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MOSCOW vs. PEKING

The Meaning of the Great Debate

William F. Warde

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**Appendix: Complete text of Chinese criticism of program of
American Communist Party**

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The tenth anniversary of Stalin's death coincides with a new phase in the prolonged international crisis of Stalinism. This is being brought to a head by the sharpening of the Sino-Soviet dispute.

The present differences between Moscow and Peking date back to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party held in 1956. They first came into the open during 1959 and 1960. In the three years since, their disagreements have deepened to such an extent that the contending parties have edged close to the breaking point.

Every major collision in world politics involving the workers' states pulls the two sides farther apart. The tension between them has been most acute over the Cuban affair and the India-China border dispute.

After withdrawing the Soviet missiles from Cuba, Khrushchev felt obliged to take the offensive in defending his policies against his Chinese critics. The Chinese suggested that the Kremlin had been "adventurous" in placing the rockets in Cuba and "cowardly opportunistic" for removing them under Kennedy's ultimatum.

The platforms of the Bulgarian, Hungarian, Czechoslovakian and Italian Communist Party congresses were used to assail the Chinese positions. This concerted campaign culminated in the booing of the head of the Chinese CP delegation at the East German Communist congress in January and the refusal of the directors of that congress to permit the North Korean and Indonesian CP representatives sympathetic to China to speak there.

The Peking *People's Daily* declared on Dec. 15, 1962; "The minimum demand that can be made of a communist is that he should make a clear distinction

between the enemy and his own comrades."

The Kremlin certainly failed to do this in the boundary clash between India and China. The majority of the Indian CP backed Nehru. Moscow took an equivocal diplomatic posture which was tantamount to supporting capitalist India against Communist China. Its followers joined Nehru in the anti-China chorus. The Peking press correctly characterized this line of conduct as a betrayal of proletarian internationalism.

On several occasions both sides have called for a cessation of the polemics. According to a Peking report, the central committees of the Communist parties in both countries have "affirmed the necessity" of exploratory talks. This restriction of negotiations over the controversial issues to bilateral talks indicates that Khrushchev is most reluctant to consent to another gathering of all the Communist parties. He wishes to defer that as long as possible.

Previous Parleys

As matters stand, such a conference would be more likely to deepen and hasten a split than to ease the differences. The Communist parties have already held three such conferences, one at Moscow in 1957, another at Bucharest in 1959, and a third at Moscow in 1960. Although the statements issuing from the two Moscow meetings were unanimously adopted, they did not dispose of the differences. On the contrary, these flared up more fiercely afterwards.

Today each side keeps citing passages from the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960 to justify its course and views. Obviously, these documents, as was noted at the time, merely papered over the underlying disagreements

and unsuccessfully attempted to combine two divergent and irreconcilable lines.

These developments signify that the Great Debate now going on is irrepressible and cannot be arbitrarily suspended or suppressed. Issues of immense magnitude regarding the interests and policies of great states, of entrenched bureaucratic formations, of powerful parties and of revolutionary mass movements throughout the globe are involved. The dispute has raised for consideration many of the most fundamental questions confronting the world struggle for socialism. Every partisan of socialism has a stake in this historic controversy and should carefully weigh the arguments presented from all sources.

Discuss Freely

It would be most beneficial if this discussion could be conducted freely, openly, and democratically without disrupting the unity of the workers' states against the imperialist coalition and without reprisals on either a state or party level against any of the participants. The Cuban revolutionists have tried to steer such a course.

Moscow, however, has severed all relations with Albania and even called for the overthrow of Hoxha's regime, although Khrushchev modified this intransigence in his East Berlin speech two months ago. China, in turn, has said that Yugoslavia has reverted to capitalism, is carrying on "subversive work against the socialist camp," and should be excluded from the fraternity of socialist nations.

Now the Chinese spokesmen have bitterly attacked Khrushchev for causing disunity in the Communist world as far back as 1959 by condemning China in its border dispute with India shortly before he talked with Eisenhower at

Camp David. This was taken as evidence that, to implement the aims of its "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism, the Kremlin was willing to bargain away without consultation not only the international revolution but even the immediate national interests of the other workers' states. This suspicion has been hardened into mistrust by Moscow's disregard for Cuba in the negotiations with Washington last October and by its attitude in the Indian affair.

Peking has chosen this moment to divulge that Moscow "perfidiously and unilaterally" tore up hundreds of its economic agreements with China. It was known that the Soviet government had withdrawn its technicians and reduced aid to a minimum. But this is the first official confirmation of the full scope of the economic and political pressure it has been applying against China while that country has been undergoing grave economic difficulties.

Apart from intermittent expressions of the need for maintaining unity, neither side shows any sign of conciliating the other or yielding its ground. For the first time Peking is appealing over the heads of the Communist leaderships to their ranks, seeking support for its views against Moscow. Except for Albania, the Chinese have met with hostility within the official circles of the European Communist parties. The U.S. and the Canadian CPs have also come out for Khrushchev.

But on the other continents, in Asia, Africa and Latin America where the colonial revolution is at full flood, Communist China's views are finding a most responsive audience. In Asia only the Ceylonese CP, the majority of the split Indian Communists, and the ruling party of Outer Mongolia speak for the Russians. All the other Communist parties are either

aligned with Peking or maintain an uneasy neutral stance which actually conceals sympathy for the Chinese.

The latest developments in the dispute are bound to accentuate the divisions between the pro-Moscow and the pro-Peking forces which can lead to new differentiations and splits within, as well as between, the Communist parties.

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As the heads of giant states representing hundreds of millions of people, the Russian and Chinese Communist Party leaders are the principal protagonists in the Great Debate. They have regulated its unfolding to date and their decisions will shape the main lines of its next stage.

But they are not the only participants in the discussion. In fact, five distinct political and ideological tendencies have already been drawn into the dispute. In addition to the positions advocated by Khrushchev's and Mao's regimes, there are those put forward by the Yugoslav Communists, the Fidelista Cubans and the Trotskyists.

The issue of Trotskyism was first introduced into the debate by the Yugoslavs early in 1960 when Vice-President Kardelj, their leading theoretician, wrote a pamphlet entitled *Socialism and War* in which he charged the Chinese with "Trotskyist" adventurism and ultra-leftism for their refusal to accept the consequences of Moscow's concept of "peaceful co-existence." Recently Khrushchev and *Pravda* have echoed these accusations in connection with the Brest-Litovsk Treaty of March 1918.

Not to be outdone, the Chinese publication *Red Flag* has just accused Khrushchev of playing a role like Trotsky's in the Cuban crisis. In all three cases the term "Trotskyist" is bandied about as an

epithet designed for abuse rather than enlightenment, in the still living tradition of Stalin. The actual ideas and positions held by Trotsky in the past are misrepresented and distorted. The present views of world Trotskyism on the questions under dispute are ignored.

It is no accident that Trotskyism, even though in falsified shape, has appeared from the first on the arena of the debate. Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Russian CP and the de-Stalinization processes have already opened the eyes of many Communists to the correctness of the Trotskyist analysis of Stalinism and broken down the ban upon the ideas of the Fourth International.

This interest in Trotskyist views will receive another powerful impetus from the progress of the Sino-Soviet dispute and the vital issues it has posed to the world Communist movement.

An editorial in the Jan. 6, 1963 *Red Flag* recalled that "shortly after Lenin's death a serious struggle between Marxist-Leninists and anti-Marxist-Leninists arose in the international Communist movement. That was the struggle between, on the one hand, the Leninists headed by Stalin and, on the other hand, Trotsky, Bukharin and other 'left' adventurists and right opportunists. In conjunction with that struggle was the protracted struggle in the Chinese Communist Party which the Marxist-Leninists led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung waged against the 'left' adventurists and right opportunists. Now another serious struggle lies before us, the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against the anti-Marxist-Leninists, i.e. the modern revisionists."

Red Flag errs in placing Stalin

along with Mao at the head of the Marxist-Leninists, and in lumping the Trotskyist Left Opposition with the right-wing Bukharin faction, in the struggles of the post-Lenin period. The reverse was the case. But it is correct in pointing out the linkage between the fateful struggle within international Communism during the 1920s and the current conflict.

These are not only comparable in political importance but present many of the same issues: conservative bureaucratic nationalism versus socialist internationalism; a policy of accommodation to imperialism or class struggle against it; the attitude toward the colonial revolution and the colonial bourgeoisie; the problem of war and peace; workers' democracy.

Issues Revived

The Stalin faction broke with the Bolshevik line on all these questions after 1923 and conducted a vindictive and victorious struggle for power against all those who would not budge from the Marxist-Leninist positions, Trotsky foremost among them. Now the issues, which were thereafter considered forever settled, have again come to the fore under different world conditions and at a far more advanced stage.

