

## SIXTH LECTURE

### INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

#### PRESENT SITUATION

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in 1956 pointed out the significant features in the international situation after the victory of the anti-fascist forces during the Second World War. These are:

*First:* Extension of socialism from one country to a world system embracing one-third of the mankind.

*Second:* Demonstration of economic superiority of socialism by measure of the relative rate of industrial growth over the preceding quarter century.

1929-55:	<i>Rate of Industrial Growth in per cent</i>
USSR	12.3
USA	3.3
Britain	2.4
Excluding war years	
USSR	18.0
USA	2.8
Britain	3.5

The prospects of outstripping the production of USA by the USSR have become real.

*Third:* Sweeping forward of national-liberation movements nearly approaching the prospect of the final ending of colonialism. In area and population, the socialist countries together with the newly-liberated countries constituted in 1964 about 77 per cent of the total area and 82 per cent of the world population.

*Fourth:* Development of cooperation between the socialist world and newly-liberated countries for economic growth and for ensuring world peace.

The 20th Congress further sharply criticised the existence, during the Stalin regime, of the "cult of personality" and outlined measures for the revival of the norms of collective functioning of the leadership of the party and democratic centralism inside the party.

The historic significance of the 20th Congress lies in objective evaluation of the contemporary situation and its attempts to creatively apply the science of Marxism-Leninism in conformity with the new era.

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries held in November 1957 discussed their relations, current problems of the international situation and the struggle for peace and socialism. The conference was attended by 12 communist and workers' parties of all socialist countries, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, East Germany, China, Korea, Poland, Mongolia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and the USSR.

The Declaration issued at the end of the conference, which was unanimously adopted, underlines the basic features of the current international situation and outlined the strategy of the struggle for peace and socialism.

1. *Main content of the epoch*: "The main content of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism which was begun by the great October Socialist Revolution in Russia."

a) *Growth of the forces of socialism*—950 million people have taken the road of socialism.

b) *Growth of the colonial liberation movement*—700 million people have shaken off their colonial yoke.

c) *Socialism emerging as a much higher social system than capitalism*: Unprecedented development of productive forces in socialist countries—much faster rate of growth of productive forces than those of the imperialist countries.

d) Prospects of socialist economic development outstripping USA.

e) Socialist system as a bulwark of peace and national liberation—

— mighty development of science and technology;  
— ability to provide help to underdeveloped nations for their independent economic development.

f) *Decline of imperialism*—Loss of colonies; economic crisis.

g) *Growth and intensification of class struggles in imperialist countries*.

h) *Development of neocolonial forms of domination by the USA and sharpening of the contradiction between imperialist countries*. US imperialism as the most aggressive and vicious enemy of all mankind—the world gendarme.

i) Development of nuclear weapons, powerful weapons of mass destruction and the danger of wars inevitably becoming nuclear war unprecedented in destructive force.

j) Growth and enlargement of the forces of peace and the aspiration for peaceful coexistence between countries having different social systems.

These findings were confirmed at the meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties held in Moscow in November 1960. The Statement issued by the meeting known as the '81-Parties' Document' creatively applied Marxism-Leninism in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, outlined its basic characteristics and formulated its considered opinion on basic ideological issues of present period. It defined the new epoch as one in which the world socialist system was becoming the decisive factor and where the balance of world forces had gone against world imperialism.

2. *War and peace*: The old Marxist-Leninist precepts that wars are inevitable so long as imperialism exists was evolved at a time when—(i) imperialism was an all-embracing world system; (ii) the social and political forces which did not want war were weak, poorly organised and hence unable to compel imperialism to renounce war. This applied to the periods before the first and also the second world wars.

At the present time, however, the situation has changed radically, the social and political forces are now such that

war is not fatalistically inevitable and that it is possible to prevent war if the forces of peace are vigilant, though danger of war cannot be ruled out as long as imperialism exists.

"The time has come when the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to start a world war can be curbed. World war can be prevented by the joint efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces."

