

**A PROPOSAL CONCERNING
THE GENERAL LINE
OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**

**THE LETTER OF
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA
IN REPLY TO THE LETTER OF
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION
OF MARCH 30, 1963**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING

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MOVEMENT**

**THE LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA IN REPLY TO THE LETTER
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION OF MARCH 30, 1963**

(June 14, 1963)

June 14, 1963

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union**

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has studied the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of March 30, 1963.

All who have the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement at heart are deeply concerned about the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and hope that our talks will help to eliminate differences, strengthen unity and create favourable conditions for convening a meeting of representatives of all the Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is the common and sacred duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries to uphold and strengthen the unity of the international communist

movement. The Chinese and Soviet Parties bear a heavier responsibility for the unity of the entire socialist camp and international communist movement and should of course make commensurately greater efforts.

A number of major differences of principle now exist in the international communist movement. But however serious these differences, we should exercise sufficient patience and find ways to eliminate them so that we can unite our forces and strengthen the struggle against our common enemy.

It is with this sincere desire that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approaches the forthcoming talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties.

In its letter of March 30, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. systematically presents its views on questions that need to be discussed in the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties, and in particular raises the question of the general line of the international communist movement. In this letter we too would like to express our views, which constitute our proposal on the general line of the international communist movement and on some related questions of principle.

We hope that this exposition of views will be conducive to mutual understanding by our two Parties and to a detailed, point-by-point discussion in the talks.

We also hope that this will be conducive to the understanding of our views by the fraternal Parties and to a full exchange of ideas at an international meeting of fraternal Parties.

(1) The general line of the international communist movement must take as its guiding principle the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory concerning the historical mission of the proletariat and must not depart from it.

The Moscow Meetings of 1957 and 1960 adopted the Declaration and the Statement respectively after a full exchange of views and in accordance with the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation. The two documents point out the characteristics of our epoch and the common laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and lay down the common line of all the Communist and Workers' Parties. They are the common programme of the international communist movement.

It is true that for several years there have been differences within the international communist movement in the understanding of, and the attitude towards, the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960. The central issue here is whether or not to accept the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement. In the last analysis, it is a question of whether or not to accept the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, whether or not to recognize the universal significance of the road of the October Revolution, whether or not to accept the fact that the people still living under the imperialist and capitalist system, who comprise two-thirds of the world's population, need to make revolution, and whether or not to accept the fact that the people already on the socialist road, who comprise one-third of the world's population, need to carry their revolution forward to the end.

It has become an urgent and vital task of the international communist movement resolutely to defend the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

Only by strictly following the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the general road of the October Revolution is it possible to have a correct understanding

of the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement and a correct attitude towards them.

(2) What are the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement? They may be summarized as follows:

Workers of all countries, unite; workers of the world, unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations; oppose imperialism and reaction in all countries; strive for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism; consolidate and expand the socialist camp; bring the proletarian world revolution step by step to complete victory; and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man.

This, in our view, is the general line of the international communist movement at the present stage.

(3) This general line proceeds from the actual world situation taken as a whole and from a class analysis of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world, and is directed against the counter-revolutionary global strategy of U.S. imperialism.

This general line is one of forming a broad united front, with the socialist camp and the international proletariat as its nucleus, to oppose the imperialists and reactionaries headed by the United States; it is a line of boldly arousing the masses, expanding the revolutionary forces, winning over the middle forces and isolating the reactionary forces.

This general line is one of resolute revolutionary struggle by the people of all countries and of carrying the proletarian world revolution forward to the end; it is the line that most effectively combats imperialism and defends world peace.

If the general line of the international communist movement is one-sidedly reduced to "peaceful coexistence", "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition", this is to violate the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, to discard the historical mission of proletarian world revolution, and to depart from the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

The general line of the international communist movement should reflect the general law of development of world history. The revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the people in various countries go through different stages and they all have their own characteristics, but they will not transcend the general law of development of world history. The general line should point out the basic direction for the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and people of all countries.

While working out its specific line and policies, it is most important for each Communist or Workers' Party to adhere to the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution and construction in its own country.

(4) In defining the general line of the international communist movement, the starting point is the concrete class analysis of world politics and economics as a whole and of actual world conditions, that is to say, of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world.

If one avoids a concrete class analysis, seizes at random on certain superficial phenomena, and draws subjective and groundless conclusions, one cannot possibly reach correct conclusions with regard to the general line of the international communist movement but will inevitably

slide on to a track entirely different from that of Marxism-Leninism.

What are the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world? Marxist-Leninists consistently hold that they are:

the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp;

the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries;

the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism; and

the contradictions among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups.

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

The international balance of forces has changed and has become increasingly favourable to socialism and to all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world, and most unfavourable to imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries. Nevertheless, the contradictions enumerated above still objectively exist.

These contradictions and the struggles to which they give rise are interrelated and influence each other. Nobody can obliterate any of these fundamental contradictions or subjectively substitute one for all the rest.

It is inevitable that these contradictions will give rise to popular revolutions, which alone can resolve them.

(5) The following erroneous views should be repudiated on the question of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world:

a) the view which blots out the class content of the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps and fails to see this contradiction as one between states under the dictatorship of the proletariat and states under the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists;

b) the view which recognizes only the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps, while neglecting or underestimating the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist world, between the oppressed nations and imperialism, among the imperialist countries and among the monopoly capitalist groups, and the struggles to which these contradictions give rise;

c) the view which maintains with regard to the capitalist world that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie can be resolved without a proletarian revolution in each country and that the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism can be resolved without revolution by the oppressed nations;

d) the view which denies that the development of the inherent contradictions in the contemporary capitalist world inevitably leads to a new situation in which the imperialist countries are locked in an intense struggle, and asserts that the contradictions among the imperialist countries can be reconciled, or even eliminated, by "international agreements among the big monopolies"; and

e) the view which maintains that the contradiction between the two world systems of socialism and capital-

ism will automatically disappear in the course of "economic competition", that the other fundamental world contradictions will automatically do so with the disappearance of the contradiction between the two systems, and that a "world without wars", a new world of "all-round co-operation", will appear.

It is obvious that these erroneous views inevitably lead to erroneous and harmful policies and hence to setbacks and losses of one kind or another to the cause of the people and of socialism.

(6) The balance of forces between imperialism and socialism has undergone a fundamental change since World War II. The main indication of this change is that the world now has not just one socialist country but a number of socialist countries forming the mighty socialist camp, and that the people who have taken the socialist road now number not two hundred million but a thousand million, or a third of the world's population.

The socialist camp is the outcome of the struggles of the international proletariat and working people. It belongs to the international proletariat and working people as well as to the people of the socialist countries.

The main common demands of the people of the countries in the socialist camp and the international proletariat and working people are that all the Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist camp should:

Adhere to the Marxist-Leninist line and pursue correct Marxist-Leninist domestic and foreign policies;

Consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat and carry the socialist revolution forward to the end on the economic, political and ideological fronts;

Promote the initiative and creativeness of the broad masses, carry out socialist construction in a planned way, develop production, improve the people's livelihood and strengthen national defence;

Strengthen the unity of the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and support other socialist countries on the basis of proletarian internationalism;

Oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war, and defend world peace;

Oppose the anti-Communist, anti-popular and counter-revolutionary policies of the reactionaries of all countries; and

Help the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed classes and nations of the world.

All Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist camp owe it to their own people and to the international proletariat and working people to fulfil these demands.

By fulfilling these demands the socialist camp will exert a decisive influence on the course of human history.

For this very reason, the imperialists and reactionaries invariably try in a thousand and one ways to influence the domestic and foreign policies of the countries in the socialist camp, to undermine the camp and break up the unity of the socialist countries and particularly the unity of China and the Soviet Union. They invariably try to infiltrate and subvert the socialist countries and even entertain the extravagant hope of destroying the socialist camp.

The question of what is the correct attitude towards the socialist camp is a most important question of principle confronting all Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is under new historical conditions that the Communist and Workers' Parties are now carrying on the task of proletarian internationalist unity and struggle. When only one socialist country existed and when this country was faced with hostility and jeopardized by all the imperialists and reactionaries because it firmly pursued the correct Marxist-Leninist line and policies, the touchstone of proletarian internationalism for every Communist Party was whether or not it resolutely defended the only socialist country. Now there is a socialist camp consisting of thirteen countries, Albania, Bulgaria, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Under these circumstances, the touchstone of proletarian internationalism for every Communist Party is whether or not it resolutely defends the whole of the socialist camp, whether or not it defends the unity of all the countries in the camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and whether or not it defends the Marxist-Leninist line and policies which the socialist countries ought to pursue.

If anybody does not pursue the correct Marxist-Leninist line and policies, does not defend the unity of the socialist camp but on the contrary creates tension and splits within it, or even follows the policies of the Yugoslav revisionists, tries to liquidate the socialist camp or helps capitalist countries to attack fraternal socialist countries, then he is betraying the interests of the entire international proletariat and the people of the world.

If anybody, following in the footsteps of others, defends the erroneous opportunist line and policies pursued by a certain socialist country instead of upholding the correct

Marxist-Leninist line and policies which the socialist countries ought to pursue, defends the policy of split instead of upholding the policy of unity, then he is departing from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

(7) Taking advantage of the situation after World War II, the U.S. imperialists stepped into the shoes of the German, Italian and Japanese fascists, and have been trying to erect a huge world empire such as has never been known before. The strategic objectives of U.S. imperialism have been to grab and dominate the intermediate zone lying between the United States and the socialist camp, put down the revolutions of the oppressed peoples and nations, proceed to destroy the socialist countries, and thus to subject all the peoples and countries of the world, including its allies, to domination and enslavement by U.S. monopoly capital.

Ever since World War II, the U.S. imperialists have been conducting propaganda for war against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. There are two aspects to this propaganda. While the U.S. imperialists are actually preparing such a war, they also use this propaganda as a smokescreen for their oppression of the American people and for the extension of their aggression against the rest of the capitalist world.

The 1960 Statement points out:

"U.S. imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter."

"The United States is the mainstay of colonialism today."

"U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war."

“International developments in recent years have furnished many new proofs of the fact that U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, that it has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world.”

U.S. imperialism is pressing its policies of aggression and war all over the world, but the outcome is bound to be the opposite of that intended — it will only be to hasten the awakening of the people in all countries and to hasten their revolutions.

The U.S. imperialists have thus placed themselves in opposition to the people of the whole world and have become encircled by them. The international proletariat must and can unite all the forces that can be united, make use of the internal contradictions in the enemy camp and establish the broadest united front against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

The realistic and correct course is to entrust the fate of the people and of mankind to the unity and struggle of the world proletariat and to the unity and struggle of the people in all countries.

Conversely, to make no distinction between enemies, friends and ourselves and to entrust the fate of the people and of mankind to collaboration with U.S. imperialism is to lead people astray. The events of the last few years have exploded this illusion.

(8) The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm-centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism.

The national democratic revolutionary movement in these areas and the international socialist revolutionary movement are the two great historical currents of our time.

The national democratic revolution in these areas is an important component of the contemporary proletarian world revolution.

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

In a sense, therefore, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population.

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

Certain persons now go so far as to deny the great international significance of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and, on the pretext of breaking down the barriers of nationality, colour and geographical location, are trying their best to efface the line of demarcation between oppressed and oppressor nations and between oppressed and oppressor countries and to hold down the revolutionary struggles of the peoples in these areas. In fact, they cater to the needs of imperialism and create a new “theory” to justify the rule of imperialism in

these areas and the promotion of its policies of old and new colonialism. Actually, this "theory" seeks not to break down the barriers of nationality, colour and geographical location but to maintain the rule of the "superior nations" over the oppressed nations. It is only natural that this fraudulent "theory" is rejected by the people in these areas.

The working class in every socialist country and in every capitalist country must truly put into effect the fighting slogans, "Workers of all countries, unite!" and "Workers and oppressed nations of the world, unite!"; it must study the revolutionary experience of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, firmly support their revolutionary actions and regard the cause of their liberation as a most dependable support for itself and as directly in accord with its own interests. This is the only effective way to break down the barriers of nationality, colour and geographical location and this is the only genuine proletarian internationalism.

It is impossible for the working class in the European and American capitalist countries to liberate itself unless it unites with the oppressed nations and unless those nations are liberated. Lenin rightly said,

The revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would actually be a sheer fraud if, in their struggle against capital, the workers of Europe and America were not closely and completely united with the hundreds upon hundreds of millions of "colonial" slaves who are oppressed by capital.¹

¹ Lenin, "The Second Congress of the Communist International", *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 472-73.

Certain persons in the international communist movement are now taking a passive or scornful or negative attitude towards the struggles of the oppressed nations for liberation. They are in fact protecting the interests of monopoly capital, betraying those of the proletariat, and degenerating into social democrats.

The attitude taken towards the revolutionary struggles of the people in the Asian, African and Latin American countries is an important criterion for differentiating those who want revolution from those who do not and those who are truly defending world peace from those who are abetting the forces of aggression and war.

(9) The oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are faced with the urgent task of fighting imperialism and its lackeys.

History has entrusted to the proletarian parties in these areas the glorious mission of holding high the banner of struggle against imperialism, against old and new colonialism and for national independence and people's democracy, of standing in the forefront of the national democratic revolutionary movement and striving for a socialist future.

In these areas, extremely broad sections of the population refuse to be slaves of imperialism. They include not only the workers, peasants, intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie, but also the patriotic national bourgeoisie and even certain kings, princes and aristocrats, who are patriotic.

The proletariat and its party must have confidence in the strength of the masses and, above all, must unite with the peasants and establish a solid worker-peasant alliance. It is of primary importance for advanced members of the proletariat to work in the rural areas, help

the peasants to get organized, and raise their class consciousness and their national self-respect and self-confidence.

On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance the proletariat and its party must unite all the strata that can be united and organize a broad united front against imperialism and its lackeys. In order to consolidate and expand this united front it is necessary that the proletarian party should maintain its ideological, political and organizational independence and insist on the leadership of the revolution.

The proletarian party and the revolutionary people must learn to master all forms of struggle, including armed struggle. They must defeat counter-revolutionary armed force with revolutionary armed force whenever imperialism and its lackeys resort to armed suppression.

The nationalist countries which have recently won political independence are still confronted with the arduous tasks of consolidating it, liquidating the forces of imperialism and domestic reaction, carrying out agrarian and other social reforms and developing their national economy and culture. It is of practical and vital importance for these countries to guard and fight against the neo-colonialist policies which the old colonialists adopt to preserve their interests, and especially against the neo-colonialism of U.S. imperialism.

In some of these countries, the patriotic national bourgeoisie continue to stand with the masses in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and introduce certain measures of social progress. This requires the proletarian party to make a full appraisal of the progressive role of the patriotic national bourgeoisie and strengthen unity with them.

As the internal social contradictions and the international class struggle sharpen, the bourgeoisie, and particularly the big bourgeoisie, in some newly independent countries increasingly tend to become retainers of imperialism and to pursue anti-popular, anti-Communist and counter-revolutionary policies. It is necessary for the proletarian party resolutely to oppose these reactionary policies.

