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BI-WEEKLY PROPAGANDA GUIDANCE

NUMBER 112

Record Copy
DATE: 25 March 1963

Central Propaganda Directive
Briefly Noted

- 637. Reorganization and Maneuver in the Soviet Party and State
- 638 FE, The Communist Party of Indonesia
a, g.
- 639 FE, The Kashmir Question
NE.
- 640 WH, Countering Cuba's Claims as Champion
d, g. of Latin America's Destiny

List of

25X1C Attachments (unclassified)

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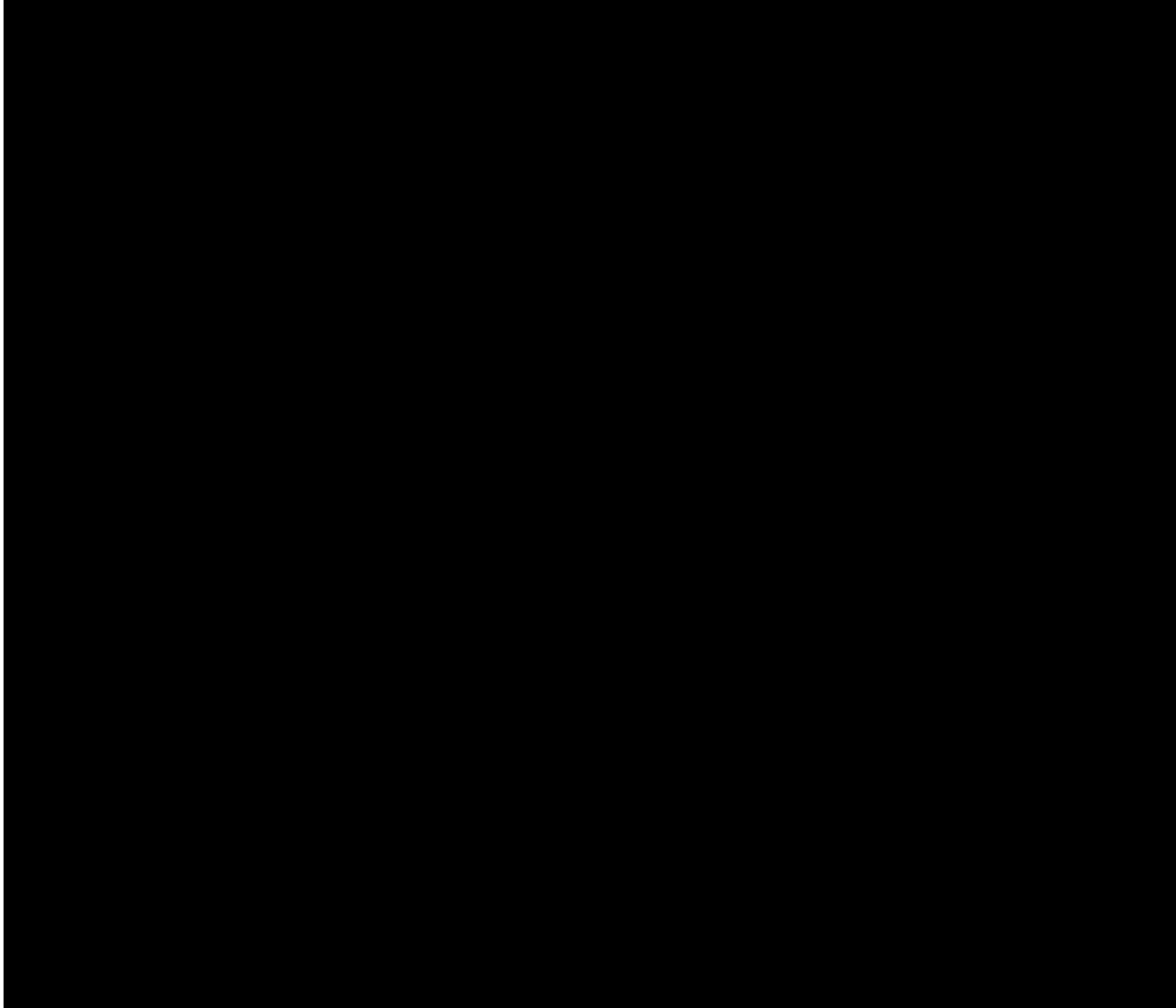
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25 March 1963

"Easter Marches"

"Easter Marches," again scheduled to take place in European countries, may have propaganda impact inimical to Western defense (NATO) efforts and may strengthen neutralist tendencies. This form of the "peace" campaign, whether Communist-inspired or not, if given sufficient support, could strengthen Soviet beliefs that large segments of the populations in NATO countries are unwilling to support their countries' defense efforts. Moreover, Easter marches and demonstrations, and the attendant publicity, could conceivably be used this year to enlarge differing views on common European economic and defense policies.

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- 17 April National Organizations of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) to observe 17 April (Bay of Pigs) anniversary as Day of Solidarity of AAPSO with the peoples of Latin America
- 19 April World Federation of Resistance Fighters (FIR; Communist Front) Commemoration of 20th Anniversary of Warsaw Ghetto uprising
- 20 April 1889: Hitler's Birthday (possible anti-German moves by Communists)
- 24 April World Youth Day Against Colonialism and for Peaceful Coexistence (Communist)
- April Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference, Indonesia (Djakarta-Bandung), 24-30 April 1963
- 28 April Italian general elections scheduled (See Briefly Noted)
- April Twentieth Anniversary of German's discovery of the Communist KATYN massacre (see 19 April)
- 1 May World Holiday of Labor (celebrated by Communists, Socialists, certain other Labor groups)

(Briefly Noted Cont.)

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- 1 May Indonesia to Assume Sovereignty over West New Guinea (See Briefly Noted)
- 8 May VE Day, 1945
- 12 May 328 day Berlin land blockade ended as a result of successful US airlift, 1949
- 14 May Warsaw Pact, 20-year mutual defense treaty signed at Warsaw by USSR, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and East Germany, in 1955
- 30 May Communist coup d'etat in Hungary, 1947
- 10 June Twentieth anniversary of Moscow's official declaration disbanding the Communist International (COMINTERN)
- 17 June Tenth anniversary of anti-Communist riot and strike in Communist Germany against increased work quotas; Soviet troops were required to put down the riot (1953)
- 17 June Fifth anniversary of Communist Hungarian Government's announcement of the trial and execution of Imre Nagy, Gen. Pal Maleter and other leaders of the Hungarian Revolt of November 1956 (1958)

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BACKGROUND: (Note: The economic shortcomings which resulted in last November's reorganization were explained in Guidance #607, 3 December 1962, and will not be discussed here. This guidance describes the organizational acrobatics and political maneuvers the Soviets use while avoiding or postponing fundamental economic reform.)

In time of economic difficulty or internal political rivalry, the Soviet leadership sometimes turns to organizational chart-making. On the one hand, "reorganization" has often been a way of purging undesirable officials, or of keeping those who were not purged faithful and alert. On the other hand, the Soviet leaders seem actually to regard reorganization as a potential cure for economic problems. If a cure is not effected, at least certain symptomatic irritations may be temporarily relieved: old promises of consumer goods can be replaced with new (more remote) ones, bureaucrats may be prodded into making a few new efforts, the theft of public property may be slightly inhibited for a time, a somewhat greater amount of local initiative can be encouraged at the cost of central control, or vice versa. Real remedies are available for the Soviet ills, but these would require a certain amount of surgery. Bloated bureaucratic empires, like those of the army, the planners, and above all, of the CPSU, would have to be weakened and reduced, and a measure of initiative and incentive would have to be given to the workers and managers in the enterprises. But the rulers are not about to abdicate their power--indeed, their doctrine tells them that it would be a crime, a "betrayal of Marxism-Leninism," to abdicate it. So they continue to tinker and adjust (see attachment) while forgoing fundamental change.

The November 1960 reforms:

1. Amalgamated the 100 National Economic Councils (Sovnarkhozy) established in 1957 into 40 Sovnarkhozy, making them larger and more powerful.
2. Reorganized the Party on the "productive principle," eliminating the lowest territorial units (the rayon committees) and establishing parallel organizations at other levels for industry and agriculture. Party officials are expected to intervene more directly and actively in economic activity.
3. Created a single combined organ for Party and state control, that is, for the inspection and policing of Soviet officialdom.

4. Redistributed planning powers, with Gosplan assuming long-term planning functions from Gosekonomsovet, and Republics assuming short-term planning responsibilities.

Observers recognized at once that this reform was a move back toward centralization, and a new attempt to flog the machinery into greater activity. But it now appears that there are other implications as well. Hitherto the Oblast (provincial) Party secretaries have been virtually the backbone of the Party organization. They were a key element supporting Khrushchev in his conflict with the "anti-Party" group in 1957, and since 1955, two-thirds of the new Secretariat and Party Presidium members have come from this group. They also had extensive power in the 1957-1962 Sovnarkhozy, whose boundaries usually corresponded with those of the Oblasts. Now these men are being assigned to one of the two parts (industrial or agricultural) of their former bailiwicks, and in many cases to the less important part (e.g., to the agricultural section in a largely industrial Oblast). New appointees are assigned to the other sector, doubling the number of officials at this rank, and halving the prestige of each individual. The former Oblast secretaries have also lost their influence in the new Sovnarkhozy. These changes are likely to have profound repercussions on the Central Committee (to which the former Oblast secretaries belonged), and eventually also on the higher leadership. The reasons for these moves are not yet clear, but Khrushchev may have acted to weaken a conservative and parochial force resisting his efforts to rejuvenate the Party. (It may well be that the new Party-State Control Committee will next proceed to purge those Party or State officials who have outlived their usefulness.) On the other hand, he may unintentionally have weakened his own power position, particularly by the change in the Sovnarkhozy, but also by the resentments which these reforms are causing within the Party bureaucracy. At the least, the 1962 reforms illustrate the instability within the USSR's political structure, and the continuous process of political maneuver.

In two respects, the November reorganization is more far-reaching than previous shuffles. In the first place, there is the split into industrial and agricultural sectors, a division of a kind which would raise problems in any organization, encouraging jealousy and conflict, and calling for a large amount of "liaising" at higher levels. It is not clear who, at the lower levels (i.e., Oblast) will be responsible for the cultural, propaganda, personnel, and other matters which do not lend themselves to an "industrial" or "agricultural" treatment. More significant from the point of view of a Communist, the split implicitly runs counter to Party goals and claims. In the past, Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev have worked to urbanize the peasant, that is, to change him into a more vulnerable, more pliable "worker." Lenin's goal of electrification

and Khrushchev's agrogorods ("farm cities") both had this aim. Official statements claim that differences between industry and agriculture are smaller than in any other country. The Twenty Year Program promises to eliminate completely differences between city and country. From this standpoint, the reform is a backward step.

Secondly, the prestige of the Party is now more committed to practical successes. Previously, the Party provided the inspiration and the state assumed the responsibility; as Lenin said, "The party tries to direct the activities of the Soviets, but not to replace them." But now, with Party officials ordered to intervene more directly, the Party will also have to take a large share of blame for failures.

Already there are signs of a revision within the reorganization, for now, in March 1963, a new Supreme Economic Council has been established, apparently in order better to coordinate current planning and production. The exact role of the new organ is not yet clear, but its chief, Dmitry Fedorovich Ustinov, has had a long career in the production of missiles and arms. This relatively unknown technician has also been made a First Deputy Premier, a government rank he will share with Kosygin and Mikoyan. In his former post as Deputy Premier, he is succeeded by Leonid Vasilyevich Smirnov, the Chairman of the State Committee for Defense Materiel, another arms expert. The new Council and new appointments do not necessarily mean a reversal of last November's reorganization, which Khrushchev reaffirmed in a speech on 14 March, but they very likely reflect increasing concern over Soviet production difficulties. When production difficulties occur, consumer goods usually take a back seat. Thus, while Khrushchev had spoken in November of "a more increased tempo" for consumer goods production, he used his 27 February 1963 "election" speech to claim that there was an over-riding need "to spend enormous sums on maintaining our military might" and he stated frankly that "this diminishes-- and cannot but diminish--the opportunity for the people to gain direct benefits...one has to put up with it."

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638 FE, a, g. The Communist Party of Indonesia

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BACKGROUND: Since achieving independence from Dutch rule in 1949, the 90 million inhabitants of Indonesia have been subject by and large to the will--and the whims--of one man. As the leader and symbol of the successful revolution against Dutch colonial rule, Sukarno has used his consummate skill at manipulating the various elements in Indonesian politics so as to retain for himself the controlling power position. Sukarno describes his concept of highly centralized government as "guided democracy" in which the principal elements of Indonesian society--nationalist, religious and communist (NASAKOM)--cooperate and eventually merge in a society which shall have achieved unity, democracy and social justice. Sukarno's political philosophy may also be defined in terms of the "Pantja Sila" or Five Principles: nationalism, humanitarianism, agreement through conferring, social justice and belief in God, which were originally propounded by Sukarno in a speech in 1945. Indonesian economy is strictly government controlled, as are all information media. The country's political structure includes a rubber-stamp parliament, a Supreme Advisory Council, a National Planning Board, an Economic Development Council, a cabinet which assists Sukarno in formulating policies and a mass organization, the National Front, composed of the "loyal" parties and groups which have allegedly submerged their separate identities and interests in support of the government. Political parties opposed to Sukarno's concept of "guided democracy"--such as the small Socialist Party and the large Moslem Masjumi Party--have been dissolved. In this way, Sukarno has stripped the institutions of representative government of much of their meaning and influence. The Indonesian army, which Sukarno uses to counterbalance the PKI, has become disillusioned by the inability of the non-Communist political parties to develop effective organization and support among the people and is itself initiating new political programs to counter PKI influence. These plans include creating veterans' groups responsive to army political direction as well as expanding current village development and civic action programs.

The Soviet Union has encouraged Indonesia in a Soviet-oriented neutralism, granting Sukarno large-scale military aid including warships, jet planes, surface to air missiles, etc.--and in general is making every effort to ensure that the USSR rather than the US or China is the dominant influence in the country. Peking, for its part, in accordance with its goal of extending Chinese hegemony over Southeast Asia, is

constantly attempting to increase its influence by offers of aid, supporting Indonesia's moves against the Dutch and by playing on Sukarno's ambitions as a leader of the non-aligned states.

The Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia--PKI) is the third element in the political power triangle of Sukarno-Army-Party. The largest and most cohesive political party in Indonesia with 2 million members, directed by a leader of stature, and having a considerable role in the government and National Front, the PKI is a major influence on the Indonesian scene. However, this was not always the case. The Party played only a small role in the struggle for independence, being re-established as a legal political party only in 1945 after 20 years underground (during the Dutch colonial rule and the Japanese occupation). In 1948, one month after the arrival on the scene of a Moscow-trained Communist by the name of Musso to take over the leadership of the very weak and disorganized PKI, Communists in Central Java attempted a coup against Sukarno, the "lackey of American imperialism." The Madiun rebellion--as the revolt was called--was quickly subdued and the Party leaders either fled or were executed. Musso himself was killed and the PKI entered a period of relative quiescence until 1952. Re-instated in 1949, at the time the Netherlands recognized Indonesian sovereignty, by 1955 the PKI had regained considerable stature, polling the fourth largest vote, and by 1957, it was the largest political party in Java (which has 60% of the Indonesian population). In the year and a half following 1959, when Sukarno re-established the 1945 Constitution as a basis for his "guided democracy," 25 percent of the House of Representatives and the People's Congress appointed by Sukarno were either Communist or susceptible to Communist direction. Approximately the same percentage of the Supreme Advisory Council and the Economic Council was Communist oriented. On the executive bodies of the National Front, Communist representation was 30 percent. However, the Communists have never been represented in the cabinet, one of their major goals. PKI participation in the two legislative bodies is a prestige factor but does not carry influence commensurate with its representation. The Councils are responsive to Sukarno only. Thus, the National Front remains the best political forum for advancing Communist aims since it can be used in pressuring Sukarno to expand his leftist orientation. If the PKI succeeds in gaining representation in the cabinet, this would probably be a meaningful political gain for the Communists providing, as it would, an opportunity to directly influence Sukarno's policies. The PKI is also active in the villages and strong in the labor movement; it is attempting to organize the peasantry and to infiltrate the army and the police. The Party's success can be attributed not only to official tolerance but also to the skill and industry with which it has been handled under Aidit's direction and above all to its public posture of identity with the government's program. The Party's cooperation with Sukarno is fully endorsed by the CPSU.

Since the days of the disastrous Madiun rebellion, Party leader Aidit has stressed Lenin's treatise, Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder, concerning the necessity of tactical cooperation with the bourgeoisie. He has also borrowed Mao's formulation of the "two-stage revolution," doing away with the traditional "liberal capitalist" phase, and thus passing directly from the first "bourgeois--or national--democratic" stage (characterized by a united front with non-Communist and non-proletarian groups such as the peasantry and the bourgeoisie) in which imperialism, imperialist economic vestiges, feudal remnants, counter-revolutionary movements, etc. are all eliminated, to the second stage of the establishment of a "socialist society" in which the Party dominates (i.e. the actual stage--according to Communists--in most of the East European countries).

There are differences of opinion within the PKI, however, with the more revolutionary or militant faction pressing for an accelerated program of communization and adapting a more critical attitude toward the present degree of cooperation with Sukarno and the bourgeoisie. The militants doubt whether "guided democracy" can really be transformed into "people's democracy" by working from within the government frame /note the parallel with the situation facing the Italian Communists/, and fear that their cooperation with the bourgeoisie will cause them to lose their identity as a party of protest and reform. However, the reality of the Indonesian political situation dictates prudence vis-a-vis Sukarno, who still controls the masses and cannot be discarded; and the PKI has not forgotten its earlier experience in opposing a leader who symbolizes the successful revolution against the Dutch. Moreover, both the USSR and China are currently cultivating Sukarno, encouraging him in his expansionist claims and providing military and economic assistance. The Sino-Soviet dispute--particularly the unilateral condemnation of Albania (which, incidentally, Aidit did not second)--has made Aidit's position increasingly difficult, since it provides the opposition with a made-to-order issue with which to challenge Aidit's leadership. Thus, Aidit fears that the Sino-Soviet dispute will strengthen the militant wing of the PKI and will force him to adopt a more vigorous and aggressive program which in turn would make the Party more vulnerable to repression by the Indonesian army. Actually, the Party militants may already have been successful in circumscribing Aidit's authority and making his actions increasingly subject to collective approval. The PKI has remained neutral in the Sino-Soviet dispute and has a strong stake in a rapprochement between the two powers so that it may continue to take aid from both without becoming the satellite of either

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639 FE, NE. The Kashmir Question

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BACKGROUND: The fourth round of negotiations in the current series between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir dispute ended in Calcutta on March 14. The first three, headed by the same delegation leaders, Swaran Singh, the Indian Minister for Railways, and Z.A. Bhutto, Pakistan's new Foreign Minister, were held in Rawalpindi, New Delhi and Karachi. While there are not yet any firm signs that an agreement will be reached, the talks have so far been conducted in a less hostile atmosphere than similar talks (at the UN, for instance) over the long period--virtually since the partition of the sub-continent of India in 1947--in which the sovereignty of Kashmir has been at issue. As expected, no final agreement was reached at Calcutta and the fifth round of the current series will begin in Karachi on April 22. At the last Calcutta session, the Pakistanis proposed a new route (bypassing Srinagar) which would permit Indian military supplies to get to eastern Kashmir at Ladakh, which the Chinese have attacked and part of which they now occupy.

The complexities of the situation and the charged emotions of both parties over Kashmir (not to mention those of the Kashmiris themselves) were not improved by the signing in Peking on March 2 of a border agreement between Communist China and Pakistan. India charged (and Pakistan denied) that Pakistan had, without any right, relinquished sizeable parcels of territory in the north of Kashmir to the Chinese. This agreement seems to be consistent with a pattern established by the Peking Government in signing border pacts with several of its neighbors: Burma (1960), Nepal (1961), and Mongolia (1961). But, whatever the pattern, the Indians (who had sustained an attack by the Chinese instead) are viewing the proceedings with deep suspicions.

The problem, however difficult it may be, is not insoluble. Less than three years ago (on September 1960) India and Pakistan reached an agreement which had seemed just as insoluble. Indeed, it has been said that this agreement--on development and use of the waters of the Indus Basin (all of which directly or after merging with one another flow into West Pakistan out of Kashmir)--constituted an even greater achievement than would a settlement of the

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question of the sovereignty of Kashmir, which is not economically viable and would no doubt be a tremendous expense to any country gaining sovereignty over it. Six countries (besides India, Pakistan and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) agreed to participate in the financing of the Indus Basin development (almost a billion dollars): the US, the UK, Canada, West Germany, Australia and New Zealand. The project is designed to assure the water supply of more than 50 million people living in an area totalling some 30 million acres. Two of the world's largest irrigation dams (one of them two miles wide with an upstream reservoir some 36 miles long) are to be built on the Pakistani side. Three eastern tributaries of the Indus are gradually to be devoted to India's use as the process of constructing dams and canals connected with western waters yields an independent water supply adequate to meet West Pakistan's requirements.

Upon achieving full independence in August 1947, India and Pakistan were both subjected to a variety of conflicts largely arising from historical animosity between the Hindus and the Sikhs, on the one hand, and the Moslems, on the other. Communal differences, founded on religious and cultural clashes and political and economic disagreements (apart from dissatisfaction with boundaries) grew in intensity after the achievement of independence. There was a horrifying outbreak of mass killing--hundreds of thousands of people were killed on both sides. Of all these differences, the greatest by far was the accession, to one Dominion or the other, of the princely states. Their previous connection with the British Crown was terminated but the independence act made no reference to their future status. It was generally expected that they would accede to one Dominion or the other on the basis of Hindu-Sikh or Moslem population and geographic contiguity, but this was not stated in the act. This did happen generally, but there were a few exceptions, of which the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir (comprising the area generally referred to more simply as Kashmir) was one.

The area was (and is) inhabited by a mixed but largely Moslem population. The Maharajah, however, was a Hindu. Because of a fear that Kashmir would accede to India, Moslem inhabitants in certain districts of Jammu revolted against the Maharajah in August 1947, after partition. The Maharajah tried to quell the rebellion but by September, tribesmen from the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan began to invade Kashmir, and soon thereafter troops from the embryo regular army of Pakistan joined in the fighting. The Maharajah, in a letter to the Governor-General of India (Lord Mountbatten) on the 26th of October stated, inter alia: "With the conditions obtaining at present in my State...I

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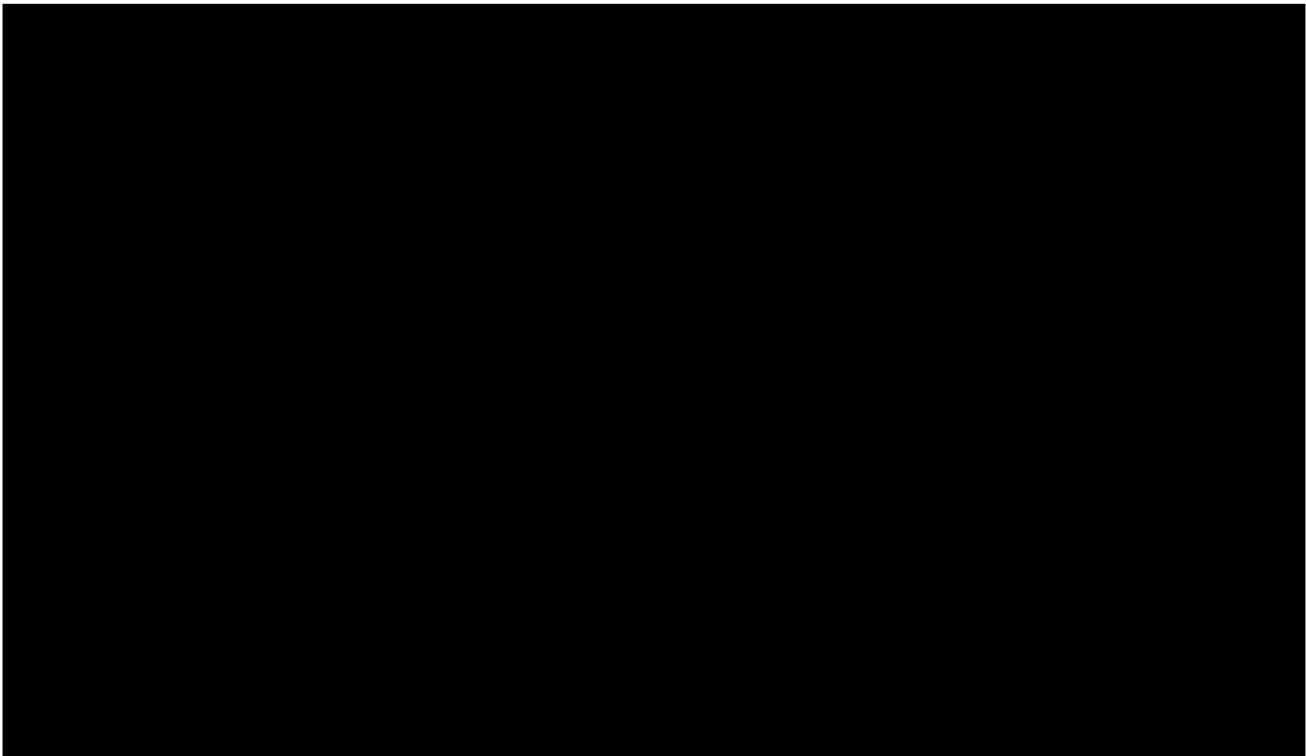
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have no option but to ask for help...and I attach the instrument of accession (to India)." The Indian airlift which followed was an outstanding military success. The Indian troops reached Srinagar in the nick of time and went directly into action from the airport. India managed, in the months of fighting which followed, to gain control over the renowned Vale of Kashmir, while the Pakistanis held on to the Azad ("Free") Kashmir area in the northwest. On 30 December 1948 General Bucher, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian forces, proposed to General Gracey, Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistanis (and President Ayub's predecessor), that a cease-fire be effected. General Gracey agreed and on 1 January 1949 the cease-fire went into effect. Today, more than fourteen years later, it is still in effect. The controversy, placed before the UN Security Council (where it still is), has been the subject of acrimonious dispute there (e.g. between Krishna Menon--for India--and Zafrullah Khan--for Pakistan), and of more direct but equally lengthy and fruitless parleys between the parties involved.

The former Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah, a Moslem ex-teacher and once a friend of Nehru's, has been in preventive detention near Srinagar for years now, while Indian-occupied Kashmir has now become a part of the Indian Union with a largely Moslem administration (subject like all the states, to the federal government at New Delhi) headed by Bakshi Mohammed.

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640 WH, d, g. Countering Cuba's Claims as Champion of Latin America's Destiny

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BACKGROUND:

"The role of the American Continent is not to perturb the world with new factors of rivalry and of discord, not to re-establish with other methods and under other names the imperial systems by which Republics are corrupted and caused to die."--Jose Marti

Cuba's flag is red, white and blue. The colors symbolize the blood spilled by Cuban martyrs, the purity of the Republic's founders and the aspirations of its patriots.

Cuba's historical national hero is Jose Marti. He is credited with having done more than any other single person to secure Cuban independence from Spain and has been honored as the patron saint of true morality and of the best interests of the Cuban people who call him El Apostol (The Apostle).

Cubans consider the decades immediately preceding the winning of their independence from Spain as the most glorious in their history and have regarded the philosophers and patriot-heroes of this period as the noblest men the country has produced.

Since the Castro regime came to power, aggressive propaganda campaigns have been conducted to identify the revolution of 1959 with Cuba's 19th-century nationalist movement. Revolutionary spokesmen portray their program as the culmination of Marti's idealistic traditions. Castro and his spokesmen quote moral judgments of uncertain context and doubtful interpretation from Marti's voluminous writings to allege support for their own positions. Marti, as old-line Communist Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, president of Cuba's National Institute for Agrarian Reform, explains it, "shares with the heroes of today" the grateful acclaim and appreciation of the Cuban people.

Cuba today is being told that Marti got his best ideas from Marx and Lenin. Fidel Castro's "History Will Absolve Me" statement, Rodriguez explained in a January tribute to Marti, had its origin with Marti and led inexorably to the Communist Manifesto and "because of this, socialist Cuba

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can render full tribute to Jose Marti." Wrapping their "lider maximo" in Cuba's flag with statues of Marti and Lenin in the background, Cuba's propagandists proclaim: "Marti promised it, Fidel fulfilled it."

The demagoguery of the Cuban regime doesn't stop there. Bohemia claims that Castro's Second Declaration of Havana marked "the point of departure in the struggle for complete liberation by the successors of Bolivar, Juarez, San Martin and Marti." This view is in keeping with Castro's pretensions to personify the modern-day spirit of Latin America's heroes and to embody their revolutionary conscience. As the Second Declaration of Havana put it: "What is the history of Cuba but the history of Latin America."

Somewhat surprisingly, the regime continues to try to cloak itself with the mantle of US heroes--especially Abraham Lincoln. While the speaker at this year's celebration to observe the anniversary of the birth of Lincoln--Dr. Juan Marinello, rector of the University of Havana--charged that the US had abandoned Lincoln's ideals and betrayed his memory, he associated the regime's leaders and ideals with those of the Great Emancipator. He told Cubans that Marti greatly admired Lincoln and mentioned him more than 100 times in his writings (carefully avoiding comparative statistics on Marti's references to Marx and Lenin). He quoted Marti: "Washington represented independence and Lincoln revolution."