Both Moscow and Peking have raised the slogan: "Back to Lenin." This is an excellent goal. Still the question remains to be answered: "In what respects and to what degree do they, and others, still adhere to the positions and policies of Stalinism and where are they breaking away from these and moving toward a Leninist line?"

As the debate continues, the Trotskyist movement will put forward its own views on these and other questions. The voice of Trotskyism deserves to be heard in this multi-sided argument, not only to set the historical record

straight, but because it has a special contribution to make toward clarifying the controversial issues in accord with the methods of Marx and Lenin.

On Jan. 9 the U.S. Communist party leadership declared its solidarity with Khrushchev in the Sino-Soviet dispute. The March 8 Peking *People's Daily* replied by attacking Soviet "cowardice" during the Cuban crisis and the notion that "every matter under the sky can be settled if the two 'great men' (Kennedy and Khrushchev) sit together."

It was to be expected that the U.S. Communist leaders would fall in behind Moscow. This accords with their whole past and their present opportunistic policy of seeking salvation for the American people through the liberal and "left" forces within the Democratic party whose pressure will supposedly convert Kennedy from a "captive" of the militarists and monopolists to keeper of the peace. This line logically flows from Khrushchev's course of conciliating the imperialists which is so vigorously repudiated by the Chinese.

New issues arise as the rift between Moscow and Peking widens. Last December Khrushchev taunted the Chinese for being bellicose over distant Cuba while refraining from expelling the British and Portuguese from Hongkong and Macao. Now, in reply, the *People's Daily* has gone so far as to raise the question of Russia's annexation through unequal treaties in the latter half of the 19th Century of Chinese territories which are presently incorporated in Soviet Siberia. The matter of Macao, and Hongkong was dragged in, says the Chinese paper, "as a fig leaf to hide your disgraceful performance in the Caribbean crisis."

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How should the essence of the

Chinese positions be appraised? The most significant feature about them from the standpoint of revolutionary socialist politics is this. On most of the key issues of the international class struggle in dispute Peking is to the left of the Kremlin and takes more militant stands. The Chinese Communists have thereby moved closer to correct Leninist positions on these points, although they have by no means arrived at a consistent Marxist world outlook.

The radicalism of the Chinese in contrast with Soviet conservatism accounts for the warm response to their views among the forces fighting for national and social liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The oppressed masses of "the hungry bloc" striving to end neo-colonialism and imperialism welcome the counsels of struggle coming from Peking more than the privileged workers in the wealthier industrialized countries.

What are the main points on which the Chinese Communists have put forward more progressive views than the Khrushchev tendency?

1) **The nature of imperialism.** Khrushchev contends that, since Lenin's day, the world relationship of military, political and economic forces between the capitalist and socialist camps has altered to such a degree that imperialism can be neutralized and world peace assured even though imperialism continues to survive in its major strongholds. Therefore the most urgent central task of both Soviet diplomacy and working class politics is no longer the struggle to abolish capitalism. It is the need to induce "progressive" and "peace-loving" statesmen among the capitalist powers to recognize the wisdom of peaceful co-existence with the workers' states.

The Chinese answer that imperialism has not changed its fundamentally aggressive and warlike character, as the record of the Cold War and U.S. interventions in South Vietnam and Cuba freshly demonstrate. Therefore, in the struggle against the imperialist war preparations, it would be a fatal illusion to base socialist policy upon the peaceful inclinations of any capitalist group.

These differences are focused around the nature of U.S. imperialism today. The Chinese consider the rule of the American monopolists as the greatest threat to world peace and the colonial revolution and Kennedy as their executive head in the White House. Wu Yu-Chang, member of the CCP Central Committee and — ironically — Vice-President of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, declared last November that the attack on Cuba "is another proof that Kennedy is more wicked, more reactionary and more adventurous than Eisenhower."

Different Attitude

The Soviet leadership (and its echoers in the American CP) takes quite a different attitude toward the Democratic president. It has never characterized his administration in such terms or placed full responsibility for the aggressions of U.S. foreign policy where they really belong. Khrushchev wants to keep the road clear for summit conferences with Kennedy which will successfully crown his course toward peaceful co-existence.

2) **The struggle for peace.** The Khrushchev tendency argues that the risk of nuclear war can be averted while imperialism and capitalism is left intact. The war-making potential of the profiteers can be nullified without destroying the capitalist system and transferring supremacy to the working people.

The Chinese answer that there cannot be any guarantee of world peace, no end to war, until and unless imperialism is overthrown, above all in the underdeveloped countries where the colonial revolution is in progress. The only reliable anti-war force is the people engaged in struggle for their own ends against the representatives of the rich.

3) **Attitude toward the colonial revolution.** In its search for diplomatic allies, the Kremlin, fearful of upsetting the status quo, has not hesitated to set aside the claims of the colonial revolution and subordinate them to the alleged needs of "peaceful co-existence." To curry favor with de Gaulle and lure France out of the Atlantic Alliance, the Soviet government and the French CP refused until the last hour to aid the Algerian fight for independence. In the Middle East the Iraqi CP, guided by the Kremlin, kowtowed to General Kassim before its illegalization and helped prepare the conditions for the recent overturn of his regime by a counter military coup.

The Chinese, who supported the Algerian rebels from the first, say that the aims of the colonial revolution should be given priority over diplomatic considerations. The two sides clash most sharply on this question in Southeast Asia and in Latin America where the Communist parties under Moscow tutelage are opposed to the development of the revolutionary movements along Cuban lines which the Chinese spokesmen encourage.

4) **Attitude toward the colonial bourgeoisie.** Where the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and semi-colonial countries is neutralist or friendly toward it, the Kremlin counsels the resident Communist parties to go along with them. The new program of the So-

viet CP adopted at the 22nd Congress in 1961 even set up a special category of "national democratic states" of indeterminate socio-economic nature which all progressive forces were duty-bound to support. The support accorded Nehru by the Soviet government and most of the Indian CP leaders in the border conflict with China is the ripe fruit of this policy.

The Chinese advocate distrust of the national bourgeoisie and reliance upon the independent struggles of the masses to secure national and social emancipation. They point out that a colonial revolt which begins with the struggle for national independence, unity or agrarian reform cannot be halted at the elementary democratic stage but tends to pass over into the socialist stage where capitalist power and property are eradicated and economic planning through control of all national resources can be instituted.

This pattern of the colonial revolution unfolding in an "uninterrupted way," empirically deduced from the experience of their own revolution and now extended to cover the struggles in other colonial lands, comes close to Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution. However, the Maoists obstinately refuse to acknowledge this similarity and continue to denounce Trotsky as a "traitor" who prefigured the path of Tito.

5) **The road to power.** At the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP Khrushchev proclaimed the doctrine that a "peaceful road to socialism" is now possible in the imperialist countries through purely parliamentary means. He has since stated that this revision in Communist theory was introduced by Stalin in the advice he gave for drafting the current program of the British CP.

The Chinese, although they still praise Stalin as the foremost dis-

ciple of Lenin, correctly state that this is a relapse into the Social-Democratic reformism flayed by the Bolsheviks. The Chinese, like Castro, do not exclude the theoretical possibility of a peaceful transfer of power to the workers but, they say, the capitalist rulers have not yet provided any example and it would be folly to base the strategy of struggle upon such a prospect. They insist that socialism cannot achieve victory without breaking up the bourgeois state apparatus and creating a new type of regime based upon the workers and peasants.

6) **The Cuban crisis.** Khrushchev has tried to cover up his retreat and his disregard for Cuba's sovereignty in the Caribbean crisis by arguing that all the concessions he made were needed to save world peace. The Chinese have firmly backed the Cubans on all those points where the Fidelistas have been at odds with the Russians. They censure Khrushchev, not for removing the missiles, but for hesitating to give immediate support to the "five conditions" presented by Castro; for spreading the illusion that Kennedy had given a "guarantee" not to invade Cuba; and for not opposing unilateral inspection by the United Nations of military installations in Cuba.

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The sum of these positions put forward in their polemics shows that the Chinese CP advocates a far more aggressive class-struggle policy than the utterly opportunistic and reformist course pursued by the Soviet leadership and its followers from Calcutta to New York. Having recognized this, it must be noted that on a number of crucial questions the Chinese CP has far from cast off its bureaucratic character and Stalinist heritage either in its principles or practices.

1) Khrushchev, the American C.P., Kennedy and the capitalist press all accuse the Chinese of wanting to foment world war in order to achieve socialism. This is a falsehood and slander. The Chinese have carefully explained in recent statements that they favor the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems and do not view world war as a necessary or desirable means of bringing about the downfall of capitalism.