Generally speaking, the bourgeoisie in these countries have a dual character. When a united front is formed with the bourgeoisie, the policy of the proletarian party should be one of both unity and struggle. The policy should be to unite with the bourgeoisie, in so far as they tend to be progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, but to struggle against their reactionary tendencies to compromise and collaborate with imperialism and the forces of feudalism.

On the national question the world outlook of the proletarian party is internationalism, and not nationalism. In the revolutionary struggle it supports progressive nationalism and opposes reactionary nationalism. It must always draw a clear line of demarcation between itself and bourgeois nationalism, to which it must never fall captive.

The 1960 Statement says,

Communists expose attempts by the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie to represent its selfish, narrow class interests as those of the entire nation; they expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans for the same purpose. . . .

If the proletariat becomes the tail of the landlords and bourgeoisie in the revolution, no real or thorough

victory in the national democratic revolution is possible, and even if victory of a kind is gained, it will be impossible to consolidate it.

In the course of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples, the proletarian party must put forward a programme of its own which is thoroughly against imperialism and domestic reaction and for national independence and people's democracy, and it must work independently among the masses, constantly expand the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and isolate the reactionary forces; only thus can it carry the national democratic revolution through to the end and guide the revolution on to the road of socialism.

(10) In the imperialist and the capitalist countries, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are essential for the thorough resolution of the contradictions of capitalist society.

In striving to accomplish this task the proletarian party must under the present circumstances actively lead the working class and the working people in struggles to oppose monopoly capital, to defend democratic rights, to oppose the menace of fascism, to improve living conditions, to oppose imperialist arms expansion and war preparations, to defend world peace and actively to support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations.

In the capitalist countries which U.S. imperialism controls or is trying to control, the working class and the people should direct their attacks mainly against U.S. imperialism, but also against their own monopoly capitalists and other reactionary forces who are betraying the national interests.

Large-scale mass struggles in the capitalist countries in recent years have shown that the working class and working people are experiencing a new awakening. Their struggles, which are dealing blows at monopoly capital and reaction, have opened bright prospects for the revolutionary cause in their own countries and are also a powerful support for the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and for the countries of the socialist camp.

The proletarian parties in imperialist or capitalist countries must maintain their own ideological, political and organizational independence in leading revolutionary struggles. At the same time, they must unite all the forces that can be united and build a broad united front against monopoly capital and against the imperialist policies of aggression and war.

While actively leading immediate struggles, Communists in the capitalist countries should link them with the struggle for long-range and general interests, educate the masses in a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit, ceaselessly raise their political consciousness and undertake the historical task of the proletarian revolution. If they fail to do so, if they regard the immediate movement as everything, determine their conduct from case to case, adapt themselves to the events of the day and sacrifice the basic interests of the proletariat, that is out-and-out social democracy.

Social democracy is a bourgeois ideological trend. Lenin pointed out long ago that the social democratic parties are political detachments of the bourgeoisie, its agents in the working-class movement and its principal social prop. Communists must at all times draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and social democratic

parties on the basic question of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and liquidate the ideological influence of social democracy in the international working-class movement and among the working people. Beyond any shadow of doubt, Communists must win over the masses under the influence of the social democratic parties and must win over those left and middle elements in the social democratic parties who are willing to oppose domestic monopoly capital and domination by foreign imperialism, and must unite with them in extensive joint action in the day-to-day struggle of the working-class movement and in the struggle to defend world peace.

In order to lead the proletariat and working people in revolution, Marxist-Leninist Parties must master all forms of struggle and be able to substitute one form for another quickly as the conditions of struggle change. The vanguard of the proletariat will remain unconquerable in all circumstances only if it masters all forms of struggle — peaceful and armed, open and secret, legal and illegal, parliamentary struggle and mass struggle, etc. It is wrong to refuse to use parliamentary and other legal forms of struggle when they can and should be used. However, if a Marxist-Leninist Party falls into legalism or parliamentary cretinism, confining the struggle within the limits permitted by the bourgeoisie, this will inevitably lead to renouncing the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(11) On the question of transition from capitalism to socialism, the proletarian party must proceed from the stand of class struggle and revolution and base itself on the Marxist-Leninist teachings concerning the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Communists would always prefer to bring about the transition to socialism by peaceful means. But can peaceful transition be made into a new world-wide strategic principle for the international communist movement? Absolutely not.

Marxism-Leninism consistently holds that the fundamental question in all revolutions is that of state power. The 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement both clearly point out, "Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily." The old government never topples even in a period of crisis, unless it is pushed. This is a universal law of class struggle.

In specific historical conditions, Marx and Lenin did raise the possibility that revolution may develop peacefully. But, as Lenin pointed out, the peaceful development of revolution is an opportunity "very seldom to be met with in the history of revolutions".

As a matter of fact, there is no historical precedent for peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

Certain persons say there was no precedent when Marx foretold that socialism would inevitably replace capitalism. Then why can we not predict a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism despite the absence of a precedent?

This parallel is absurd. Employing dialectical and historical materialism, Marx analysed the contradictions of capitalism, discovered the objective laws of development of human society and arrived at a scientific conclusion, whereas the prophets who pin all their hopes on "peaceful transition" proceed from historical idealism, ignore the most fundamental contradictions of capitalism, repudiate the Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle, and arrive at a subjective and groundless conclusion. How

can people who repudiate Marxism get any help from Marx?

It is plain to everyone that the capitalist countries are strengthening their state machinery — and especially their military apparatus — the primary purpose of which is to suppress the people in their own countries.

The proletarian party must never base its thinking, its policies for revolution and its entire work on the assumption that the imperialists and reactionaries will accept peaceful transformation.

The proletarian party must prepare itself for two eventualities — while preparing for a peaceful development of the revolution, it must also fully prepare for a non-peaceful development. It should concentrate on the painstaking work of accumulating revolutionary strength, so that it will be ready to seize victory when the conditions for revolution are ripe or to strike powerful blows at the imperialists and the reactionaries when they launch surprise attacks and armed assaults.

If it fails to make such preparations, the proletarian party will paralyse the revolutionary will of the proletariat, disarm itself ideologically and sink into a totally passive state of unpreparedness both politically and organizationally, and the result will be to bury the proletarian revolutionary cause.

(12) All social revolutions in the various stages of the history of mankind are historically inevitable and are governed by objective laws independent of man's will. Moreover, history shows that there never was a revolution which was able to achieve victory without zigzags and sacrifices.

With Marxist-Leninist theory as the basis, the task of the proletarian party is to analyse the concrete his-

torical conditions, put forward the correct strategy and tactics, and guide the masses in bypassing hidden reefs, avoiding unnecessary sacrifices and reaching the goal step by step. Is it possible to avoid sacrifices altogether? Such is not the case with the slave revolutions, the serf revolutions, the bourgeois revolutions, or the national revolutions; nor is it the case with proletarian revolutions. Even if the guiding line of the revolution is correct, it is impossible to have a sure guarantee against setbacks and sacrifices in the course of the revolution. So long as a correct line is adhered to, the revolution is bound to triumph in the end. To abandon revolution on the pretext of avoiding sacrifices is in reality to demand that the people should forever remain slaves and endure infinite pain and sacrifice.

Elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism tells us that the birthpangs of a revolution are far less painful than the chronic agony of the old society. Lenin rightly said that "even with the most peaceful course of events, the present [capitalist] system always and inevitably exacts countless sacrifices from the working class".¹

Whoever considers a revolution can be made only if everything is plain sailing, only if there is an advance guarantee against sacrifices and failure, is certainly no revolutionary.

However difficult the conditions and whatever sacrifices and defeats the revolution may suffer, proletarian revolutionaries should educate the masses in the spirit of revolution and hold aloft the banner of revolution and not abandon it.

¹ Lenin, "Another Massacre", *Collected Works*, FLPH, Moscow, 1961, Vol. V, p. 25.

It would be "Left" adventurism if the proletarian party should rashly launch a revolution before the objective conditions are ripe. But it would be Right opportunism if the proletarian party should not dare to lead a revolution and to seize state power when the objective conditions are ripe.

Even in ordinary times, when it is leading the masses in the day-to-day struggle, the proletarian party should ideologically, politically and organizationally prepare its own ranks and the masses for revolution and promote revolutionary struggles, so that it will not miss the opportunity to overthrow the reactionary regime and establish a new state power when the conditions for revolution are ripe. Otherwise, when the objective conditions are ripe, the proletarian party will simply throw away the opportunity of seizing victory.

The proletarian party must be flexible as well as highly principled, and on occasion it must make such compromises as are necessary in the interests of the revolution. But it must never abandon principled policies and the goal of revolution on the pretext of flexibility and of necessary compromises.

The proletarian party must lead the masses in waging struggles against the enemies, and it must know how to utilize the contradictions among those enemies. But the purpose of using these contradictions is to make it easier to attain the goal of the people's revolutionary struggles and not to liquidate these struggles.

Countless facts have proved that, wherever the dark rule of imperialism and reaction exists, the people who form over ninety per cent of the population will sooner or later rise in revolution.

If Communists isolate themselves from the revolutionary demands of the masses, they are bound to lose the confidence of the masses and will be tossed to the rear by the revolutionary current.

If the leading group in any Party adopt a non-revolutionary line and convert it into a reformist party, then Marxist-Leninists inside and outside the Party will replace them and lead the people in making revolution. In another kind of situation, the bourgeois revolutionaries will come forward to lead the revolution and the party of the proletariat will forfeit its leadership of the revolution. When the reactionary bourgeoisie betray the revolution and suppress the people, an opportunist line will cause tragic and unnecessary losses to the Communists and the revolutionary masses.

If Communists slide down the path of opportunism, they will degenerate into bourgeois nationalists and become appendages of the imperialists and the reactionary bourgeoisie.

There are certain persons who assert that they have made the greatest creative contributions to revolutionary theory since Lenin and that they alone are correct. But it is very dubious whether they have ever really given consideration to the extensive experience of the entire world communist movement, whether they have ever really considered the interests, the goal and tasks of the international proletarian movement as a whole, and whether they really have a general line for the international communist movement which conforms with Marxism-Leninism.

In the last few years the international communist movement and the national liberation movement have had many experiences and many lessons. There are experi-

ences which people should praise and there are experiences which make people grieve. Communists and revolutionaries in all countries should ponder and seriously study these experiences of success and failure, so as to draw correct conclusions and useful lessons from them.

(13) The socialist countries and the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations support and assist each other.

The national liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the revolutionary movements of the people in the capitalist countries are a strong support to the socialist countries. It is completely wrong to deny this.

The only attitude for the socialist countries to adopt towards the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations is one of warm sympathy and active support; they must not adopt a perfunctory attitude, or one of national selfishness or of great-power chauvinism.

Lenin said, "Alliance with the revolutionaries of the advanced countries and with all the oppressed peoples against any and all the imperialists — such is the external policy of the proletariat."¹ Whoever fails to understand this point and considers that the support and aid given by the socialist countries to the oppressed peoples and nations are a burden or charity is going counter to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The superiority of the socialist system and the achievements of the socialist countries in construction play an exemplary role and are an inspiration to the oppressed peoples and the oppressed nations.

¹ Lenin, "The External Policy of the Russian Revolution", *Collected Works*, 4th Russian edition, State Publishing House for Political Literature, 1949, Moscow, Vol. XXV, p. 69.

But this exemplary role and inspiration can never replace the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations. No oppressed people or nation can win liberation except through its own staunch revolutionary struggle.

Certain persons have one-sidedly exaggerated the role of peaceful competition between socialist and imperialist countries in their attempt to substitute peaceful competition for the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations. According to their preaching, it would seem that imperialism will automatically collapse in the course of this peaceful competition and that the only thing the oppressed peoples and nations have to do is to wait quietly for the advent of this day. What does this have in common with Marxist-Leninist views?

Moreover, certain persons have concocted the strange tale that China and some other socialist countries want "to unleash wars" and to spread socialism by "wars between states". As the Statement of 1960 points out, such tales are nothing but imperialist and reactionary slanders. To put it bluntly, the purpose of those who repeat these slanders is to hide the fact that they are opposed to revolutions by the oppressed peoples and nations of the world and opposed to others supporting such revolutions.

(14) In the last few years much — in fact a great deal — has been said on the question of war and peace. Our views and policies on this question are known to the world, and no one can distort them.

It is a pity that although certain persons in the international communist movement talk about how much they love peace and hate war, they are unwilling to acquire even a faint understanding of the simple truth on war pointed out by Lenin.

Lenin said,

It seems to me that the main thing that is usually forgotten on the question of war, which receives inadequate attention, the main reason why there is so much controversy, and, I would say, futile, hopeless and aimless controversy, is that people forget the fundamental question of the class character of the war; why the war broke out; the classes that are waging it; the historical and historico-economic conditions that gave rise to it.¹

As Marxist-Leninists see it, war is the continuation of politics by other means, and every war is inseparable from the political system and the political struggles which give rise to it. If one departs from this scientific Marxist-Leninist proposition which has been confirmed by the entire history of class struggle, one will never be able to understand either the question of war or the question of peace.

There are different types of peace and different types of war. Marxist-Leninists must be clear about what type of peace or what type of war is in question. Lumping just wars and unjust wars together and opposing all of them indiscriminately is a bourgeois pacifist and not a Marxist-Leninist approach.

Certain persons say that revolutions are entirely possible without war. Now which type of war are they referring to— is it a war of national liberation or a revolutionary civil war, or is it a world war?

¹ Lenin, "War and Revolution", *Collected Works*, 4th Russian edition, SPHPL, Moscow, 1949, Vol. XXIV, p. 362.

If they are referring to a war of national liberation or a revolutionary civil war, then this formulation is, in effect, opposed to revolutionary wars and to revolution.

If they are referring to a world war, then they are shooting at a non-existent target. Although Marxist-Leninists have pointed out, on the basis of the history of the two world wars, that world wars inevitably lead to revolution, no Marxist-Leninist ever has held or ever will hold that revolution must be made through world war.

Marxist-Leninists take the abolition of war as their ideal and believe that war can be abolished.

But how can war be abolished?

This is how Lenin viewed it:

... our object is to achieve the socialist system of society, which, by abolishing the division of mankind into classes, by abolishing all exploitation of man by man, and of one nation by other nations, will inevitably abolish all possibility of war.¹

The Statement of 1960 also puts it very clearly, "The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars."

However, certain persons now actually hold that it is possible to bring about "a world without weapons, without armed forces and without wars" through "general and complete disarmament" while the system of imperialism and of the exploitation of man by man still exists. This is sheer illusion.

An elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism tells us that the armed forces are the principal part of the state machine and that a so-called world without weapons

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

and without armed forces can only be a world without states. Lenin said:

Only *after* the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historical mission, to throw all armaments on the scrap heap; and the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but *only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before.*¹

What are the facts in the world today? Is there a shadow of evidence that the imperialist countries headed by the United States are ready to carry out general and complete disarmament? Are they not each and all engaged in general and complete arms expansion?

We have always maintained that, in order to expose and combat the imperialists' arms expansion and war preparations, it is necessary to put forward the proposal for general disarmament. Furthermore, it is possible to compel imperialism to accept some kind of agreement on disarmament, through the combined struggle of the socialist countries and the people of the whole world.

If one regards general and complete disarmament as the fundamental road to world peace, spreads the illusion that imperialism will automatically lay down its arms and tries to liquidate the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations on the pretext of disarmament, then this is deliberately to deceive the people of the world and help the imperialists in their policies of aggression and war.