The Cuban regime's demagoguery doesn't stop there either. Legendary figures are brought into use when necessary as in Castro's nome de propaganda, "Robin Hood of the Sierra Maestra." In other circles, Castro's elevation to a higher sphere is attempted--e.g., exploitation of the resemblance of the bearded Castro to Jesus. A nativity scene in Havana during the Christmas season featured Castro and two close Communist associates as the Three Wise Men.

Propaganda on the hero theme has been so intensive and extensive it is not surprising that the Cuban regime has adopted something of a messianic complex. Blas Roca, another of Cuba's old-line Communists, described it in a 6 February speech on Cuban-Spanish friendship: "The Cuban revolution is rising as an example, a light that illuminates the paths of the evolution in Latin America." Revolucion declared on its seventh anniversary that Cuba was "the vanguard of Latin America." And as in the propagation of their association-with-heroes themes, the Cuban regime can't stop there: Roca says "But the Cuban revolution is not only an example for Latin America; the Cuban revolution...inspires

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all those still subject peoples." Revolution says, "We are the torch that lights the revolutionary fire in Africa, Asia and other continents. We are a new hope for progressive humanity."

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LIST OF UNCLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS

Reference

Attachment

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"The Debate in the
International
Communist Movement"
Worker Supplement,
February 17, 1963

637.

The Soviets Organize
and Reorganize

640 WH, d, g.

Some Answers to
Castro's Claims

New York (Communist Party organ)

WORKER SUPPLEMENT, FEBRUARY 17, 1963

THE DEBATE

In The International Communist Movement

AN EDITORIAL

AS THE DOCUMENTS in this supplement of The Worker reveal, a debate has been going on for some time in the international Communist movement, involving every Communist party and all Communists and progressives of every bent. It is a debate over the life-and-death questions of war and peace, over the present of our world and over the future of our planet—whether there shall still be one and who shall inhabit it. It is a debate over the position Communists should take on all these questions, of how they should use the science of Marxism-Leninism to influence the course of history to preserve humanity and move toward world socialism, the only guarantee of a future of happiness to all mankind.

The statements by the leaders of the overwhelming majority of the Communist Parties of the world make abundantly clear that they consider the prevention of thermonuclear war and the development of peaceful coexistence the key to the preservation of humanity and the transition to socialism.

American Communists and progressives are profoundly involved in this international debate. This is only natural, since American Communists, as a responsible part of the American people, representing the viewpoint of the more advanced sections of the working class, the Negro people, the farmers, are deeply concerned for the preservation of peace.

American Communists certainly, (and this is true of all Communists), cannot afford to speculate philosophically about the future of the planet after a nuclear war, nor to estimate how many people will die in a thermonuclear holocaust, or to prophesy who will be the victor. They are not thousands of miles away, but in the very center of the threat of nuclear war, the United States.

The American people have already experienced at first hand the harrowing experience of being brought to the brink of nuclear devastation in last October's Caribbean crisis by the madness of the atomaniacs in the Pentagon and the State Department, a peril only narrowly averted by the responsible attitude of the Soviet Union, the tardy common sense of the leadership of the Kennedy administration, refusal of the American people to be panicked into a war hysteria, and the bravery of the American peace movement.

Every day, every moment, the American people, and the American Communists, as a responsible section thereof, are faced with the struggle to keep these nuclear madmen from plunging the world into irretrievable disaster. They appeal to the basest chauvinism and seek to hide the truth about nuclear war with slogans about "rather being dead than red."

Last weekend, in the National Review, intellectual organ of the ultra-right in the U.S., there appeared an article by Frank S. Meyer, headed:

"Just War in the Nuclear Age. Must we allow the existence of nuclear weapons to blind us to the folly of policies of surrender?"

In the article itself there appears this sentence:

"... Do not the problems raised in men's minds by this portentous power contribute to the comparative ease with which acceptance is won for liberal policies that ignore reality and move with inexorable logic towards surrender? And have we conservatives sufficiently come to grips with the moral problems that the determination to win victory over Communism brings in its train in a nuclear age?"

Such views are no less dangerous when put forward by adherents of socialism who underestimate the dangers from nuclear war to the future of mankind and socialism.

The experiences of the Caribbean crisis, the everyday struggle to defeat the atomaniacs' moves toward nuclear war make it clear that peace and peaceful coexistence are the paramount issues for all humanity and are also the prerequisites for the transition to socialism.

This is no new policy for the American Communists. For years now they have been confidently developing a policy for the peaceful transition in the U.S. to socialism. They believe that the relation of forces in the world, the greatness of the Soviet Union developed by its socialist system, the birth of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, the creation of the great Chinese People's Republic, the wresting of independence by the former colonial and semi-colonial peoples, the maturing of the working people in the capitalist countries, including those of the U.S., make it possible to think in terms of blocking the imperialists from making war and moving in peace toward the next great stage in the development of mankind, socialism.

What 81-Party Statement said on Peace

In November, 1960, 81 Communist Parties met in Moscow to resolve differences that had arisen on the question of peaceful coexistence and other matters. Below is the section of the 81 parties' statement dealing with peace:

Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale.

It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.

Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable.

The time has come when the socialist states have, by forming a world system, become an international force exerting a powerful influence on world development. There are now real opportunities of solving cardinal problems of modern times in a new way, in the interest of peace, democracy and socialism.

The problem of war and peace is the most burning problem of our time.

War is a constant companion of capitalism. The system of exploitation of man by man and the

system of extermination of man by man are two aspects of the capitalist system. Imperialism has already inflicted two devastating world wars on mankind and now threatens to plunge it into an even more terrible catastrophe. Monstrous means of mass annihilation and destruction have been developed which, if used in a new war, can cause unheard-of destruction to entire countries and reduce key centers of world industry and culture to ruins. Such a war would bring death and suffering to hundreds of millions of people, among them people in countries not involved in it. Imperialism spells grave danger to the whole of mankind.

The people must now be more vigilant than ever. As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars for aggression.

The peoples of all countries know that the danger of a new world war still persists. U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war.

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

For the first time in history, war is opposed by great and organized forces: the mighty Soviet Union, which now leads the world in the decisive branches of science and technology; the entire socialist camp, which has placed its great material and political might at the service of peace; a growing number of peace-loving countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have a vital interest in preserving peace; the international working class and its organizations, above all the Communist Parties; the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries; the world peace movement; and the neutral countries which want no share in the imperialist policy of war, and advocate peaceful coexistence. The policy of peaceful coexistence is also favored by a definite section of the bourgeoisie in the developed capitalist countries, which takes a sober view of the relationship of forces and of the dire consequences of a modern war. The broadest possible united front of peace supporters, fighters against the imperialist policy of aggression and war inspired by U.S. imperialism, is essential to preserve world peace. Concerted and vigorous actions of all the forces of peace can safeguard the peace and prevent a new war.

The democratic and peace forces today have no task more pressing than that of safeguarding humanity against a global thermonuclear disaster. The unprecedented destructive power of modern means of warfare demands that the main actions of the anti-war and peace-loving forces be directed towards preventing war. The struggle against war cannot be put off until war breaks out, for then it may prove too late for many areas of the globe and for their population to combat it. The struggle against the threat of a new war must be waged now and not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall, and it must gain in strength from day to day. The important

thing is to curb the aggressors in good time to prevent war, and not to let it break out.

History has placed a great responsibility for warding off a new world war first and foremost on the international working class. The imperialists plot and join forces to start a thermonuclear war. The international working class must close its ranks to save mankind from the disaster of a new world war.

But should the imperialist maniacs start war, the peoples will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it.

The foreign policy of the socialist countries rests on the firm foundation of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence and economic competition between the socialist and capitalist countries. In conditions of peace, the socialist system increasingly reveals its advantages over the capitalist system in all fields of economy, culture, science and technology. The near future will bring the forces of peace and socialism new successes. The USSR will become the leading industrial power of the world. China will become a mighty industrial state. The socialist system will be turning out more than half the world industrial product. The peace zone will expand. The working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies will achieve new victories. The disintegration of the colonial system will become completed. The superiority of the forces of socialism and peace will be absolute. In these conditions a real possibility will have arisen to exclude world war from the life of society even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world. The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is a policy of mobilizing the masses and launching vigorous action against the enemies of peace. Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism. In conditions of peaceful coexistence favorable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In their turn, the successes of the

revolutionary class and national-liberation struggle promote peaceful coexistence. The Communists consider it their duty to fortify the faith of the people in the possibility of furthering peaceful coexistence, their determination to prevent world war. They will do their utmost for the people to weaken imperialism and limit its sphere of action by an active struggle for peace, democracy and national liberation.

Peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems does not mean conciliation of the socialist and bourgeois ideologies. On the contrary, it implies intensification of the struggle of the working class, of all the Communist Parties, for the triumph of socialist ideas. But ideological and political disputes between states must not be settled through war.

* * *

The Communist and Worker's Parties of the socialist countries will go on consistently pursuing the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and doing their utmost to spare the peoples the horrors and calamities of a new war. They will display the greatest vigilance towards imperialism vigorously strengthen the might and defensive capacity of the entire socialist camp and take every step to safeguard the security of the peoples and preserve peace.

Chinese CP's Views in the Debate

Below is the Chinese Communist Party's criticism of the report of Palmiero Togliatti at the 10th Congress of the Italian Communist Party. This criticism was in the form of a 14,000-word article, which of course had to be condensed for use here. However, not a single word has been changed or added. The subheads and the boldface emphasis are those of the Chinese Communist authors.

In accordance with its consistent stand of strengthening friendship with fraternal Parties, the Communist Party of China sent its representatives to attend the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy, which was held in early December, at the latter's invitation. We had hoped that this congress would help to strengthen not only the common struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace, but also the unity of the international communist movement.

But, at this congress, to our regret and against our hopes, Comrade Togliatti and certain other leaders of the C.P.I. rudely attacked the Communist Party of China and other fraternal Parties on a series of important questions of principle. They did so in violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and in disregard of the interests of the united struggle of the international communist movement against the enemy.

ADVERSE CURRENT AGAINST MARXISM-LENINISM

Thus, the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy became a salient part of the recently emerged adverse current which runs counter to Marxism-Leninism, and is disrupting the unity of the international communist movement.

After reading Togliatti's general report and his concluding

speech at the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy and the theses of the congress, one cannot help feeling that he and certain other C.P.I. leaders are departing further and further from Marxism-Leninism.

They cherish the greatest illusions about imperialism, they deny the fundamental antagonism between the two world systems of socialism and capitalism and the fundamental antagonism between the oppressed nations and oppressor nations, and, in place of international class struggle and anti-imperialist struggle, they advocate international class collaboration and the establishment of a "new world order." They have profound illusions about the monopoly capitalists at home, they confuse the two vastly different kinds of class dictatorship, bourgeois dictatorship and proletarian dictatorship, and preach bourgeois reformism, or what they call "structural reform" as a substitute of proletarian revolution. They allege that the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism have become "out-moded," and they tamper with the Marxist-Leninist theories of imperialism, of war and peace, of the state and revolution, and of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. They discard the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, they repudiate the universal laws of proletarian revolution or, in other words, the universal significance of the road of the October Revolution, and they describe the "Italian road," which is the abandonment of revolution, as a "line common to the whole international communist movement."

THE QUESTION OF WAR AND PEACE

Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades differ with us, first of all, on the question of war and peace. In his general report to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy, Togliatti declared: "This problem

was widely discussed at the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in the autumn of 1960. The Chinese comrades put forward some views, which were rejected by the meeting."

The Communist Party of China has consistently taken the stand of opposing the imperialist policies of aggression and war, of preventing imperialism from launching a new world war, and of defending world peace. We have always held that as long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression. The danger of imperialism starting a world war still exists. However, because of the new changes that have taken place in the international balance of class forces, it is possible for the peace forces of the world to prevent imperialism from launching a new world war, provided that they stand together, form a united front against the policies of aggression and war pursued by the imperialists headed by the United States, and wage resolute struggles. Should imperialism dare to take the risk of imposing a new world war on the peoples of the world, such a war would inevitably end in the destruction of imperialism and the victory of socialism.

The Source of Modern War. Firstly, the Communist Party of China holds that the source of modern war is imperialism. The chief force for aggression and war is U.S. imperialism, the most vicious enemy of all the people of the world. In order to defend world peace, it is necessary to expose the imperialist policies of aggression and war unceasingly and thoroughly, so as to make the people of the world to maintain a high degree of vigilance. The fact that the forces of socialism, of national liberation, of people's revolution and of world peace have surpassed the forces of imperialism and war has not changed the aggressive nature of imperialism and cannot possibly change it. The imperialist bloc headed by the United States is engaged in frenzied arms expansion and war preparations peace.

Those who slanderously attack the idea that our unremitting exposures of imperialism, and especially of the policies

of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism, show our disbelief in the possibility of averting a world war; actually what these people oppose is the exposure of imperialism. On many occasions they have publicly opposed the exposure of imperialism. Although they admit in words that the nature of imperialism has not changed, in fact, they rettify U.S. imperialism in a hundred and one ways and spread among the masses of the people illusions about imperialism, and especially about U.S. imperialism.

...ing people of the world must resolutely support the national-liberation movements and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples in various countries, and must resolutely support wars of national liberation and peoples' revolutionary wars.

In branding this correct view of ours as "warlike," those who attack the Communist Party of China are, in fact, placing the struggle in defense of world peace in opposition to the movements of national liberation, the peoples' revolutionary struggles and in opposition to wars of national liberation and peoples' revolutionary wars.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND NUCLEAR WAR

On the question of war and peace, the differences which Togliatti and certain other comrades have with us find striking expression in our respective attitudes to nuclear weapons and nuclear war.

Are Marxist-Leninist Principles "Out of Date?" On the question of nuclear weapons and nuclear war, the first difference between us and those who attack the Communist Party of China is whether or not the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles on war and peace have become "out of date" since the emergence of nuclear weapons.

Togliatti and certain others believe that the emergence of nuclear weapons "has changed the nature of war" and that "one should add other considerations to the definition of the just character of a war." Actually they hold that war is no longer the continuation of politics, and that there is no longer any distinction between just and unjust wars. Thus they completely deny the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles of war and peace. We hold that the emergence of nuclear weapons has not changed and cannot change the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles with regard to war and peace.

The Future of Mankind. On the question of nuclear weapons and nuclear war, the second difference between us and those who attack the Communist Party of China is whether one should view the future of mankind with pessimism or with revolutionary optimism.

