership of the C P S U is taking, we will see that these measures are not intended to build communism but aimed at the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Lenin and Stalin visualised greater and greater centralisation of industries for the completion of building socialism and going over to communism. But recently the C P S U leadership has begun to decentralise industries, has removed certain industries from its planned economy, and allow their production to be based on the purchase and sale in the open market.

Stalin visualised state trading to cover all fields of economy to advance to communism. But recently the C P S U leadership has allowed the purchase and sale of individual peasants' [farm products] in the open market.

Stalin visualised the conversion of collective farms into state farms to advance to communism. But recently the C P S U leadership disbanded the government tractor and machine stations and sold them to individual collective farms.

Stalin visualised the abolition of commodity production to advance to communism but the present leadership of CPSU is actually increasing commodity production as the above measures suggest.

Marx and Lenin visualised the building of a new man inspired with high ideals '*capable of working without remuneration in the interest of society*', to advance to communism. But the CPSU leadership has introduced profit, bonus, substituted material incentives for the socialist principle '*from each according to his ability, to each according to his work*', which only when [the difference in] the income of various sections of Soviet people, which will only increase motives for personal profit and selfish interests.

Thus we see all the above measures weaken socialism and in the process help in the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The present CPSU leadership, instead of inspiring the people with revolutionary ideology, with proletarian culture, with proletarian internationalism is peddling bourgeois ideology, bourgeois liberty, equality, fraternity and humanity, inculcating bourgeois idealism, and metaphysics, and the reactionary ideas of bourgeois individualism, humanism, pacifism among the Soviet people and debasing socialist morality. Rotten bourgeois culture of the West is becoming fashionable in the Soviet Union.

Thus the CPSU leadership, through its various measures, is helping new capitalist elements to grow in the town and rich peasant elements to grow in the countryside.

It is significant to note that many of these measures were advanced and practiced for a very long time by Yugoslav Tito clique.

Recently, a very dangerous phenomenon has appeared in East European states. Many of them are building industries with foreign collaboration. Even the Soviet Union is negotiating with the Japanese imperialists for the joint exploitation of Siberian mineral wealth.

Thus we see that while shouting that it is building communism in the Soviet Union the C P S U leadership is actually taking steps to restore capitalism.

That is the reason why the bourgeois world, instead of being afraid of the construction of 'communism' in the Soviet Union are showering praises on the C P S U leadership for its new measures. This should open the eyes of all Marxist-Leninists as to the nature of 'communism' being built in the Soviet Union.

State of the Whole People-Party of Entire People

State is an organ of suppression of one class by another.

Dictatorship of the proletariat has to suppress the resistance of the overthrown classes, prevent the rise of the new capitalist elements, resist the threat of imperialist intervention, build socialism, abolish the classes and build communism and when classes disappear, dictatorship of the proletariat disappears .

Lenin observed:

"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 for the entire historical period, which separates capitalism from classless society, from communism."

Thus it is clear that proletarian dictatorship is necessary for the working class for the entire period of building socialism and advancing to communism.

But the CPSU leadership has no use for this teaching of Lenin. They declared at the 22nd Congress that since socialism has finally, irrevocably, triumphed in the Soviet Union, antagonistic class contradictions have disappeared in the Soviet Union; that since the entire Soviet people accept the goal of communism, dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary for the Soviet people, and 'transformed the state of the proletarian dictatorship into the state of the whole people.'

Since all the people in the Soviet Union accept the party programme, the party cannot be a party of a single class, working class, but the party of the entire people.

Since class contradictions still exist in the Soviet society and since the external threat from the imperialist powers still exist, it is betrayal of the Soviet people on the part of the CPSU leadership to abolish proletarian dictatorship and transform it into the State of the whole people.

State can always be a representative of a particular class or classes, there cannot be a supra class state, the so-called people's state. It is only the bourgeoisie who camouflage their state with the name People's State to cover up their class rule.

Engles said:

" 'free people's state' was a programme demand and a catchword current among the German social democrats in the seventies. This catchword is devoid of all political content except that it describes the concept of democracy in a pompous philistine fashion."

Exactly the present CPSU leadership is using the 'People's State' to cover up the bourgeois state it is trying to build.

Similarly, a political party can represent a single class and there can be no supra class party. People's party is a bourgeois term intended to cover the class nature of bourgeois parties.