In order to overcome the present ideological confusion in the international working-class movement on the ques-

¹ Lenin, "The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution", *Selected Works*, FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 574.

tion of war and peace, we consider that Lenin's thesis, which has been discarded by the modern revisionists, must be restored in the interest of combating the imperialist policies of aggression and war and defending world peace.

The people of the world universally demand the prevention of a new world war. And it is possible to prevent a new world war.

The question then is, what is the way to secure world peace? According to the Leninist viewpoint, world peace can be won only by the struggles of the people in all countries and not by begging the imperialists for it. World peace can only be effectively defended by relying on the development of the forces of the socialist camp, on the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and working people of all countries, on the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and on the struggles of all peace-loving people and countries.

Such is the Leninist policy. Any policy to the contrary definitely will not lead to world peace but will only encourage the ambitions of the imperialists and increase the danger of world war.

In recent years, certain persons have been spreading the argument that a single spark from a war of national liberation or from a revolutionary people's war will lead to a world conflagration destroying the whole of mankind. What are the facts? Contrary to what these persons say, the wars of national liberation and the revolutionary people's wars that have occurred since World War II have not led to world war. The victory of these revolutionary wars has directly weakened the forces of imperialism and greatly strengthened the forces which prevent the imperialists from launching a world war and which de-

fend world peace. Do not the facts demonstrate the absurdity of this argument?

(15) The complete banning and destruction of nuclear weapons is an important task in the struggle to defend world peace. We must do our utmost to this end.

Nuclear weapons are unprecedentedly destructive, which is why for more than a decade now the U.S. imperialists have been pursuing their policy of nuclear blackmail in order to realize their ambition of enslaving the people of all countries and dominating the world.

But when the imperialists threaten other countries with nuclear weapons, they subject the people in their own country to the same threat, thus arousing them against nuclear weapons and against the imperialist policies of aggression and war. At the same time, in their vain hope of destroying their opponents with nuclear weapons, the imperialists are in fact subjecting themselves to the danger of being destroyed.

The possibility of banning nuclear weapons does indeed exist. However, if the imperialists are forced to accept an agreement to ban nuclear weapons, it decidedly will not be because of their "love for humanity" but because of the pressure of the people of all countries and for the sake of their own vital interests.

In contrast to the imperialists, socialist countries rely upon the righteous strength of the people and on their own correct policies, and have no need whatever to gamble with nuclear weapons in the world arena. Socialist countries have nuclear weapons solely in order to defend themselves and to prevent imperialism from launching a nuclear war.

In the view of Marxist-Leninists, the people are the makers of history. In the present, as in the past, man

is the decisive factor. Marxist-Leninists attach importance to the role of technological change, but it is wrong to belittle the role of man and exaggerate the role of technology.

The emergence of nuclear weapons can neither arrest the progress of human history nor save the imperialist system from its doom, any more than the emergence of new techniques could save the old systems from their doom in the past.

The emergence of nuclear weapons does not and cannot resolve the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world, does not and cannot alter the law of class struggle, and does not and cannot change the nature of imperialism and reaction.

It cannot, therefore, be said that with the emergence of nuclear weapons the possibility and the necessity of social and national revolutions have disappeared, or the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and especially the theories of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and of war and peace, have become outmoded and changed into stale "dogmas".

(16) It was Lenin who advanced the thesis that it is possible for the socialist countries to practise peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries. It is well known that after the great Soviet people had repulsed foreign armed intervention the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, led first by Lenin and then by Stalin, consistently pursued the policy of peaceful coexistence and that they were forced to wage a war of self-defence only when attacked by the German imperialists.

Since its founding, the People's Republic of China too has consistently pursued the policy of peaceful coexist-

ence with countries having different social systems, and it is China which initiated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

However, a few years ago certain persons suddenly claimed Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence as their own "great discovery". They maintain that they have a monopoly on the interpretation of this policy. They treat "peaceful coexistence" as if it were an all-inclusive, mystical book from heaven and attribute to it every success the people of the world achieve by struggle. What is more, they label all who disagree with their distortions of Lenin's views as opponents of peaceful coexistence, as people completely ignorant of Lenin and Leninism, and as heretics deserving to be burnt at the stake.

How can the Chinese Communists agree with this view and practice? They cannot, it is impossible.

Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence is very clear and readily comprehensible by ordinary people. Peaceful coexistence designates a relationship between countries with different social systems, and must not be interpreted as one pleases. It should never be extended to apply to the relations between oppressed and oppressor nations, between oppressed and oppressor countries or between oppressed and oppressor classes, and never be described as the main content of the transition from capitalism to socialism, still less should it be asserted that peaceful coexistence is mankind's road to socialism. The reason is that it is one thing to practise peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. It is absolutely impermissible and impossible for countries practising peaceful coexistence to touch even a hair of each other's social system. The class struggle, the struggle for national liberation and the transition from capitalism

to socialism in various countries are quite another thing. They are all bitter, life-and-death revolutionary struggles which aim at changing the social system. Peaceful coexistence cannot replace the revolutionary struggles of the people. The transition from capitalism to socialism in any country can only be brought about through the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in that country.

In the application of the policy of peaceful coexistence, struggles between the socialist and imperialist countries are unavoidable in the political, economic and ideological spheres, and it is absolutely impossible to have "all-round co-operation".

It is necessary for the socialist countries to engage in negotiations of one kind or another with the imperialist countries. It is possible to reach certain agreements through negotiation by relying on the correct policies of the socialist countries and on the pressure of the people of all countries. But necessary compromises between the socialist countries and the imperialist countries do not require the oppressed peoples and nations to follow suit and compromise with imperialism and its lackeys. No one should ever demand in the name of peaceful coexistence that the oppressed peoples and nations should give up their revolutionary struggles.

The application of the policy of peaceful coexistence by the socialist countries is advantageous for achieving a peaceful international environment for socialist construction, for exposing the imperialist policies of aggression and war and for isolating the imperialist forces of aggression and war. But if the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries is confined to peaceful coexistence, then it is impossible to handle correctly either

the relations between socialist countries or those between the socialist countries and the oppressed peoples and nations. Therefore it is wrong to make peaceful coexistence the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries.

In our view, the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries should have the following content: to develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation among the countries in the socialist camp in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism; to strive for peaceful coexistence on the basis of the Five Principles with countries having different social systems and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war; and to support and assist the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations. These three aspects are interrelated and indivisible, and not a single one can be omitted.

(17) For a very long historical period after the proletariat takes power, class struggle continues as an objective law independent of man's will, differing only in form from what it was before the taking of power.

After the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out a number of times that:

a) The overthrown exploiters always try in a thousand and one ways to recover the "paradise" they have been deprived of.

b) New elements of capitalism are constantly and spontaneously generated in the petty-bourgeois atmosphere.

c) Political degenerates and new bourgeois elements may emerge in the ranks of the working class and among government functionaries as a result of bourgeois in-

fluence and the pervasive, corrupting atmosphere of the petty bourgeoisie.

d) The external conditions for the continuance of class struggle within a socialist country are encirclement by international capitalism, the imperialists' threat of armed intervention and their subversive activities to accomplish peaceful disintegration.

Life has confirmed these conclusions of Lenin's.

For decades or even longer periods after socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization, it will be impossible to say that any socialist country will be free from those elements which Lenin repeatedly denounced, such as bourgeois hangers-on, parasites, speculators, swindlers, idlers, hooligans and embezzlers of state funds; or to say that a socialist country will no longer need to perform or be able to relinquish the task laid down by Lenin of conquering "this contagion, this plague, this ulcer that socialism has inherited from capitalism".

In a socialist country, it takes a very long historical period gradually to settle the question of who will win — socialism or capitalism. The struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism runs through this whole historical period. This struggle rises and falls in a wave-like manner, at times becoming very fierce, and the forms of the struggle are many and varied.

The 1957 Declaration rightly states that "the conquest of power by the working class is only the beginning of the revolution, not its conclusion".

To deny the existence of class struggle in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the necessity of thoroughly completing the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts is wrong, does

not correspond to objective reality and violates Marxism-Leninism.

(18) Both Marx and Lenin maintained that the entire period before the advent of the higher stage of communist society is the period of transition from capitalism to communism, the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this transition period, the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is to say, the proletarian state, goes through the dialectical process of establishment, consolidation, strengthening and withering away.

In the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx posed the question as follows:

Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*.¹

Lenin frequently emphasized Marx's great theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and analysed the development of this theory, particularly in his outstanding work, *The State and Revolution*, where he wrote:

... the transition from capitalist society — which is developing towards communism — to a communist society is impossible without a “political transition period”, and the state in this period can only be the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.²

¹ Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, FLPH, Moscow, 1955, Vol. II, pp. 32-33.

² Lenin, *Selected Works*, FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 289.

He further said:

The essence of Marx's teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a *single* class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the *proletariat* which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire *historical period* which separates capitalism from “classless society”, from communism.¹

As stated above, the fundamental thesis of Marx and Lenin is that the dictatorship of the proletariat will inevitably continue for the entire historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism, that is, for the entire period up to the abolition of all class differences and the entry into a classless society, the higher stage of communist society.

What will happen if it is announced, halfway through, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary?

Does this not fundamentally conflict with the teachings of Marx and Lenin on the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

Does this not license the development of “this contagion, this plague, this ulcer that socialism has inherited from capitalism”?

In other words, this would lead to extremely grave consequences and make any transition to communism out of the question.

Can there be a “state of the whole people”? Is it possible to replace the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat by a “state of the whole people”?

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

This is not a question about the internal affairs of any particular country but a fundamental problem involving the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.

In the view of Marxist-Leninists, there is no such thing as a non-class or supra-class state. So long as the state remains a state, it must bear a class character; so long as the state exists, it cannot be a state of the "whole people". As soon as society becomes classless, there will no longer be a state.

Then what sort of thing would a "state of the whole people" be?

Anyone with an elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism can understand that the so-called "state of the whole people" is nothing new. Representative bourgeois figures have always called the bourgeois state a "state of all the people", or a "state in which power belongs to all the people".

Certain persons may say that their society is already one without classes. We answer: No, there are classes and class struggles in all socialist countries without exception.

Since remnants of the old exploiting classes who are trying to stage a comeback still exist there, since new capitalist elements are constantly being generated there, and since there are still parasites, speculators, idlers, hooligans, embezzlers of state funds, etc., how can it be said that classes or class struggles no longer exist? How can it be said that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary?

Marxism-Leninism tells us that in addition to the suppression of the hostile classes, the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the course of building socialism necessarily include the correct handling of

relations between the working class and peasantry, the consolidation of their political and economic alliance and the creation of conditions for the gradual elimination of the class difference between worker and peasant.

When we look at the economic base of any socialist society, we find that the difference between ownership by the whole people and collective ownership exists in all socialist countries without exception, and that there is individual ownership too. Ownership by the whole people and collective ownership are two kinds of ownership and two kinds of relations of production in socialist society. The workers in enterprises owned by the whole people and the peasants on farms owned collectively belong to two different categories of labourers in socialist society. Therefore, the class difference between worker and peasant exists in all socialist countries without exception. This difference will not disappear until the transition to the higher stage of communism is achieved. In their present level of economic development all socialist countries are still far, far removed from the higher stage of communism in which "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" is put into practice. Therefore, it will take a long, long time to eliminate the class difference between worker and peasant. And until this difference is eliminated, it is impossible to say that society is classless or that there is no longer any need for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In calling a socialist state the "state of the whole people", is one trying to replace the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state by the bourgeois theory of the state? Is one trying to replace the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat by a state of a different character?

If that is the case, it is nothing but a great historical retrogression. The degeneration of the social system in Yugoslavia is a grave lesson.

(19) Leninism holds that the proletarian party must exist together with the dictatorship of the proletariat in socialist countries. The party of the proletariat is indispensable for the entire historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The reason is that the dictatorship of the proletariat has to struggle against the enemies of the proletariat and of the people, remould the peasants and other small producers, constantly consolidate the proletarian ranks, build socialism and effect the transition to communism; none of these things can be done without the leadership of the party of the proletariat.

Can there be a "party of the entire people"? Is it possible to replace the party which is the vanguard of the proletariat by a "party of the entire people"?

This, too, is not a question about the internal affairs of any particular Party, but a fundamental problem involving the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.

In the view of Marxist-Leninists, there is no such thing as a non-class or supra-class political party. All political parties have a class character. Party spirit is the concentrated expression of class character.

The party of the proletariat is the only party able to represent the interests of the whole people. It can do so precisely because it represents the interests of the proletariat, whose ideas and will it concentrates. It can lead the whole people because the proletariat can finally emancipate itself only with the emancipation of all mankind, because the very nature of the proletariat enables its party to approach problems in terms of its present and

future interests, because the party is boundlessly loyal to the people and has the spirit of self-sacrifice; hence its democratic centralism and iron discipline. Without such a party, it is impossible to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and to represent the interests of the whole people.

What will happen if it is announced halfway before entering the higher stage of communist society that the party of the proletariat has become a "party of the entire people" and if its proletarian class character is repudiated?

Does this not fundamentally conflict with the teachings of Marx and Lenin on the party of the proletariat?

Does this not disarm the proletariat and all the working people, organizationally and ideologically, and is it not tantamount to helping restore capitalism?

Is it not "going south by driving the chariot north" to talk about any transition to communist society in such circumstances?

(20) Over the past few years, certain persons have violated Lenin's integral teachings about the interrelationship of leaders, party, class and masses, and raised the issue of "combating the cult of the individual"; this is erroneous and harmful.

The theory propounded by Lenin is as follows:

- a) The masses are divided into classes;
- b) Classes are usually led by political parties;
- c) Political parties, as a general rule, are directed by more or less stable groups composed of the most authoritative, influential and experienced members, who are elected to the most responsible positions and are called leaders.

Lenin said, "All this is elementary."

The party of the proletariat is the headquarters of the proletariat in revolution and struggle. Every proletarian party must practise centralism based on democracy and establish a strong Marxist-Leninist leadership before it can become an organized and battle-worthy vanguard. To raise the question of "combating the cult of the individual" is actually to counterpose the leaders to the masses, undermine the party's unified leadership which is based on democratic centralism, dissipate its fighting strength and disintegrate its ranks.

Lenin criticized the erroneous views which counterpose the leaders to the masses. He called them "ridiculously absurd and stupid".

The Communist Party of China has always disapproved of exaggerating the role of the individual, has advocated and persistently practised democratic centralism within the Party and advocated the linking of the leadership with the masses, maintaining that correct leadership must know how to concentrate the views of the masses.

While loudly combating the so-called "cult of the individual", certain persons are in reality doing their best to defame the proletarian party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time, they are enormously exaggerating the role of certain individuals, shifting all errors onto others and claiming all credit for themselves.

What is more serious is that, under the pretext of "combating the cult of the individual", certain persons are crudely interfering in the internal affairs of other fraternal Parties and fraternal countries and forcing other fraternal Parties to change their leadership in order to impose their own wrong line on these Parties. What is all this if not great-power chauvinism, sectarianism and splittism? What is all this if not subversion?