3. *Peaceful coexistence*: "Peaceful coexistence of countries with different systems or destructive war"—this is the alternative today. It does not "imply renunciation of class struggle". It does not mean conciliation of the socialist and bourgeois ideologies. "On the contrary, it implies intensification of the struggle of the working class, of all communist parties, for the triumph of socialist ideas. But ideological and political disputes must not be settled through war."

4. *Peaceful transition to socialism*: "Working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means."

(Note: Marx's writings on possibility of peaceful transition to socialism in Britain—Lenin's ideas about different forms of this transition)

In a number of capitalist countries opportunity has arisen for the working class, headed by its vanguard, with a united working class, united front of different parties uniting the majority of the people, to win state power without armed civil war.

5. *Unity of socialist movement*: "A resolute defence of the unity of the world socialist movement on the principles of Marxism and proletarian internationalism and the prevention of any actions which may undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for the victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would impair the forces of communism."

Till 1959 there was no very serious danger to unity in the international communist movement. In 1960 the Chinese Communist Party published *Long Live Leninism!* in which the unanimous declaration of policy of the world communist movement was severely criticised and attacked. "World peace," "peaceful coexistence" and "peaceful transition to socialism" were the issues on which alternative policies were unilaterally formulated.

Till then the Chinese Communist Party did not directly attack the CPSU but under the cover of attacking Yugoslavia.

The difference was not really between the CPSU and the Chinese Communist Party. The difference was between the world communist movement and the Chinese Communist Party. The Chinese Communist Party attacked the Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries—known as the 12-Party Document—issued in 1957.

By the end of 1960, the Conference of 81 Parties' was held in Moscow. This conference hailed the resolution of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and its analysis of the present epoch as the beacon light of the new era. The conference firmly reaffirmed the Congress resolution on war and peace, on peaceful coexistence and peaceful transition to socialism. The Chinese Communist Party was also a signatory to the 81-Parties' Document.

But from 1963 the CPC again started propagating its alternative policy. This time, their attack was openly against the CPSU. Now they started the campaign that the CPSU has wrongly interpreted the Moscow Declaration.

The Central Committee of the CPSU wrote a series of letters to the CPC and also tried to resolve the differences by sending emissaries but to no avail. The CPs of all the countries wanted to convene a conference again to discuss the differences and to come to a common understanding. But the CPC refused persistently to participate. Thus a campaign was launched against the world communist move-

ment by the CPC, openly instigating the party members of all countries to come out of their parties and form rival communist parties in opposition to their existing ones. The CPI was split in response to this call. A section of party members came out and formed the CPM in 1964.

Since then many things have happened. At the beginning, some communist parties of Asian and Latin-American countries sided with the CPC but now they are not any longer allies. Even in the CPC today there is a split.

The policy of split has its own logic. The CPM which was formed after the split in the CPI at the dictates of the Maoist CPC is now itself facing a split. The filthy abuses once used by the CPC against S. A. Dange and others are now showered on Namboodiripad and Jyoti Basu and other CPM leaders. The handful of Naxalbari Marxists now enjoy CPC blessing.

When the CPI attacked the CPC for interference in the internal affairs of our party, the CPM had defended the CPC's action in the name of proletarian internationalism. Now, when the CPM is blaming the CPC for their direct interference in their party affairs, the Naxalbaris defend them again in the name of proletarian internationalism. History has repeated itself and will do so again.

#### VIEWES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA ON THE MAIN IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES

1. Understanding of the epoch not as the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism but as one of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

2. The main contradiction in the present stage is not between capitalism and socialism but a whole series of contradictions "between socialist camp and imperialist camp; between the proletariat and bourgeoisie in capitalist countries; between oppressed nations and imperialism; among monopoly capitalist groups." (*A Proposal Concerning the General Line*)

Their emphasis, however, is supposedly on the contradiction between imperialism and national-liberation move-

ments. "They think that the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America where national-liberation movements are being conducted." (CPI: *On Ideological Controversy*)

3. On war and peace their "view is that war cannot be eliminated from the life of the society so long as imperialism exists". (CPI *On Ideological Controversy*)

On the other hand, the Moscow Declaration of 1960 states: "The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. But real forces have appeared that are capable of foiling its plans of aggression. War is not fatalistically inevitable."