As long as proletarian dictatorship exists there must be communist party of the proletariat to head this state and accomplish its historical mission of building communism.

But the revisionist leadership of CPSU is converting the great CPSU into a bourgeois party and it is using 'People's Party' to cover up this betrayal.

Even at the time of the 19th Party Congress of CPSU, Stalin noted degeneration and corruption that appeared in certain party and state organs. He warned of the *'corrupt elements setting their group interests higher than the interests of the party and the State', who 'forget that the enterprises entrusted to their charge are state enterprises, and try to turn them into their own private domain'*, people who 'instead of safeguarding the common husbandry of the collective farms' engage in filching collective farm property.

The C P S U headed by Stalin adhered to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the road of socialism and waged a staunch struggle against such forces of capitalism.

During the time of Khrushchov, and the present leadership, there has been a fundamental change in the state of the class struggle in the Soviet Union.

They have carried a series of policies serving which have given rise to new type of capitalistic elements in the town, and the rich peasant in the countryside.

The new bourgeois elements, who have usurped the leadership of the party and the state step by step and have formed a privileged stratum in Soviet society.

This privileged stratum is the principal component of the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union today and the main social basis of the revisionists. The present revisionist leaders are the political representatives of the new Soviet bourgeois elements, particularly of its privileged stratum.

Members of this privileged stratum who have betrayed the revolutionary traditions of the Bolshevik Party, discarded the lofty ideals of the Soviet working class. They betray revolution and forbid others to make revolution. The sole concern is to consolidate their economic and political rule.

The old and new bourgeois elements, the old and new rich peasants and the degenerate elements of all sorts constitute the social basis of revisionism and they use every possible means to find agents within the Communist Party. The existence of bourgeois influence is the internal source of revisionism and collaboration with the imperialists is its external source.

The Soviet privileged stratum represented by the revisionists constitute only a small per cent of the Soviet population. Among the Soviet cadres, its numbers are also small. It stands diametrically opposed to the Soviet people, who constitute more than 90 percent of the Soviet population and to the great majority of Soviet people and Communists. The contradiction between the Soviet people and this privileged stratum is now the principal contradiction in the Soviet Union and it is an antagonistic contradiction.

We must not confuse the revisionist leadership of the CPSU and the privileged stratum taking to the capitalist road with the Soviet people and communist Party members. We are confident that the Soviet people, with the glorious tradition of revolutionary struggles will restore the Marxist concepts of the proletarian state and party.

CPSU Leadership - Ally of U.S. Imperialism for World Domination

What does the discussion of the great debate between Marxist - Leninists and modern revisionists represented by the C P S U leadership reveal?

Marxist - Leninists firmly adhering to the principles of Marxism - Leninism are valiantly fighting for the accomplishment of the tasks of the present epoch, advancing the cause of the national liberation struggles of the oppressed nations, advancing the cause of the revolutionary class struggles throughout the world, resolutely opposing the wars of aggression by the imperialists, the American imperialists in particular thus to achieve victory in the world socialist revolution.

Modern revisionists, represented by the C P S U leadership, have betrayed Marxism- Leninism, have betrayed the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and classes and have taken to a class collaborationist policy all along the line serving the interests of the imperialists.

Unity with imperialists and opposition to the socialist camp;

Unity with the reactionaries and the imperialists in the backward countries and active opposition to the national liberation struggles;

Alliance with American imperialism and active opposition to Socialist China.

This in essence is the class collaborationist policy of the CPSU leadership and this policy is diametrically opposed to the interests of the world people.

In pursuit of this class collaboration policy, the revisionist leadership of the C P S U has become an ally of U. S. imperialism for world domination, for a division of spheres of influence throughout the world as testified by their nuclear agreements, their confabulations in U.N. O, their recent talks at Glassborough with the U.S. imperialists.

Does such a characterisation of activities of the C P S U leadership mean keeping the Soviet Union out of the socialist camp? No, certainly not.

The CPSU leadership, which has embraced bourgeois ideology and which has been adopting steps for the restoration of capitalism in Soviet Union, if allowed to have its own way will try to take the Soviet Union out of the socialist camp. A timely ruthless exposure of its betrayal alone will rouse the consciousness of Soviet people and Soviet Communists and help their resistance to this betrayal of the C P S U leadership. The international communist movement owes this responsibility towards the Soviet people. Any shielding of betrayal of C P S U leadership or any soft peddling of the exposure of the betrayal of the CPSU leadership will be a violation of international duty of the world communist movement and the interests of the Soviet people.