It is high time to propagate seriously and comprehensively Lenin's integral teachings on the interrelationship of leaders, party, class and masses.

(21) Relations between socialist countries are international relations of a new type. Relations between socialist countries, whether large or small, and whether more developed or less developed economically, must be based on the principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and must also be based on the principles of mutual support and mutual assistance in accordance with proletarian internationalism.

Every socialist country must rely mainly on itself for its construction.

In accordance with its own concrete conditions, every socialist country must rely first of all on the diligent labour and talents of its own people, utilize all its available resources fully and in a planned way, and bring all its potential into play in socialist construction. Only thus can it build socialism effectively and develop its economy speedily.

This is the only way for each socialist country to strengthen the might of the entire socialist camp and enhance its capacity to assist the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat. Therefore, to observe the principle of mainly relying on oneself in construction is to apply proletarian internationalism concretely.

If, proceeding only from its own partial interests, any socialist country unilaterally demands that other fraternal countries submit to its needs, and uses the pretext of opposing what they call "going it alone" and "nationalism" to prevent other fraternal countries from

applying the principle of relying mainly on their own efforts in their construction and from developing their economies on the basis of independence, or even goes to the length of putting economic pressure on other fraternal countries — then these are pure manifestations of national egoism.

It is absolutely necessary for socialist countries to practise mutual economic assistance and co-operation and exchange. Such economic co-operation must be based on the principles of complete equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance.

It would be great-power chauvinism to deny these basic principles and, in the name of “international division of labour” or “specialization”, to impose one’s own will on others, infringe on the independence and sovereignty of fraternal countries or harm the interests of their people.

In relations among socialist countries it would be post-erous to follow the practice of gaining profit for oneself at the expense of others, a practice characteristic of relations among capitalist countries, or go so far as to take the “economic integration” and the “common market”, which monopoly capitalist groups have instituted for the purpose of seizing markets and grabbing profits, as examples which socialist countries ought to follow in their economic co-operation and mutual assistance.

(22) The 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement lay down the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties. These are the principle of solidarity, the principle of mutual support and mutual assistance, the principle of independence and equality and the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation — all on the

basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We note that in its letter of March 30 the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. says that there are no “superior” and “subordinate” Parties in the communist movement, that all Communist Parties are independent and equal, and that they should all build their relations on the basis of proletarian internationalism and mutual assistance.

It is a fine quality of Communists that their deeds are consistent with their words. The only correct way to safeguard and strengthen unity among the fraternal Parties is genuinely to adhere to, and not to violate, the principle of proletarian internationalism and genuinely to observe, and not to undermine, the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties — and to do so not only in words but, much more important, in deeds.

If the principle of independence and equality is accepted in relations among fraternal Parties, then it is impermissible for any Party to place itself above others, to interfere in their internal affairs, and to adopt patriarchal ways in relations with them.

If it is accepted that there are no “superiors” and “subordinates” in relations among fraternal Parties, then it is impermissible to impose the programme, resolutions and line of one’s own Party on other fraternal Parties as the “common programme” of the international communist movement.

If the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation is accepted in relations among fraternal Parties, then one should not emphasize “who is in the majority” or “who is in the minority” and bank on a so-called majority in order to force through one’s own erroneous line and carry out sectarian and splitting policies.

If it is agreed that differences between fraternal Parties should be settled through inter-Party consultation, then other fraternal Parties should not be attacked publicly and by name at one's own congress or at other Party congresses, in speeches by Party leaders, resolutions, statements, etc.; and still less should the ideological differences among fraternal Parties be extended into the sphere of state relations.

We hold that in the present circumstances, when there are differences in the international communist movement, it is particularly important to stress strict adherence to the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as laid down in the Declaration and the Statement.

In the sphere of relations among fraternal Parties and countries, the question of Soviet-Albanian relations is an outstanding one at present. Here the question is what is the correct way to treat a fraternal Party and country and whether the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries stipulated in the Declaration and the Statement are to be adhered to. The correct solution of this question is an important matter of principle in safeguarding the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

How to treat the Marxist-Leninist fraternal Albanian Party of Labour is one question. How to treat the Yugoslav revisionist clique of traitors to Marxism-Leninism is quite another question. These two essentially different questions must on no account be placed on a par.

Your letter says that you "do not relinquish the hope that the relations between the C.P.S.U. and the Albanian Party of Labour may be improved", but at the same

time you continue to attack the Albanian comrades for what you call "splitting activities". Clearly this is self-contradictory and in no way contributes to resolving the problem of Soviet-Albanian relations.

Who is it that has taken splitting actions in Soviet-Albanian relations?

Who is it that has extended the ideological differences between the Soviet and Albanian Parties to state relations?

Who is it that has brought the divergences between the Soviet and Albanian Parties and between the two countries into the open before the enemy?

Who is it that has openly called for a change in the Albanian Party and state leadership?

All this is plain and clear to the whole world.

Is it possible that the leading comrades of the C.P.S.U. do not really feel their responsibility for the fact that Soviet-Albanian relations have so seriously deteriorated?

We once again express our sincere hope that the leading comrades of the C.P.S.U. will observe the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries and take the initiative in seeking an effective way to improve Soviet-Albanian relations.

In short, the question of how to handle relations with fraternal Parties and countries must be taken seriously. Strict adherence to the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries is the only way forcefully to rebuff slanders such as those spread by the imperialists and reactionaries about the "hand of Moscow".

Proletarian internationalism is demanded of all Parties without exception, whether large or small, and whether in power or not. However, the larger Parties and

the Parties in power bear a particularly heavy responsibility in this respect. The series of distressing developments which have occurred in the socialist camp in the past period have harmed the interests not only of the fraternal Parties concerned but also of the masses of the people in their countries. This convincingly demonstrates that the larger countries and Parties need to keep in mind Lenin's behest never to commit the error of great-power chauvinism.

The comrades of the C.P.S.U. state in their letter that "the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has never taken and will never take a single step that could sow hostility among the peoples of our country towards the fraternal Chinese people or other peoples". Here we do not desire to go back and enumerate the many unpleasant events that have occurred in the past, and we only wish that the comrades of the C.P.S.U. will strictly abide by this statement in their future actions.

During the past few years, our Party members and our people have exercised the greatest restraint in the face of a series of grave incidents which were in violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries and despite the many difficulties and losses which have been imposed on us. The spirit of proletarian internationalism of the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people has stood a severe test.

The Communist Party of China is unswervingly loyal to proletarian internationalism, upholds and defends the principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries, and safeguards and strengthens the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

(23) In order to carry out the common programme of the international communist movement unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties, an uncompromising struggle must be waged against all forms of opportunism, which is a deviation from Marxism-Leninism.

The Declaration and the Statement point out that revisionism, or, in other words, Right opportunism, is the main danger in the international communist movement. Yugoslav revisionism typifies modern revisionism.

The Statement points out particularly:

The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist "theories" in concentrated form.

It goes on to say:

After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the League of Communists of Yugoslavia against the international communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called "aid" from U.S. and other imperialists. . . .

The Statement says further:

The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries.

Therefore, it draws the following conclusion:

Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the communist movement and the working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The question raised here is an important one of principle for the international communist movement.

Only recently the Tito clique have publicly stated that they are persisting in their revisionist programme and anti-Marxist-Leninist stand in opposition to the Declaration and the Statement.

U.S. imperialism and its NATO partners have spent several thousand millions of U.S. dollars nursing the Tito clique for a long time. Cloaked as "Marxist-Leninists" and flaunting the banner of a "socialist country", the Tito clique has been undermining the international communist movement and the revolutionary cause of the people of the world, serving as a special detachment of U.S. imperialism.

It is completely groundless and out of keeping with the facts to assert that Yugoslavia is showing "definite positive tendencies", that it is a "socialist country", and that the Tito clique is an "anti-imperialist force".

Certain persons are now attempting to introduce the Yugoslav revisionist clique into the socialist community and the international communist ranks. This is openly to tear up the agreement unanimously reached at the 1960 meeting of the fraternal Parties and is absolutely impermissible.

Over the past few years, the revisionist trend flooding the international working-class movement and the many experiences and lessons of the international communist movement have fully confirmed the correctness of the conclusion in the Declaration and the Statement that revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement at present.

However, certain persons are openly saying that dogmatism and not revisionism is the main danger, or that dogmatism is no less dangerous than revisionism, etc. What sort of principle underlies all this?

Firm Marxist-Leninists and genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties must put principles first. They must not barter away principles, approving one thing today and another tomorrow, advocating one thing today and another tomorrow.

Together with all Marxist-Leninists, the Chinese Communists will continue to wage an uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism in order to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the principled stand of the Declaration and the Statement.

While combating revisionism, which is the main danger in the international communist movement, Communists must also combat dogmatism.

As stated in the 1957 Declaration, proletarian parties "should firmly adhere to the principle of combining . . . universal Marxist-Leninist truth with the specific practice of revolution and construction in their countries".

That is to say:

On the one hand, it is necessary at all times to adhere to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. Failure

to do so will lead to Right opportunist or revisionist errors.

On the other hand, it is always necessary to proceed from reality, maintain close contact with the masses, constantly sum up the experience of mass struggles, and independently work out and apply policies and tactics suited to the conditions of one's own country. Errors of dogmatism will be committed if one fails to do so, if one mechanically copies the policies and tactics of another Communist Party, submits blindly to the will of others or accepts without analysis the programme and resolutions of another Communist Party as one's own line.

Some people are now violating this basic principle, which was long ago affirmed in the Declaration. On the pretext of "creatively developing Marxism-Leninism", they cast aside the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. Moreover, they describe as "universal Marxist-Leninist truths" their own prescriptions which are based on nothing but subjective conjecture and are divorced from reality and from the masses, and they force others to accept these prescriptions unconditionally.

That is why many grave phenomena have come to pass in the international communist movement.

(24) A most important lesson from the experience of the international communist movement is that the development and victory of a revolution depend on the existence of a revolutionary proletarian party.

There must be a revolutionary party.

There must be a revolutionary party built according to the revolutionary theory and revolutionary style of Marxism-Leninism.

There must be a revolutionary party able to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in its own country.

There must be a revolutionary party able to link the leadership closely with the broad masses of the people.

There must be a revolutionary party that perseveres in the truth, corrects its errors and knows how to conduct criticism and self-criticism.

Only such a revolutionary party can lead the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its lackeys, winning a thorough victory in the national democratic revolution and winning the socialist revolution.

If a party is not a proletarian revolutionary party but a bourgeois reformist party;

If it is not a Marxist-Leninist party but a revisionist party;

If it is not a vanguard party of the proletariat but a party tailing after the bourgeoisie;

If it is not a party representing the interests of the proletariat and all the working people but a party representing the interests of the labour aristocracy;

If it is not an internationalist party but a nationalist party;

If it is not a party that can use its brains to think for itself and acquire an accurate knowledge of the trends of the different classes in its own country through serious investigation and study, and knows how to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and integrate it with the concrete practice of its own country, but instead is a party that parrots the words of others, copies foreign experience without analysis, runs hither and thither in response to the baton of certain persons abroad,

and has become a hodgepodge of revisionism, dogmatism and everything but Marxist-Leninist principle;

Then such a party is absolutely incapable of leading the proletariat and the masses in revolutionary struggle, absolutely incapable of winning the revolution and absolutely incapable of fulfilling the great historical mission of the proletariat.

This is a question all Marxist-Leninists, all class-conscious workers and all progressive people everywhere need to ponder deeply.

(25) It is the duty of Marxist-Leninists to distinguish between truth and falsehood with respect to the differences that have arisen in the international communist movement. In the common interest of the unity for struggle against the enemy, we have always advocated solving problems through inter-Party consultations and opposed bringing differences into the open before the enemy.

As the comrades of the C.P.S.U. know, the public polemics in the international communist movement have been provoked by certain fraternal Party leaders and forced on us.

Since a public debate has been provoked, it ought to be conducted on the basis of equality among fraternal Parties and of democracy, and by presenting the facts and reasoning things out.

Since certain Party leaders have publicly attacked other fraternal Parties and provoked a public debate, it is our opinion that they have no reason or right to forbid the fraternal Parties attacked to make public replies.

Since certain Party leaders have published innumerable articles attacking other fraternal Parties, why do

they not publish in their own press the articles those Parties have written in reply?

Latterly, the Communist Party of China has been subjected to preposterous attacks. The attackers have raised a great hue and cry and, disregarding the facts, have fabricated many charges against us. We have published these articles and speeches attacking us in our own press.

We have also published in full in our press the Soviet leader's report at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet on December 12, 1962, the *Pravda* Editorial Board's article of January 7, 1963, the speech of the head of the C.P.S.U. delegation at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on January 16, 1963 and the *Pravda* Editorial Board's article of February 10, 1963.

We have also published the full text of the two letters from the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. dated February 21 and March 30, 1963.

We have replied to some of the articles and speeches in which fraternal Parties have attacked us, but have not yet replied to others. For example, we have not directly replied to the many articles and speeches of the comrades of the C.P.S.U.

Between December 15, 1962 and March 8, 1963, we wrote seven articles in reply to our attackers. These articles are entitled:

"Workers of All Countries, Unite, Oppose Our Common Enemy!",

"The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us",

"Leninism and Modern Revisionism",

"Let Us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement",

“Whence the Differences?—A Reply to Thorez and Other Comrades”,

“More on the Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us—Some Important Problems of Leninism in the Contemporary World”,

“A Comment on the Statement of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.”.

Presumably, you are referring to these articles when towards the end of your letter of March 30 you accuse the Chinese press of making “groundless attacks” on the C.P.S.U. It is turning things upside down to describe articles replying to our attackers as “attacks”.

Since you describe our articles as “groundless” and as so very bad, why do you not publish all seven of these “groundless attacks”, in the same way as we have published your articles, and let all the Soviet comrades and Soviet people think for themselves and judge who is right and who wrong? You are of course entitled to make a point-by-point refutation of these articles you consider “groundless attacks”.

Although you call our articles “groundless” and our arguments wrong, you do not tell the Soviet people what our arguments actually are. This practice can hardly be described as showing a serious attitude towards the discussion of problems by fraternal Parties, towards the truth or towards the masses.

We hope that the public debate among fraternal Parties can be stopped. This is a problem that has to be dealt with in accordance with the principles of independence, of equality and of reaching unanimity through consultation among fraternal Parties. In the international communist movement, no one has the right to launch attacks whenever he wants, or to order the

“ending of open polemics” whenever he wants to prevent the other side from replying.

It is known to the comrades of the C.P.S.U. that, in order to create a favourable atmosphere for convening the meeting of the fraternal Parties, we have decided temporarily to suspend, as from March 9, 1963, public replies to the public attacks directed by name against us by comrades of fraternal Parties. We reserve the right of public reply.

In our letter of March 9, we said that on the question of suspending public debate “it is necessary that our two Parties and the fraternal Parties concerned should have some discussion and reach an agreement that is fair and acceptable to all”.

* * *

The foregoing are our views regarding the general line of the international communist movement and some related questions of principle. We hope, as we indicated at the beginning of this letter, that the frank presentation of our views will be conducive to mutual understanding. Of course, comrades may agree or disagree with these views. But in our opinion, the questions we discuss here are the crucial questions calling for attention and solution by the international communist movement. We hope that all these questions and also those raised in your letter will be fully discussed in the talks between our two Parties and at the meeting of representatives of all the fraternal Parties.

