

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

DPRK
(Rodong Sinmun)

**TWO ARTICLES
AGAINST SOVIET
REVISIONISM**

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LET US DEFEND THE SOCIALIST CAMP!

October 28, 1963

The international communist movement is undergoing a severe test today. The differences in this movement are assuming more serious dimensions. Some people, removed far from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, are sliding down deep into the mire of revisionism. Modern revisionism has created a great obstacle to the people's cause of revolution and peace.

Due to the machinations of the revisionists the Communist and Workers' Parties are unable to maintain the unity of will and action in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. The unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement are gravely endangered. This situation has given rise to deep concern among the Communists and the working class of the whole world.

The Korean Communists have keenly realized the great vitality of the socialist camp through their arduous struggle against the enemy.

We are against the split of the socialist camp and sincerely desire its unity. We consider it the pressing, common fighting task confronting the

Communists of the whole world today to defend the unity of the socialist camp, strengthen its might and enhance its role, holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism for the triumph of the international communist movement.

I. The Socialist Camp — A Great Gain of the International Working Class

Today socialism is winning victory on a worldwide scale. Socialism has already won not only in the vast area of Europe and Asia but also in Cuba, an island country at the very doorstep of U.S. imperialism, the chieftain of world reaction.

The socialist camp today embraces one third of the world's population and one quarter of the land surface of the globe and accounts for more than 37 per cent of the industrial production of the world. In the development of science and technology, too, the socialist camp is ahead of the developed capitalist countries.

The influence of socialism on the world people has grown as never before and more and more people are fighting for it.

The forces of socialism are prevailing over the forces of imperialism in the international arena.

The growth of the forces of socialism is above all a great victory for the Communists and the working class the world over.

The world-historic victory won by the inter-

national working class, breaking the chains of capital, was by no means achieved with ease.

Since the publication of the great “Communist Manifesto” by Marx and Engels, the international working class under the guidance of the Communists has fought heroically, pulling through numerous difficulties and grim tests, and paved the way to victory through life-and-death struggle against the enemy.

The capitalists and all the reactionary forces of the world declared the Communists their most formidable enemy and made every vicious attempt to check the spread of the ideas of scientific communism and the development of the international communist movement. Standing at the van of the progressive people, the Communists have always fought indescribably arduous battles against the vicious enemy of all hues.

On the thorny path of struggle the international communist movement went through many twists and turns. Sometimes the Communists suffered bitter setbacks and had to make painful retreats. Whenever they encountered trials, capitulationists and renegades emerged from among them and deranged the ranks of the revolution.

But true Communists have never been discouraged by setbacks nor carried away by victories; they have always stood by the red banner of revolution whether cowards fell off or not. Underground at times, with arms in their hands at other times and, at yet other times, behind bars, the Communists fought unyieldingly solely for

the liberation of the working class and toiling people.

Under the leadership of the Communists the international working class, braving all sacrifices, has ceaselessly attacked capital's positions and has grown into a great revolutionary force in the flames of fierce struggles against the enemy.

The Paris Commune, the first working class power in history, ended in failure after over 70-days' life-and-death struggle of the Paris working class who rose up to defend it. The Commune was drenched in blood by the barbarous white terror. However, the heroic battle exploits of the Paris working class and the priceless lesson gained at the cost of their blood have been carried forward by the international working class.

The first great victory of the international communist movement was achieved by the working class of Russia under the leadership of Lenin. With the victory of the October Socialist Revolution socialism was converted from a scientific ideology into a living reality and the international communist movement came to have a mighty bulwark.

The victory of the October Revolution roused the working class and toiling people of the whole world to an heroic struggle for freedom and liberation and awakened hundreds of millions of the peoples of the East who **“have stood outside of history and have been regarded merely**

as the object of history” (Lenin)¹ for a long time. The revolutionary tempest swept the whole world and the revolutionary movement of the international working class, linked up with the liberation movement of the oppressed nations of the East, dealt more fatal blows to imperialism.

The imperialists and reactionary forces of all hues desperately tried to strangle the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, and put down the international communist and labour movement.

But the Soviet people, under the leadership of Lenin’s Party, beat back the vicious attacks of the enemies, both domestic and foreign, and defended the great gains of the revolution to the last and successfully built socialism, overcoming all difficulties in the capitalist encirclement. Despite the desperate efforts of the enemy, the ranks of the international communist movement speedily grew into a mighty force under the great revolutionary banner — the banner of Leninism.

International capital produced fascism, the most ferocious and truculent imperialism, in the arena of history, and drove it into fighting as a shock-brigade in the battle against the Soviet Union, a socialist state, and the international communist and labour movement. A fierce battle was waged between revolution and counter-revolution on a worldwide scale.