Nevertheless, the Chinese statements consistently underrate the costs of nuclear war. They sometimes speak as though capitalism alone would crumble in the atomic blasts and then socialism might be erected on radioactive ruins. The grim fact is that nuclear war would be the greatest of all defeats suffered by the working people, even if humanity should somehow survive its terrible effects. This underestimation of the perils of nuclear war has helped the Kremlin and others to confuse the issues by playing up "the nuclear teeth" of the imperialist "paper tiger" as a cover for its opportunism.

How is imperialism to be disarmed? The Chinese have a deficient perspective on this crucial question. They effectively develop the argument that only the revolutionary struggle of the masses can defend world peace and that these progressive movements should not be suspended or subordinated for fear of "nuclear blackmail." At the same time they imply that the achievement of military preponderance by the "socialist camp," plus the "people's revolutionary struggle," can pull the nuclear teeth of imperialism.

There are two wrong assumptions implicit in this position. First, that a drastic shift in the "balance of terror" between the

opposing power blocs can by itself compel imperialism to surrender its war-making capacities. Second, that the successes of the colonial revolution, plus the economic and military advances of the "socialist camp," can change the international balance of forces enough to paralyze imperialism and prevent the button from being pressed.

Paramount Factor

This line of reasoning leaves out of account the paramount factor in the world situation: the class relations in the imperialist strongholds. The development of the workers' movement there will be decisive in determining the destiny of mankind in the nuclear age. No matter how many economic, military and political successes are registered by the workers' states and in the colonial lands, the key to permanent peace and a world socialist society of abundance lies within the centers of capitalism, above all, the United States. The war-making powers can be taken from the atomaniacs only through the struggle for the conquest of power by the socialist workers' movement there. The Chinese do not see or clearly state this fundamental fact. Moreover, in so advanced a capitalism as Japan, the Chinese take no exception to the line of the Japanese C.P. that the main task there is, not the fight for workers' power and socialism, but to win national independence from U.S. imperialism.

2) Most reprehensible is the refusal of the Chinese to favor the de-Stalinization moves taken in the Soviet bloc since 1956. The continued cultivation of the Stalin cult and antagonism toward the liberalization of authoritarian rule places them at odds with the most progressive forces and anti-bureaucratic tendencies within the Soviet bloc and the Communist par-

ties. This serves to counteract the support which revolutionary militants might otherwise be disposed to give to the Chinese criticisms of Moscow's line.

This reactionary attitude is symbolized on the state level in Peking's unprincipled bloc with Hoxha's Albania, one of the most detestable Stalinized regimes in Europe. In the factional fight against Khrushchev the Chinese may also be giving aid and comfort to the discredited Stalinist die-hards in the Soviet Union headed by the deposed Molotov "anti-party" group.

Mao stands at the opposite pole in this respect to Castro who has not only supported the de-Stalinization processes in the Soviet bloc but has taken prompt and energetic steps to check any spread of the bureaucratic infection in Cuba.

3) While Peking praises Albania as a model Marxist-Leninist state, it unwarrantedly dismisses Yugoslavia as a capitalist state which should be ejected from the "socialist camp." Yet the internal regime of Communist Yugoslavia is much freer than the unmitigated despotism of its Albanian neighbor.

4) Although the Chinese Communists attack political submission to the colonial bourgeoisie, they are not consistent in this regard. For example, they do not object to the craven support given by the Indonesian CP to the government of Soekarno who is Nehru's counterpart in that country. It appears that, even in the colonial sphere, Peking's principles are tailored to fit the momentary needs of its foreign policy.

5) Most important of all is the status of the internal regime of the Chinese workers' state and its ruling party. The obdurate resistance of the Chinese CP leadership to de-Stalinization and its

proponents is connected with the strict maintenance of its own bureaucratic hold. Since the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and the quick withering of the "hundred-flowers-bloom" experiment in 1957, the Mao regime has been very apprehensive of opposition and has maintained rigid control over all domains of social and political activity. Its refusal to abandon such Stalinist practices not only offends powerful progressive currents in the Soviet

bloc but runs counter to its own conduct in the dispute with Moscow. The Chinese have declared that they are now a minority in the world communist movement and have the right to be so. They assert that a majority and minority can co-exist in a communist movement and that sometimes a minority can be correct against the majority.

This is a far cry from the monolithism of Stalin's era. It can help pave the way for a return to Len-

Chinese Issue a Challenge

[From editorial in Chinese newspaper Red Flag, March 4, 1963]

"Something very interesting is happening today on a wide scale in the international Communist movement. What is this interesting phenomenon? The doughty warriors who claim to possess the totality of Marxist-Leninist truth are mortally afraid of the articles written in reply to their attacks by the so-called dogmatists, sectarians, splitters, nationalists and Trotskyites whom they have so vigorously condemned. They dare not publish these articles in their own newspapers and journals.

"As cowardly as mice, they are frightened to death. They dare not let the peoples of their own countries read our articles, and they have tried to impose a watertight embargo. They are even using powerful stations to jam our broadcasts and prevent their people from listening to them. Dear friends and comrades, who claim to possess the whole truth! Since you are quite definite that our articles are wrong, why don't you publish all these erroneous articles and then refute them point by point, so as to inculcate hatred among your people against the heresies you call dogmatism, sectarianism, and anti-Marxism-Leninism? Why do you lack the courage to do this? Why such a stringent embargo? You fear the truth. The huge specter you call "dogmatism," i.e., genuine Marxism-Leninism, is haunting the world, and it threatens you. You have no faith in the people and the people have no faith in you. You are divorced from the masses. That is why you fear the truth, and carry your fear to such absurd lengths.

"Friends, comrades! If you are men enough, step forward! Let each side in the debate publish all the articles in which it is criticized by the other side, and let the people in our own countries and the whole world think and judge who is right and who is wrong. That is what we are doing and we hope you will follow our example."

inism which permitted the free organization and expression of minority views and the formation of tendencies and factions around them.

Inconsistent

Here again the inconsistency of the Chinese CP shows up. What they demand and defend in the international sphere, they refuse to permit within their own party and country. Views dissenting from the official line have not been authorized for publication in recent years.

The exigencies of the contest against Khrushchevism have placed the Chinese CP leaders in the awkward posture of calling for inter-party democracy abroad while denying it at home. However they may work out this particular contradiction, it is plain that the Great Debate has forever pulverized Stalinist monolithism and opened up new channels of free expression in the communist world.

This is one of the most important progressive consequences of the dispute, even though it was not expected or intended by its prime participants. For, if all views have the right to be voiced, if disagreement is legitimized and minorities permitted, it will be increasingly difficult to keep the expression of differences and the exercise of these rights restricted to the state powers and official positions within the international Communist movement.

Hidden Causes

It is easier to grasp the ideological issues in the forefront of the Sino-Soviet dispute than to get at the complex and hidden causes underlying the growing conflict. The divergent interpretations of Marxism-Leninism and the opposing conclusions drawn from the joint Moscow Declarations of

1957 and 1960 themselves indicate that the two sides are being driven apart by something deeper than mere doctrinal differences. These compelling reasons are to be found in the very different national and international situations of the two workers' states which give rise to conflicting interests, aims and policies of their ruling strata.

It would require a long probe into the past relations of the Russian and Chinese Communist Party leaderships to uncover the beginnings of their antagonism. The seeds of mistrust were sown as far back as the Yen-an period before the Second World War. Suspicion that Moscow did not care about the requirements of the struggle in China was reinforced by Stalin's advice to maintain a postwar coalition with Chiang Kai-Shek which the Maoists tried to secure but had to discard. It was fed by the Soviet dismantling of plants in China's Manchurian industrial base and Russian occupation of Port Arthur, Dairen and other ports. At the time of Stalin's death, relations had become so strained that Khrushchev flew to Peking in 1954 to reassure the Chinese that improvements would be promptly forthcoming.

As organizers and directors of a victorious revolution, Mao and his colleagues cannot highly esteem the present helmsmen in Moscow who inherited their powers instead of conquering them in battle. As heads of a powerful nation of 700 millions they feel on a par with the Soviet leaders, are able to act independently of them, and even, if necessary, in defiance of their wishes. They have relied upon Soviet economic, military and diplomatic aid without being straitjacketed by it.

In the first decade of the triumphant Chinese Revolution the points of friction between the foremost members of the Soviet

bloc were submerged by their mutual interests. What has intervened since then to drive a wedge between them so deep and sharp as to override the need for a common front against imperialism and place them on opposite sides of the battlefield in the India border clash?

Camp David

The Chinese now assign the origin of the disagreements to the eve of the Camp David talks between Eisenhower and Khrushchev in September 1959. Washington and Moscow found a common language, they say, at the very time that Khrushchev contravened in word and deed the main theses of the 1957 Moscow statement.