In addition, there are other questions of common concern, such as the criticism of Stalin and some important matters of principle regarding the international communist movement which were raised at the 20th and

22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U., and we hope that on these questions, too, there will be a frank exchange of opinion in the talks.

With regard to the talks between our two Parties, in our letter of March 9 we proposed that Comrade Khrushchov come to Peking; if this was not convenient, we proposed that another responsible comrade of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. lead a delegation to Peking or that we send a delegation to Moscow.

Since you have stated in your letter of March 30 that Comrade Khrushchov cannot come to China, and since you have not expressed a desire to send a delegation to China, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has decided to send a delegation to Moscow.

In your letter of March 30, you invited Comrade Mao Tse-tung to visit the Soviet Union. As early as February 23, Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his conversation with the Soviet Ambassador to China clearly stated the reason why he was not prepared to visit the Soviet Union at the present time. You were well aware of this.

When a responsible comrade of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China received the Soviet Ambassador to China on May 9, he informed you that we would send a delegation to Moscow in the middle of June. Later, in compliance with the request of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., we agreed to postpone the talks between our two Parties to July 5.

We sincerely hope that the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties will yield positive results and contribute to the preparations for convening the meeting of all Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is now more than ever necessary for all Communists to unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and

proletarian internationalism and of the Declaration and the Statement unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties.

Together with Marxist-Leninist Parties and revolutionary people the world over, the Communist Party of China will continue its unremitting efforts to uphold the interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the cause of the emancipation of the oppressed peoples and nations, and the struggle against imperialism and for world peace.

We hope that events which grieve those near and dear to us and only gladden the enemy will not recur in the international communist movement in the future.

The Chinese Communists firmly believe that the Marxist-Leninists, the proletariat and the revolutionary people everywhere will unite more closely, overcome all difficulties and obstacles and win still greater victories in the struggle against imperialism and for world peace, and in the fight for the revolutionary cause of the people of the world and the cause of international communism.

Workers of all countries, unite! Workers and oppressed peoples and nations of the world, unite! Oppose our common enemy!

With communist greetings,

**The Central Committee of
the Communist Party of China**

**THE LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE C.P.S.U. TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE C.P.C.**

(March 30, 1963)

March 30, 1963

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China**

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union notes with satisfaction that our proposals on measures aimed at strengthening unity and solidarity in the ranks of the communist movement have met with a favourable response on the part of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. We welcome your agreement to the holding of a meeting between representatives of the C.P.S.U. and C.P.C. This meeting is called upon to play an important part in creating a favourable atmosphere in relations between the fraternal Parties and in smoothing out the differences which have arisen in recent times in the world communist movement. We would like to hope that as a result of this meeting it will be possible to carry out a number of constructive measures to surmount existing difficulties.

In its letter the C.P.C. Central Committee invites Comrade N. S. Khrushchov to visit Peking en route to Cambodia. The C.P.S.U. Central Committee and Comrade

N. S. Khrushchov express gratitude for this invitation. Comrade N. S. Khrushchov would with great pleasure visit the People's Republic of China, and meet the leadership of the Communist Party of China to exchange views on urgent questions of the international situation and of the communist movement with the object of achieving a common understanding of our tasks and strengthening solidarity between our Parties. However, it is not in fact planned that Comrade N. S. Khrushchov will make a tour of Cambodia as you mention in your letter. As we all know, in conformity with a decision passed by our leading bodies on February 12, 1963, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, will travel to Cambodia, as the Cambodian Government has already been notified and as has been announced in the press. Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, who has already visited the People's Republic of China three times, does not lose hope of availing himself of your kind invitation in the future to visit China and meet the Chinese comrades.

We remember that during his stay in Moscow in 1957 Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that he had only been in the U.S.S.R. twice and had only visited Moscow and Leningrad. He expressed the desire to visit the Soviet Union again to become better acquainted with our country. He said then that he would like to travel from the Far Eastern borders of our country to the western borders, and from the northern to the southern borders. We welcomed this desire of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The C.P.S.U. Central Committee sent a letter to Comrade Mao Tse-tung on May 12, 1960, inviting him to come and spend a holiday in the U.S.S.R. and familiarize himself with the life of the Soviet people. Unfortunately,

Comrade Mao Tse-tung could not at that time avail himself of our invitation. The C.P.S.U. Central Committee would welcome a visit by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The best time for such a visit would be the approaching spring or summer, which are the good seasons of the year in our country. We are also ready at any other time to give a worthy reception to Comrade Mao Tse-tung as a representative of a fraternal Party and of the fraternal Chinese people. In this tour of our country, Comrade Mao Tse-tung would not, of course, be alone. Comrades from the leadership of our Party would go with him, and it would be a fine opportunity for an exchange of opinion on different questions. Comrade Mao Tse-tung would be able to see how the Soviet people are working, and what successes they have scored in the construction of communism and in the implementation of the Programme of our Party.

If a visit by Comrade Mao Tse-tung to Moscow cannot take place at present, we are ready to accept your ideas about a top-level meeting between representatives of the C.P.S.U. and C.P.C. in Moscow. We believe that a meeting of this kind could take place around May 15, 1963, if this date is acceptable to you.

We are very pleased that the Chinese comrades, like ourselves, regard the forthcoming meeting of representatives of the C.P.C. and the C.P.S.U. as a "necessary step in preparing for the meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries." Indeed, without violating the principle of equality and without infringing upon the interests of other fraternal Parties, this meeting must facilitate the better preparation and holding of the meeting. Without such a meeting, and without the ending of open polemics in the press and of

criticism within the Party of other fraternal Parties, preparation for the meeting and the achievement of its main aim — the strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement — would be difficult. Precisely for this reason the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., while agreeing with the proposals made by the Vietnamese, Indonesian, British, Swedish and other comrades at the beginning of 1962 regarding the convocation of a meeting of fraternal Parties of all countries, at the same time stressed the need for taking such measures as would create a favourable atmosphere for the work of the world communist forum.

In its letter of February 22, 1962, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. urged that “unnecessary arguments be stopped regarding questions on which we have different opinions, that public statements capable of aggravating rather than smoothing out our differences be given up.” In the letter to the Central Committee of the C.P.C. of May 31, 1962, we wrote: “As you are well aware, our Party has always come out and still comes out for collective discussion of vital problems of the world communist movement. The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. was the initiator of the Meetings of Fraternal Parties in 1957 and 1960. In both cases these meetings were connected with serious changes in the international situation and the need for working out corresponding tactics in the communist movement. Now too we fully support the proposal for the convocation of a meeting of all the fraternal Parties.”

We considered it would be useful in the preparations for such a meeting that the fraternal Parties could thoroughly and profoundly analyse the new phenomena in international affairs and their own activity in carrying out the collective decisions of our movement. The Central Com-

mittee of the C.P.S.U. displayed concern, perfectly understandable to all Communists, that the meeting should not aggravate the differences but do as much as possible to overcome them.

In their pronouncements many of the leaders of fraternal Parties have recently been justly expressing the same point of view on the necessity of taking, before the meeting, a number of steps to create a normal situation in the communist movement and to place conflicts of opinions within the permissible bounds of a comradely Party discussion. Now you also agree with this, as is seen from your letter, and it can be said that certain progress has been made in the preparation of the forthcoming meeting.

It goes without saying that when our two Parties are discussing questions concerning all fraternal Parties, the discussion can only be of a preliminary nature. The 1957 and 1960 Meetings have shown that the elaboration of the policy of the international communist movement can be successful only if all fraternal Parties collectively take part in it and if due consideration is given to the extensive experience of all its component detachments.

We have attentively studied your views concerning the range of questions which could be discussed at the meeting of representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. These are important questions, and we are ready to discuss them.

In our turn, we would like to dwell in this letter on some questions of principle, which, in our opinion, are the centre of attention of the fraternal Parties and their struggle for our common cause. We do not mean, of course, an exhaustive statement of our views on these questions. We only wish to note that which is of para-

mount importance, by which we are guided in our policy in the international arena and in our relations with fraternal Parties.

We hope that this statement of our views will help to define the range of questions requiring an exchange of opinions at a bilateral meeting and will contribute to overcoming the existing differences. We are doing this so as to stress once again our determination to uphold firmly and consistently the ideological standpoint of the entire world communist movement, its general line as expressed in the Declaration and the Statement.

During the time that has passed since the adoption of the Statement, experience has not only not invalidated any of its main conclusions, but has, on the contrary, fully confirmed the correctness of the course taken by the world communist movement, as worked out jointly through generalization of present-day experience and the creative development of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union proceeds from the basis that our epoch, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism, initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is an epoch of struggle between two opposed social systems, an epoch of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, an epoch of the collapse of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, an epoch of transition to socialism by ever more nations, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale.

The situation that has developed in the world and the changes in the development of the class forces in the international arena which opened up new opportunities for our movement demanded that a general line be worked

out for the world communist movement, a general line in conformity with its basic tasks at the present stage.

After the Second World War a number of countries in Europe took the road of socialism, a socialist revolution triumphed in China and other Asian countries, and a world socialist system was formed. The new system grew strong in the countries of People's Democracy and was able to ensure a rapid rate of economic, political and cultural development in the countries following the road of socialism. The socialist community was closely united politically and militarily. Thanks to the achievements of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries the correlation of forces in the world changed substantially in favour of socialism, and to the detriment of imperialism. An important part in this respect was played by the ending of America's monopoly of atomic and hydrogen weapons and by the creation of a mighty war potential by the Soviet Union.

The formation of the world socialist system is a historic achievement of the international working class and of all the working people. This achievement is the incarnation of mankind's dreams of a new society. The growth of production and the vast achievements of science and engineering in the socialist countries have helped to provide the socialist community with an economic and military might that reliably defends the gains of socialism and also serves as a mighty mainstay of peace and security for the peoples of the world.

The radical change in the correlation of forces is also connected with a further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, the intensification of all its contradictions. After the end of the Second World War a change occurred in the distribution of forces within the imperial-

ist camp. Following the economic centre, the political and military centres of imperialism also shifted from Europe to the United States of America. The monopolist bourgeoisie of the U.S.A. has become the main citadel of international reaction, and has assumed the role of the saviour of capitalism. The American imperialists are now performing the functions of an international gendarme. Using the policy of military blocs, the American imperialists endeavour to subordinate to their rule other capitalist states. This evokes opposition to the United States on the part of France, West Germany, Japan and other major capitalist states. The recovery of the economy of the capitalist countries which had suffered in the world war, and their rate of development, more rapid than in the United States, intensify the desire of a number of European countries to free themselves from the American diktat. All this leads to the aggravation of existing centres of imperialist competition and conflicts, and the appearance of new ones and weakens the capitalist system on the whole.

The anti-popular and rapacious nature of imperialism has not changed, but with the formation of the world socialist system and the growth of its economic and military might the ability of imperialism to influence the course of historical development has been noticeably narrowed, while the forms and methods of its struggle against the socialist countries and the world revolutionary and national-liberation movement have changed. The imperialists are frightened by the tempestuous growth of the forces of socialism and the national-liberation movement, they unite their forces, make feverish efforts to continue the struggle for their exploiting aims, and everywhere strive to undermine the positions of the

socialist countries and the national-liberation movement, and to weaken their influence.

It is perfectly obvious that in our age the main content and the chief trends of the historical development of human society are no longer determined by imperialism but by the world socialist system, by all the progressive forces struggling against imperialism for the reorganization of society along socialist lines. The contradiction between capitalism and socialism is the chief contradiction of our epoch. On the outcome of the struggle of the two world systems the destinies of peace, democracy and socialism depend to a decisive extent. And the correlation of forces in the world arena is changing all the time in favour of socialism.

The struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for their national and social liberation, and the successes already achieved in this field, the growing struggle of the working class, of all the working people of the capitalist countries against the monopolies and against exploitation, in the interests of social progress, are of the greatest importance for the destinies of the historical development of mankind. Socialist revolutions, national-liberation anti-imperialist and anti-colonial revolutions, people's democratic revolutions, extensive peasant movements, the struggle of the masses for the overthrow of fascist and other tyrannical regimes, general democratic movements against national oppression — in our time all these merge into a single world revolutionary stream undermining and destroying capitalism.

Working out its policy in conformity with the new conditions, the world communist movement could not fail to take into account quite seriously also such an important factor as the radical qualitative change in the

military-technical means of waging war resulting from the emergence and stockpiling of thermo-nuclear weapons possessing unprecedented destructive force. Until disarmament is effected the socialist community must always maintain superiority over the imperialists in their armed forces. We shall never allow the imperialists to forget that should they unleash a war with the aim of deciding by force of arms whether mankind must develop along the road of capitalism or of socialism, it will be the last war, the one in which imperialism will be finally routed.

Under present-day conditions it is the duty of all champions of peace and socialism to use to the utmost the existing favourable opportunities for the victory of socialism, and not to allow imperialism to unleash a world war.

The correct analysis of the alignment of class forces in the world arena, and the correct Marxist-Leninist policy elaborated at the Moscow Meetings, made it possible for the fraternal Parties to gain major successes in developing the world socialist system, and facilitated the growth of the class revolutionary struggle in the capitalist countries and of the national-liberation movement.

The socialist system is exerting an ever-growing influence on the course of world development. The entire world revolutionary process is today developing under the direct influence of the great example provided by the new life in the countries of socialism. The more successfully the ideas of communism make their way to the minds and hearts of the general masses, the greater and more significant are our achievements in the building of socialism and communism. It is, therefore, clear that he who wants to bring closer the victory of socialism

throughout the entire world should, in the first place, show concern for strengthening the great socialist community and its economic might, should seek to raise the standard of living of its peoples, develop science, engineering and culture, consolidate its unity and solidarity and the growth of its international authority. The Statement of the Moscow Meeting places the responsibility to the international working-class movement for the successful building of socialism and communism on the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the peoples of the socialist countries.

Tirelessly strengthening the world socialist system, the fraternal Parties and peoples of our countries make their contribution to the great cause of the struggle of the international working class, of all the working people, of the entire liberation movement for solving the basic problems of the day in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism.

The present correlation of forces in the world arena gave the socialist countries, together with all peace-loving forces, the opportunity of envisaging as an entirely feasible task for the first time in history that of averting a new world war and of ensuring peace and security of the peoples.

The years that have passed since the adoption of this Statement have fully corroborated the correctness of this thesis. The failure of the aggressive forces to push mankind over the abyss of a destructive thermo-nuclear war is a highly important result of the strengthening of the might of the socialist countries, of the peace-loving foreign policy which they unswervingly pursue and which is increasingly winning recognition and support among hundreds of millions of people and gaining the upper hand over the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

No Marxist doubts that imperialism, losing one position after another, is trying by every means to preserve its domination over peoples and to regain its lost positions. At present the greatest conspiracy ever of the international imperialists is taking place against the countries of socialism and the world movement of liberation. Of course, there is no guarantee that the imperialists will not try to unleash a world war. The Communists should clearly see this danger.