In Europe and Asia, and in all parts of the

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, New York 1943, Vol. 10, p. 197, Eng. ed.

world, the Communists fought heroically at the van of the anti-fascist front and shed their precious blood in decisive battles against the heinous enemy. A great number of Communists waged long-drawn armed struggles leading the oppressed labouring masses and dealt telling blows to the plunderers.

Thanks to the decisive role of the heroic Soviet Army, the German fascist and Japanese militarists were routed completely.

The attempt of the imperialists to wipe out the international communist movement was smashed by the heroic struggle of the international working class and the oppressed toiling masses, and many peoples of the world won victory in the struggle for freedom and independence.

People's democratic revolution emerged victorious in a number of European and Asian countries. The triumph of the great Chinese revolution administered a telling blow to the forces of imperialism, turned the balance of forces in the international arena decisively in favour of socialism and greatly inspired the national-liberation movement in colonies.

Socialism grew beyond the bounds of one country and developed into a world system, and the socialist countries formed a powerful camp standing opposed to the imperialist camp.

The formation of the socialist camp was a great historic event in the development of the international communist movement. From then

on, the movement came to have a rock-firm foundation for the final victory of revolution and the forces of socialism have gradually become a decisive factor in the development of human society.

The formation of the socialist camp is a law-governed process of the development of human history. It is a product of the bitter class struggle between the international working class and the international capitalist class; it is the outcome of the victory of socialism over capitalism. It is the main issue of the international communist movement which has traversed the path of glorious struggle for over a century holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and it is the great fruition of the bloody struggles of the international working class and oppressed toiling masses over a long period. The formation of the socialist camp further confirmed the inevitability of the fall of capitalism and the victory of socialism.

The socialist camp has not been brought into being artificially by anyone, nor formed by any international treaty, nor is it a temporary "bloc." It has been formed historically in the course of the development of the liberation struggle of the international working class. The victorious working classes have been united into one camp as a necessity in accordance with the requirement of class solidarity inherent in them.

“The socialist camp is a social, economic and political community of free and sovereign peo-

ples united by the close bonds of international socialist solidarity, by common interests and objectives, and following the path of socialism and communism” (*Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers’ Parties*).

As a class alliance of the socialist countries, states of a new type guided by the working class, the socialist camp has already demonstrated its great vitality clearly. It has not only played a large role in achieving the common prosperity of the peoples of the fraternal countries embraced in the socialist camp, but also has made an enormous contribution to the cause of peace and revolution of the world peoples.

The united, mighty socialist camp is a great revolutionary force of our age, invincible bulwark of world peace and reliable guarantee of victory for all progressive people.

The existence of the socialist camp unites the world working class and revolutionary peoples and powerfully encourages and inspires the progressive people of the whole world to an heroic struggle. The growth of the might of the socialist camp turns the general international situation more favourably for the revolutionary struggle of the people. It also deals a powerful blow to the aggressive policy of imperialism and terrifies all the reactionary forces.

The U.S.-led imperialists and their lackeys are frantically trying to subvert the socialist

camp. Especially today, the imperialists are more and more persistent in their sinister machinations to disrupt the socialist camp from within and shatter the socialist countries one by one. They endeavour to split the socialist camp by estranging the socialist countries from each other and to make a profit off of it.

In their manoeuvres to undermine the socialist camp the imperialists are using the modern revisionists. The Tito clique have been systematically resorting to nefarious manoeuvrings against the socialist camp and faithfully serving the imperialists since the first days they degenerated into revisionism.

Today certain people are actively vindicating the Titoites and increasing confusion in the socialist camp, thereby following the dangerous course of splitting it. This shows that they have allied themselves with the imperialists and Titoites who are attempting to wreck the socialist camp. The international working class and the people of all socialist countries can never tolerate the destruction of the great revolutionary gains they won and have safeguarded with their blood.

For the ultimate victory of the international communist movement, the Communists and the working class of the whole world must frustrate all the subversive manoeuvres of the imperialists and modern revisionists and resolutely defend the socialist camp, the great gain of the international working class.

II. To Defend the Entire Socialist Camp Is the International Duty of the Communists

The invincible might of the socialist camp lies in the cohesion of its ranks. The united force of the camp is an important guarantee for reliably defending each socialist country from the aggression of the imperialists and for ensuring the complete victory of socialism throughout it. The unity of the socialist camp redoubles the might of the communist movement.

Unity is the mightiest weapon in the hands of the working class. From the very moment it made its appearance in the arena of history, the working class could win arduous struggles against the capitalist class by relying on the might of unity. Even today the socialist camp can continue to administer heavy blows at the imperialists and drive them into a tight corner only by maintaining the unity of its ranks.

Owing to the internal differences today, however, the socialist camp is, in fact, unable to make advance as integrated ranks, as a united force.