Thus we see the contradiction between Marxism- Leninism and revisionism of the C P S U leadership is an antagonistic contradiction.

In their pursuit of class collaboration, the C P S U leaders are following the footsteps of the old revisionists-Bernstein, Kautsky, Browder and Tito.

It was the Yugoslav Titoites who first advanced revisionist theories and went out of the socialist camp after the Second World War. They changed the proletarian character of the Communist Party. They took measures to change the socialist

state into a bourgeois state. They took measures that help the process of growth of capitalist elements both in town and country. They openly took to the path of collaboration with U.S. imperialism.

It is significant to note that the CPSU leadership has begun to implement all the measures that the Yugoslav revisionists implemented in their country. They have taken over the mantle of revisionism from the Yugoslav revisionists and now they have become the leaders of modern revisionism.

It is the duty of all Marxist - Leninists to carry on irreconcilable fight against modern revisionism, represented by CPSU leadership. It is only such a fight that will help the Soviet people to see through the treachery and betrayal of the CPSU leadership. It is wrong to view this great fight of Marxist - Leninists against CPSU leadership as being anti-Soviet. It is the present leadership of the CPSU that is really anti-Soviet. Its measures for the restoration of capitalism, its attempts to convert the proletarian State into a bourgeois State and the proletarian party into a bourgeois party-all are really anti-Soviet. And this great fight is really in the interest of the Soviet people themselves.

It is true, compared to the present leadership of the C P S U the old revisionists of the Second International were mere pigmies. The C P S U leadership is using the highest prestige of the C P S U, which has been held in high esteem by all the Marxist - Leninists for many years, to cover up the essence of its revisionism and splittism and deceive those unaware of the truth. But the revisionism of the C P S U leadership has its own weaknesses also. It occurred in the land of Lenin and Stalin whose people and communists have got great traditions of revolutionary struggles and experience. And the fight against modern revisionism is taking place in the background of ever deepening crisis of world capitalism and growing class and communists have got great traditions of revolutionary struggles. In the face of these class struggles modern revisionism cannot succeed to deceive the Soviet people for long. The people and the Communists of the land of Lenin and Stalin will surely come forward and restore the unity in the socialist camp and repair the damage done by modern revisionism to the great cause of world revolution. The great ideological fight carried on by Marxist - Leninists against modern revisionism has already started yielding good results. The fall of kruschov is the first great victory against modern revisionism. It is the beginning of the end of it. Marxist - Leninists should not relax this great struggle. Faced with the prospect of complete isolation the present leadership of the CPSU, which is of Khrushchov's old cast cannot but remove him from his post and adopt supple tactics to carry on their old class collaborationist line, which is also doomed to fail. The continuation of this irreconcilable fight against modern revisionism represented by CPSU leadership and its class collaborationist policies alone will keep the Soviet Union within the socialist camp and will restore full unity in the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

New Deceptive Slogans and Anti-Revolution Policies of the C P S U Leaders

The present leadership of the C P S U which has stepped into the shoes of Khrushchov has been continuously trying to gain breathing space, using every means to blur the dividing line between Marxism - Leninism and revisionism and has been trying to halt the struggle against revisionism so that it can easily speed up the measures for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and split the socialist camp for more collaboration with U.S. imperialism for world domination. With this purpose in view the new leaders of the C P S U have been loudly chanting the honeyed words and phrases, such as 'unity', 'unity of the socialist camp', 'unity of the international communist movement' on so-called 'common programme', 'unity against the enemy', 'unity against imperialism', 'united action on Vietnam' etc.,-all in their attempt to sap the militant will of Marxist - Leninists in fighting against modern revisionism and U.S. imperialism. Imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism is carrying on a death -bed struggle and it needs badly the services of modern revisionism in its vain attempts to save itself from its final doom. Revisionism has always been a social prop of imperialism. The new leaders of the C P S U are no exception. They in their attempt to deck themselves as different from Khrushchov to do better service to U.S. imperialism have been using a façade of 'unity' slogans in order to conceal the essence of their continued pursuance of Khrushchov revisionist line. It is common with all moribund forces to take over such progressive slogans for their reactionary purposes. But what is the reality? The present C P S U leadership, along with Khrushchov, taking advantage of every concession given, seriously tried to create confusion in the ranks of the world Communists and came out against all the revolutionary principles of the militant revolutionary programme of world communist conferences of 1957 and 1960. It is they who came out against all revolutionary struggles and ganged up with U.S. imperialists and all the reactionaries of the world against the great People's Republic of China, the base of the national liberation struggles, to isolate it from the fighting people and socialist countries. It is they who attempted to split the socialist camp and the world communist movement. The new leaders of the C P S U, who were forced to discard Khrushchov, did not change this basic line and took over Khrushchov's revisionism in its entirety. In such a situation, how can there be any base for 'unity' on 'common programme' and unity in the socialist camp when they doggedly pursue the anti-revolutionary revisionist line?