Togliatti and certain others talk volubly about "the suicide of mankind" and the "total destruction of mankind." They believe that "it is idle even to discuss what would be the outlook for such remnants of the human race with regard to social order." We are firmly opposed to such pessimistic and despairing tunes. We believe that it is possible to attain a complete ban on nuclear weapons in the following circumstances: the socialist camp has a great nuclear superiority; the peoples' struggles in various countries against nuclear weapons and nuclear war become broader and deeper; having further forfeited their nuclear superiority, the imperialists are compelled to realize that

mail is no longer effective and that their launching of a nuclear war would only accelerate their own extinction.

If, after we have done everything possible to prevent a nuclear war, imperialism should nevertheless unleash nuclear war, without regard to any of the consequences, it would only result in the extinction of imperialism and definitely not in the extinction of mankind.

How to Prevent Nuclear War?

On the question of nuclear weapons and nuclear war, the third difference between us and those who attack the Communist Party of China concerns the policy to be adopted in order successfully to reach the goal of outlawing nuclear weapons and preventing a nuclear war.

Togliatti and certain others zealously advertise the dreadful nature of nuclear weapons and blatantly declare that "it is justified" to "shudder" with fear in the face of the nuclear blackmail when U.S. imperialism parades it. Togliatti has also said that "war must be avoided at any cost." According to what he and certain others say, should not the only way of dealing with the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear threats and blackmail be unconditional surrender and the complete abandonment of all revolutionary ideals and all revolutionary principles? Can this be the kind of stand a Communist should take? Can a nuclear war really be prevented in this way?

We hold that in order to mobilize the masses of the people against nuclear weapons and nuclear war it is necessary to inform them of the enormous destructiveness if these weapons. It would be patently wrong to underestimate this destructiveness. However, U.S. imperialism is doing its utmost to disseminate dread of nuclear weapons in pursuit of its policy of nuclear blackmail. In these circumstances, while Communists should point out the destructiveness of nuclear weapons, they should counter the U.S. imperialist propaganda of nuclear terror by stressing the possibility of outlawing them and preventing nuclear war; they should try and transmute the people's desire for peace into righteous indignation at the imperialist policy of nuclear threats and lead the people to struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. In no circumstances

Negotiation and Mass Struggle.

Secondly, the Communist Party of China holds that world peace can only be securely safeguarded in the resolute struggle against imperialism headed by the United States by constantly strengthening the socialist camp, and by constantly strengthening the national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the people's revolutionary struggles in various countries and the movement to defend the world peace. To achieve world peace it is necessary to rely mainly on the strength of the masses of the people of the world and on their struggles. In the course of the struggle to defend world peace, it is necessary to enter into negotiations on one issue or another with the governments of the imperialist countries, including the Government of the United States, for the purpose of easing international tension, reaching some kind of compromise and arriving at certain agreements, subject to the principle that such compromises and agreements must not damage the fundamental interests of the people. However, world peace can never be achieved by negotiations alone, and in no circumstances must we pin our hopes on imperialism and divorce ourselves from the struggles of the masses.

Innumerable historical facts prove that genuine peace can never be attained by begging imperialism for peace at the expense of the fundamental interests of the people and at the expense of revolutionary principles. On the contrary, this can only help to inflate the arrogance of the imperialist aggressors.

The Way to Safeguard World Peace.

Thirdly, the Communist Party of China holds that the struggle for the defence of world peace and the national-liberation movements and the peoples' revolutionary struggles in various countries support each other and cannot be separated. The national-liberation movement and the peoples' revolutionary struggles are a powerful force weakening the imperialist forces of war and defending world peace. The more the national-liberation movements and the revolutionary struggles of the people develop, the better for the defence of world peace. The socialist countries, the Communist of all

must Communists act as a voluntary propagandist for the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail.

THE QUESTION OF PAPER TIGER

Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades have strongly opposed the Marxist-Leninist proposition of the Chinese Communist Party that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers." It was at the recent congress of the Italian Communist Party Comrade Togliatti said that it "was wrong to state that imperialism is simply a paper tiger which can be overthrown by a mere push of the shoulder." Then there are other persons who assert that today imperialism has nuclear teeth, so how can it be called a paper tiger?

In comparing imperialism and all reactionaries to paper tigers, Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communists are looking at the essence of the problem. What is meant is that, in the final analysis, it is the masses of the people who are really powerful, not imperialism and the reactionaries.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung first put forward this proposition in August 1946, in his talk with the American correspondent Anna Louise Strong. Comrade Mao Tse-tung armed the Chinese communists and the Chinese people ideologically with the Marxist-Leninist proposition that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers." With great lucidity he said:

"All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.

"Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters, the U.S. reactionaries, are all paper tigers too. Speaking of U.S. imperialism, people seem to feel that it is terrifically strong. Chinese reactionaries are using the 'strength' of the United States to frighten the Chinese people. But it will be proved that the U.S. reactionaries, like all the reactionaries in history, do not have much strength."

We hold that the question of whether one treats imperialism and all reactionaries strategically as the paper tigers they really are is of great importance for the question of how the forces of revolution and the forces of reaction are to be appraised; is of great importance for the question of whether the revolutionary people will dare to wage struggle, were dare to make revolution, dare to seize victory, question of the future outcome and is of great importance for the people and the future course of the world wide struggles of history. Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries should never be afraid of imperialism and the

reactionaries. Now the days are gone for ever when imperialism could ride roughshod over the world, and it is imperialism and the reactionaries who should be afraid of the forces of revolution and not the other way round. Every oppressed nation and every oppressed people should above all have the revolutionary confidence, the revolutionary courage and the revolutionary spirit to defeat imperialism and the reactionaries, otherwise there will be no hope for any revolution.

The possession of nuclear weapons by imperialism has not changed by one iota the nature of imperialism, which is rotten to the core and declining, inwardly weak though outwardly strong; nor has it changed by one iota the basic Marxist-Leninist principle that the masses of the people are the decisive factor

in the development of history. When in his talk with Anna Louise Strong Comrade Mao Tse-tung first put forward the proposition that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, the imperialists already had atomic weapons. In this talk Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon."

THE QUESTION ON PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

The differences Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades have with us are also manifest on the question of peaceful coexistence.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government have always stood for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

Peaceful Coexistence and Class Struggle. On the question of peaceful coexistence, our differences with those who attack us are the following. We believe that socialist countries should strive to establish normal international relations with countries with different social systems on the basis of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in domestic affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. So far as the socialist countries are concerned, this presents no difficulties whatsoever. The obstacles come from imperialism and from the reactionaries of various countries. It is inconceivable that peaceful coexistence can be achieved without struggle. It is still less conceivable that the establishment of peaceful coexistence can eliminate class struggles in the world arena and can abolish the antagonism between the two systems, socialism and capitalism, and the antagonism between oppressed nations and oppressor nations. The Moscow Statement of 1960 points out: "Peaceful co-

existence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism."

But Comrade Togliatti and those who attack China hold that through "peaceful coexistence" it is possible to "renovate the structure of the whole world" and to establish "a new world order" to build throughout the world "an economic and social order capable of satisfying all the aspirations of men and peoples for freedom, well-being, independence, and full development of and respect for the human personality, and for peaceful cooperation of all states" and "a world without war."

Even more absurd is the allegation that "a world without war" can be achieved through peaceful coexistence. In the present situation, it is possible to prevent imperialism from launching a new world war if all the peace loving forces of the world unite into a broad international anti-imperialist united front and fight together. But it is one thing to prevent a world war and another to eliminate all wars. Imperialism and the reactionaries are the source of war. In conditions where imperialism and reactionaries still exist, wars of one kind or another may occur.

Peaceful Coexistence and Revolution. On peaceful coexistence we have another difference with those who are attacking us. We hold that the question of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and the question of revolution by oppressed nations and oppressed classes are two different kinds of questions, and not questions of the same kind. The

principle of peaceful coexistence can apply only to relations between countries with different social systems, not to relations between oppressed and oppressor nations, nor to relations between oppressed and oppressing classes. For an oppressed nation or people the question is one of waging a revolutionary struggle to overthrow the rule of imperialism and the reactionaries; it is not, and cannot be, a question of peaceful coexistence with imperialism and the reactionaries.

But Togliatti and those attacking China extend their idea of "peaceful coexistence" to cover relations between the colonial and semi-colonial people on the one hand and the imperialists and colonialists on the other.

Sino-Indian Relations. Those who slander China as being against peaceful coexistence attack her with the charge that she has committed mistakes in her relations with India.

The position taken by Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades on the Sino-Indian

boundary question reflects their point of view on peaceful coexistence, which is that in carrying out this policy the socialist countries should make one concession after another to the capitalist countries, should not fight even in self-defense when subject to armed attacks, but should surrender their territorial sovereignty.

China's All-Out Support for Cuba. Those who accuse China of opposing peaceful coexistence also attack the Chinese people for supporting the just stand of the Cuban people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism.

How can one possibly interpret the resolute support which the Chinese people gave to the Cuban people in their struggle against international inspection and in defense of their sovereignty as meaning that China was opposed to peaceful coexistence or wanted to plunge others into a thermonuclear war? Does this mean that China, also, should have applied pressure on Cuba to force her to accept international inspection, and that only by so doing would China have conformed to this so-called "peaceful coexistence" or wanted to plunge others into a thermonuclear war? Does this mean that China, also, should have applied pressure on Cuba to force her to accept international inspection, and in defense of their sovereignty as meaning that China was opposed to peaceful coexistence or wanted to plunge others into a thermonuclear war? Does this mean that China, also, should have applied pressure on Cuba to force her to accept international inspection, and that only by so doing would China have conformed to this so-called "peaceful coexistence"? If there are people who give verbal support to Cuba's five demands but are actually opposed to the Chinese people's support for Cuba, are they not merely exposing the hypocrisy of their own support for Cuba's five demands?

The C.P.C. and the Chinese people have always maintained that the course of history is decided by the great strength of the masses of the people and not by

occasion we have made it clear that we neither called for the establishment of missile bases in Cuba nor obstructed the withdrawal of the so-called "offensive weapons" from Cuba. We have never considered that it was a Marxist-Leninist attitude to brandish nuclear weapons as a way of settling international disputes. Nor have we ever considered that the avoidance of a thermonuclear war in the Caribbean crisis was a "Munich." What we did strongly oppose, still strongly oppose and will strongly oppose in the future is the sacrifice of another country's sovereignty as a means of reaching a compromise with imperialism. A compromise of this sort can only be regarded as one hundred per cent appeasement, a "Munich" pure and simple. A compromise of this sort has nothing in common with the socialist countries' policy of peaceful coexistence.

THE QUESTION OF PEACEFUL TRANSITION

In fact, not only do Comrade Togliatti and certain other C.P.I. comrades call for class collaboration in place of class struggle in the international arena, they also extend their concept of "peaceful coexistence" to relations between the oppressed and the oppressing classes within the capitalist countries. Togliatti has said: "All our actions within the sphere of the internal situation of our country are none other than the translation into Italian terms of the great struggle for renewing the structure of the whole world."

Recently in capitalist countries some Communists who have degenerated politically and some Right-wing social-democrats have successively advertised the theory of "structural reform" resembles social democracy and how remote it is from Marxism-Leninism!

The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement point out that socialist revolution may be realized through peaceful or non-peaceful means. Some people

thesis to quote peaceful transition one-sidedly as "a principle of world strategy of the communist movement."

What Kautsky Said. The thesis of Comrade Togliatti and certain other leaders of the Italian Communist Party concerning "the advance toward socialism in democracy and in peace" is reminiscent of some of the statements of the old revisionist K. Kautsky.

The extent to which Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades have departed from Marxism-Leninism and from the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow statement is more clearly revealed by their recent ardent flirtation with the Yugoslav revisionist group.

With the development of the Tito group's revisionist line and their increasing dependence upon U.S. imperialism, Yugoslavia has long ceased to be a socialist country and the gradual restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia began long ago.

The restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia has occurred not through any counter-revolutionary coup d'état by the bourgeoisie, nor through any invasion by imperialism but gradually, through the degeneration of the Tito group.

Birds of a Feather Flock Together. It is particularly surprising that certain people, while loudly boasting of their intimate relations with the renegade Tito group, vigorously attack the Chinese Communist Party asserting that our unity with the Albanian Party of Labour, which is based on Marxism-Leninism, is "impermissible." These people stop at nothing in their attempt to eject the Albanian Party of Labour, a Marxist-Leninist Party, from the international communist movement, and at the same time, they are seeking ways to inject the renegade Tito group, which the Moscow Statement unequivocally condemns, into the international communist movement. What are they really after? As the old Chinese saying has it, "things of one kind come together; different kinds of people fall into different groups." Should not those who treat the Tito group like brothers and who cherish such bitter hatred for a fraternal Marxist-Leninist Party stop and think for a moment where they now stand?

Albanian Party of Labor's Views

BELOW are published excerpts from an article representing the views of the Albanian Party of Labor, entitled "High Treason to Marxism-Leninism." It is the position and actions of the Albanian Part of Labor which the Chinese Communist leaders assert they are defending against the other Communist parties.

It is now publicly known that the Yugoslav policy in foreign affairs is an appendage of the policy of aggression and war which the American imperialists pursue and it cannot be said that it concurs with the state policy of the Soviet Union or of any other socialist country. The policy of the Yugoslav revisionists is fully at one with the views and aims which Khrushchev's revisionist group pursues.

Of paramount importance to Khrushchev is the fact that the attitude of Tito's clique on the various international problems should be suitable to the fundamental strategic problems which unite Khrushchev's group to the Tito clique. These problems are: class reconciliation of socialism and capitalism, political and ideological coexistence between them, peace and coexistence at all costs, renunciation of every revolutionary movement, economic and political integration of the world . . .

From all this it turns out clearly enough that N. Khrushchev's group and Tito's renegade band are politically and ideologically at one in all fundamental questions; they are at one in the tactics and strategy in getting closer to the imperialists; they are

at one in opposing Marxism-Leninism; they are at one in their joint efforts to drag into the road of betrayal, to corrupt also certain leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties in some socialist countries of Europe and some capitalist countries as well. They are at one in the strategy and tactics of undermining the national liberation movement and subjugating it to general and total disarmament; they are one in their strategy and tactics of integrating the world economically and politically.

"All of these things make it very clear that we are facing high treason to Marxism-Leninism. This treachery may escape only the eyes of those who do not want to see, only those who deem it expedient.

Togliatti's Rebuttal of Chinese CP's Criticism

Below is the major portion of Togliatti's rebuttal of Chinese criticism.

By PALMIRO TOGLIATTI

FOR SOME MONTHS, the press organs of the Chinese Communist Party have been publishing long and often violent articles of criticism and polemics. These articles often lack explicit clearness. At a certain point one discovers that criticism and polemics are directed against "certain people," against "some persons" (and it is not even specified if these are comrades!), but no mention is made as to who these people are. From the context it comes clear that they are the leading comrades of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, in particular Comrade Khrushchev.