Unprecedented things are happening in our ranks: the brother Parties and brother countries standing for Marxism-Leninism and holding fast to the revolutionary stand are slandered and attacked in the face of the imperialists.

Manoeuvrings are being perpetrated to isolate and exclude this or that socialist country by

extending ideological disputes to state relations. Tumultuous campaigns are being unfolded against the Marxist-Leninist Parties and brother countries even by mobilizing the popular masses, other brother Parties and international organizations.

Certain persons have gone to the extent of making no distinction between the revolutionary comrades and the class enemies. They resort to the intolerable practice of getting closer with the enemies and showing their “friendship” and “goodwill” to them, while treating the class brothers and revolutionary comrades like enemies.

The fraternal Parties and countries, which should share life and death, sweets and bitters in the joint struggle for the cause of the working class the world over, are thus dealt blows from behind.

This only gladdens the imperialists. They are eager to see that we are at feud, quarrel and break with each other. They are busy describing the “split” of the socialist camp as a *fait accompli*, clamouring “Let’s not miss the chance to take advantage of the differences!” in the international communist movement.

The Communists cannot remain indifferent to this grave situation that concerns the destiny of the socialist camp and the future of world revolution.

Today the Communists throughout the world are confronted with the urgent task of res-

olutely defending the socialist camp before anything else.

To defend the socialist camp is to safeguard the historical gains of the long-drawn struggle of the working class the world over and to defend the base of world revolution. Defending the socialist camp does not mean defending any one socialist country or only some of the countries of this camp, it means safeguarding the achievements gained by the peoples of all socialist countries in socialist construction and defending the socialist camp as a whole.

In the past it was the touchstone of proletarian internationalism to support and defend the Soviet Union, the then only socialist state in the world.

In the past the Soviet Union built socialism by itself in the capitalist encirclement, actively inspired and supported the peoples of all countries in their revolutionary struggles. The Soviet Union was the only base of world revolution.

Therefore, for the world Communists of those days to defend and support the Soviet Union was the sacred internationalist duty to support and defend world revolution. That was quite natural.

In the grim years under Japanese imperialists' colonial rule, the Korean Communists, together with the Communists of the whole world, looked up to the Soviet Union with hope and expressed militant solidarity with the Soviet people under the slogan, "Let's defend the Soviet Union

with arms!”

Today the number of the socialist countries has swelled to thirteen, as a result of which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have all come to assume the role of “shock brigade” in the international revolutionary movement.

Stalin said: **“Of course, it was very difficult to fulfil this honourable role when there was only one ‘shock brigade’ and when it had to perform this vanguard role almost singlehandedly. But this is a thing of the past.**

“Now the situation is altogether different. Now that new ‘shock brigades’ have emerged in the form of People’s Democracies from China and Korea to Czechoslovakia and Hungary, it has become easier for our Party to fight, and our work, too, has become more delightful.”¹

With the ranks of the socialist countries growing, the base of world revolution has been expanded. At present not a certain country but the entire socialist camp constitutes the base of world revolution.

It is, therefore, a genuinely internationalist act at present to support and defend both the Soviet Union and all other socialist states, the socialist camp as a whole. Only with such an attitude is it possible to jointly safeguard and consol-

¹ J.V. Stalin, *Speech Delivered at the 19th Congress of the CPSU(B)*

idate the gains of revolution and further promote world revolution.

Among the socialist countries there are, of course, big and small countries, countries young and old in their history of revolution.

A big country with a long history of revolution can and must play a greater role in international relations than a small country with a short history of revolution. A big country which accomplished revolution ahead of the others can make a greater contribution to strengthening the might of the socialist camp, exert greater influence upon the liberation struggle of the exploited masses and oppressed nations and also play a bigger role in safeguarding world peace.

This, however, does not mean that any one country can represent or act on behalf of the entire socialist camp.

No matter how big and advanced it may be, the might of one country cannot take the place of the might of the entire socialist camp and one country cannot play the role of the entire camp.

If all the socialist countries, big and small, young and old in their history of revolution, economically developed and backward, make persevering efforts from their revolutionary stand, they can make due contributions each from his own position to strengthening the might of the entire socialist camp and developing the international communist movement. Cuba, for instance, as the first socialist country in the Western Hemisphere, is exerting tremendous revolutionizing

influence on the entire people of Latin America today. It is quite clear that no other socialist state can fill the position and play the role of Cuba.

The socialist camp can fully display its might only when all the socialist countries pool their strength and are firmly united as an integral whole. We must, therefore, strive in every way to strengthen the might of the entire socialist camp and enhance its role.

If leaders of this or that Party only boast that their country is large, is a great power with huge economic might, and disregard other fraternal parties and states, it will weaken the might and undermine the unity of the socialist camp, and do great harm to the international communist movement.