The difference between the two outlooks is clear. While the CPC does not recognise any advance of the progressive and democratic forces and declares like a 'prophet of doom', the Moscow Declaration, while not underestimating the dangers, has realistically assessed the advance in the progressive forces and the shift in the balance of forces and places the initiative in the hands of the communist parties to prevent war.

The CPC has accused the CPSU and its leadership of revisionism and of following in the footsteps of Kautsky and Bernstein. In its letter published in *People's Daily* on 19 November 1963, they quoted: "Kautsky said in 1914... 'in the present age there is no war which does not bring misfortunes to all nations and to all workers. We are not discussing which is just and which is unjust.' Bernstein said... 'let there be peace for all. We will not rest, we will move the society forward undaunted, for the interest of all, for equal rights for all nations through international agreements and disarmaments.'"

The Chinese leaders seem to have forgotten why Lenin accused Kautsky and Bernstein as reformists. Was it not mainly because they gave up opposition to war and asked workers not to fight against imperialist wars? Lenin was never against peace. The first decree of Soviet power was on peace.

In 1914 Bernstein advocated disarmament as an alternative to workers' revolt—as at that time there were no forces strong enough to prevent war. Is the world today in the same position as in 1914? Has it not advanced any further? Has the epoch not changed since then? At a time when socialism has become a world system, when imperialism has been pushed into a defensive position, when so many of the countries in the world have become sovereign and anti-imperialist, when socialism is outstripping capitalism through economic competition, must it still be necessarily impossible to prevent and thwart the imperialist venture for a global war? Is there no power to force imperialism to agree to disarmament? Has history been frozen in 1914? Shall we still have to go on repeating the same phrases like the chanting of mantras?

The CPC leaders are either refusing to take lessons from history or are deliberately distorting it to justify their claims. Has the CPC forgotten that Lenin did sign the Brest Litovsk treaty with the German militarists? Did not the CPC leaders, under Mao Tse-tung, appeal for unity with Chiang Kai-shek at the time when he was bombing areas occupied by the communists? Did they not invite the same Chiang Kai-shek to become the Vice-President of the CPR provided he agrees to the annexation of Taiwan to the mainland at a time when everybody knew that he was an American stooge? Did not their overture create a false illusion in the minds of the people about Chiang?

In reality, the CPC's present views on war and peace are a rehash of something that was valid half a century ago.

Is this not an "infantile disorder"?

*Peaceful coexistence:* The Moscow Declaration states: "Peaceful coexistence of countries with different systems or destructive war—this is the alternative today."

In the article "Peaceful Coexistence—Two Contradictory Ideologies" published in Peking *People's Daily*, 12 December 1963, it was stated:

"Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence was directed against imperialist war but, Khrushchov has turned it into

a policy of abject surrender to imperialism and of helping the imperialists in their aggressive wars."

According to the Moscow Declaration—peaceful coexistence means—nonaggression—respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference, cooperation on the basis of equality, resolving conflicts through negotiations.

In the past, war used to be started by violating these norms, some of them are happening even today. Imperialists used to despatch armies to crush struggles for independence and revolutionary movement inside other countries. That is how they crushed Republican Spain, Hungarian Soviet of 1918.

After the Second World War, China, East European countries and Cuba established socialism after achieving national independence, but the imperialists dare not interfere. Where they did try, as in Hungary, North Korea and Cuba, they did not succeed.

This thesis has been denounced by the CPC although it was one of the signatories to the 1960 Declaration.

On this basis, the CPC thought that it was wrong also for the Soviet Union to come to an agreement, on the basis of peaceful coexistence, with America at the height of the Cuban crisis in 1962.

The world knows what would have happened if the USSR had followed the CPC's policy—it would certainly have resulted in a war destroying the nations, rather than giving them independence and socialism.