The present CPSU leaders have repeatedly declared that the line laid down at 20th and 22nd Congress of the CPSU was, is and will be their "sole and immutable line in domestic and external policy". They expressed that there was not a shade of difference between them and Khrushchov on the questions of international communist movement and on China. In spite of some new gestures and new deceptive slogans the present C P S U leaders adopt the same collaborationist policy. The emergence of Khrushchov revisionism is not due

to a few individuals and it is not an accidental phenomenon. It has deep social roots in the privileged stratum in the socialist society. Unless the Soviet people prevailed over and changed the whole course and the revisionist line, the new leaders in the interest of the privileged stratum continue to pursue the old revisionist line on all fundamental issues.

The new gestures and 'unity' slogans of the present C P S U leaders are intended to deceive the people and to serve U.S. imperialism. While criticising U.S. imperialism as the 'aggressor' and 'war-monger' they in one breath praise Johnson administration as 'sensible', 'moderate'. While asserting that they, together with the people of the world, will oppose U.S. imperialist war, maintain close contacts, exchange information against with mutual understanding with U.S. imperialists revolutionary struggles. While asserting their support to national liberation struggles, they conspire with U.S. imperialists to organise U.N. Force for the suppression of these struggles and with the reactionaries of the newly independent countries against the democratic struggles. By offering 'aid' to Vietnam, they are trying to bring the Vietnamese question into the orbit of U.S. Soviet collaboration. With these dubious methods in pursuance of the collaborationist policy the new leaders of the C P S U have fallen in a predicament to explain the contradictions in their statements.

Thus, its call for unity of action is a clever camouflage for greater disunity, for greater disruption within the socialist camp and within international working class movement.

Struggle for International Unity of the Proletariat and the United Action

The history of the international communist movement was one of struggle by Marxism against opportunism and of struggle of Marxists to safeguard international unity of proletariat and to oppose the attempts by opportunists and revisionists to divide it. Marxist - Leninists uphold in the course of struggle against capitalism and imperialism in the course of world revolution, the international proletariat can defeat the enemy only through uniting the forces and uniting with all other forces that can be united. In the light of the changes in the balance of world power after the Second World War, Marxist - Leninists advanced the slogan of the international united front against U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of the world people. They stated that it has the unity of the international proletariat as its core and the unity of the proletariat and the oppressed nations as its base.

Marxism - Leninism teaches that international unity of the proletariat is a revolutionary unity, unity based on principle. Marx and Engels declared implicitly that "*it is ... impossible for us to cooperate with people who wish to expunge this class struggle from the movement*". The great C P C and other Marxist - Leninists waged a long struggle against modern revisionism represented by C P S U leadership in order to uphold the unity of the international communist movement based on Marxism - Leninism and proletarian internationalism and broaden this united front against U.S. imperialism. Unity of Marxist - Leninists with revisionists, a unity based not on principle, will neither help the consolidation

and broadening of the united front against U.S., imperialism nor help the anti-imperialist struggles, as the core of the united front gets weakened. Only a principled struggle for unity strengthens the core of the united front. *Lenin said:*

"unity a great cause and a great slogan-but the workers' cause requires the unity of the Marxists and not the unity of the Marxists with the opponents and distorters of Marxism."

The present leadership of the CPSU continues its line of U.S. Soviet collaboration for world domination and continues to be the force mainly allied with U.S. imperialism. Opposition to or alliance with U.S. imperialism constitutes the hallmark for deciding whether a political force can be included in the united front against imperialism.