If the Chinese articles stated this explicitly, perhaps they would be forced to moderate their harsh terms, terms generally used when speaking of men and tendencies with whom it is necessary to come to an open clash. These articles are then spread in all countries and read by everyone. How can one think that the Congress of a large and militant Party like ours could

avoid meeting the problems, the polemics and criticism raised by the Chinese articles, and not reply to them? It would be strange indeed if the Chinese comrades intended to begin a one-sided polemic, in which they would have the right to speak while others would remain silent.

Therefore, in our Congress we had a debate, and we reject very resolutely the statement, that in this debate, the Chinese Communist Party has been brutally attacked. There was no attack and no brutality. On the contrary, The Chinese Communist Party was always mentioned with the greatest respect, and its revolutionary merits were stressed. The reporter himself, comrade Togliatti, stated from the Congress tribune that the Chinese Party was not to be mentioned in the final Congress resolution, even though particular political positions were defended by them.

These positions were debated so that they could be criticized and rejected with arguments. It is as well to add that during the whole debate the names of the Chinese Party leaders were never mentioned and it is with the explicit aim of avoiding any unpleasant personal references,

It does not worry us at all that today the Chinese comrades direct their criticism, personally, against Togliatti. This will contribute to sincerity and clearness, also because the above mentioned comrade is deeply convinced that the positions he supports and which have been collectively worked out by the leading group of our Party, contribute positively to the further development of the revolutionary working class doctrine, Marxism-Leninism in the present historical conditions.

Now coming down to the substance of the matter, the political line of our Congress and of our Party, which according to the article published by the Chinese daily, is reduced to the following:

The peoples of capitalist countries must not make revolutions. Oppressed nations must not struggle for their freedom and the peoples of the world must not fight against imperialism. Further, we are trying to make the nature of imperialism appear better. We are placing our hope for peace upon imperialism. We have a passive negative attitude towards the people's revolutionary struggles and want a fusion between the Socialist and capitalist system. We are supposed to ask the peoples of the world to tolerate colonial regimes instead of fighting for their freedom and we are supposed to have forgotten the class-nature of the State, and so on.

In the face of this true summary of the criticism against us, we cannot but remain dumbfounded. It cannot even be said

icy. This is a strange but meaningless game. By contributing to us the most absurd positions, then refuting them, which is obviously easy and then pretending to have knocked us out. Polemics led in this manner may serve to exacerbate relations between two parties but is certainly of no help in the development of a political debate.

Our Chinese comrades work in conditions which are very different from ours, and they are also very far away. They may therefore, be misinformed on the situation in our country and on the work of our Party. Italy is today the West European country where the class struggle is sharpest. The wave of strikes, of economic and political movements of the people's struggles which have followed one upon the other in recent years show this. Do the Chinese comrades really think that these movements and struggles are taken place independently of our work, our struggles and our participation?

But it would be unjust toward the leaders of the Chinese Party to think that they, students of the international working class movement as they are, ignore these things. Certainly they do not ignore them. But they believe and want others to believe that the struggle for peaceful co-existence, such as it is carried on by our Party and by other Communist Parties, leads to a political degeneration. They forget or pretend to forget what we really are; they forget, or pretend to forget, our vigorous actions and our struggles, and give a ridiculous representation of our Party as being in agreement with the imperialists and collaborating with them. But a mere call for reality is enough to cause the collapse of this artful scaffolding.

Peaceful coexistence has been considered by our Congress an essential aim of a strategic nature. We have however, clearly stated that peaceful coexistence does not imply a status quo, a freezing of the world in its present relations, but implies a new order of international relations such as to insure independence and freedom for all peoples.

We have added that this new international order cannot be attained except by a struggle of peoples against imperialism, by the successes of this struggle, by the strengthening and consolidation of the system of Socialist countries and by the progressive settlement through reasonable agreements of the most acute present day international problems. Therefore, the true picture has nothing in common with the caricature which the Chinese comrades make of our positions.

Certainly, we believe that any world conflict, which inevitably could be an atomic conflict, must and can be avoided. But we do not say that history "necessarily" leads to the destruction of atomic weapons. It will lead to this result in so far as we shall manage to create a regime of

peaceful coexistence, fighting against its most aggressive elements against imperialism and concentrating our fire against its most aggressive elements! strengthening the Socialist countries more and more and developing a vast movement of the people in favor of peace.

Where is the difference between our position and that of the Chinese comrades? In certain respects, it seems that there is no difference because we use the same words. The difference lies in the fact that we do not stop at general statements of principles. We are not content with the continuous repetition of the word "revolution." But we make an effort to see how things actually stand today and to render our positions close to this reality. This is the only right way to really work for a revolution.

The same applies to a possible nuclear conflict and its consequences. To consider as progress in the road to socialism and communism, the transformation of one third or one half of the world into an uninhabitable zone owing to a nuclear conflict, with the death of 150 millions of people in 18 hours, and I do not know of how many others before the end of the conflict, appears to us nonsense. Nor do we stress this point to create terror, but only to emphasize the fact that also in the development of destructive weapons there is, as in every development, a passage from quantity to quality that must be realized, because this passage is reflected in the very nature of war. We do not draw from this consideration, however, the conclusion that there do not exist just wars anymore in any way and this was clearly stated in the report to our Congress.

We do however, draw the conclusion of the necessity (and not only possibility) of creating a situation of peaceful coexistence. Not only that, we openly take a position against those desperate people who in face of the difficulties of the situation and the misdeeds of imperialism give us freedom. This would not only be absurd, but sheer madness.

Our task, instead, is precisely that of saving the world from atomic disaster, fighting on one hand for peaceful coexistence and on the other defending the independence of the people and advancing towards socialism. The action of the Soviet Union in the course of the Caribbean crisis managed to achieve these two aims. Atomic war was avoided through the acceptance of a reasonable compromise at a most critical moment. And the independence of Cuba and its advance towards socialism has been guaranteed. If the Soviet Union and the U.S. had come to an atomic conflict, would this last result have been achieved? Certainly not. The island of Cuba with all its inhabitants, would have been turned into an immense cemetery, where no one certainly, would have gone on to build socialism. Today social-

ist construction continues in the American imperialists who actually lost the game, when they were forced to give up their aggressive plan and respect the freedom of the Cuban people.

However, during the crisis in the Caribbean Sea, it appeared clear that the imperialists were ready to commit any crime. For this reason we do not agree to call them paper tigers. If they are paper tigers, why so many struggles and so much work to fight them? The exact evaluation of the enemy, of his power and intentions is the basis not only of a good strategy, but also of good tactics. We know that the roots of imperialism are undermined by contradictions which, at a certain point, become insurmountable. These contradictions, however, come to light and explode only through a struggle which must have an aim capable of influencing the widest mobilization of the masses, which leads to a differentiation in the enemy ranks themselves, and which increases and utilizes all the possibilities for advance and success. In present conditions, this aim is to avoid war and create a situation of peaceful coexistence.

In all our policy, the danger which we always try to avoid is that of limiting ourselves to general formulations of principle and of being unable to operate efficiently in practice. This is what the Chinese comrades recommend in the article we are examining. We know very well the nature of the State and therefore, of democratic regimes as long as capitalism exists. The Chinese Comrades may examine our polemics, in this regard, with the socialist comrades.

But in the democratic regime in which we live today in our country and which has not been a gift from the bourgeoisie, but was conquered by the working class, by us through a hard military war; in this State in which the bourgeoisie classes are still the ruling classes, can the working class, can and must we wage a mass struggle to obtain substantial reforms, capable of improving the economic and political situation of the workers or must we simply preach and await the great day of the revolution? Is it right or not to fight for an agrarian reform; for a mere democratic organization of the State, for the limitation of the power of the big monopolies, for the development of the rights of the workers, their trade-unions and their factory organizations and so on? There can be no doubt as to the answer. These struggles must be carried on and by waging them is it right or not for the working class and for us to concentrate the fire of our action against the most reactionary groups of capitalism, represented by the big monopolies? This is the starting point of our policy now and it would be strange if the Chinese comrades rejected it or criticized it.

But we want our struggle for the above mentioned reforms to be successful and we must admit that such a success may be

possible. If not, why should we fight for them? In some cases, some success has already been achieved. But when this occurs, when these struggles and successes are won it is clear that something changes in favor of the working classes, not only from the economic point of view but also in the manner in which power is exercised. This means that an advance towards a new regime takes place, an advance which in order to be made needs a vast movement, economic and political struggles, strikes, peasant actions and movements in defense of democratic freedom, with all the harshness which such a movement may imply.

Therefore, we consider the way in which the Chinese article counterposes a peaceful way to a non-peaceful way extremely abstract and formal. A peaceful and non-peaceful war are always interlaced. From a democratic and "peaceful" mass movement a situation of civil war may always emerge, because the bourgeoisie is always ready to resort to violence. Therefore, a moment may come when it is no longer possible to avoid the greatest clash. On the other hand, it is possible in the present world conditions, to develop the people's movement with such amplitude as to paralyze the leading groups and open up the perspective for real changes, both economic and political, democratically obtained without resorting to the hard experience of a civil war. To exclude such a possibility today means committing a serious political mistake because it leads to limiting the perspectives of the working-class political struggle and may even exclude the possibility of actual political struggle for precise and achievable aims, against the present capitalistic order.

In such a manner we intend to march towards socialism and we do not see in today's capitalistic countries a different manner of leading this march, unless one considers as a means of attaining socialism the writing of long articles full of "revolutionary" expressions but void of any indications as to real and immediate objectives opening the way for the masses towards a radical transformation of the present economic and political forces.

The Chinese comrades would like to frighten us recalling the

name of Kautsky, whose positions have nothing in common with our policy. May they allow us, however, to remind them that it is exactly in the majestic pages against the "renegade Kautsky" that Lenin spoke of the different forms of democracy and dictatorship by which the working class can attain power. Nobody had dreamed of criticizing as a mistake the political bloc of different social forces (including a part of the bourgeoisie), which in China forms the content of the present political regime. Why should the search of other countries, for different solutions, corresponding to a political bloc having its axis in the struggle against imperialism and big monopoly capital, be considered a mistake?

Certainly, it is impossible today to suppress the big monopolies without hitting the capitalist regime itself. And imperialism cannot be suppressed other than through the establishment of a completely new democratic order as far as its economic, political and social content. But it is precisely in this direction that the working class struggle must move, if it wants to be effective, if it is not to reduce itself to a mere protest and messianic hope. And it is in this direction that we move.

We, therefore, think that what all the criticism of the Chinese comrades lacks is a sense of reality. They speak of Constitution, but probably they do not know exactly how our Constitution was won and what are its contents. They are unaware or appear to be unaware of the new conditions for the development of democratic and socialist struggles, not only in our country but in the whole world, owing to the deep structural changes that occurred in the world. They make no distinction between the different social regimes, is in the case of what they call a capitalist restoration in Yugoslavia. There may be and there are differences between us and the Yugoslav communists. But Yugoslavia has a popular regime aiming at socialism, not a capitalist one. And this widely justifies the position assumed by us and others towards the Yugoslav comrades, correcting, in this way --- because it was mistaken in this case--- the 1960 Resolution.

On the Questions Debated

Editorial from Pravda,
January 7, 1963, Moscow,
USSR.

Mankind is now in one of the most crucial stages of its development. This stage is replete with major developments and sharp clashes between the forces of socialism and peace and the forces of imperialism, reaction and war. The new world — a world of socialism, freedom and happiness, a genuine springtime of mankind — is gaining in strength and growing, crowding out the old world, the world of capitalism, violence and exploitation. And the results of the year 1962 are new, clear evidence of this.

The main result of socialism, and the heroic struggle of the Cuban people and all peace-loving forces in the past year, was that the attack on Cuba, carefully prepared by aggressive imperialist circles of the United States, was thwarted. Socialist Cuba was defended and is confidently continuing her triumphant advance. The menace of world thermonuclear war hanging over mankind was averted. It was proved once again that the forces of socialism and peace are capable of curbing the imperialist aggressors.

The international Communist movement has scored magnificent success. And this was, above all, because at all stages of its struggle it remained scrupulously loyal to the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and was guided by this victorious teaching in all its activities. At the Moscow Meetings in 1957 and 1960, Communists worked out a new strategic and tactical line conforming to the new historical conditions. The course of world development confirms irrefutably that loyalty to this line and unity of the Communist movement, are guarantees of victory in all things.

Unfortunately, views are being spread in the ranks of the international Communist movement which are directed against a number of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and are designed to undermine the cohesion of the fraternal parties. The most outspoken exponent of these dogmatic, splitting views, which are deeply hostile to Leninism, is the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor.

The attitude adopted by the Albanian Workers Party (APL) leadership caused great concern to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to all Communist Parties who prize the unity of our ranks. Firmly abiding by the principle that disputes in the international Communist movement should be settled

through an exchange of opinion and consultations between parties, the Central Committee of the CPSU, as early as August 1960 twice proposed to the APL Central Committee that a meeting be arranged between representatives of the two parties. In a letter to the Central Committee of the APL of August 13, 1960, the Central Committee of the CPSU wrote in part: "It would be correct to extinguish in good time the spark of misunderstanding that has arisen in order to prevent its kindling . . . If the Central Committee of the APL shares our view and does not object to an exchange of opinion, we are prepared to meet a delegation of your Party level, at a time convenient to you." The Albanian leaders turned down these proposals. They rejected all attempts by the Central Committee of the CPSU to normalize relations.

From the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU Comrade N. S. Khrushchev said: "We shall share the anxiety expressed by our Chinese friends, and appreciate their concern for greater unity. If the Chinese comrades wish to apply their efforts towards normalizing the relations between the Albanian Party of Labor and the fraternal parties, there is hardly anyone who can

contribute to the solution of this problem more than the Communist Party of China. That would really benefit the Albanian Party of Labor, and would meet the interests of the entire socialist commonwealth."

Unfortunately, far from improving, the situation has further deteriorated.

The dispute over what line the Communist movement should follow is not an abstract one, but one of deep principle and prime importance. The Marxist-Leninist line of strengthening peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the line of economic competition of socialism with capitalism and the guarantee of the victory of communism in these conditions gives our movement an unprecedented power of attraction, draws very wide masses of the people to its side, whereas the line the sectarians and dogmatists are trying to impose is one of lack of faith in the forces of communism, of the masses, lack of faith in the possibility of socialism, triumphing in new countries without war between states, without a world war. Such a line, should it establish itself, would repel the peoples of the capitalist countries from the countries of socialism, repel millions of people from the Communist movement, would isolate the

Communists, and impede the entire liberating process of the people's struggle for liberation.