But the position of the aggressor under present-day conditions radically differs from his position before the Second World War and, even more, before the First World War. In the past, wars usually ended with some capitalist countries defeating others, but the vanquished continued to live, regained their strength after a time, and even proved able to start renewed aggression, as is shown, in particular, by the example of Germany. A thermo-nuclear war does not offer such a prospect to any aggressor, and the imperialists are compelled to reckon with this. Fear of a retaliatory blow, fear of retribution, keeps them from letting loose a world war. The socialist community has become so strong that imperialism can no longer impose its conditions on the peoples and dictate its will as before. This is a historic gain by the international working class and the peoples of all countries.

By virtue of its predatory nature imperialism cannot get rid of the desire to solve contradictions in the international arena by means of war. But on the other hand it cannot unleash a world thermo-nuclear war without realizing that it will thereby place itself in danger of being destroyed.

A world war, such as imperialism threatens mankind with, is not fatally inevitable. With the balance of forces

increasingly tipping in favour of socialism and against imperialism, and with the forces of peace increasingly gaining weight over the forces of war, it will become really possible to rule out the possibility of world war from the life of society even before socialism fully triumphs on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world.

Of course, to prevent such a war it is necessary to continue strengthening the socialist system to the utmost and to rally all the forces of the international working-class and the national-liberation movement, to rally all democratic forces. Those who prize the interests of socialism and the interests of peace must do everything to frustrate the criminal designs of world reaction and to prevent it from unleashing a thermo-nuclear war and dragging hundreds of millions of people down into the grave with it. A sober appraisal of the inevitable consequences that a thermo-nuclear war would have for the whole of mankind and for the cause of socialism sets before Marxist-Leninists the need to do everything in our power to prevent a new world conflict.

The C.P.S.U. Central Committee firmly abides by the thesis of the 1960 Statement that "In a world divided into two systems, the only correct and reasonable principle of international relations is the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems advanced by V. I. Lenin and further elaborated in the Moscow Declaration and Peace Manifesto of 1957, in the decisions of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the C.P.S.U., and in the documents of other Communist and Workers' Parties."

Our Party, which the great Lenin educated in the spirit of relentless struggle against imperialism keeps in mind

Lenin's warning that moribund capitalism is still able to cause humanity untold calamities. The Soviet Union is doing everything to boost its economy and to improve its defences on this basis; it is building up its armed might and maintaining its armed forces in a state of constant readiness. However, we have employed and will continue to employ our country's increasing might not to threaten anyone or to fan war passions, but to consolidate peace, prevent another world war, and defend our own country and the other socialist countries.

The policy of peaceful coexistence accords with the vital interests of all the peoples; it serves to strengthen the positions of socialism, to help the international influence of the socialist countries, and to increase the authority and influence of the Communists.

Peaceful coexistence does not imply conciliation between socialist and bourgeois ideologies. That policy would spell abandonment of Marxism-Leninism and obstruction of the building of socialism. Bourgeois ideology is a sort of Trojan horse, which imperialism is trying to sneak into the ranks of the communist and working-class movement. The peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems presupposes an unremitting ideological, political and economic struggle between the two social systems, and the class struggle of the working people inside the countries of the capitalist system, including armed struggle when the peoples find that necessary, and the steady advance of the national-liberation movement among the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries.

The facts go to show that efforts to prevent a world war in no way weaken the forces of the world communist and national-liberation movements but on the contrary rally the broadest masses to the Communists. It

was precisely in conditions of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems that the socialist revolution triumphed on Cuba, that the Algerian people gained national independence, that more than 40 countries won national independence, that the fraternal Parties grew in number and strength, and that the influence of the world communist movement increased.

Availing themselves of the conditions of peaceful coexistence, the socialist countries are scoring more and more victories in the economic competition with capitalism. Our adversaries realize that it is difficult for them to count on winning the competition against us. They are unable to keep up with the rapid economic advance of the socialist countries; they are powerless in the face of the appeal that the example of the socialist countries makes to the peoples under capitalism's yoke.

As the economy of the socialist commonwealth advances, the advantages and superiority of socialism, and the greater opportunities of the working people to obtain material and spiritual riches, as compared to capitalism, will display themselves more and more vividly. The rising standards of living in the socialist countries are a great magnet for the working class of all the capitalist countries. The achievements of the socialist commonwealth will constitute a kind of catalyst, a revolutionizing factor in broadening the class struggle in the capitalist countries and enabling the working class to triumph over capitalism.

The peoples embarking on socialism inherit from the past economies and cultures at different levels. Regardless of this, however, socialism awakens mighty productive forces—as exemplified by the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The Soviet Union has already

outpaced the leading capitalist countries of Europe in economic development and has taken second place in the world; the time is not far off when it will take first place in the world. The other socialist countries have likewise gained great successes. The socialist system is so progressive by nature that it enables the peoples to swiftly eliminate their backwardness, to catch up with the more highly-developed countries, and, marching in one rank with them, to fight for the building of communism.

All this inspires the peoples, giving them the conviction that they can embark upon the road of socialism and score achievements, regardless of their present level of historical development. The advance of the peoples to a new life is facilitated by their opportunity to select the best from the world's experience in building socialism, taking into account both the merits and the shortcomings in the practices of socialist construction.

The faster the productive forces of the socialist countries develop, the higher their economic potential will rise, and the stronger the influence of the socialist community will become on the rate and trend of the whole of historical development in the interests of peace and of the complete triumph of socialism.

Our Party proceeds from the thesis that there are favourable international and internal conditions in the present epoch for more and more countries to go over to socialism. This is true of the developed capitalist countries as well as of the countries which have recently achieved national independence.

The world revolutionary process is developing on an ever larger scale, embracing all continents. The struggle of the working class in the developed capitalist countries

and the national-liberation movement are closely linked, and help one another. The course of social development has led to a situation in which the revolutionary struggle, in whichever country it takes place, is directed against the main common enemy, imperialism and the monopoly bourgeoisie.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties throughout the world have a common ultimate aim, to mobilize all forces in the struggle for the winning of power by the workers and the labouring peasantry, and to build socialism and communism. In drawing up the tactical policy for their struggle, every Communist Party must take into account the experience of the entire world communist movement, must take into consideration those interests, aims and tasks set by our movement as a whole, its general line at the present time.

But at the same time, the working out of forms and methods of fighting for socialism in each separate country is the internal affair of the working class of that country and of its communist vanguard. No other fraternal Party, whatever its membership, experience and authority, can lay down the tactics, forms and methods of the revolutionary struggle in other countries. Revolution is the cause of the masses themselves. An accurate analysis of the actual situation and a correct estimation of the correlation of forces are among the most important conditions of a revolution. The enthusiasm of the revolutionary masses in the struggle for the victory of a socialist revolution cannot be kept back when objective and subjective conditions are ripe. It would be tantamount to death. But a revolution cannot be artificially instigated if conditions for it are not yet ripe. A premature uprising, as the experience of the revolution-

ary class struggle teaches, is doomed to failure. Communists rally the working people under the red banner in order to win in the struggle for a better life on earth, and not to perish, even though heroically. Heroism and self-sacrifice, necessary in revolutionary battles, are of no use by themselves, but only for the victory of the great ideas of socialism.

The C.P.S.U. has always hailed and will continue to hail the revolutionary working class and the working people of any country who, headed by their communist vanguard, make skilful use of the revolutionary situation to inflict a crushing blow against the class enemy and to establish a new social system.

The tactics and policy of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries have in common substantial features connected with the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism and the correlation of forces that has developed in the international arena. The development of state-monopoly capitalism has, besides aggravating the contradictions of the capitalist society which appeared before, also given birth to new contradictions. State-monopoly capitalism has led to a still greater narrowing of the social base of imperialism within a country, and to the concentration of power in the hands of a small group of the strongest monopolists. This gives rise, on the other hand, to a joint anti-monopoly movement embracing the working class, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, the working intellectuals and certain other sections of capitalist society interested in freeing themselves from the sway of the monopolies and from exploitation, and interested in changing over to socialism.

Our time is characterized by a sharp growth in the significance of democratic movements—the struggle for

world peace, for the prevention of a world thermo-nuclear catastrophe, for the preservation of national sovereignty; movements in defence of democracy, against the onslaught of fascism, for the introduction of agrarian transformations, the humanistic movement in defence of culture, and others.

Our Party fully adheres to Leninist principles and to the principles expressed in the Statement, in saying that socialist revolution is not necessarily connected with war. If world wars bring about triumphant revolutions, revolutions are nevertheless quite possible without wars.

If Communists were to start tying up the victory of the socialist revolution with world war, this would not evoke any sympathy for socialism, but would drive the masses away from it. With modern means of warfare having such terrible destructive consequences, an appeal like this would only play into the hands of our enemies.

The working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist Parties, endeavour to carry out socialist revolutions in a peaceful way without civil war. The realization of such a possibility is in keeping with the interests of the working class and all the people, and with the national interests of the country. At the same time the choice of the means of developing the revolution depends not only on the working class. If the exploiting classes resort to violence against the people, the working class will be forced to use non-peaceful means of seizing power. Everything depends on the particular conditions and on the distribution of class forces within the country and in the world arena.

Naturally, no matter what means are used for the transition from capitalism to socialism, such a transition is possible only by means of a socialist revolution and of

the dictatorship of the proletariat in various forms. Appreciating highly the selfless struggle of the working class headed by the Communists in the capitalist countries, the C.P.S.U. considers it its duty to render them every kind of aid and support.

Our Party regards the national-liberation movement as an integral part of the world revolutionary process, as a mighty force destroying the front of imperialism. The peoples of the former colonies are today rising to full stature as independent creators of history, and are seeking ways to promote their national economy and culture. The growth of the forces of the socialist system actively helps the liberation of the oppressed peoples, their achievement of economic independence, the further development and expansion of the national-liberation movement, and the peoples' struggle against all forms of old and new colonialism.

The national-liberation movement has entered the final stage of the abolition of colonial regimes. The time is not far off when all the peoples as yet living under the yoke of the colonialists will win freedom and independence. The freed peoples are now faced with the problem of consolidating political independence, overcoming economic and cultural backwardness and putting an end to all forms of dependence upon imperialism.

The countries that have thrown off the colonial yoke carry out the vital tasks of national resurgence successfully only in vigorous struggle against imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, by uniting all the patriotic forces of the nation in a single national front—the working class, the peasantry, the national bourgeoisie and the democratic intellectuals.

The peoples who are fighting for their national liberation and have already won political independence have ceased, or are ceasing, to serve as a reserve for imperialism; with the support of the socialist states and of all progressive forces they are more and more frequently inflicting defeats upon the imperialist powers and coalitions.

The young national states are developing at a time when there is competition between the two world social systems. This circumstance has the strongest influence upon their political and economic development, upon the choice of the roads they will follow in the future. The states that have recently achieved their national liberation belong neither to the system of socialist states nor to the system of capitalist states, but the overwhelming majority of them have not yet broken away from the orbit of the world capitalist economy, although they hold a special place there. This part of the world is still exploited by the capitalist monopolies.

Now when political independence has been won, the struggle of the young sovereign states against imperialism, for their ultimate national revival, for economic independence, comes to the forefront. The achievement of complete independence by the developing countries would mean a further serious weakening of imperialism, for then the entire present system of the predatory, unequal international division of labour would be destroyed, and the foundation of the economic exploitation of the "world countryside" by the capitalist monopolies would be undermined. The development of independent national economies in the developing countries relying upon the effective assistance of the socialist

system will deal a further heavy blow against imperialism.

In the struggle for the attainment and consolidation of independence it is necessary to muster the whole of a nation's forces in readiness to fight against imperialism. In an endeavour to strengthen its dominant position after the attainment of independence, the right-wing national bourgeoisie sometimes succeeds in establishing reactionary political regimes for a time, and starts persecuting Communists and other democrats. However, such regimes are short-lived for the simple reason that they obstruct progress and the solution of vital national problems—primarily the attainment of economic independence and the development of productive forces. That is why, in spite of the active support of the imperialists, these regimes will be overthrown as a result of the struggle of the masses.

The C.P.S.U. regards fraternal alliance with the peoples who have shaken off the colonial yoke and with the peoples of semi-colonial states as one of the corner-stones of its international policy. Our Party considers it its international duty to help the peoples who have taken the road of winning and consolidating national independence, all the peoples fighting for the complete abolition of the colonial system. The Soviet Union has always supported the sacred wars of the peoples for freedom, and given every kind of moral, economic, military and political support to the national-liberation movement.

The Soviet people gave great support to the Algerian people when they fought against the French colonialists. When the Yemeni people rose up in revolt against slavery in their country, we were the first to offer them a helping hand. We rendered various kinds of aid to the Indonesian

people in their struggle for the liberation of West Irian, against the Dutch imperialists who got their support from the U.S. imperialists. We hail the struggle of the Indonesian people for the liberation of Northern Kalimantan.

Colonialists, both old and new, are busy weaving intrigues and plots against the liberation movement of the peoples of Southeast Asia. Our sympathies and support are invariably with those who fight for national freedom and independence. We are deeply convinced that, in spite of all the efforts of the American imperialists and their puppets, the peoples of South Vietnam and South Korea will be victorious in their struggle and will achieve the reunification of their native lands.

While being against the export of revolution, our Party has always done everything to prevent the export of counter-revolution. We are firmly convinced that the interconnection and unity of action of the three great revolutionary forces of our time—the peoples building socialism and communism, the international revolutionary working-class movement, and the national-liberation movement—are the foundation of the peoples' struggle against imperialism, and a guarantee of their victory.

The entire course of world development in recent years has fully confirmed the correctness of the policy of the communist movement, which has yielded remarkable practical results. Thanks to the realization of this policy, the forces fighting against imperialism, for peace, national independence and socialism, have scored new successes. The C.P.S.U. considers it its duty consistently and steadfastly to carry out this policy.

We are firmly convinced that there are no grounds for a revision of this policy.

Besides this, the C.P.S.U. Central Committee is of the opinion that it would be beneficial during the preparations for the meeting, as well as at the meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, to exchange opinions on the new aspects with which life has in recent years enriched the policy of the world communist movement as laid down in the Declaration and Statement.

In your letter, dear comrades, you justly note that the guarantee of all our achievements is the strengthening of the unity of the communist movement and the solidarity of the socialist countries. In recent time the C.P.S.U. has at its congresses and at international Communist meetings time and again expressed its conception of the principles concerning the relations between Marxist-Leninist Parties. We emphasized, for the whole world to see, that in the communist movement, just as in the socialist community, all Communist and Workers' Parties, of all socialist countries have always been completely equal. In the communist movement there are no "higher ranking" and "subordinate" Parties. And it could not be so. The domination of any party, or the manifestation of any hegemony whatsoever, does not benefit the international communist and workers' movement; on the contrary, it can only do it harm. All Communist Parties are independent and equal. All bear responsibility for the destiny of the communist movement, for its victories and setbacks, all must build their relations on the basis of proletarian internationalism and mutual assistance.

We also proceed from the basis that proletarian internationalism places equal demands on all Parties, big and

small, but makes no exceptions for anyone. All fraternal Parties must show equal concern that their activities be based on Marxist-Leninist principles, in accordance with the interests of strengthening the unity of the socialist countries and of the entire world communist and workers' movement.

The formation and development of the world socialist system give special significance to the question of correct relations between Marxist-Leninist Parties. Communist and Workers' Parties in the countries of socialism are ruling parties. They bear responsibility for the destiny of the states, for the destiny of their peoples. Under these conditions the violation of Marxist-Leninist principles in the relations between Parties can affect not only Party interests but the interests of the wide masses of the people.