The CPC approach as outlined in *Peoples' Daily* comment of 12 December 1963, says: "In these circumstances, socialist countries must, together with the peoples of other countries, fight unhesitatingly and return the fire of the imperialists."

But has the Chinese People's Republic, under CPC leadership, followed this policy? Why is it that Hongkong, which is part of the Chinese mainland, still remains a British colony? Why have they not liberated Taiwan? Who sent arms and warships to help defend Cuba? Not the

Chinese! Who is helping Vietnam in its war against US aggression? Not the Chinese! Who helped the Arabs with arms and ammunition, to defend themselves against Israeli attack? Not the Chinese. On all these occasions it was the "modern revisionist" Soviet government that came to the help and not the great advocates of "proletarian internationalism".

*Peaceful Transition:* The Chinese Communist Party leadership holds that peaceful transition to socialism is impossible and to even mention it is to be a revisionist. It holds that only through armed struggle of the Chinese type can revolution succeed. They say the "world countryside must surround the world city". They advocate guerilla warfare immediately and everywhere. There is no analysis of the new opportunities in the new epoch and of the concrete situation in different countries.

*Newly-Independent Countries:* The Chinese Communist Party leadership does not bother to analyse the new stage of the revolution in those countries which have won national independence. They do not bother to examine the new problems of winning economic independence, extending democracy, ensuring social progress and evolving different transitional forms to socialism. They decry the attempt of the Soviet Union to give aid to these countries. They call for armed struggle against these new regimes. Again there is no concrete analysis. And there is thorough opportunism. While condemning Soviet aid, the Chinese Communist Party leadership gives aid to Pakistan, Nepal and other countries!

*Role of Socialist Camp:* The Chinese Communist Party leadership has abandoned the teaching of Lenin that the countries of victorious socialism will exercise influence on the rest of the world mainly through their economic achievements. They have gone back to Trotsky and want the "export" and "imposition" of revolution. This has come because they have not been able to solve the difficult problems of their own socialist construction. The great leap and people's communes were great fiascos. Hence, their

cries against peaceful competition. They seem to want a world war, but, of course, fought by others.

The Chinese Communist Party leadership, or the Maoists for short, have tried to force their views on the world communist movement. They have gone in for frenzied anti-Sovietism. They are suffering from chauvinism. In order to push their line, they have begun a terrible cult of Mao and demanding that everybody must bow down before him.

*"Cultural Revolution":* The culmination of this disastrously wrong line has come in the shape of the "cultural revolution". In the name of culture, all schools and colleges are closed, the students are incited to beat up and insult their professors and teachers. Bonfires of books are made. The real aim is to destroy all opposition to Mao. So the attack is launched against all the organisations of the working class. The trade unions are dissolved. So is the Young Communist League. Then the attack has turned against the party. The majority of Polit-Bureau and Central Committee members have been 'purged'. Party committees are dissolved at will. The same applies to the people's congresses and government organs. Reliance is placed on the army and on the frenzied youth who have no experience of the revolution.

Having deviated from Marxism-Leninism and turned against the international communist movement, the Maoists have ended up by repudiating Marxism-Leninism. The Maoists can no longer be considered communists. But there are communists in China and in the Chinese Communist Party. There is no doubt that they will assert themselves in the future. China remains a socialist country though its socialist gains are in danger. The Maoists not only endanger socialism in China but pursue policies which objectively aid the imperialists.

#### WAY FORWARD

The international communist movement has to overcome this serious crisis and reforge its unity. Of supreme importance in this connection is joint action on agreed issues,

above all, against US imperialist aggression in Vietnam. Then there have to be consultations and conferences in various forms and at different levels. And now the stage is set for the World Conference. Step by step, unity will be forged.

To attain this is the supreme duty of all communist parties.

*Reading Material for Lectures Five and Six:*

W. Z. Foster: **Three Internationals**

R. P. Dutt: **The Internationale**

**Moscow Statement of 1960**

**Moscow Declaration of 1957**

CPI Patna Congress Document on International Situation