The most important, the most vital problem of our time is the problem of war and peace. In real life the choice is either peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems or a devastating war. There is no other alternative. The question arises: what position should the Communists take? Only one — the position of peaceful coexistence. The international working class and liberation movement is waging a great offensive struggle against imperialism in conditions of peaceful coexistence. The socialist countries do not need war. They are successfully developing in peaceful conditions as they will be victorious in the peaceful economic competition with capitalism, which will be of exceptional importance in getting the peoples to choose the socialist way as the only correct one.

The most important thing in the struggle for peace is to curb the aggressors in time, to avert war, prevent it from flaring up. This is particularly necessary in view of the unprecedented destructive power of modern weapons. The Statement says: "Monstrous means of mass annihilation and destruction have been developed which if used in a new war, can cause unheard-of destruction to entire countries and reduce key centers of world production and culture to ruins. Such a war would bring death and suffering to hundreds of millions of people, including those in non-belligerent countries."

In contrast to these ideas, the dogmatists emphasize that nuclear war is not to be feared; that modern weapons are monstrous only "in the opinion of the imperialists and reactionaries," that "the atom bomb is a paper tiger." This is nothing but renunciation of the main aim of the struggle for peace laid down in the Statement, nothing but renunciation of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The dogmatists present peaceful coexistence as "renunciation of the struggle for the exposure of imperialism," as "ending the struggle against imperialism." They do not understand that competition in peaceful conditions is one of the most important sectors of the struggle between socialism and capitalism. As regards the struggle against imperialism proclaimed by the dogmatists, it boils down to loud invective and vituperation. But should a Marxist-Leninist party in power confine itself to this in its struggle against imperialism?

The peoples know that the active struggle of the Soviet Union, and its might, have played a decisive role in preventing the world war which bellicose imperialist circles have several times tried to unleash in recent years and also in assisting the liberation struggle against imperialism.

Who in 1956 extinguished the raging flames of war in the Suez Canal zone by compelling the British-French-Israeli aggressors to retreat? Who in 1957 prevented the invasion of Syria, which had been prepared by the imperialists? Who in 1958 prevented the war in the Near East and in the area of the Taiwan Strait? It was the Soviet Union, all the countries of the socialist camp, the peace forces. They, and above all the might and vigorous actions of the USSR, compelled the imperialist warmongers to retreat. The entire activity of the Soviet state and of the CPSU in the international arena is a practical struggle against imperialism, a tireless struggle to strengthen and expand the positions of socialism, to render practical assistance to the peoples who are defending their freedom and fighting for freedom.

Since the war there has been no international crisis more acute, more fraught with the danger of a world-wide thermonuclear conflagration, than the recent crisis created by American imperialism in the Caribbean Sea area. Fortunately for mankind, however, this did not happen. The all-devouring torrent of atomic and hydrogen bombs did not fall on the peoples. All the world admits that credit for this goes to the Soviet Union.

The crisis in the Caribbean Sea area has been settled through the resolute actions of the Soviet Union, the people of Cuba, against the aggressors, due to the support given to the just cause of the Cuban people by all the socialist community, by all fighters for peace. At the same time the crisis was settled on the basis of mutual concessions and reasonable compromise. The solution of disputed issues between states without war, by peaceful means—that is precisely the policy of peaceful coexistence in action. Those who declare that they support the policy of peaceful coexistence, while at the same time criticizing the method of solving the crisis around Cuba, actually reject the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Critics of the peaceful settlement of the conflict say that agreements with the imperialists are not trustworthy. But if we proceed only from this, it will mean admitting that disputed issues can be settled only by means of war. Marxist-Leninists consider that the strength of the socialist countries has grown so much that the imperialists are compelled to reckon with it and, consequently, they can be made to observe the commitments they

assume. However, Marxists-Leninists never forget about the perfidy of the imperialists and urge the peoples always to be vigilant, to intensify the struggle against the aggressive intrigues of the warmongers.

What are the main results of the liquidation of the crisis in the Caribbean Sea area? The sovereignty and independence of so-

cialist Cuba has been consolidated. The ruling quarters of the United States, who had slighted Cuba, who prepared aggression against her, declared through their President that they would not undertake an attack on Cuba. Of course, the struggle still continues and precisely for this reason the Soviet Union resolutely supports the well-known five demands of the Cuban Republic and gives her immense all-round assistance. It is obvious to everyone that Cuba's position has become much stronger, that her internal prestige has grown. The Cuban people, their militant leaders with Comrade Fidel Castro at the head, have displayed great courage, firmness and resolution to defend their socialist achievements and have contributed tremendously to the cause of safeguarding peace. The beacon of freedom in the Western Hemisphere is shining still brighter. Is this "Munich?" Is this a retreat? The authors of the term "second Munich" are obviously at odds with elementary history and know not what they are talking about.

When Marxists-Leninists speak of the possibility of preventing a world war, they do not forget for a single moment that the substance of imperialism, its aggressive nature, has not changed. Our Party proceeds from this in all its policy. At the same time it takes into account the changes in the world arena, which have brought about a situation when imperialism can no longer dictate its will to everybody and pursue its aggressive policy unobstructed. The correlation of forces in the world now is such that the camp of socialism and peace is able to curb the aggressive forces of imperialism.

Of course, one cannot guarantee that madmen will not appear in the camp of imperialism, who will plunge headlong into a war adventure. That is why a high level of constant vigilance, a sound economy and good armaments are needed so as to be ready to deliver a crushing rebuff to an aggressor at any moment. From the strategic point of view imperialism's predatory nature cannot be tamed by mere contempt; and an aggression, if started, cannot be stopped by disdain. A modern war cannot be approached with old yardsticks. A world war, unless prevented, will immediately become a thermonuclear war, will bring about the death of millions upon millions of people, the destruction of tremendous material values, the devastation of whole countries.

Those who give no thought to the consequences of a modern war, who underestimate or simply discount nuclear weapons as something secondary in relation to the mass of the people, are grossly mistaken. Can anyone doubt that if the socialist camp did not possess mighty weapons, above all nuclear-missile arms, its positions in the present-day world would have been absolutely different? What would the security of socialism have been based upon in that event? Not on some magic incantations surely.

The international Communist movement knows Lenin's definition of imperialism and has been guided by it for decades. Lenin's definition of imperialism is profound and all-embracing, it contains neither over-estimation nor under-estimation of the forces of imperialism. What need was there to offset these definitions if Marx and Lenin by a different, home-made thesis on the "paper tiger," which is an under-estimation of the forces of imperialism?

In order to impose on the Communist movement their definition of modern imperialism and to ignore its atomic fangs, some people claim that the "paper tiger" thesis is tantamount to Lenin's definition of imperialism as a "colossus on clay feet." It is common knowledge, however, that the figurative expression does not cover or substitute for all the substance of V. I. Lenin's overall definition of imperialism. Moreover, this expression stresses that imperialism is still strong ("colossus"), but it stands on an unstable basis ("on clay feet") and is rent by internal contradictions. The "paper tiger" definition of imperialism speaks only of its weakness. The main point, however, is that what we need are not paper definitions, stubbornly thrust upon us, but a genuine analysis of contemporary imperialism: disclosure of its vices, weaknesses, laws leading to its ruin, and at the same time a sober assessment of its forces, including the huge atomic and other military potential.

The sowers of these phrases also say that the enemy should strategically be despised, but tactically regarded with all seriousness. But this "double count" contradicts Marxism - Leninism. From the Marxist viewpoint, strategy and tactics are linked by profound community. Tactics is called upon to serve the achievement of the strategic goal; strategy does not contradict tactics, and is aimed at achieving more important historical goals. The international Communist movement is well aware that imperialism is on the decline, that it has historically outlived itself, but it also knows that it has atomic fangs, to which it may resort. A nuclear war would lead to the annihilation of hundreds of millions of people, to a colossal destruction of productive forces. This would make exceedingly difficult the building of a new society on the ruins left after a world war. Communist must not keep silent on

the matter, but must tell the masses frankly and openly about the threat. This helps to rally and raise the peoples for the struggle for a lasting world peace, against imperialism.

The Communist movement holds that if the imperialists unleash a war, this will mean the final end of the rotten capitalist system. But the socialist revolution does not need atomic and hydrogen bombs for its advance.

The Marxists-Leninists have held and still hold that the destinies of mankind are determined by the masses. This is why they do not elevate the might of arms, including nuclear weapons, to be absolute. But one must not artificially counterpose the might of the masses to the might of arms. To safeguard peace, to prevent a world war, we must put all forces into action: the struggle of the masses, the defensive power of the socialist camp and a correct foreign policy of the socialist countries, which must be firm, loyal to principles and one taking into account at the same time the correlation of forces, flexible, not excluding—depending on conditions—both the method of “spear against spear” and the method of talks. To go headlong for one of these methods and to reject the other haughtily is an unwise, un-Leninist policy.

As long as the military danger from the imperialist camp persists, as long as there is no general and complete disarmament, the CPSU deems it to be its sacred duty to keep the defensive might of the Soviet Union, the combat readiness of its armed forces at a level guaranteeing the complete rout of any enemy. Mankind knows what great military power is wielded by the Soviet Union and this steadily growing force is wholly placed at the service of the cause of peace. If a war is imposed upon

us, the Soviet Union will be able to stand up for itself and for its allies. No one can have any doubt on this score. But we, Communists, genuine humanists, are called upon by history to create the fairest society and this is why we must do everything we can to ensure the peoples peace and favorable conditions for their struggle for a bright future, for communism.

The CPSU holds that true happiness can be achieved by the peoples only on the lines of socialism and communism. The CPSU, as all the international Communist movement, holds that for the working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist parties—it would be desirable to carry out the socialist revolution by peaceful means. At the same time the CPSU invariably stresses that in conditions when the exploiting classes resort to violence the possibility should be borne in mind of a non-peaceful transition to socialism, of the need of armed struggle.

In their opposition to the principle of variety of form in the

transition to socialism, the dogmatists usually resort to the following argument: “Up to our days, history has not known a single instance of a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.” But had Marx and Engels worked on the basis of such an “argument,” they could not have drawn the conclusion that the victory of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat were inevitable, because they did not yet exist at that time, anywhere in the world. The strength of the Marxist-Leninist theory lies in an ability to make a profound analysis of the key features of an epoch, and to draw from this analysis conclusions that illuminate the way for the revolutionary forces for decades to come. The dogmatists seek to orientate the fraternal parties solely towards armed struggle for power, in all circumstances and under all conditions. These views deviate from Leninism.

The Soviet Union does its best to promote the development of revolutions of national liberation and to achieve the earliest abolition of the disgraceful colonial system. It has invariably extended, and it does so today, a helping hand to all peoples rising against imperialism and colonialism. And this is real support, not just verbal support.

As a rule, the young national states come out for peace and form an important link in the zone of peace. It is of the utmost importance to extend this zone of peace, to strengthen the militant alliance of the socialist and the newly-independent states, to solve patiently — through nego-

tiation — disputes which arise, and to prevent all actions that might undermine the positions of the progressive forces in these states and weaken the friendship between the newly-free states and the countries of socialism. It would be extremely harmful to try to fit revolutionary processes in this extremely varied world in ready-made moulds, as the dogmatists are trying to do.

The CPSU steadfastly fought, as it does now, both against revisionism, and against dogmatism and sectarianism. But some people lay one-sided emphasis on the struggle against revisionism only, and moreover decry creative Marxism-Leninism as “revisionism,” introducing obvious confusion into the Communist movement. Marxist-Leninists are duty-bound to analyze the specific situation and see who, at each specific moment, is retarding the advance of the common revolutionary cause. Approaching the matter from this, the only correct position, one cannot fail to acknowledge that a dogmatic approach to the solution of the key problems of the Communist movement is a source of the gravest errors.

The disease of leftist sectarianism feeds upon nationalism and, in turn, feeds nationalism. As experience shows, it becomes particularly intolerable when it manifests itself in the activities

especially dangerous, too, because it is directed against the line of the Communist movement on such vital questions as war and peace, which affect the destinies of all mankind. Left-wing opportunism, is more difficult to expose because it hides its capitulatory essence behind “ultra-revolutionary” phraseology, playing on the feelings of the masses. In these conditions there can be only one correct line for the Communists: resolute struggle against both Right-wing and Left-wing opportunism, against both revisionism and dogmatism and sectarianism; implacable struggle against any distortion of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, like the other Marxist-Leninist parties, considers its international duty to abide scrupulously by the propositions of the documents of the Moscow Meetings and develop its relations in accordance with the principles laid down in them. This is why the Communists can only feel gravely concerned over the idea projected recently that there is a “temporary majority” in the international Communist movement which “persists in its mistakes,” and a “temporary minority” which “boldly and resolutely upholds the truth.”

This contention is especially harmful in that it is linked with an incredible claim that one party is the true heir of Lenin, and all the other parties are apostates of Marxism-Leninism. To proclaim to the whole world that a situation has now developed in the international Communist movement analogous to that in the period of the Second International on the eve of its split, and similar to that in the ranks of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany in December 1914, when its leadership adhered to positions of chauvinism, means in effect telling the entire international Communist movement it has sunk into the morass of opportunism and social-democratic revisionism, and setting oneself up as the only party which adheres to correct Marxist-Leninist positions.

It also indicates an incredible arrogance, a complete absence of any sense of respect or any desire to heed the unanimous view and the appeals of the overwhelming majority of the fraternal parties, each of which has done great service to the international proletariat, and has great revolutionary experience. Is it worthy of Communists to allege that the glorious fraternal parties of France, the United States, Italy, Spain, Britain, Greece, Belgium, Denmark, Portugal, Iraq, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and many other countries—which are in the thick of class struggles and daily wage truly heroic battles against capitalism, for which they are subjected to persecutions and reprisals by the police machine of the imperialist states — stand aside from the struggle of the masses and support imperialism? But this is blasphemy against selfless fighters! In fact it is help for the enemy against whom the

Gus Hall's Views on Peace

What the Communists need is not division into "majority" and "minority," but unity, unity and again unity. The supreme law of the Communist movement, the important feature distinguishing it from reformists of all hues, is to scrupulously safeguard its cohesion and unity.

In the period of the Second International, the world bourgeoisie acclaimed the treason of the social-democratic leadership and proclaimed war on Lenin and Leninism. Today the world bourgeoisie fights against the Communist Parties with no less fury than it did against Lenin and the Bolsheviks, as it justly sees the Communist Parties to be its principal adversaries, the staunchest fighters for the interests of the people, for the liquidation of capitalism and the exploitation of the masses. To describe a great army which daily wages a real, truly heroic struggle against imperialism, for the happiness and freedom of the peoples, for the victory of socialism, as a "temporary majority" which "persists in its mistakes" and is alleged to be following the way of revisionism, as was the case with the leaders of the Second International, means to strike a blow at the main force of the revolution, to hamper the victory of the cause of the revolution.