It is significant to note that, after this call for so-called "unity of action", the CPSU leadership has taken to the vilest slanders against Socialist China, to the worst falsifications of the actual state of affairs with regard to the cultural revolution in China, to open collaboration with the Indian and Japanese reactionaries against Socialist China, to open alliance with U.S. imperialism for world domination in opposition to the international working class movement and, in particular, in opposition to the People's Republic of China.

The Communist Party of China is absolutely right in refusing to fall into the trap of the C P S U, in refusing 'unity of action' on the basis of the so-called "common programme." The CPC has rightly said., "*there are things that divide us and nothing that unites us, things that are antagonistic and nothing that is common.*"

The very fact that the great C P C has repeatedly stated that they are ready to take united action with C P S U leaders if they really opposed U.S. imperialism and did go by actual deeds goes to show their urge for principled unity, for anti-imperialists struggles.

A section in our Party views the whole issue from a different angle which is completely wrong.

They wrongly feel that the slogan of 'united action' is given by the new C P S U leadership at a time when the socialist camp is seriously divided on several ideological-political issues as if the purpose is to bridge the gulf; and that it was given in connection with U.S. aggression on Vietnam in order to work out with the people's republic of China a joint plan against aggression, which is not in consonance with facts. Everybody knows that the liberation struggle of Vietnamese people still continues only because it could withstand the opposition of CPSU leadership. When the international working class movement, particularly the great People's Republic of China, has magnificently rallied to the cause of Vietnamese people, the C P S U leadership with its revisionist theories and practices has done everything possible to disarm, to disrupt and to sabotage the Vietnamese struggle. Failing in his attempt to isolate and put down to Vietnamese struggle Khrushchov even went to the extent of threatening 'non-involvement'. Faced with the prospect of complete isolation, the new C P S U leadership adopted the policy of

'involvement'. Involvement or 'non-involvement',- both serve the interests of the U.S. imperialists unless the policy of collaboration with US imperialists is completely reversed. When the Vietnamese struggle has been progressing victoriously against U.S. imperialists in spite of the C P S U leadership, with full cooperation of the People's Republic of China and the world people, when it has become a rallying point for the unity of all anti-imperialists and all Marxist - Leninists, who are seriously interested in the decisive defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and when it has become a turning -point in the anti-imperialist struggles after many debacles, as in Congo and Dominican Republic due to their betrayal, the present leadership of the C P S U has advanced the slogan of 'united action' to cover its isolation from the struggling people and Marxist - Leninists of the world and to worm itself into the anti-imperialist front for further disruption. The attempt of the C P S U leadership to isolate Vietnamese struggle has failed. Vietnam has never been and will never be alone against U.S. imperialism. It has to be seriously noted that only when the stage of isolation of the C P S U leadership commenced, it has come out with such deceptive slogans. It is incorrect on the part of a section of our party to oppose the principled stand of the C P C and support the slogan of united action, through not as a slogan of immediate action.

Everybody knows that the present C P S U leadership has been doggedly pursuing the policy of close collaboration with U.S. imperialism. Its stand on the question of Vietnam is inseparable from its line of collaboration with the U.S. Facts prove the correctness of this proposition. Whenever the U.S. imperialists needed the help of the C P S U leadership in its 'peace' swindle in Vietnam, it readily responded in its own way. In January 1966 it proposed to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to accept the U.S. conditions for peace. In February 1965, it forwarded Johnsons' proposal for unconditional negotiations and carried on diplomatic talks with France violating the promise made to C P C. After a strong rebuff from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the C P S U leadership changed its tactics, publicly put forward another slogan that negotiations can be started after U.S. bombing is stopped. When these plots were foiled, it began to collaborate with Indian reactionaries and the Tito Clique, both the brokers of U.S. imperialism on the Vietnam question. The practice of the C P S U leadership was demonstratively proved that it is not interested in a decisive defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and, all along the line, at every step in the Vietnamese struggle, the C P S U leadership has been pursuing different strategic aims in opposition to the aims of the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people. Even while giving military aid to Vietnam it goes on with its anti-China propaganda and maintains close contact with America, searching for more areas of co-operation. The bitter experiences of this period show that the present C P S U leadership has completely transposed enemies and friends. In such a situation, to abandon the principled stand and take 'united action' with revisionist leadership will only whitewash it, help it in deceiving the people of the Soviet Union, of other Socialist countries and the world. It will be nothing but taking chances and

making experiments with the glorious struggle of the Vietnamese people which defied all plans of treachery and betrayal and has valiantly moved ahead.