Guided by the supreme interests of our cause, the C.P.S.U. has eliminated the consequences of the Stalin personality cult, and done everything to restore in full the Leninist principles of equality in the relations between the fraternal Parties and respect for the sovereignty of socialist countries. This has played a large and positive role in strengthening the unity of the entire socialist community. A favourable situation has been created for the strengthening of our friendship on the basis of equality, respect for the sovereignty of each state, mutual assistance and comradely co-operation, voluntary fulfilment of international duty by each country. At the same time, we should like to emphasize that socialist equality not only means having equal rights to take part in working out collectively the common policy but also entails equal responsibilities for the fraternal Parties of socialist countries for the destinies of the entire community.

The Statement of the Moscow Meeting of the Fraternal Parties stressed the need for the closest alliance between countries breaking away from capitalism, for the pooling of their efforts in the building of socialism and communism. National interests and the interests of the socialist system as a whole combine harmoniously. Life has proved convincingly that every country can best solve its national tasks only through the closest cooperation with the other socialist countries on the basis of genuine equality and mutual aid.

Our unity, our well-concerted actions, do not arise spontaneously. They are dictated by objective necessity, they are the result of conscious activities, of the purposeful internationalist policy of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and their tireless concern for the uniting of our ranks.

We do not close our eyes to the fact that different interpretations of certain questions of internal construction and the international communist movement, different interpretations of the forms and methods of our co-operation may occur in the relations between socialist countries. This is possible, for the countries making up the world socialist system are at different stages in the construction of a new society, and their experience in developing relations with the outside world is not the same in all respects. One should not exclude the possibility, either, that differences may result from different approaches to the solution of some questions of Marxism-Leninism in individual fraternal Parties. To exaggerate the role of national, specific features may lead to a departure from Marxism-Leninism. To ignore national features may lead to a breaking away from life and from the masses, and do harm to the cause of socialism.

All this necessitates constant efforts to find ways and means to enable us to settle the differences arising, from positions of principle and with the least damage to our common cause.

We Communists can argue between ourselves. But in all circumstances our sacred duty remains the education of the peoples of our countries in the spirit of deep solidarity with all the peoples of the socialist community. Communists must inculcate in the peoples not only love for their own country, but also love for the whole of the socialist community, for all peoples; they must foster in each man and woman living in any socialist country an understanding of their fraternal duty towards the working people of the world. Failure to do this means failure to follow the first rule of Communists, which requires the uniting of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the peoples building socialism, the cherishing of our unity above all else.

Ideological and tactical differences must in no circumstances be used to incite nationalist feelings and prejudices, mistrust and dissention between the socialist peoples. We declare with full responsibility that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has never taken and will never take a single step that could sow hostility among the peoples of our country towards the fraternal Chinese people or other peoples. On the contrary, in all circumstances our Party has steadily and consistently propagated the ideas of internationalism and warm friendship with the peoples of the socialist countries, and with all peoples of the world. We consider it important to stress this, and we hope that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China shares this view.

In the international communist, working-class and liberation movements it is necessary to unite all efforts, mobilizing the peoples for struggle against imperialism. The militant call "Workers of all countries, unite!" formulated by Marx and Engels means that at the basis of this unity lies anti-imperialist class solidarity, and not any principle of nationality, colour or geographical location. The uniting of the masses in the struggle against imperialism solely on the basis of their belonging to a particular continent—whether Africa, Asia, Latin America or Europe—can be detrimental to the fighting peoples. This would be not uniting but in fact splitting the forces of the united anti-imperialist front.

The strength of the world communist movement lies in its faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has fought and will continue to fight any departure from Marxism-Leninism and any opportunism. We firmly adhere to the principles of the Statement of 1960 indicating the necessity for a struggle on two fronts—against Right and "Left" opportunism. The Statement rightly says that the main danger in the world communist movement is revisionism, and at the same time points out the necessity for a resolute struggle against sectarianism and dogmatism, which can become the main danger at any stage in the development of separate Parties if not consistently combated.

Motivated by the desire to consolidate the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, our Party will continue to fight resolutely against both right-wing and left-wing opportunism, which are today every bit as dangerous as revisionism. But while being implacable as regards fun-

damental questions of principle in the theory and tactics of the communist movement, while struggling against revisionism and sectarianism, we shall spare no effort to elucidate, by painstaking comradely discussion, questions on which there are different interpretations, so as to clear away all extraneous obstacles interfering with our unity. In so doing, we proceed from the premise that when criticizing any mistake relating to questions of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the fraternal Parties, and also international conferences of the communist movement, should set themselves the objective of pointing out the danger of such mistakes and of helping to remedy them, and not of harping on these mistakes for all time. We are striving to facilitate the complete uniting of revolutionary forces, and not their disintegration or the amputation of one or another section in our movement. Naturally, Communists cannot allow concessions on points of principle in Marxist-Leninist theory.

As an internationalist Party, the C.P.S.U. carefully studies the experience accumulated in the struggles of the Marxist-Leninist Parties in all countries. We greatly prize the struggle being waged by the working class and its revolutionary vanguard of Communist Parties in France, Italy, the U.S.A., Britain, the other capitalist countries, as well as the heroic struggle which the Communist Parties of Asian, African and Latin American countries are carrying on for national and social emancipation from the domination of the imperialist monopolies, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The Communist Parties have developed into influential national forces, into advanced detachments of fighters for the happiness of their peoples. No wonder the reactionaries are striking blow after blow at the Communists in

their efforts to break their will. In their fight against the communist movement the reactionaries bring out the shop-soiled lie about the "hand of Moscow," claiming that the Communist Parties are not a national force but a vehicle for the policy of another country, the tool of another country. The imperialists are doing this with evil intent, in order to counter the mounting influence of the Communist Parties, in order to make the masses suspect them, in order to justify police persecution of the Communists.

However, all honest-minded men and women know that the Communist Parties are the true upholders and champions of national interests, that they are staunch patriots who combine love for their country and proletarian internationalism in their struggle for the happiness of the people. The C.P.S.U. considers it its obligation to give every support to its brothers in the heroic struggle they are waging in the capitalist countries, to strengthen international solidarity with them.

These, in general outline, are some of our ideas on important contemporary questions of principle, on the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement, which we thought it necessary to touch upon in this letter.

Being firmly convinced that the present policy of the international communist movement, which found its expression in the Declaration and Statement of the fraternal Parties, is the only correct one, we believe that at the forthcoming meeting between the representatives of the C.P.S.U. and C.P.C. it would be expedient to discuss the following most urgent problems:

a) Questions concerning the struggle for the further strengthening of the might of the world socialist system

and its transformation into the decisive factor in the development of human society, which is the main distinguishing feature of our era. We could jointly discuss how faster and better to secure a victory for the socialist countries in peaceful economic competition with capitalism;

b) Questions concerning the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence. The need to pool the efforts of all peace-loving forces for the struggle to prevent a world thermo-nuclear war. The creation and the strengthening of the broadest united front of peace supporters. The exposure of the reactionary essence of imperialism, the heightening of vigilance and the mobilization of the broad masses to fight against the preparations being made by the imperialists for a new world war, frustrate their aggressive schemes and isolate the forces of reaction and war. Assertion in international relations of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. The struggle for general and complete disarmament and for the elimination of the traces of the Second World War;

c) Questions concerning the struggle against imperialism headed by the U.S. The use, in the interests of our cause, of the weakening positions of capitalism and the growing instability of the entire capitalist system of world economy, the aggravation of contradictions of capitalism, and above all contradictions between labour and capital, and the severe crisis in bourgeois ideology and politics. Support of the revolutionary and class struggle of the working people in capitalist countries against the monopolies, for their social liberation, for the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, for the extension of the democratic rights and freedoms of the peoples;

d) Questions concerning the national-liberation movement. The support and utmost development of the national-liberation movement of the peoples. The struggle for the complete and final ending of colonialism and neo-colonialism in all its forms. The rendering of support to peoples fighting against colonialism, and also to countries which have achieved their national liberation. The development of economic and cultural co-operation with these countries;

e) Questions concerning the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community and of the ranks of the communist movement. The need for consolidating in every way the international communist movement, the most influential political force of our times, particularly in conditions where the imperialist reactionaries have joined forces in the fight against communism. The prevention of any actions which could undermine this unity, the firm adherence by each fraternal Party to the assessments and conclusions worked out jointly. The continuation of the struggle against revisionism and dogmatism, as an indispensable condition for the defence of Marxism-Leninism in its pure form, and of its creative development, and for the further successes of the communist movement. The development of relations among the fraternal Parties on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism and mutual aid and support. The working out of joint measures to intensify the ideological and political struggle against imperialism and reaction.

During the talks it will be possible to discuss all the questions mentioned in your letter, questions of common interest stemming from the tasks in the struggle to implement the decisions of the Moscow Meetings. An important role could be played by the discussion of the

questions connected with the consolidation of unity between the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China.

In your letter you raise the Albanian and Yugoslav questions. We have already written to you that these questions, though of a basic nature, cannot and should not eclipse the main problems of our times which call for discussion at our meeting.

Our Party, having condemned the splitting activities of the Albanian leaders, has at the same time taken a number of steps towards normalizing the relations between the Albanian Party of Labour and the C.P.S.U. and other fraternal Parties. In spite of the fact that the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour have recently been coming out with slanderous attacks on our Party and the Soviet people, we, being guided by supreme interests, do not relinquish the hope that the relations between the C.P.S.U. and the Albanian Party of Labour may be improved. At the end of February this year the C.P.S.U. Central Committee once again took the initiative and suggested to the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour that a bilateral meeting be held between representatives of our two Parties. However, this comradely step on our part did not meet with due response on the part of the Albanian leadership. The leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour did not even deem it necessary to acknowledge our letter containing the C.P.S.U. Central Committee's proposal about the bilateral meetings. Having obviously later come to their senses, the Albanian leaders sent us a letter in which, after some reservations and stipulations, they speak of such a meeting. If real desire is in fact shown, we are ready to have a meeting.

As far as Yugoslavia is concerned, we maintain, proceeding from an analysis and assessment of the objective

economic and political conditions in that country, that it is a socialist country, and in our relations with it we strive to establish closer relations between the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the socialist commonwealth, in accordance with the policy pursued by the fraternal Parties for the cementing together of all the anti-imperialist forces of the world. We also take into consideration the definite positive tendencies shown of late in Yugoslavia's economic and socio-political life. Meanwhile the C.P.S.U. is aware of the serious differences that exist with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on several ideological questions and considers it necessary to tell the Yugoslav comrades so frankly, criticizing those views of theirs which it finds wrong.

In its letter of March 9, 1963, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China agrees with us in saying that today the world communist movement faces a crucial time. It depends on us, on our Parties, on the correctness of our policy, whether we continue to advance together in one rank or allow ourselves to be involved in a struggle harmful to the working class, to our peoples and to all working people, a struggle that can only result in mutual estrangement, weaken the forces of socialism, and undermine the unity of the world communist movement.

Naturally, being large, strong parties, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China would emerge from this situation with smaller losses; but as far as the other fraternal Parties, especially those working in complex conditions, are concerned, they would be faced with great and moreover unnecessary complications, which, of course, is not our aim.

Everything depends on how we act in this serious and complex situation. Are we to continue engaging in polemics, to fall prey to our passions, and to turn arguments into recriminations and unproved accusations and sallies against the fraternal Parties? Or are we, aware of the great responsibility that we bear for the destinies of our great cause, to direct developments along a different channel, and show enough courage to rise above all that divides us today, cease uncomradely polemics, and concentrate on a search for ways of consolidating militant Soviet-Chinese co-operation, of consolidating the friendship of all the fraternal Parties?

We realize that any movement, including the communist movement, is unthinkable without controversy. However, no differences, no displeasure at the behaviour of a particular Party, can justify methods of struggle detrimental to the interests of the international communist movement. The deeper and broader our understanding of the aims and tasks of the international working class, the greater the vigour with which we should strive to analyse our differences, however serious they may seem today, quietly and relevantly, and prevent them from interfering with our positive work, from disorganizing the revolutionary activities of the international working class.

Let us struggle together for consistent adherence to the Marxist-Leninist course in the international communist movement, against revisionism and dogmatism, for closer unity in the ranks of the international communist movement, for respect for collectively worked out policies, and against any violations or arbitrary interpretations of these.

Our Party does not succumb to the heat of the polemic struggle but, aware of our common responsibility to the world communist movement, wishes to stop the dangerous process of sliding into a new series of discussions. It is obvious to everyone that we could have found much to say in defence of the Leninist policy of the C.P.S.U., in defence of the common line of the international communist movement, in reply to groundless attacks made in articles recently carried by the Chinese press. And if we are not doing it now it is only because we do not want to gladden the foes of the communist movement. We hope that the harm caused by the sharpening polemics will be realized, and the interests of the unity of the socialist system and the international communist movement will be placed above all else. Therefore we suggest a meeting to you, not in order to aggravate the dispute but in order to reach a mutual understanding on major problems that have arisen in the international communist movement.

We know that such meeting is being looked forward to by our friends in all the countries of the world, and that they pin great hopes on it. It depends on us, on our will and reason, whether results gladdening to our friends and upsetting to the enemies of communism will be achieved at the meeting. This will be our common contribution to the cause of the struggle for the liberation of all oppressed people, for the victory of peace and socialism on earth, for the triumph of the great revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

With communist greetings,

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union**

**THE LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE C.P.C. TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE C.P.S.U.**

(March 9, 1963)

March 9, 1963

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union**

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has received the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dated February 21, 1963.

When Comrade Mao Tse-tung received Comrade Chervonenko, the Soviet Ambassador to China, on February 23, he explained our estimation of your letter.

We welcome your letter. We welcome the desire for unity expressed in it; we welcome the normal attitude of equality towards fraternal Parties as shown in it; we welcome your definite approval of the proposal to call a meeting of representatives of all the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world.

To safeguard the unity of the socialist camp, to safeguard the unity of the international communist movement, to safeguard the unity of our two Parties and two countries — this is and has been the consistent position of the Communist Party of China. We have never spared our

efforts in the interest of unity. We are always distressed by and opposed to anything that is not in the interest of unity. We always rejoice at and support anything that is in the interest of unity.

We ought to face the fact that at present there are serious differences in the international communist movement on a series of important questions of principle. As for the causes of these differences, which your letter says "can be explained by the different conditions in which this or that detachment of the world communist movement is working", the more important factor, in our opinion, is the question of how Marxism-Leninism is understood and what attitude is taken towards it, and the question of how the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are understood, and what attitude is taken towards them.

The Chinese Communist Party has always advocated that when differences on questions of principle arise between fraternal Parties, the fraternal Parties should start with the desire for unity, carry on comradely discussion and mutual criticism so as to distinguish right from wrong, and reach the goal of unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. That is to say, differences between fraternal Parties should be settled inside the international communist movement through consultation on an equal footing in bilateral or multilateral talks or at a meeting of the fraternal Parties, in accordance with the principles and methods set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

The Chinese Communist Party is and always has been opposed to public exposure of differences between fraternal Parties before the enemy. We are even more strongly opposed to the inflammation of debate and the

complication of matters by the use of such methods as the convening of Party congresses, the issuance of resolutions or statements by Party Central Committees, and the publication of articles and speeches by Party and state leaders. We knew full well, and have said more than once, that such practices would gladden our enemy and create difficulties for our own ranks, and especially for the fraternal Parties in capitalist countries. Events have proved that our concern was not uncalled for. More and more fraternal Parties have now expressed the wish that public polemics should cease. This is a good sign. We ardently hope that the public polemics among the fraternal Parties will cease in the shortest possible time.