Other analysts trace the birth of the present schism to Khrushchev's enunciation of revisionist theses and denunciation of Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Soviet C.P. in 1956. This made it necessary to convene a meeting of all the Communist parties the following year. The Chinese were offended, not simply by the smashing of the idolatry of Stalin, but because they were not notified in advance of this abrupt turn-about. They are very sensitive to manifestations of arrogant or high-handed behavior on the part of the Soviet "elder brother." They have just censured the Thorez leadership of the French CP for reversing its positions on Cuba, Tito, Algeria and China at Moscow's command and they praise the Albanians (though not the Yugoslavs) for refusing to grovel when the Russians "brandish the baton."

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More important than Soviet disregard for interparty consultations and transgressions of equal relations between fraternal parties have been the frictions generated

by the disparity in the economic levels of the two countries. Communist China had to start modernizing and industrializing its economy after 1949 on a more primitive foundation than the Soviet Union in the 1920s. Its more rapid rate of development in the early 1950s has been interrupted and set back by the failures of the Great Leap Forward and the widespread distress caused by the natural disasters since 1959. Today the Chinese have living standards far lower than the Russians.

At the 22nd Congress in 1961, while China was suffering from hunger and its economy was in a critical slowdown, Khrushchev announced that in 20 years the Soviet Union, having already achieved socialism, would approach communism. The Soviet people were promised the highest living standards in the world.

Imagine the Chinese reactions as the Soviet leaders go ahead with this perspective, callously disregarding China's massive material needs and its somber difficulties! Hit by poor harvests and plagued by mounting millions of mouths to feed, Peking has had to spend scarce foreign exchange to import grain from Canada, Australia and elsewhere. The Soviet Union has none to spare for China. Moreover, it has given more aid in the past decade to such neutralist nations as India, Egypt and Indonesia. Now the Peking *People's Daily* has revealed that, after the Bucharest Conference of 1960, Moscow broke hundreds of economic contracts with China and cut its trade to a minimum. It has also insisted on repayment of the Korean War debt and for the goods provided in recent years.

What a mockery of socialism and fraternity it is to say that one people, a third of mankind, must live on 15 cents a day while the other is being lifted to West-

ern standards? If the economic resources and conditions of the two nations cannot be immediately equalized, as they cannot, then the Chinese would at least like to see Soviet foreign aid reallocated with a greater percentage going to them and the revolutionary forces in the colonial areas than to the neutralist bourgeois regimes.

Last on List

The Khrushchev faction cannot meet the requests of the Chinese Communists for many reasons. It is bound by the policy of building "communism in a single country" at the fastest pace. More substantially, the Soviet Union does not possess the capacities to increase its production, raise the living conditions of its people, sustain the expensive nuclear arms race, go to the moon, implement its diplomatic objectives in the "third world" — and take care in addition of the immense and pressing requirements of 700 million Chinese. The Chinese come last in the priorities of the Kremlin's planners.

China's poverty and underdevelopment as well as Russia's inadequacies have been inherited from their pre-socialist pasts. Even if the two countries were led by men of the calibre of Lenin and Trotsky, the objective difficulties created by the disparities in their development would present excruciating problems not susceptible of easy solutions.

The truth is that the unevenness between the two countries and the frictions these engender cannot be finally eliminated except through the extension of the socialist revolution to the advanced capitalist countries. Mutual aid and planned co-operation could then place the necessary productive forces of the wealthier lands at the disposal of the poorer ones and narrow the gap between the

haves and have-nots in the shortest possible time.

Paramount Task

Ironing out the vast disproportions between the two sectors of humanity is the paramount task of the entire transitional period from capitalism to socialism. A genuine Marxist leadership would at least acknowledge the existence of this problem and honestly explain its gravity to the working-class public, as Lenin's Bolsheviks did. But the false orientation of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies have kept them from even mentioning this fundamental issue. It smacks too much of the "heresy" of Trotskyism.

Khrushchev's line of building "communism in a single country" — and devil take the hindmost — plays a large part in the breach between Moscow and Peking. In complaints about their economic mistreatment at the hands of the Kremlin, the Chinese expose some of the consequences of this Stalinist policy. But they have not delved into its root causes.

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The dissimilarities in the international positions of the two nations are as estranging as the disparity in their economic situations. The Soviet rulers are far more privileged, conservative and contented with the status quo than the Chinese. As one of the two Great Powers, they participate in parleys at the summit and in the UN which decide the destinies of nations from Laos through the Congo to Cuba.

Communist China is the outcast of world politics among the workers' states. It is diplomatically and economically isolated and militarily encircled. The U.S. stations its forces in South Korea, sustains Chiang in Formosa, and has its Seventh Fleet in adjacent waters.

The Pentagon supervises anti-guerrilla operations in South Vietnam, intervenes against China and its allies in Laos and neighboring countries and rushes arms to India. Today China is not only excluded from the councils of the major powers and cut off from American trade but also from Soviet aid.

In response to these conditions the Soviets and China have developed divergent foreign policies and asserted different attitudes toward U.S. imperialism and Western capitalism. Despite the rebuffs encountered along the way, the Kremlin has persistently sought to reach a *modus vivendi* with Washington since the 1955 Geneva summit conference. Meanwhile, it wants to confine any changes in international relations within the compass of its special aims and interests.

U.S. Blockade

Peking, on the other hand, has to break through the blockade imposed by a hostile U.S. Neither the neo-colonial bourgeois governments nor the Soviet Union, it has found, will help it enough to serve that purpose. To disrupt the Pentagon's strategy and beat back its enemies, China has no recourse but to turn towards the colonial revolutions, above all in Southeast Asia. The expansion of the anti-imperialist struggles in the colonial lands is today a life-and-death matter for Communist China.

The Chinese Revolution bears the same relation to Asia as the Cuban Revolution to Latin America. Both must spread in order to survive and counter the aggressions of U.S. imperialism which wants to stop any imitation of their example.

The Kremlin is caught in the crossfire of this combat between revolution and counter-revolution.

While it is busy placating Washington, neither Peking nor Havana have any faith in the Kennedy administration's benevolence or peaceful intentions. They are on guard not only against Washington but against Moscow's diplommatizing. The Chinese have seen Khrushchev negotiate before without concern for matters most important to them (admission to the UN, return of Formosa, etc.) Now the unilateral action on UN inspection of Cuba and other impermissible concessions he made in the Caribbean crisis convinces them that Khrushchev would sacrifice vital interests of the other workers' states to "peaceful co-existence" with Washington. That is why they speak so bitterly of "appeasement."

The attitude adopted toward the colonial bourgeoisie is decisive in colonial politics. Here the Chinese have sharp differences with the Russians. They have extorted a grudging admission from Moscow that it supports "just wars of colonial liberation." But they are aware that the Soviet leaders are more intent upon lining up uncommitted governments behind their diplomatic objectives than encouraging forces and movements which aspire to go beyond neo-colonial status and take the socialist road to liberation.

As Cuba indicates, the Kremlin will ally itself with victorious revolutions and use them insofar as they can be fitted into its overall diplomacy. But it casts a cold eye on uncontrollable revolutionary movements and regimes from which it can derive no immediate advantages and which hinder its course of conciliation with Washington. The Soviet bureaucracy has shown that it values bourgeois India as an ally more than its solidarity with the Chinese workers' state.

Since the erosion of the agree-

ments reached at the Bandung Conference in 1955, Peking has looked upon most of the neo-colonialist bourgeois regimes as actual or prospective tools of Western imperialism. Nehru's conduct in the border dispute has fortified this view. The spread and strengthening of the worker-peasant movements in Asia offers Peking the most effective means of "neutralizing" governments inclined to play imperialism's anti-China game.

* * *

Their possession of the H-bomb and the means of delivering them give the U.S. and the USSR an equal stake in maintaining the present "balance of terror" as part of their condominium over the rest of the world. So long as universal disarmament is not enforced, the Chinese believe they have as much right and need as any other power to atomic bombs.

However, the Soviet chiefs are even less disposed to help China acquire nuclear weapons than Washington is to let the West German Republic have them. Communist China is unmanageable enough as it is.

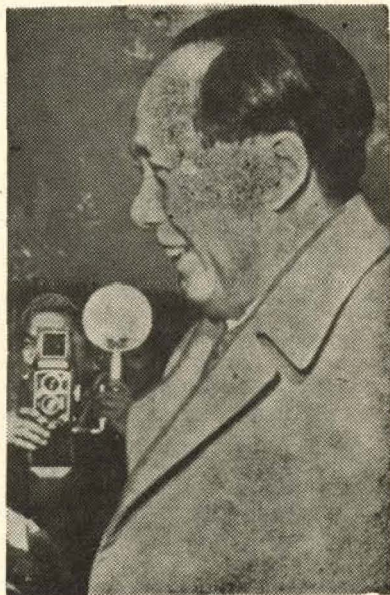
The Soviet removal of its missiles from Cuba under Kennedy's threat has intensified Chinese resentment against the Russian resistance to its independent nuclear development. They feel that Khrushchev cowers before the imperialist "paper tiger" and in the showdown yields too readily and too much to its blackmail. While China insists upon acquiring nuclear arms as indispensable for checking further imperialist aggressions and altering the balance of forces in its favor, the Soviet statesmen and generals see its candidacy for the "nuclear club" as a profoundly disturbing factor threatening the established big power setup.