A section of our Party, knowing fully well that the revisionist theories and practices have gone only to abet and encourage the American expansionists rather than in restoring real peace in Vietnam, knowing fully well that a host of steps and actions were deliberately perpetrated by the C P S U leadership 'to damn the Chinese Communists as war-mongers and traitors to the cause of socialism' and knowing fully well that in the present context the slogan of united action given by the C P S U leadership 'reduces itself to one of scoring points and deceiving the gullible', persists in upholding the deceptive slogan of the C P S U leadership as a slogan of future united action and in supporting the proposal for joint discussions between revisionist leaders and the leaders of the people of the Republic of China and Vietnam. Whether at present or in future, united action is possible and necessary between Marxist - Leninists and revolutionaries but not with anti-revolutionary revisionists. Any unprincipled unity will help to disrupt the struggles. Joint discussions between revisionist C P S U leaders and revolutionary leaders of China and Vietnam cannot strengthen the core of the anti-imperialist front against U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and the failure of the meeting will be a handle in the hands of imperialists and revisionists for impeding the Vietnam struggle itself.

The argument that united action in Vietnam should not have been refused in principle with the parties and states in which revisionists held the sway in the light of the concepts of united front, united action etc., is completely wrong and illogical. Such parties and states are not parties and states in general; they are communist parties and socialist states, which have to serve as the constituents of the core of the anti-imperialist front. Ideological and political struggles and a kind of sorting between Marxist - Leninists and revisionists is taking place in those parties and states. The condition for the united front is struggle against imperialism. If the people and communists in those states and parties are allowed to be deceived and lulled in their vigilance against the revisionist leaders, it will only help the disruption of the anti-imperialist struggle. Such slogans of 'united action' which help the disruption of the struggle itself, are diametrically opposed to the very aims and principles of united front tactics. There is a wrong notion that there is only some misunderstanding and some mess created between the C P S U and C P C and that some facile notion of C P S U leadership has created that split in the socialist camp and communist movement and for that reason, a section of our party has gone to the extent of suggesting bilateral talks and abandonment of the 'facile notions' by the leaders of the C P S U to repair the split.

What is standing between C P S and C P S U and between the people and the communists in those states and parties on one hand and the Marxist - Leninist parties on the other is neither a mess nor a 'facile notion' -(of maintaining world peace in collaboration with U.S. imperialism without China)- held by the C P S U leadership. What is standing in between is the modern revisionism represented by the C P S U leadership and its policy of collaboration with U.S. imperialism for

world domination. This section of our party fails to understand that the peace sought to be maintained by C P S U leaders is a peace of the burial ground and they want to win that peace not only with the collaboration of U.S. imperialism but also against the great people's Republic of China, against the struggling people of the world. Everybody knows that the main aim of the U.S. war plans is the destruction of the People's Republic of China and the socialist camp, to be achieved after the suppression of the national liberation struggles—all this for world domination. When the leadership of the C P S U collaborates with U.S. imperialism and all reactionaries against China and dogmatically pursues the line what is it for if not for world domination? Only the revisionists, representing a privileged bourgeois stratum can pursue such an aim. The leading section of our party fails to see the revisionist depths of the C P S U leadership and their policy and supports the deceptive slogans and proposals of the C P S U leadership.

The damage done to the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement will be repaired and unity will be fully restored before long. But that can be and has to be done on the basis of principled struggle.

The Contribution of C P C

The C P C under the leadership of Mao, basing on the experience of the Great October Revolution, creatively applied Marxism- Leninism to the conditions of China, following the correct tactics of united front, following the correct tactics of struggle—and through a prolonged armed struggle, first liberating the countryside and finally liberating the towns, liberated 70 crores of population from age -long slavery and established people's democracy and now through its cultural revolution is struggling for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and completion of the socialist revolution.