The international communist movement has indeed reached a critical juncture. The time has indeed come when the differences among the fraternal Parties have to be settled.

We have before us a very good international situation, one that is most favourable for revolution in the world. There is no reason why we should not eliminate our differences and strengthen our unity.

In the world balance of forces, the superiority is on the side of socialism and the revolutionary people, and not on the side of imperialism and its lackeys.

Two great historical currents of our time, the forces of socialism and the forces of the national democratic revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America, are battering the wall of the reactionary rule of imperialism, headed by the United States of America.

The contradictions among the imperialist powers, and especially those between U.S. imperialism and the other imperialist powers, are becoming deeper and sharper, and new conflicts are developing among them.

In this situation, what is of decisive significance for the international cause of the proletariat as a whole is the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and the support for the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In this situation, the possibility of preventing a new world war and preserving world peace will increase with the further development of the strength of the socialist countries, the further development of the national-liberation movement, of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples, of the movement in defence of world peace and, at the same time, with the full utilization of the contradictions in the imperialist camp.

In this situation, what is necessary first of all is to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and the unity of the international communist movement. With the unity of Marxist-Leninists as the nucleus, the strengthening of the unity of the world proletariat, the strengthening of the unity between the world proletariat and all the oppressed nations and peoples and the strengthening of the great unity of all the people in the world who favour opposition to imperialism — these are the guarantee for the victory of our common cause.

The Moscow Declaration and Statement set forth the common line, course and policies for our common struggle. These two documents present clear-cut conclusions on the nature of the present epoch; on the socialist camp; on the common laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction; on the struggle against imperialism; on war and peace; on peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems; on the national-liberation movement; on the tasks and tactics of the working-class

movement in the capitalist countries; on the struggle against revisionism as the main danger at present and the struggle against dogmatism; on continuing the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, which has betrayed Marxism-Leninism; on the guiding principles for relations among fraternal Parties and fraternal countries — independence, equality and attainment of unanimity through consultation; etc. In our words and deeds, we Chinese Communists have unswervingly followed and maintained this correct line, this correct course and these correct policies. We are very glad that the comrades of the C.P.S.U., too, have in their letter expressed their loyalty to these two programmatic documents.

To eliminate differences and to strengthen unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement accords with the interests of the people of the whole world, with the interests of the Communists of all countries, with the interests of the people of the socialist camp, and with the interests of the people of China and the Soviet Union. Conversely, if the differences should be further exacerbated and unity further undermined, it is not only future generations that would not forgive us — we would not be forgiven by the masses of the people of our own time.

With the purpose of eliminating differences and strengthening unity, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party wrote a letter to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on April 7, 1962. In that letter, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party expressed its support for the proposal to convene a meeting of the fraternal Parties put forward by the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Workers' Party of Viet Nam, the Communist Party of Sweden, the Communist Party of

Great Britain and the Communist Party of New Zealand, and explicitly proposed that a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries be convened to discuss problems of common concern. We are very glad that in its recent letter the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. also favours calling a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

In our letter of April 7, 1962, we also pointed out that, in order to convene and make a success of a meeting of the fraternal Parties, many obstacles would have to be overcome beforehand and much preparatory work would have to be done. At that time, we advanced the following points:

First, the fraternal Parties and countries having disputes should take steps, however small, that will help ease relations and restore unity, so as to improve the atmosphere and prepare the conditions for the convening and the success of a meeting of the fraternal Parties.

Second, we support the proposal of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam that public attacks should cease.

Third, where needed, certain fraternal Parties should hold bilateral or multilateral talks to exchange opinions.

Fourth, we sincerely hope that the Soviet comrades and the Albanian comrades will both take positive steps to remove their differences and restore normal relations between the two Parties and the two countries. In this connection, it seems necessary for the Soviet comrades to take the initiative.

Fifth, according to the decision of the meeting of the fraternal Parties in 1957, the C.P.S.U. is responsible for convening meetings of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, after consultation with the fraternal Parties.

At present, we still hold that the foregoing points are important for the success of a meeting of the fraternal Parties.

We are very glad that in its recent letter the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has also advanced valuable proposals for making the meeting of the fraternal Parties successful.

We agree with your view that "it is especially important to take immediate concrete practical steps to ensure our unity, to improve the climate in the relations between all fraternal Parties".

In order to create a favourable atmosphere for the convening of the meeting of the fraternal Parties, we have decided that, apart from the articles which we have already published as replies, we will from now on temporarily suspend public replies in our newspapers and periodicals to the public attacks which were directed by name against the Chinese Communist Party by comrades of the C.P.S.U. and other fraternal Parties. It goes without saying that, basing ourselves on the principle of equality and reciprocity between fraternal Parties, we reserve the right to make public replies to all the statements of fraternal Parties publicly attacking the Chinese Communist Party by name. On the suspension of public polemics, it is also necessary that our two Parties and the fraternal Parties concerned should have some discussion and reach an agreement that is fair and acceptable to all.

We welcome the proposal in your letter that talks be held between the Chinese and Soviet Parties. We hold that such talks constitute a necessary preparatory step for the convening of a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries. In his conversation with Comrade Chervonenko, Comrade Mao

Tse-tung expressed the hope that Comrade Khrushchov, while making his visit to Cambodia, would stop over in Peking for talks between our two Parties and an exchange of views. If this is not convenient for you, another responsible comrade of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. can lead a delegation to Peking, or we can send a delegation to Moscow.

We agree with your view that "during the talks it would be possible to take up point by point all the major questions of interest to both Parties, especially those relating to the common tasks of our struggle". We hold that the questions that need to be discussed in the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties are also the questions that need to be discussed at the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries, and that they are, first of all, the following: the question of strategy and tactics of revolution in the contemporary world, the question of opposing imperialism and defending world peace, the question of the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples, the question of strengthening the power and unity of the socialist camp, the question of strengthening the unity of the international communist movement, and other questions of common interest. All these questions ought to be discussed in a comradely way, point by point, to the full and in detail, in accordance with the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism and with the revolutionary principles set forth in the Moscow Declaration and Statement; and the consultation ought not to be a mere formality but should be conducted on a footing of real equality. Whatever is agreed upon by both sides can be settled at once and an agreement can be concluded. Existing differences that cannot be settled immediately may

be laid aside, pending later settlement. We propose that if we cannot finish our discussions in one session, several should be held, or that our Parties should hold further bilateral talks.

It is the common desire of the people of China and the Soviet Union, of all the people in the socialist camp, of the Communists of all countries, and of all the oppressed nations and peoples the world over to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement, to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp, and especially to strengthen the unity between our two Parties and countries. We are conscious of the responsibility that falls on our two Parties; we must not disappoint these expectations. Let us unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

With communist greetings,

**The Central Committee of
the Communist Party of China**

**THE LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE C.P.S.U. TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE C.P.C.**

(February 21, 1963)

Moscow, February 21, 1963

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China**

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, guided by the supreme interests of our common cause, has decided to write this letter to you in order to express our considerations concerning the need to make a common effort to strengthen the unity of the world communist movement in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, the Declaration and the Statement of the Moscow meetings. We are addressing you, being deeply convinced that in the present conditions there is no task more important for the Marxist-Leninist Parties than the struggle for the cohesion of our ranks, for strengthening the unity of all the socialist countries.

All who treasure the great cause of peace and socialism cannot but feel serious concern over the situation which has arisen of late in the communist movement. The open, ever aggravating polemics are shaking the unity of fraternal Parties, seriously damaging our com-

mon interests. The disputes which have arisen within the ranks of the international communist movement obstruct the successful struggle against imperialism, weaken the efforts of the socialist countries in the international arena, adversely affect the activities of fraternal Parties, especially of those in capitalist countries where a complicated internal political situation has arisen.

The enemies of socialism are striving to take advantage of the differences that have arisen within the communist movement to divide the socialist countries, to split the national-liberation movement, to strengthen their own positions.

In conditions of the new balance of forces in the world, the imperialist aggressors are not in a position to overpower the closely welded socialist community militarily. Therefore, they put their main stake on subverting our cohesion. Unless we have unity in the fight against our common enemy, if we act separately in the face of imperialism, that can only weaken our efforts and, therefore, strengthen the positions of the enemies of socialism. The direct duty of Marxist-Leninist Parties, above all of the biggest Parties like the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C., is not to allow events to develop in a direction that would confront the communist movement with serious difficulties, to do everything in order to eliminate the present abnormal situation and achieve unity of the ranks of the communist movement, and cohesion of the socialist community.

We are deeply convinced that the difficulties experienced now by the communist movement are transient and can surely be overcome. We possess everything needed to strengthen our unity and cohesion. Evaluating the present situation from the viewpoint of the historical

prospects of the development of world socialism, one cannot but come to the conclusion that the common, the main things that unite the C.P.S.U., the C.P.C., all the Marxist-Leninist Parties, are immeasurably higher and more significant than the existing differences. We are welded together by the unity of the class interests of the proletariat, of the working people of the whole world, by the great Marxist-Leninist teaching. No matter how serious our differences might seem today, one cannot forget that in the great historical struggle of the forces of socialism against capitalism, we are standing with you on the same side of the barricade.

Being aware of the entire complexity of the present situation, we hold at the same time that the existing differences should not be exaggerated and the colours laid too thick.

An objective analysis of the discussion going on in the communist movement shows that in many instances in the course of the polemics the differences that arise are artificially inflated and exacerbated, an overdue accent is made on disputed issues. The heat of polemics at times prevents a calm and sober appraisal of the substance of the problems that have arisen, eclipsing the main things that underlie our unity.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties jointly worked out programmatic documents — the Declaration and the Statement of the Moscow meetings — the loyalty to which they invariably stress. Steadfastly carrying out the common line agreed upon by the world communist movement, the C.P.S.U. is waging active struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of the great ideals of socialism and communism all over the globe. Our Party spares no efforts in the struggle to prevent a new world war, to

strengthen peace and the security of the peoples. The C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government by all means — economic, political, and even by rendering assistance in arms — support the national-liberation movement. Faithful to proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union always follows the militant slogan: “Workers of all countries, unite!” The C.P.S.U. works to strengthen the world socialist community to strengthen its influence on the entire course of historical development. The successes of communist construction in the Soviet Union are a contribution of our people to the cause of strengthening world socialism, raising its authority and force of attraction.

For its part, the Communist Party of China has continually pointed out that it firmly stands by the positions of the Declaration and the Statement and adheres to the conclusions and propositions contained therein, that its main aim is to struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of socialism and communism the world over. The C.P.C. stresses its adherence to the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, acknowledges the correctness of the conclusion of the Statement concerning the possibility of preventing a new world war. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China recognizes that the principle of proletarian internationalism remains the main principle guiding mutual relations among the Communist Parties and the socialist countries, and affirms its loyalty to the slogan “Workers of all countries, unite!”

Common positions on such cardinal questions is a good basis for increasing cohesion and overcoming the difficulties that have arisen. Provided firm adherence to the documents of the Moscow meetings, there is no

substantial reason for exacerbating the existing differences, because a correct solution can be found for them.

Of course, it is not excluded that different approaches to the understanding of certain problems of current world development can and do emerge in the communist movement. This can be explained by the different conditions in which this or that detachment of the world communist movement is working. But such differences in opinion, if not exaggerated artificially, should in no way resolve into a deep conflict; they can well be overcome through joint comradely consultations.

In view of all that, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. considers that it is especially important to take immediate concrete practical steps to ensure our unity, to improve the climate in the relations between all fraternal Parties. It was these considerations that guided the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. Comrade N. S. Khrushchov when speaking at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany he proposed on behalf of our Party that polemics among Communist Parties be discontinued as well as criticism of other Parties within one's own Party. As known, this proposal found a wide response and support in the world communist movement.

By writing this letter the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. wants to make a new step towards overcoming the difficulties that have arisen. In the interests of strengthening our friendship and better mutual understanding we propose to the Central Committee of the C.P.C. to hold a bilateral meeting of representatives of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. Considering the importance of this meeting, and to be more sure of achieving its aims, we would rather have the aforementioned meeting held

at a high level. During the talks it would be possible to take up point by point all the major questions of interest to both Parties, especially those relating to the common tasks of our struggle. As to the problems on which different viewpoints actually prove to exist, agreement should be reached on measures that would help make our positions closer to each other. If you agree to such a meeting, the place and time to hold it could be settled additionally.

A meeting of representatives of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C., the significance of which is obvious to everybody, would also play an important role in preparing a conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties, in creating the favourable climate without which it could not work successfully.

The C.P.S.U., like many other fraternal Parties, has advocated as it does now, the convocation of the conference, considering that there are serious enough grounds for that. As we see it, the attention of the conference should be centred on the common tasks of the struggle against imperialism and its aggressive plans, for the further advancement of the liberation movement of the peoples, for the rallying and all-round development of the world socialist community and increasing its influence throughout the world, for strengthening the unity of the communist movement.

We have already set forth our view concerning the need to convene a conference in our letter to you of May 31, 1962, and confirm it now again. It is our common duty to do everything for the conference to lead to the further rallying of Marxist-Leninist Parties and to greater unity. We are prepared to carefully study and support any initiative aimed at overcoming the existing difficul-

ties. The main thing needed now is goodwill to settle on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the problems that have arisen, not to permit any actions that could obstruct the strengthening of our unity.

Dear Comrades,

All Marxist-Leninist Parties are aware that a highly important moment has arrived in the development of the world communist movement. Upon us, upon our Parties, upon the correctness of our policy depends whether we shall continue marching further together in the same ranks, or shall allow ourselves to get involved in a hard and needless struggle which could only lead to mutual estrangement, to the weakening of the forces of socialism, and to undermining the unity of the world communist movement.

On our Parties rests the historical responsibility for enabling the Soviet and Chinese peoples to live like brothers. The unity of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. is of tremendous importance to the socialist community and to the entire communist movement. Future generations will not forgive us if in the present conditions in which acute struggle is going on between the two systems we should fail to find in ourselves the courage and strength, under the guidance of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism to surmount the existing differences. History has placed on the first detachments of the revolutionary movement, which have delivered their countries from the yoke of capitalism, the great task to establish and develop relations of a new type, brotherly and friendly relations between peoples, and to set the example of a future socialist society for all mankind. Our Parties are duty-bound to find a way out of the existing situation and courageously and resolutely

sweep away what obstructs our friendship. This is the only road that Marxist-Leninists can and must take.

We are deeply convinced that the overcoming of the differences that have arisen would accord not only with the interests of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. but also with the basic aims of the common struggle of the international communist movement for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. It is only necessary to display goodwill and profound understanding of the aims and interests of our struggle; then no obstacle can prevent us from strengthening and developing our friendship and cohesion of the international communist movement.

With communist greetings,

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union**