Finally, the two sides are divided over de-Stalinization. The Khrushchev tendency is committed to doling out concessions to the masses which are carefully regulated to keep intact the pillars of its rulership.

Fear Masses

Pressed by the imperialist blockade and by the sullen mood of hungry masses at home, Mao and his colleagues hesitate to relax the strict controls of their regime over the party and people. They fear that criticism of their policies would be even more vigorous than in 1957.

They are antagonistic toward Yugoslavia, not simply for its ideological deviations and excessive adaptation to capitalism, but because its decentralized administration, experiments in workers' control of enterprises, and flexibility of agrarian policy stand in



Mao Tse-tung

such contrast with their own supercentralization and monolithism.

Both protagonists have agreed upon a high-level meeting to compose their differences as a preliminary to another international conference of all Communist parties. It remains to be seen on what basis it will be held.

"Difficulties"

According to the February issue *Marxist Review*, published in Prague, China has created "difficulties" in the Communist international labor unions, youth and women's organizations, and in the peace movements and called for the "removal" of Soviet party leaders. Peking is also demanding that Albania be accepted as an equal, that the Yugoslavs be branded as "traitors," and that "revisionism," not "sectarianism," be acknowledged as the "main danger" facing the Communist movement today.

Reconciliation on such terms is highly unlikely. They would give Peking the paramount ideological role in the Sino-Soviet alliance, a veto-power over Soviet foreign policy, and even over its leadership. Nor would another compromise like those of 1957 and 1960 remove the economic, political and military sources of dissension which have produced the present cleavage.

What is the essential meaning of the Sino-Soviet dispute?

It is not a mere personal quarrel between two ambitious heads of state. It is more than a conflict between the two Communist governments and parties of China and the USSR. It goes beyond a division between East and West, prosperous and poor peoples, colonial rebels and metropolitan conservatives. It concerns nothing less than the fundamental problems of our epoch.

This dispute extends and deepens the historic controversies which have shaken and reshaped the world socialist movement at previous turning points in its development. Most notable have been those between revolutionary Marxism and revisionism-reformism at the beginning of this century, between Bolshevism and Social-Democratic chauvinism and centrism during the First World War and the Russian Revolution, and between the Communist Left Opposition and Stalinism after Lenin's death. The current debate has grander dimensions since it directly involves 40 per cent of the world's inhabitants. And it will have even more portentous consequences for the fate of mankind.

Basis of Crisis

The political and ideological crisis convulsing the Soviet bloc is — next to the Polish and Hungarian revolutions of 1956 — the most striking manifestation of the death agony of Stalinism. For 25 years political life and thought in the world Communist movement was deceptively simple. Under Stalin the line transmitted from the Kremlin to all Communist parties was accepted as infallible and incontrovertible even if the ukase completely contravened yesterday's policies or cut across the interests of the workers' movement elsewhere. Dissenters were branded as "Trotskyite disrupters," counter-revolutionary agents of the class enemy, and were summarily expelled, even assassinated.

This ultra-centralized command and uniformity of line has been shattered by the colossal changes since the end of World War II. The Russian Communists may still retain the honorary title of leading party. But, like other monarchs who have seen their absolutism wane, their writ does not

compel instant and total compliance. Worker-peasant revolutions have established independent Communist regimes in Yugoslavia, China and North Vietnam. East European countries like Poland have wrested a measure of autonomy from Moscow. In Western Europe, Togliatti's Italian CP preaches "polycentrism."

De-Stalinization

Still more important has been the emergence of strong revolutionary mass movements and states free of Stalinist tutelage in Cuba, Algeria and elsewhere in Africa and Latin America.

De-Stalinization is proceeding, not only in the relations between the rulers and the people inside the Soviet Union but also in Moscow's relations with other workers' states and Communist parties. It is no longer enough for Khrushchev to acknowledge the legitimacy of "different roads to socialism" or even "the possibility that Communists in different countries may hold different opinions on specific questions, including some very important ones," as he did before the East German CP Congress in January. Moscow's hegemony is challenged by rival centers of authority in Peking, Havana and Belgrade. The dispersion of power among the workers' states is expressed in their doctrinal differences and growing disunity.

Wide Spectrum

The spectrum of tendencies which have already issued from the decomposition of Stalinist monolithism and the Kremlin's incapacity to cope with the revolutionary developments of our time can be seen in the three movements now contending in Brazil. The Brazilian CP headed by Prestes follows Khrushchev

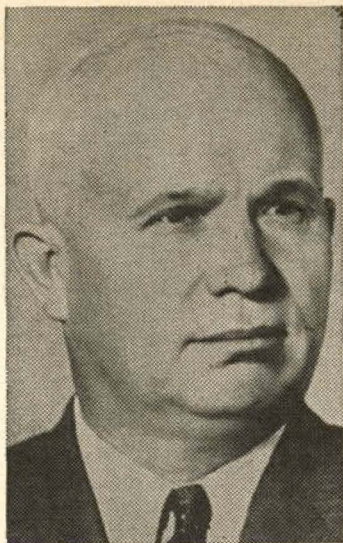
in calling for "an alliance with the bourgeoisie and other progressive elements." A pro-China split-off, which goes by the name of the CP of Brazil, assails this treacherous policy of trailing behind opportunist politicians like President Goulart. Then the leadership of the peasant leagues, organized by left Socialist Francisco Juliao, which also sympathizes with Peking, proposes to emulate the Fidelistas in promoting the Brazilian revolution. Similar divisions are emerging elsewhere in Latin America from Mexico to Chile.

Every Communist leadership and membership now has to decide: which is right and which should be supported?

Sincere seekers are not given much help by the voluminous, overheated polemical exchanges between Moscow and Peking, or Belgrade and Tirana. Tiresome, tendentious quotations from Marx and Lenin, appeals to the identical resolutions, distortion of each other's positions, and sallies against unnamed opponents do more to obscure than clarify the basic issues. In any event, the literary arguments are less important in determining the directions of the different tendencies than the test of crucial events like the Caribbean crisis and the India-China border clash. Marxism is a guide to revolutionary action — and the real content and worth of any general proposition set forth in its name is validated, not by the pretensions but by the practice of its proponents.

2 Contradictions

Why haven't either the Russian or the Chinese Communist leaderships given consistent and correct answers to the problems of world politics involved in their dispute? There are two main reasons. One is the contradiction between the



Khrushchev

narrow national interests of the ruling groups they represent and the requirements of the international struggle for socialism. The other is the contradiction between the Stalinist ideology and methods they cling to and the program needed to fulfill the revolutionary tasks of our time.

These same factors likewise prevent them from offering a Marxist explanation of their differences. Khrushchev stutters as badly when he touches on the reasons for the breach with Peking as he does on the causes of the personality cult. Thus, in a speech published March 9 he warned the restive Soviet intellectuals: "This is a very dangerous theme."

To be sure, an unrestricted investigation into Stalinism does imperil the prestige and monopoly of decision held by the Khrushchev faction. But the Soviet people demand to know how and why Stalin's crimes could happen and

what must be done to prevent their recurrence. They want to go to the root of the evil. The fearful Kremlin vacillators are trying to hold them back.

The lack of clarity and candor around the Sino-Soviet debate likewise flows from the refusal of the official participants to throw off the Stalinist ideology which nurtured them and, to one degree or another, keeps them captive.

This comes out, among other things, in their failure to recognize that the two main issues at the bottom of their dispute are the same as those which pitted Trotsky against Stalin in the 1920s. These are the questions of socialist internationalism and workers' democracy. Are the interests of the world struggle for socialist emancipation to be paramount in the conduct of the workers' states and the policies of the Communist parties — or are these to be subordinated to the nationalistic outlook of conservatized bureaucrats and the opportunism of servile followers? Are democratic or bureaucratic methods to prevail in the government and economy of the workers' states, within the workers' parties and in their international relations?

The Feb. 27 *Peking People's Daily* accuses the Soviet leadership of abandoning proletarian internationalism and violating "the normal relationships of independence and equality that should exist among fraternal parties." The editors refer to the Soviet treatment of Albania, the withdrawal of economic aid to China, the supplying of war materials to Nehru, the unilateral rejection of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the master-servant relations with the French CP, under Thorez, as evidences of these "abnormal feudal, patriarchal relationships."