The Communist movement is faced with extremely complex and responsible tasks. The vital interests of the masses, the development of a successful struggle against imperialism, for the abolition of the shameful system of exploitation and national oppression, for the triumph of socialism and communism, imperatively demand the consolidation of the international alliance of the Communist Parties and its solid, indestructible unity. History will not forgive any leader who, in this crucial historical period, fails to recognize the main thing required of him—to work persistently and in every way to strengthen the unity of the Communist Parties—and acts contrary to the vital interests of the peoples.

The differences between individual Communist Parties on this or that matter do not have deep roots in the social system of the socialist countries. Whereas in the conditions of capitalism the contradictions have an objective foundation and are therefore antagonistic in nature, the differences among Communist Parties are above all subjective. Consequently, there is every ground for successfully overcoming these differences. One must proceed from the higher aims and interests of the international Communist movement and seek ways of drawing closer together, ways of cooperation and unity. If one does not stick stubbornly to a special position, if one is guided by Marxism-Leninism and proceeds from the higher interests common to the entire movement, and finds "the physical strength of mind" to march in step with the entire movement, then international solidarity in the Communist movement is not only possible but is tantamount to undermining the very foundations of the fraternal

Gus Hall, Communist spokesman, some time before the debate took shape, had this to say about peace:

IT IS our task to reveal to every American that U.S. big business and big brass are today the chief force for war, that the monopolists who exploit the American people through high prices, high taxes and huge war budgets, are the very forces that aim at world domination and world exploitation. We must make clear that their talk of defending freedom is a fraud.

The enemy of our security, freedom, and peace is not abroad. That enemy is here at home. This must be patiently, convincingly and persistently explained to the American people.

War is the constant companion

of capitalism. As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression. Hence the need for the greatest vigilance and struggle.

But it is not true, as some have said, that as long as capitalism exists in any part of the world, war is inevitable. War can be prevented. Moreover, as the forces of socialism continue to grow, the superiority of the forces of socialism and peace will before long become absolute and, in the words of the 81 Party Statement, "a real possibility will have arisen to exclude world war from the life of society even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world."

Gus Hall: The U.S. in Today's World.

To view the new possibilities of halting war as a gift an abstract objective development or as gifts from an imperialism that has changed its nature, would lead to passivity and inaction. On the other hand, to see the new possibilities arising because of the growing power of the socialist world, combined with the struggles of the anti-imperialist and peace movement will lead to confidence, to new enthusiasm and renewed activity.

In the old circumstances, when the war-like predatory imperialism dominated the world scene, such a possibility did not exist. In the past, armed marines were sent in without hesitation. If not the marines, then aggression by economic boycott was begun.

In this sense, U.S. imperial-

ism has not changed, and is again resorting to such measures against Cuba. But is it not a fact that, because of the new factors, it is fully possible to defeat these policies of aggression? And such a defeat would be a retreat and a setback for the American ruling circles.

U.S. imperialism has not given up its old policies that have in the past paid off so well. It is still building up points of antagonism. It is building the war machines of West Germany and Japan. What is new, however, is that now the possibility exists for preventing these policies from bearing their grisly harvest of war.

Gus Hall: The Summit and After

unity of the Communist Parties, to encroaching on the very principle of proletarian internationalism. It may lead first to the appearance of a "minority" trend and then to the danger of a split in the international Communist movement, to the joy of its common enemy—international imperialism.

The line laid down for the CPSU by its 20th and 22nd Congresses is the line of rallying all the forces of socialism, consolidating the unity of all fraternal parties, rallying all the forces of the anti-imperialist front. It is the basis of our position in the development of our relations with socialist Yugoslavia. The steps taken recently by the Yugoslav Communists and their leaders in their home and foreign policy have eliminated much that was erroneous and damaging to the cause of building socialism in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslavia Communists took steps towards rapprochement and unity with the entire world Communist movement. Disregard of this demand is tantamount to undermining the very foundations of the fraternal

Yugoslavia, that "new bourgeois elements" have occupied a dominating position there, lie deliberately, do not want to analyze facts and phenomena but are substituting fabrications for them and trying to push the people of a whole country out of the ranks of the fighters for socialism. The CPSU declares openly that there are still differences with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on a number of ideological questions. But rapprochement between Yugoslavia and the country building communism can undoubtedly help in overcoming the differences on a number of ideological questions much quicker.

The Communist Parties have a tried and tested method of settling controversial issues by way of collective discussion. Our Party has always advocated this method. The CPSU is convinced that with collective discussion of the most important questions of contemporary world development it is possible to ensure unity of the international Communist movement.

What World Communist Parties Have Said

Published below are excerpts from the views expressed by a number of Communist Parties throughout the world on the questions of peaceful coexistence:

Canada

The following is a statement made by the Communist Party of Canada on December 17.

AS THE 1960 Declaration puts it, the thing is to prevent war before the bombs start falling. Here we must say that the Chinese Communists do not place in the forefront the struggle for complete and general disarmament—the only way to prevent the bombs falling.

We also fully support the Declaration's words—that it is possible to prevent war before the entire world has turned to socialism.

We cannot accept the assertion of the Communist Party of China that a socialist foreign policy which includes mutual, rational and sane compromise and concessions, which is pursued by the USSR and the other socialist states, cripples the forces of democracy and socialism or that it constitutes a policy of submission "to imperialist pressure" or fear of U.S. imperialism, as is said in an editorial in the Chinese paper "Renmin Ribao" on Nov. 15, the second anniversary of the 81-Party Statement.

On the contrary, we believe that averting war and preserving peace, and peaceful competition between the two systems, provide the best possible conditions for the struggle for socialism. Victory for peace would be a massive victory for socialism and a massive defeat for imperialism, which breeds war as clouds breed rain.

Neither do we agree that coming to agreements with imperialists in the interests of averting world thermonuclear war means to "back down, knuckle under or even beg for peace at the expense of the revolutionary people," as the same editorial says. We deny that socialist diplomacy contradicts peoples' mass struggles, and therefore we reject the argument put forward in the editorial that "whether world peace is secured by relying chiefly on mass struggle of the people or by relying on the 'kind-heartedness' of certain representatives of the imperialist bloc—is an important question of principle."

We deny that principles were sacrificed, or are sacrificed, or that agreements are ever imposed on the imperialists without mass struggles, or that averting thermonuclear war (as in the case of Cuba) involves any sacrifice of Marxist-Leninist principles.

People's Mongolian Republic

Y TSEDENBAL, First Secretary Central Committee Mongolian Peoples Revolutionary Party. From a Speech at an Ideological Conference in January, at Ulan Bator:

"The victory in Cuba was a major victory of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence and a proof of the fact that the Central Committee of the CPUSA and the Soviet government, always loyal to the ideas of peace, creatively apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism for assessing international events and that they do not cling to outdated formulas and theoretical principles but show real flexibility and wisdom in the solution of foreign policy questions.

"The conflict in the Caribbean has helped to tear off the peace-maker mask not only from the faces of the most inveterate imperialists craving for military conflicts and bloodshed, the days of stormy events have also exposed the true faces of those who regard themselves as impeccable Marxist-Leninists, but who in fact adhere to the positions of dogmatism and pursue a policy objectively leading to the outbreak of international conflicts."

Chile

ORLANDO MILLAS, member of the Political Bureau Communist Party of Chile at the Socialist Unity Party Congress in the German Democratic Republic:

"The Soviet Union, the Leninist Central Committee of the Communist Party and personally Comrade Khrushchev have carried out the policies of the 81 Party Statement and held the dangerous imperialist tiger with atomic teeth in check before he could leap and compelled him to recoil. The lifting of the blockade against Cuba and the prevention of an invasion which the Pentagon had prepared was a great victory for the forces of peace and gives to the Cuban people a great stimulus for further struggle. It represents also a great stimulus for the people's struggles. The strengthening of the unity of the international Communist movement is a decisive factor for raising the anti-imperialist struggle in our countries.

"No one will succeed in weakening the confidence of the Latin American people in the Soviet Union."

Israel

ISRAEL COMMUNIST PARTY
CENTRAL COMMITTEE RESOLUTION DEC. 29-30, '62

The Central Committee highly values the glorious revolutionary struggle and the outstanding merits of the Chinese Communist Party, but cannot resign itself with the positions and acts of the Chinese Comrades, which are in contradiction to the theses and conclusions unanimously adopted in common at the Nov. 1960 consultation of the World Communist Movement; nor with their impairing the unity of the Socialist camp and the World Communist Movement.

The Central Committee will continue to contribute its share to safeguarding the unity of the ranks of the World Communist Movement, and to re-enforcing it on the basis of creative Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, while waging a fight both against revisionism and against dogmatism, which of late, has become the main danger in the World Communist movement.

Britain

Excerpt from a statement made January 12, by the British Communist Party.

"The Cuban crisis was the most dangerous world crisis since 1945. The world was on the brink of thermonuclear catastrophe. The aim of Soviet policy on Cuba, an aim endorsed by progressive opinion all over the world, was to prevent nuclear war and to prevent the invasion of Cuba. Nuclear war was prevented. Cuba was not invaded. For this world humanity must above all thank the Soviet Union.

"Our Chinese comrades grossly underestimate what a thermonuclear war involves. True they say that it would be an 'unprecedented calamity.' But then they argue that the existence of nuclear weapons changes nothing in principle. It is certain that nuclear war would result in the extinction of imperialism. It is even possible that some part of mankind would survive. But what incalculable damage would be caused to socialism in the process. For Britain nuclear war will mean our national extinction. Who would be left to build

socialism in the heap of radio-active ruins that would remain?"

Spain

SANTIAGO CARILLO, general secretary of the Communist Party of Spain at the Socialist Unity Party Congress in the German Democratic Republic:

"The Communist Party of Spain which was raised on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in the spirit of internationalism and for love for the Soviet Union, has regarded the struggle for peace as one of its great revolutionary tasks. During the three years of our national revolutionary war we told our people—and so it was in fact—that we are fighting for the peace of the world.

"That is why we have condemned with all our strength the vacillating petty-bourgeois elements who think they have found a solution to our difficulties in the development of a war on an international scale.

"In the light of our historic experience, it is natural that our party today unreservedly, completely and fully support the peace policy of the Soviet Union which with all our love has found such a remarkable spokesman and defender as your admirable Comrade Khrushchev."

Hungary

The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party categorically and with unmistakable singlemindedness has judged and is judging the present dogmatism and sectarianism. With this, it also defends the well tried Marxism-Leninism principles basic to its own policies and actions. We go all out in defense of the creative, revolutionary theory, strategy and tactics of Communism, because we are convinced that the experiences of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party corroborates these theories, strategy and tactics, which are attacked and libeled by the dogmatists.

The history of the last six years has posed those questions, and has answered them in a manner that proves creative Marxism, which form the subject of the debates of the day. If there ever was a country and a Party in a difficult situation during the last decade, in 1956 and early 1957, it was the Hungarian People's Republic and the Hungarian Workers Party. It is indisputable that one of the main reasons for this difficult situation, for the counterrevolution, was the cult of personality and the sectarian-dogmatic policy which the leaders of Albania and their supporters are defending and which is being realized in Albania more completely and brutally.

Our Party had already stated in December, 1956, that neither the revisionists, traitors, nor the counterrevolutionary forces of the reactionary national bourgeoisies, nor the efforts of international imperialism could have

caused the eruption of counter-revolutionary insurrection in Hungary if the Rakosi clique had not undermined our Party's contact with the masses by their dogmatic and sectarian policy, if they had not shaken the power of the Dictatorship of the Proletarian.

The Albanian leaders have for years spread a false "interpretation" of the 1956 counterrevolution; from among its cause they have removed the policies of the Rakosi clique. They say rather that it was the denunciation of the personality cult and the criticism of the sectarian-dogmatic policy that caused the counter-revolution...

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers Party protested against this distortion, in a letter written a year and a half ago to the Central Committee of the Albanian Labor Party.

"We are outraged," said the letter, "at the fact that your functionaries, disregarding the evaluation of our Party, knowingly falsify the lessons of the 1956 Hungarian Counterrevolution. It is an undeniable fact that the personality cult and the dogmatic policy opened the way to the counterrevolution, that it struck a hard blow at the international position of the Hungarian People's Republic, that it damaged the international labor movement and endangered peace."

It was the Soviet Union in 1956, too, that played the decisive role in the preservation of Socialism and peace. It was the power of the Soviet Union that forced the imperialists to stop their aggression against Egypt and the imminent intervention against the Hungarian People's Republic. At that time, it was the imperialists and counterrevolutionaries, at present it is the "leftist" opportunists, that attacked the aid given by the Soviet Union and the friendship of the Soviet and Hungarian peoples.

Let the Hungarian counter-revolution be a warning example of where demagogic sectarianism would lead on an international scale. On the other hand, the history of the struggle against the counter-revolution proves, that the policy of the 20th Congress of the CPSU is the policy of the victory of class struggle and of the socialist revolution. The Hungarian Workers Party defeated counterrevolution, liquidated dogmatism and revisionism, worked out a program of consolidation and has lead, and is leading the complicated task of building Socialism with that same creative Marxist policy, which is being labeled "revisionism, and opportunism" by the representatives of sectarian dogmatism.

We were acting in the spirit of this policy when we fought an armed struggle against the counterrevolution; when it was necessary, we "swam against the tide" and we did not hesitate

the criminals and traitors. As result of this, we achieved consolidation much faster than was expected, we struck roots amongst the masses, we reestablished and strengthened the prestige of the Party, accomplished the socialist reorganization of agriculture and laid the groundwork for socialist reorganization of agriculture and laid the groundwork for socialism in our country.

The "letter" opportunists like to repeat often the charge, that the views of creative Marxism, the principles laid down by the 20th Congress of the CPSU, are "conciliatory" towards revisionism, are in fact "revisionist" themselves. Our Party, which was reorganized in the context of a two-front struggle, has gained invaluable experiences in the struggle against right, and "left" opportunism. Our experiences fortify that Marxist truth, which states that revisionism can be defeated only with a theory and practice that is free from dogmatism and sectarianism. At present also, in the name of revolutionary Marxism, we are fighting against the revival of rightist tendencies, against misconceptions condemned by history and against false slogans. The rightists too will not be able to take advantage from now on, of the condemnation of "leftist" opportunism.

The moral lessons of the history of the Hungarian class struggle are that the condemnation and defeat of the cult of the personality and the proper application of the theory and practice of the international revolutionary movement help to increase the strength and respect of socialism and are detrimental to imperialism.

Six years ago, the "Hungarian Question" was one of the main arguments of anti-communist propaganda, which was directed not only against the Hungarian People's Republic, but against the Socialist camp and the revolutionary workers movement as well. And today The Communist Parties of the western countries are announcing, proposing and demanding: "Let's talk about Hungary!"