With this rich experience of revolutionary struggle , C P C tried to correct the revisionist mistakes of the C P S U leadership through friendly criticism. When the C P S U leadership spurned this friendly criticism, and openly took to a class collaborationist line, the C P C had to begin an open ideological battle against modern revisionism represented by the C P S U leadership to preserve the sacredness of Marxism - Leninism . Its numerous articles exposing modern revisionism have greatly contributed to the enrichment of Marxism - Leninism in the present era.

People's Democracy, People's War, completion of the socialist revolution through the present cultural revolution, struggle for the accomplishment of the world socialist revolution basing on the national liberation struggles of the oppressed nations; an irreconcilable ideological battle against modern revisionism—this in essence is the thought of Mao, Marxism - Leninism of the present epoch, upheld by the Marxist - Leninists through out the world.

Marx and Engels developed their theories of scientific socialism in a period of growing industrial capitalism.

Lenin further developed Marxism applicable to the period of imperialism.

Stalin developed Marxism - Leninism in building socialism in a single country encircled by capitalist states, and his struggle for creating mass communist parties throughout the world.

The thought of Mao is a further development of Marxism - Leninism applicable to the present era when imperialism is first disintegrating and the national liberation struggles have come to occupy a central place for the completion of the world socialist revolution.

Already recent world history has amply proved that wherever people have assimilated the experience of the Chinese revolution, and applied it to the concrete conditions of their country, there the revolutionary movements have won complete victory, or have made significant advances. And wherever the people have failed to assimilate the experience of the Chinese revolution, there the revolutionary movements have failed to make any significant advance or even counter-revolutions have succeeded.

Consolidation of the International Communist Movement

It is the urgent task of all Marxist - Leninists to work hard for consolidation of the international communist movement to accomplish the tasks of the present period.

In the recent period the revisionist leadership of the C P S U by its efforts to impose its own programme on fraternal parties, by its blatant interference in the internal affairs of other parties, in the name of personality cult, by its splitting activities, has seriously disrupted the international communist movement and damaged the fraternal relations of the Communist Parties throughout the world.

In the course of the struggle against modern revisionism regrouping of Marxist - Leninists is taking place throughout the world.

There must be a common programme based on Marxism - Leninism for the general direction of the world communist movement in the present period. Such a common programme alone will help in the consolidation of the international communist movement.

'*A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement*', proposed by the C P C lays the proper basis for such a common programme for the world communist movement.

Fraternal relations between the various communist parties based on proletarian internationalism must be restored to achieve consolidation of the world communist movement. These relations must be based on 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.

It is the primary duty of the Communist Party in each country to acquire an accurate knowledge of the trends of the different classes in its own country through serious investigation and study, and to know how to apply the universal truth of Marxism - Leninism and integrate it with concrete practice of its own country, to evolve its own programme and tactical line based on Marxism - Leninism to achieve victory in its revolution.

When the political line of a particular Party goes completely wrong, and when that party rejects the friendly criticism of brother parties, fraternal parties will have no other option except open criticism. This has been the practice of past history.

When the Third International was founded in 1919, Lenin had to criticise the programmes of many parties to put them on the correct track in the interests of the movement of the concerned country and in the interests of the international movement.

Today, the world communist movement is facing a similar situation. Many Marxist - Leninist Parties are evolving a struggle against modern revisionism.

C P C , the leading detachment of the world communist movement, with its rich experience of revolutionary struggles, in its discharge of international tasks, is offering criticism of the activities of certain parties to help them correct their mistakes.

It is highly regrettable that relations between our party and the C P C have been greatly damaged recently.

Taking the strong language alone used by the C P C into consideration , we should not miss the essence of the criticism in the interests of our own Party. We must seriously try to self-critically examine our own work in the light of that criticism and speedily correct our mistakes. We must take speedy steps to re-establish fraternal relations between our two parties.

We must recognise that the main danger to our movement comes from revisionism, both nationally and internationally. The long legacy of revisionism, the predominant petty-bourgeois atmosphere in the country, our work in united fronts in ministries, Parliament and Assemblies offer a continuous breeding ground for revisionism. We must resolutely combat revisionism in all its forms.

While combating revisionism, we must at the same time guard against any left- sectarian mistakes that may occur.

The world communist movement is at a turning point in its history. The international communist movement will deal a crushing blow to modern revisionism and before long achieve complete victory in the World Socialist Revolution.

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