But they do not explain why

the Russian leaders have departed from Marxist-Leninist principles. They talk as though all this degeneration began with Khrushchev's rise to the top in 1956-1959. In reality, the men in the Kremlin are continuing what they learned in Stalin's school. The Soviet premier has repudiated the idolatry of Stalin and remedied many of the most loathsome abuses of his era. But his regime has not abandoned the fundamental Stalinist policy of giving priority to the upper crust of Soviet society regardless of the effects upon other sectors of labor's struggles and the cause of socialism.

Those critical-minded socialists who want to understand the root-causes of Khrushchev's deviations from Marxist-Leninist principles will therefore have to uncover their material foundations in the stratifications of an inadequately productive Soviet society and the inequalities between the privileged governing minority and the worker-peasant majority. They will have to see the precedents of his revisionism in the ideological and political division within international communism after Lenin's death. They will have to review the whole nature and history of Stalinism from its birth to its present death agony.

This should logically go with a reassessment of the Trotskyist movement not only in the past but in the present. The youth organization of the Italian CP has already ventured the first significant steps in this direction.

Others who may be opposed to the Khrushchev line are still held back by prejudice from undertaking this re-evaluation. They persist in viewing the Trotskyist program and positions through Stalinist glasses. Nevertheless, light does break through. The Chinese Communists have just assailed the attitude of the U.S.

Communist Party toward the Kennedy administration along lines which have hitherto been dismissed as "Trotskyist sectarianism." Shouldn't this coincidence of criticism lead to some reconsideration of the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party among those who value Peking's opinions for other reasons?

* * *

How should Marxists orient themselves in the crossfires and complexities of the Great Debate at its present stage?

In determining which of the contending parties take the most progressive stands, the Fidelista Cubans can usefully serve as a standard of measurement. They not only have a record of persistent advance toward revolutionary Marxist positions but have the most correct attitudes on the two most important aspects of the dispute: workers' democracy and international class-struggle policy. Peking and Albania most gravely default on the first; Moscow and Belgrade on the second.

Close to Cubans

The Chinese Communists have views close to the Cubans on a series of key issues connected with the major problems of anti-imperialist action, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America. But, apart from their inconsistencies in these areas, their resistance to the processes and proponents of de-Stalinization arrays them against the forces striving for democratization in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and harms the Chinese People's Republic itself.

The Khrushchev tendency is the official banner-bearer of liberalized reform in the Soviet bloc. But its opportunistic and even treacherous course in foreign affairs has a pernicious influence upon the progress of the mass revolutionary movements against U.S.

imperialism and Western capitalism.

The Tito leadership, allied with the Kremlin, has introduced significant innovations in workers' control of industries and other fields. But it stands at the far right of the Communist states in its positions on the nature of imperialism and its policies toward the revolutionary movements against capitalism.

* * *

The best service Marxists can render in the Great Debate is to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about the views and conduct of the various participants. The Cuban leaders have not treated any of them as immune from objective criticism when this was warranted. In remarks to Claude Julien recently published in *Le Monde*, Castro, for example, not only repeated his censure of Khrushchev for withdrawing Soviet missiles without consulting the Cubans but also chided Communist China for minimizing the power of U.S. imperialism. "The Chinese are right in saying one should not yield to imperialism," he is reported to have said. "But we here are well located to know that imperialism is not a paper tiger," as Mao has contended.

The truth is that the leaders in Moscow, Belgrade and Peking have not been able to provide a comprehensively correct program and model of action for the world working class. Fortunately, the future of international socialism is not concentrated entirely in their hands.

The crisis of Stalinism is being deepened by the growing differences among the officialdoms headquartered in the Communist capitals. The break-up of the old monolithism is encouraging anti-bureaucratic sentiments down below and stimulating bolder currents of dissent which tend to go beyond the limits set by Moscow or Peking.

A world-wide realignment of revolutionary forces is being set into motion by the same vast changes of recent years which have brought about the Sino-Soviet conflict. In Latin America such groupings have already begun to draw together under the impetus of the Cuban example. The task is to see that this process of reorientation and regroupment is consummated by a return to the genuine Leninism formulated in the program and envisaged by the movement of the Fourth International.

April 8, 1963.

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Chinese Statement

[The following is the full text of the editorial entitled "A Comment on the Statement of the CPUSA," which appeared in the *Peking People's Daily* of March 8. The English translation of the editorial given here is by the Chinese news agency, *Hsinhua*.]

* * *

On Jan. 9 of this year, the Communist Party of the United States of America issued a statement publicly attacking the Communist Party of China. Certain comrades of the CPUSA have also made a number of other attacks on the Chinese Communist Party in recent months.

The CPUSA statement was particularly vicious in slandering the Chinese Communist Party for the position it took on the Caribbean crisis. It said that the Chinese Communist Party had advocated "A policy leading to thermonuclear war," and that "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."

What kind of talk is this? People cannot help being amazed that U.S. Communists should utter such shameful slanders.

The position of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people on the Caribbean crisis was very clear. We supported the five just demands of the Cuban Revolutionary Government, we were against putting any faith in Kennedy's sham "guarantee," and we were against imposing "international inspection" on Cuba. From the outset we directed the spearhead of our struggle against U.S. imperialism, which was committing aggression against Cuba. We

neither advocated the sending of missiles to Cuba, nor obstructed the withdrawal of so-called offensive weapons. We opposed adventurism, and we also opposed capitulationsm. We would like to ask: What was wrong with this correct positions of ours? How can it be described as "a policy leading to thermonuclear war?" What was there about it that "dovetails" with the line of U.S. imperialism?

Caribbean Crisis

It is not hard to see that there is a line which does dovetail with that of U.S. imperialism. On the question of the Caribbean crisis, certain leaders of the CPUSA direct the spearhead of their struggle, not against U.S. imperialism, the criminal aggressor against Cuba, but against the Chinese Communist Party, resolute supporter of Cuba. In this respect, aren't they really cheek by jowl with the most adventurous U.S. imperialists?

Since you describe the Chinese comrades, who resolutely oppose U.S. imperialism, as being "pseudo-left," we would like to ask: What do you consider to be the genuine left? Can it be that those using the sovereignty of another country as a counter for political bargaining with U.S. imperialism are to be considered the genuine left? To act in that way is indeed to be through-and-through pseudo-left, or rather, genuinely right.

It is no accident that certain leaders of the CPUSA have attacked the Chinese Communist Party on the question of the Caribbean crisis. This action is a reflection of their completely wrong understanding of U.S. im-

perialism and their completely incorrect class stand.

For a considerable period, certain leaders of the CPUSA, in their reports and statements, have been doing their utmost to prettify U.S. imperialism, to prettify Kennedy, the U.S. imperialist chieftain, and to affirm their loyalty to the U.S. ruling class.

They spoke highly of Kennedy's idea of the "New Frontier," which extends U.S. spheres of influence over all six continents, saying that "to speak of a New Frontier as Kennedy does, is good." (Gus Hall's report to the national committee of the CPUSA, *Political Affairs*, February 1961.)

They praised Kennedy's inaugural speech, which called on the people of the United States to make sacrifices to promote the cause of U.S. imperialism, saying that it was "a possible opening on the road to peace." (*The Worker*, Jan. 29, 1961)

Sang Praises

They sang praises of Kennedy's State of the Union message of 1961, where he proclaimed the dual tactics of counter-revolution in the words, "the American eagle holds in his right talon the olive branch, while in his left is held a bundle of arrows," and said it was "welcomed by the overwhelming majority of the American people." (*The Worker*, Feb. 5, 1961.)

They held that the Kennedy administration's "main mass support is "the working class, the Negro people and the peace forces," and they wished for "a shift in policy . . . in the direction of peace and democracy" on the part of the Kennedy government (Policy Statement by Gus Hall, *The Worker*, July 16, 1961).

From Kennedy's 1962 State of the Union message, in which he announced the stepping up of armaments to realize the U.S. goal

of world domination, they drew the conclusion that the Kennedy administration "can be compelled to yield to the pressures from the people" (*Political Affairs*, February 1962).

They described Kennedy's action, supporting the Rockefeller group in its attack on the Morgan group during the 1962 incident concerning steel prices, as having "awakened anew the anti-monopoly tradition of Americans" and "rendered a great service" (*The Worker*, April 22, 1962).

Commenting on Kennedy's 1963 State of the Union message in which he expressed the intention of using nuclear blackmail to establish "a world of order" led by the United States, they played up his statement that "we seek not the world-wide victory of one nation or system but a world-wide victory of man" and described this deceitful rubbish as Kennedy's "recognition of world realities," which "most people were happy to hear" and which inspired "hopefulness" (*The Worker*, Jan. 20, 1963).

If Attacked

They said that they would "any day, and every day" take an oath not to advocate using violence to overthrow the U.S. government. When someone asked "if the Soviet Union attacked the U.S. whom would you support?" the answer was, "I would defend my country if I thought it was being attacked . . ." (*The Worker*, Feb. 24, 1963).