They may well talk about Hungary. Not because the Hungarian People's Republic pleases the imperialists better than, say, six years ago, but because our country, the practice of our Party, proves to the working masses that despotism is part and parcel of capitalism and is contrary to the dictatorship of the proletariat. It proves that the working class in power creates socialist democracy. The "Hungarian Question" has turned against the imperialist provocateurs and aggressors.

France

WALDECK ROCHET speaking for the French Communist Party stated:

"Our main task consists in

How U.S. Communists View Peaceful Coexistence and Nuclear Warfare

Below is the Communist Party of the U.S. statement discussing the world struggle for peace and, especially, how it expressed itself in the Cuban crisis. The statement follows:

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THE AMERICAN people, in common with all humanity, breathed a deep sigh of relief when, in the recent Caribbean crisis, a nuclear war was averted, and the invasion of Cuba, which could have triggered such a world war, was prevented.

The stage had been set for such a dreaded Armageddon by the aggressive and unilateral brinkmanship of U.S. imperialism, in particular by President Kennedy's reckless blockade of Cuba, his piratical interference with freedom of the seas, and his unwarranted intervention into the internal affairs of an independent nation.

Catastrophe was averted by the firm policy of peaceful coexistence flexibly and correctly applied, in the first place by the Soviet Union, and adhered to by virtually the entire world Marxist movement; by the peace policy of the heroic Cuban people and their government led by Fidel Castro; by the pressures for world peace exerted by the neutralist countries; and by the forces of peace in the capitalist states, including our own country, who rallied around the slogan, "No war over Cuba."

the idea that this signifies in the least a lessening of our revolutionary perspective. Because on the smoking ruins no socialism can be built. On the contrary we are convinced that in our epoch the fight for peace has become a primary condition of the struggle for socialism."

Algeria

BACHIR HADJ ALI First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Algeria, from remarks at the Socialist Unity Party Congress in the German Democratic Republic:

"Just as we seek a policy of unity within our own country so too we struggle for unity within

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WORLD PEACE was saved; peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition were vindicated; and the right of Cuba to determine her own way of life and her own social system was preserved.

Premier Khrushchev stood forth as one of the great statesmen of our times, fully deserving the accolades of appreciation which arose from the most diverse world quarters for his unwavering, realistic and monumental service to the cause of world peace.

The assessment of the Caribbean crisis is not merely a matter of an abstract "post-mortem," or of Monday morning "second-guessing." The success of the whole struggle for world peace, present and future, whether over danger spots in the Far East, Berlin, Africa or Latin America, depends upon a correct evaluation of the Caribbean crisis, its outcome and significance.

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POWERFUL ultra-Right circles — enraged by the peaceful settlement of the crisis — are exclaiming that President Kennedy played a "sell-out" role, and are pressing for a more adventurous policy for U.S. imperialism in respect to Cuba and all over the world. They have already compelled the Administration to equivocate on the no-invasion promise given by Kennedy when Premier Khrushchev originally agreed to the removal

the international communist movement.

"We fully support the proposal of Comrade Khrushchev to avoid public polemics and to allow time for tempers to calm down.

"We express our agreement with the line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted at the 20th and 22nd Congress and with that of the 81 Party statement on the basis of our own experience. After the crisis in the Caribbean an old peasant said to me:

"It is said that Khrushchev does not believe in God. But he has won a place in Paradise by saving the world from a war."

"We must also add that he has saved Socialist Cuba."

of the missiles. They are pressing for the outright invasion of Cuba.

Furthermore, they have drawn the dangerous and erroneous conclusion that the "policy of strength" has been vindicated, and that it is a mandate for a so-called "harder" and more adventurous line by U.S. imperialism, especially toward the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, but also against the neutralist and newly emerging independent countries.

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IN THE NATIONAL interest of our country, and in solidarity with international Marxist and other peace forces throughout the world, the Communist Party of the U.S. decisively rejects this view and will continue to oppose it with maximum effort as a menace to the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence.

For this reason, the Communist Party of the U.S. regretfully finds it necessary to take sharp public issue with the policy of the Chinese Communist Party in respect to the Caribbean crisis and in respect to its wrong position on peaceful coexistence in general.

In effect, the position of the Chinese Communist Party, like that of certain powerful U.S. monopoly circles, is that the resolution of the Caribbean crisis is a victory for U.S. imperialism, its "policy of strength" and "toughness" over the alleged weakness, fear and capitulation of the Soviet Union.

This pseudo-left dogmatic and sectarian line of our Chinese comrades dovetails with that of the most adventurous U.S. imperialists and gives the latter encouragement. Not only is it harmful and incorrect, but the Chinese Communist Party is systematically and openly pushing this line in all countries and Marxist Parties of the world, in utter disregard of the 81-party statement which it signed, and in violation of the norm of all Marxist parties to fix their own policies, and finally to the detriment and disunity of the broad peace movement, in individual countries and on a world scale.

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THE CPUSA cannot be indifferent to the fact that the Chinese Communist Party seeks converts for its dangerous policies in our country, and that the open promulgation of its policies can only spread confusion and disruption. It rejects the line of the Chinese Communist Party and, in the interest of

peace and peaceful coexistence, energetically opposes it.

The CPUSA has hoped that the sharp strictures by the world Marxist movement against the unprincipled anti-Soviet, anti-peace and anti-Marxist line of the Albanian Communist Party, of whom the Chinese Communist Party is the principal supporter, would have had a beneficial effect upon our Chinese Comrades, at least. It had hoped that its constant reaffirmation of its adherence to the line of peaceful coexistence would also have carried some weight with the Chinese Communist Party. But neither of these sound and responsible attitudes achieved the necessary results.

The CPUSA must now speak plainly and bluntly, conscious of its national and international obligations, as the Marxist-Leninist Party in the heartland of the world's most powerful and arrogant imperialism.

The CPUSA, at the same time, reiterates its deep appreciation of the past achievements of the Chinese Communist Party, its establishment of socialism in the world's most populous country, the victory of the Chinese people over Chiang Kai-shek, the stooge of U.S. and world imperialism.

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THE ERRONEOUS and dangerous character of the policies pursued by the Communist Party of China, on which their position on the recent events in Cuba is obviously based, was already evident in its statements and declarations over a number of years. These views find their sharpest and clearest expression to date in their editorial on "the differences" with the Italian Communist Party published in the Washington Post of January 3rd.

The threat of thermonuclear world war was not and is not a paper tiger, either tactically or strategically. That threat in the Cuban crisis posed the possibility of final total disaster for millions of people, including every major city in the countries on the three continents of the northern hemisphere, and that includes our own country, the U.S., as well as the Soviet Union, Eastern and Western Europe and China. All the military installations were part of the alert and the count-down.

The victory for the policy of peaceful co-existence with its negotiations and compromises to maintain peace and the integrity of nations has nothing in common with the slanderous charge of "Munich." They are not steps to

war but to peace. The use of the vile slander of "Munich" and "appeasement" is an absurd distortion of history and is unworthy of consideration by Marxist or any serious historian.

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THE DOGMATIC and sectarian repetition of phrases by our Chinese comrades reflects a failure to grasp the essence of Lenin's admonition that Communists "must operate on the basis of scientific principles." Lenin thus elaborates, "Science demands, first, the calculation of the experience of other countries, especially if these other countries, also capitalist countries, are undergoing, or have recently undergone, a very similar experience; second, science demands the calculation of all forces, groups, parties, classes and masses operating in the given country, and does not demand that policy be determined by mere desires and views, degree of class consciousness and readiness for battle of only one group

or party." Here, Lenin gives a sharp warning against both narrow nationalism and against the mechanical dogmatic application of policy.

We do not accept the negative attitude of the Communist Party of China on peaceful transition to socialism. We hold that they fail to consider what is the new situation in the world which strengthens the struggle for a peaceful transition. Without elaboration at this time, we also differentiate from their views on the struggle against monopoly capital, and especially as regard to our own country.

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WE DEEPLY REGRET the necessity to express such sharp differences with our Chinese comrades. The world needs the unity of the socialist sector. That American imperialism grabs at every point of difference is to be expected. The fight against imperialism, and for peace and socialism requires international working class solidarity and the unity of the forces of the socialist sector in this world today. That unity is not to be achieved by the compromise of basic principles. It can be achieved only on the basis of the policies of the 81-Party statement. We hope that our Chinese comrades will correct their policies in accord with the tested experience and line of the world Marxist movement.

COMMUNIST POLICY

THE ULTRA-RIGHT and the
KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION

THE threat from the ultra-Right continues to mount in the U.S. At the same time, the Kennedy Administration pursues a cold-war, interventionist, and generally anti-democratic course

The Kennedy Administration pursues a contradictory course which flows from the instability of the U.S. imperialist position, from the new relationship of world forces, (the growing strength of the socialist, anti-imperialist and peace forces), which it recognizes but does not fully and properly assess. Its wavering course results also from the pressure of the mass of people in our own country, particularly from the working class, the Negro people, the peace forces which have been its main mass support and which elected it.

It is of course true that these maneuvers, pretenses and concessions are forced upon him by the strength of the world peace forces, by the deterioration of imperialism in particular, by the declining world prestige and position of U.S. imperialism in particular, and by the deep-rooted peace and democratic sentiment of the American people.

But the fact remains that the Kennedy Administration has not closed the door to accommodation to those world realities, as the ultra-Right wishes it to do, and this involves a certain recognition of the new necessities of the present-day world at home and abroad. This is an important difference, which the forces for peace and democracy must recognize and exploit in order to bring about the required change in national policy.

It would be a serious mistake to underestimate the danger to peace and democracy of the Kennedy Administration. It would be no less serious a mistake to underestimate the possibilities of pressuring it in another direction. It is essential to fight imperialism, war, and reactionary measures whether it comes from the Kennedy government or the ultra-Right.

However, the situation requires that the main direction of the attack should be at the war-mongering and fascist forces who are pressuring the Kennedy Administration further to the Right. At the same time, every policy or action of Kennedy that plays into the hands of the Right should be sharply opposed and criticized, building up the pressures upon the Administration for a change of policy in the direction of peaceful coexistence and defense of democracy.

Gus Hall, Political Affairs,
August 1961

PEACE and PEACEFUL
COEXISTENCE

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE is the only policy which is in accordance with the state of the world today. The basic shift in world relations, which has proceeded since the end of World War II, cannot be reversed. The main historic trend continues: in favor of socialism, of independence from imperialism, of the forces of democracy and progress. Ours is the epoch of the disintegration of imperialism. It is the epoch of the rise, consolidation and final victory of world socialism. In such an epoch, the strength of the world forces arrayed against imperialism must continue to grow, and with it the realistic possibility of averting war between capitalist and socialist states and of establishing peaceful coexistence as a long-range policy. In such an epoch, war is not inevitable, and world peace and disarmament can be fought for as realizable goals.

However, peace will not come of itself. It must be fought for. To obtain a national policy of peaceful coexistence, the people must wage a constant struggle against the big monopoly and imperialist forces in our country—the forces who seek to block the liberation struggles of colonial and oppressed peoples and to “contain” socialism, while at the same time they strive to advance their own aggressive, expansionist ambitions.

Today, American imperialism strives to undermine and destroy the revolution of the Cuban people through economic warfare, accompanied by plots and preparations for military intervention. In the Congo, Wall Street allies itself with Belgian imperialism, with the aim of taking into its own hands control of the country's resources and depriving the Congolese people of their hard-won independence. The fight for peace, which is menaced by these aggressive imperialist policies, demands an unrelenting struggle by the American people against the actions of U.S. imperialism in these and other parts of the world. It demands their wholehearted support for all struggles of colonial and oppressed peoples for their freedom.

The fight for peace demands a far greater struggle for the recognition of People's China, for her admission to the UN, for an end to American occupation of Chinese territory through the puppet Chiang Kai-shek, and for the lifting of the total economic embargo which now exists.

Communist Party
Resolution, Aug. 1960

"The Soviets Organize and Reorganize"

In Soviet industry, the following major reorganizations have occurred in recent years:

1. In 1953, after Stalin's death, Malenko tried to combine Stalin's 57 ministries into a small number of super-ministries. He hoped to eliminate duplication between the various ministerial empires, but the results were chaotic, ministries were recreated, and in little more than a year, there were as many ministries as before.
2. Beginning in 1954, a decentralizing reorganization was tried, with many factories removed from direct Moscow control, and put under Union Republic or Oblast (provincial) direction. This reform was never completely carried out.
3. In 1957, virtually all economic ministries were abolished and a system of 103 regional economic councils (Sovnarkhozy) was set up, with functional subdivisions in each Sovnarkhoz. The object was to reduce duplication between ministries and over-centralization, but to the degree that these aims were achieved, they were purchased at the cost of regional duplication and localism. In June-July 1960, operational control of the local Sovnarkhozy was given to Republic Sovnarkhozy.
4. In November 1962, Khrushchev moved to enlarge the Sovnarkhozy geographically, and to split them functionally, along with corresponding party organs, into industrial and agricultural sections. Furthermore, party officials and party organs are to assume a direct, operational responsibility, rather than limiting themselves to indirect control through state organs.

Without retracing here the details of agricultural reorganization through the years, it should be noted that it has been at least as frequent, and that in agriculture the tendency to look for individual scapegoats is stronger. On 8 March 1963, a new Minister of Agriculture (Ivan P. Volovchenko) was appointed, the fourth in four years. His predecessor (Konstantin Pysin) had only lasted ten months.

There is no better example of the shifting sands of Soviet rule than the history of the planning apparatus, which is supposed to draw up long range plans and see that they are carried out on a day-to-day basis. In 1948-1949, Gosplan, the State Planning Commission, was changed to a Committee, and stripped of its material allocation and technical departments. In 1953 this change was reversed, and Gosplan was strengthened again. Then in 1955, Gosplan was split into a long-term planning organ (still called Gosplan) and a State Economic Commission (Gosekonomkommissia) for current planning; the technical department was also split off again. In 1957, when the Sovnarkhozy were established, the Gosekonomkommissia was abolished, and Gosplan was made stronger than ever, recovering control of current planning and assuming powers formerly exercised by the now-defunct ministries. However, an Economic-Science Council (Gosekonomsovet) was created, and in 1960, this body took over long range planning from Gosplan. In the November 1962 reorganization, Gosplan was again redirected to assume long-term planning responsibilities, with current planning mostly in the hands of Republic and lower planning organs, under the supervision of the USSR Council of National Economy (USSR Sovnarkhoz). To expect far-sighted planning from bodies which

are so subject to change themselves is obviously ridiculous. Every such reorganization of course involves shifts of personnel, reclassification of files and indices, and constant interruptions of work to deal with organizational problems. Experienced bureaucrats probably find these changes a welcome opportunity to conceal their personal failures and build new empires. There is an old military proverb which the Soviets seem to ignore: "Order, counter-order, disorder."

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to heavy noise and low contrast. It appears to be a continuation of the document's content, possibly describing organizational challenges or bureaucratic processes.]

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