Statements of this sort by certain leaders of the CPUSA, prettifying U.S. imperialism and affirming their loyalty to it, have nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist conclusions about U.S. imperialism set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

Presenting a scientific analysis of U.S. imperialism, the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement clearly point out that U.S. imperialism is the greatest international exploiter, the center of world reaction, the chief bulwark of modern colonialism, the international gendarme, the main force of aggression and war, and the enemy of the people of the world.

Under the cover of "peace" and "disarmament" U.S. imperialism is stepping up arms expansion and war preparation. It is preparing for wars of all types, for all-out nuclear war as well as for limited wars, and it is already waging "special warfare." In order to suppress and sabotage the national-democratic revolutionary movement and to promote neo-colonialism all over the world, and especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, U.S. imperialism is using dual counter-revolutionary tactics—using the dollar and armed force both alternately and simultaneously—and is employing the revisionist clique of Yugoslavia as its special detachment for this purpose. U.S. imperialism is voraciously plundering the wealth of many countries, not even sparing its own allies. Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has taken the place of German, Japanese and Italian fascism and rallied around itself all the most reactionary and decadent forces of the world. Today it is the most parasitic, most decadent and most reactionary of all capitalisms. It is the main source of aggression and war.

From the reactionary nature of U.S. imperialism, from its policies of aggression and war and from world realities, more and more people everywhere are coming to see ever more clearly that U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of all oppressed people and nations, the common enemy of the

people of the world and the chief enemy of world peace.

Some leaders of the CPUSA will probably say they do not deny that U.S. imperialism is perpetrating criminal aggression and waging war in various parts of the world. When they mention these criminal activities, however, they always hasten to add that these evils are not the work of the President of the United States, but of the "ultra-rights," or are done by the president under the pressure of the "ultra-right." They have described the former U.S. president, Eisenhower, and the president, Kennedy, as being "sober-minded," "realistic" and "sensible." These leaders of the CPUSA often speak of "two power" centers in Washington, one in the White House, the other in the Pentagon," and speak of "the Pentagon generals and admirals and their coalition partners among the ultra-rights, the Republican leaders and Wall Street" as forces independent of the White House. "We should ask: Do the leaders of the CPUSA still accept the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and admit that the U.S. state apparatus is the tool of monopoly capital for class rule? And if so, how can there be a president independent of monopoly capital, how can there be a Pentagon independent of the White House, and how can there be two opposing centers in Washington?"

Ordered Invasion

Let us consider, for instance, the present U.S. president, Kennedy. He is himself a big capitalist. It is he who ordered the armed invasion of Cuba in 1961, and who ordered the military blockade and war provocations against Cuba in 1962. It is he who has carried on the inhuman "special war" in Southern Vietnam, who has used the "United Nations Force" to sup-

press the national liberation movement in the Congo, and who has organized "special forces" in a frantic effort to crush the national-democratic revolutionary movement in various Latin-American countries. Every year since he became president, Kennedy has greatly increased U.S. military spending. Kennedy's 1963-64 budget calls for military expenditures of over \$60 billion, or over 30 per cent more than the \$45.9 billion for military expenditures provided in Eisenhower's 1959-60 budget. These facts show that the Kennedy administration is still more adventurous in pursuing policies of aggression and war.

In trying so hard to portray Kennedy as "sensible," are not these CPUSA leaders serving as willing apologists for U.S. imperialism and helping it to deceive the people of the world?

CPUSA Leaders

The fact that certain leaders of the CPUSA are so eager to prettify U.S. imperialism and so eager to affirm their loyalty to the ruling class of the United States recalls to mind Browder's revisionism, which existed in the CPUSA for some time. This renegade from the working class, Browder, denied Lenin's basic thesis that imperialism is parasitic, decaying and moribund capitalism, and denied that U.S. capitalism is imperialist in its nature, maintaining that it "retains some of the characteristics of a young capitalism" and would play a progressive role and be a force for world peace for a long time. Why don't these leaders of the CPUSA stop and consider: What is the difference between your present embellishment of U.S. imperialism and Browder's revisionism?

It is obvious that differences of principle exist in the international Communist movement today as to

how to appraise and how to deal with U.S. imperialism, the arch-enemy of the people of the world.

We have always held that, basing ourselves on Marxism-Leninism and taking things as they really are, we must constantly expose the reactionary nature of U.S. imperialism, constantly expose the policies of aggression and war pursued by U.S. imperialism, including its government leaders, and clearly point out that U.S. imperialism is the chief enemy of the people of the world. We must ceaselessly carry on revolutionary propaganda among the masses of the people, arm them ideologically, enhance their revolutionary staunchness and vigilance, and mobilize them in waging the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

However, there are certain persons who, while calling themselves Marxist-Leninists, do their utmost not only to prettify U.S. imperialism, but also to stop others from unmasking it. They smear revolutionary propaganda against U.S. imperialism as being nothing but "curses," "vilification," "verbal weapons," "incantations," "cardboard swords," etc., etc. And they add, "vituperation alone, however just, will not weaken imperialism." In the eyes of these persons, aren't all the revolutionary propaganda undertaken by communists since the time of the *Communist Manifesto*, all the writings of Marx and Engels exposing capitalism, all Lenin's works exposing imperialism, the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement jointly drawn up by the Communist Parties of the world—aren't they all only "cardboard swords?" These persons completely fail to understand that once the theory of Marxism-Leninism grips the masses of the people a tremendous material force is generated. Once armed with revolutionary ideas, the masses of

the people will dare to struggle and to seize victory, and they will accomplish earth-shaking feats. What then is the purpose of these persons in opposing the exposure of imperialism and in opposing revolutionary propoganda of any kind? It can only be to prevent the people from waging a revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Clearly, such a stand is completely contrary to Marxism-Leninism.

We have always held, moreover, that we must rely on the masses of the people to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism and its running dogs. This is the basic lesson the Chinese people have drawn from their 120 years of struggle against imperialism and its running dogs. It is also the common lesson which all oppressed nations and people of the world have drawn from their struggles against imperialism and its running dogs. The imperialists and the reactionaries in every country use every available means and method against the revolutionary people. It is therefore imperative for the revolutionary people of all countries to study and master every means and method of struggle that can hurt the enemy and protect and develop their own forces. Examples are: To oppose the counter-revolutionary united front of imperialism and its running dogs by a revolutionary united front of the masses against imperialism and its running dogs, to oppose dual counter-revolutionary tactics with dual revolutionary tactics, to counter a war of aggression with a war of self-defense, to counter negotiation with negotiation, to oppose counter-revolutionary propoganda with revolutionary propoganda, etc. That is what we mean by "tit-for-tat." Experience has demonstrated that only thus can we temper and expand the forces of the

people, accumulate and enrich our revolutionary experience and win victory for the revolutionary cause. And only thus can we puncture the arrogance of imperialism, stop imperialist aggression and safeguard world peace.

Certain persons, however, deliberately misrepresent and attack our view that a tit-for-tat struggle has to be waged against imperialism, charging that we are opposed to negotiations with the imperialists. Following them, the CPUSA in its statement also misrepresents and attacks this view of ours without any valid grounds. Actually, these persons are not unaware that the Chinese Communist Party has consistently approved of negotiations between socialist and imperialist countries, including summit meetings of great powers, in order to settle international disputes peacefully and relax international tension. They are also aware that the Chinese government has made positive efforts and important contributions to this end.

Why then do these persons keep on distorting and attacking this correct stand of ours?

Rely on Masses

The basic reason is that there is a difference of principle between them and us on the question of the fundamental policy for fighting imperialism and defending world peace. We place our confidence in the great strength of the masses. We hold that in fighting imperialism and defending world peace we should rely mainly on the unity and struggle of the people of all countries, and on the concerted struggle of the socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movements and all peace-loving forces. In contrast, these persons have no confidence in the masses and pin their hopes, not on the

unity and struggle of the masses, but mainly on the "reason" and "good will" of the imperialists and on talks between the heads of two great powers. They are infatuated with the idea of summit meetings and laud them as marking "a new stage," "a turning point in the history of mankind" and opening "a new stream in world history."

In their opinion, the course of history and the fate of mankind are determined by two great powers and two "great men." In their opinion, the statement that all countries are independent and equal irrespective of size is an empty phrase, and the hundred and more countries in the world ought to allow themselves to be ordered about by these two great powers. In their opinion, the statement that the masses are the makers of history is another empty phrase, and every matter under the sky can be settled if the two "great men" sit together. Isn't this great-power chauvinism? Isn't this the doctrine of power politics? Does this have anything in common with Marxism-Leninism? Actually, there is nothing new about this view, it has been copied from the renegade Browder. Browder said long ago that the "alliance" of the two greatest powers in the world "will be a great fortress for the collective security and progress of all peoples in the post-war world," and that "the future of the world" depended upon the "friendship, understanding and co-operation" of the two greatest powers.

Double Standard

With an ulterior purpose, the statement of the CPUSA referred to Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao. It said that the Chinese comrades were "correctly, not following the adventurous policy in Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao that they

advocate for others. Why this double standard approach?"

We know from what quarter they have learnt this ridiculous charge. And we know, too, the purpose of the person who manufactured it.

Here we should like to answer all those who have raised this matter.

For us there never has been a question of a "double standard." We have only one standard, whether in dealing with the question of Taiwan, whether in dealing with the questions of Hongkong and Macao, or whether in dealing with all international questions, and that standard is Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, the interests of the Chinese people and of the people of the world, the interests of world peace and the revolutionary cause of the people of all countries. In international struggles we are opposed both to adventurism and to capitulationism. These two hats can never fit our heads.

Inasmuch as some persons have mentioned Taiwan, Honkong and Macao, we are obliged to discuss a little of the history of imperialist aggression against China.

In the hundred years or so prior to the victory of the Chinese Revolution, the imperialist and colonial powers — the United States, Britain, France, Tsarist Russia, Germany, Japan, Italy, Austria, The Netherlands, Spain and Portugal — carried out unbridled aggression against China. They compelled the governments of Old China to sign a large number of unequal treaties — the Treaty of Nanking of 1842, the Treaty of Aigun of 1858, the Treaty of Tientsin of 1858, the Treaty of Peking of 1860, the Treaty of Ili of 1881, the Protocol of Lisbon of 1887, the Treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895, the Convention for the

Extension of Hongkong of 1898, the Treaty of 1901, etc. By virtue of these unequal treaties, they annexed Chinese territory in the north, south, east and west and held leased territories on the seaboard and in the hinterland of China. Some seized Taiwan and the Penghu Islands, some occupied Hongkong and forcibly leased Kowloon, some put Macao under perpetual occupation, etc., etc.

At the time the People's Republic of China was inaugurated, our government declared that it would examine the treaties concluded by previous Chinese governments with foreign governments, treaties that had been left over by history, and would recognize, abrogate, revise or re-negotiate them according to their respective contents. In this respect, our policy towards the socialist countries is fundamentally different from our policy towards the imperialist countries. When we deal with various imperialist countries, we take differing circumstances into consideration and make distinctions in our policy. As a matter of fact, many of these treaties concluded in the past either have lost their validity, or have been abrogated or have been replaced by new ones. With regard to the outstanding issues, which are a legacy from the past, we have always held that, when conditions are ripe, they should be settled peacefully through negotiations and that, pending a settlement, the status quo should be maintained. Within this category are the questions of Hongkong, Kowloon and Macao, and the questions of all those boundaries which have not been formally delimited by the parties concerned in each case. As for Taiwan and the Penghu Islands, they were restored to China in 1945, and the question now is the U.S. imperialist invasion and occupa-

tion of them and U.S. imperialist interference in China's internal affairs. We Chinese people are determined to exercise our sovereign right to liberate our own territory of Taiwan; at the same time, through the ambassadorial talks between China and the United States in Warsaw we are striving to solve the question of effecting the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. Our position as described above accords not only with the interests of the Chinese people but also with the interests of the people of the socialist camp and the people of the whole world.

Why is it that after the Caribbean crisis this correct policy of ours suddenly became a topic of discussion among certain persons and a theme for their anti-China campaign?

These heroes are apparently very pleased with themselves for having picked up a stone from a cesspool, with which they believe they can fell the Chinese. But whom has this filthy stone really hit?

Unequal Treaties

You are not unaware that such questions as those of Hongkong and Macao relate to the category of unequal treaties left over by history, treaties which the imperialists imposed on China. It may be asked: In raising questions of this kind, do you intend to raise all the questions of unequal treaties and have a general settlement? Has it ever entered your heads what the consequences would be? Can you seriously believe that this will do you any good?

Superficially, you seem to agree with China's policy on Hongkong and Macao. Yet, you compare it with India's liberation of Goa. Anyone with a discerning eye can see at once that your sole intention is to prove that the Chinese

are cowards. To be frank, there is no need for the Chinese people to prove their courage and staunchness in combating imperialism by making a show of force on the questions of Hongkong and Macao. The imperialists, and the U.S. imperialists in particular, have had occasion to sample our courage and staunchness. Shoulder to shoulder with the Korean people, the finest sons and daughters of the Chinese people fought for three years and shed their blood on the battlefields of Korea to repulse the U.S. aggressors. Don't you feel it "stupid" and "deplorable" on your part to taunt us on the questions of Hongkong and Macao?

We know very well, and you know too, that you are, to put it plainly, bringing up the questions of Hongkong and Macao merely as a fig leaf to hide your disgraceful performance in the Caribbean crisis. But all this is futile. There is an objective criterion for truth, just as there is for error. What is right cannot be made to look wrong, nor can wrong be made to look right. To glory in your disgraceful performance will not add to your prestige. How can the correct policy of the Chinese people on the questions of Hongkong and Macao be mentioned in the same breath with your erroneous policy on the Caribbean crisis? How can such a comparison help you to whitewash yourselves? Our resolute defense of our sovereignty in the matter of Taiwan is completely consistent with our resolute support of the Cuban people in defending their sovereignty during the Caribbean crisis. How can this be described as having a "double standard?"

We say to these friends who are acting the hero, it is you, and not we, who really have a "double standard." With regard to the U.S. imperialists, one day you call

them pirates and the next you say they are concerned for peace. As for revolutionary Cuba, you say that you support her five demands for safeguarding her independence and sovereignty, but on the other hand you try to impose "international inspection" on her. With regard to the Sino-Indian boundary dispute, you speak of "fraternal China" and "friendly India" on the one hand, but on the other you maliciously attack China and support the Indian reactionaries in divers ways. As for Hongkong and Macao, while you ostensibly speak for China, you are actually stabbing her in the back. Are you not applying a "double standard" in all your actions? Is this not a manifestation of dual personality?

Great Sympathy

The Chinese Communists and the Chinese people and the Communists and people of the United States are fighting on the same front against U.S. imperialism. We highly esteemed Comrade William Z. Foster, builder of the CPUSA and outstanding leader of the U.S. proletariat. We have not forgotten that the U.S. Communists represented by him warmly supported us Chinese people in the difficult years of our revolution and laid the foundation for friendship between the Chinese and the U.S. parties and between the Chinese and American peoples. U.S. Communists are now being savagely persecuted by the U.S. government; we have great sympathy for them in their difficult position. In a statement issued a year ago, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party condemned the U.S. government for its outrageous persecution of the U.S. Communists. The Chinese people also launched a mass movement in support of the U.S. Communist Party. But, for reasons beyond us, the leaders of the CPUSA did not

think it worth while to inform its members and the people of the United States of the support given to the U.S. party by the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people.

The leaders of the CPUSA assert that they are conscious of their international obligations in the heartland of the world's most powerful and arrogant imperialism. We will of course be glad if they indeed have a correct understanding of their obligations. In the United States, there is a powerful working class, there are extensive democratic and progressive social forces, and there are many fair-minded and progressive people in the fields of science, art, journalism, literature and education. In the United States, there are large-scale workers' struggles, there is the ever-growing struggle of the Negro people, and there is the movement for peace, democracy and social progress. In the United States, there is a broad social basis for a united front against monopoly capital and against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. And there are not a small number of genuine communists, both inside and outside the Communist Party of the United States, who firmly adhere to Marxism-Leninism and oppose revisionism and dogmatism.

The leaders of the CPUSA can show that they really understand their international obligations and are fulfilling them, if they carry on and enrich the revolutionary tradition of Comrade Foster; if they identify themselves with the masses, rely on them and do arduous revolutionary work among them; if they combat the corrosive influence of the bourgeoisie

and the poison of reformism in the working-class movement and eliminate the revisionist influence of the Lovestones and Browders from their ranks, and if they develop the revolutionary struggle of the American people against their imperialist ruling class and co-ordinate this struggle in the heartland of U.S. imperialism with the international fight of all people against U.S. imperialism. The Chinese people and the people throughout the world have the highest hopes for the working class and the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of the United States.

Today, the urgent task confronting the communists of all countries is to unite the people of the whole world, including the American people, in the broadest possible united front against imperialism headed by the United States. The great slogan "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" inspires the people of the socialist countries and the proletariat of all countries, inspires the oppressed people and nations throughout the world, and rallies them all to fight shoulder to shoulder in the common struggle against imperialism headed by the United States.

We communists throughout the world must unite. We must unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and direct the spearhead of our struggle against the imperialists headed by the United States. We must carry through to final victory the great cause of the people of all countries for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

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