Recently some people behave as if they would not grudge severing some countries from the socialist camp.

This is a concrete expression of the wrong idea that a certain country can do anything it likes from its privileged position and that the other countries do not play any major role.

The Communists prize not only the revolutionary achievements of any one particular country but also the achievements of all the socialist countries.

We must defend and further cement the socialist camp, the glorious gain of the international labour movement, and, on this basis, press ahead toward a fresh victory. It is a most important guarantee for the future victory to fortify

the strongholds of socialism we have taken. If the unity and might of the socialist camp are weakened, it will bring about serious consequences in the international communist movement.

We see a worldwide campaign being unfolded against the People's Republic of China as of late.

Imperialists and all the international reactionary forces harbour a savage hatred toward the victory of the Chinese revolution; they are frantically working to impair the prestige of China and isolate her.

Nevertheless, certain self-styled Communists have joined hands with the imperialists in hurling groundless slanders and diatribes at the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China, and fiercely attacking them. This is a shameful and extremely dangerous act.

To isolate China means, in effect, to split the socialist camp. To be frank, how can one talk about the socialist camp if China, which comprises two-thirds of the population of the socialist camp, is excluded?

This is not only the case with a big country but a small country as well. It is impermissible to exclude any socialist country from the socialist camp, no matter how small it is. Such an act is tantamount to leaving the gains of socialism attained through the long-drawn revolutionary struggle to the mercy of the imperialists.

Is it not quite clear that if the socialist camp is not defended, but, instead, things develop in

such a way that a country was isolated and excluded yesterday, and another country today, and still another tomorrow, this will in the long run split the socialist camp and break up the international communist movement completely?

To isolate and exclude this or that socialist country is not a separate question concerning the victim alone but a fundamental question that concerns the destiny of the entire socialist camp and the destiny of world revolution.

We hope that revolution will be victorious even in a single new country and the ranks of the socialist countries will expand steadily, and we are fighting to this end. This being so, how can we ever tolerate such a practice as severing the already victorious socialist states? How much better it is that not one country, not two, not twelve countries but thirteen belong to the socialist camp!

Some people, while trying to sever individual states from the socialist camp, are scheming arbitrarily to draw into the socialist camp such a servitor of imperialism as the Titoites who have been unanimously condemned in the international communist movement.

That is preposterous.

Whether this or that country belongs to the socialist camp or not cannot be decided by the subjective views of any individual or several persons. Even if they want to exclude a country from the socialist camp, it does not cease to be a socialist country, and even if they try to grant the "title

of socialism” to a country which is not socialist and to drag it into the socialist camp, it cannot become a socialist country.

The socialist camp cannot be made a plaything of any individual.

Splits should never be permitted and unity should be safeguarded.

The socialist camp must be united on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and on the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement adopted at the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers’ Parties. No unity can be achieved apart from these principles.

Those who deviate from the road of revolution and create the split of the socialist camp will have to shoulder grave responsibility for the ensuing consequences.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties, in whatever circumstances, will overcome all trials and march ahead vigorously, holding aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism and carry through to the last the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The forward movement of revolution cannot be checked.

The socialist camp can fulfil its historical mission when it is firmly united in monolithic ranks, opposes imperialism and revisionism resolutely and forges ahead holding aloft the banner of revolution.

III. Fraternal Parties and Countries Must Strictly Abide by the Standards of Their Mutual Relations

The Communist and Workers' Parties and the socialist countries are united by one and the same idea and common goal — struggle.

The Declaration and the Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties made from the Marxist-Leninist point of view an all-round exposition of the essence of relations among fraternal Parties and countries, and the principles guiding them.

The Declaration and the Statement laid down the standards of mutual relations among brother Parties and countries — complete equality, sovereignty, mutual respect, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and comradely assistance.

These standards are a conclusion unanimously drawn by the fraternal Parties after summing up the historical experience accumulated in the long course of the development of the international communist movement and the socialist camp.

It is these standards that provide the basis for solidarity, the criterion for the united action, of the Parties of all countries. The correctness of these standards has already been proven by life.

When the fraternal parties and socialist countries strictly observe these standards governing

their mutual relations, the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement will become truly voluntary, conscious and solid.

If these standards are violated and words do not accord with deeds, complicated problems inevitably arise among fraternal Parties and countries, doing harm to the unity of the socialist camp.

All the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' Parties are equal and independent and they must respect each other.

Within the ranks of the communist movement no one can claim a privileged position and there can be no relation of senior and junior; there can be no such relations in which one issues orders and exercises control from a central post, while the others obey and execute the orders.

No Party should force its will upon the others or demand unilateral respect from them.

The Communist and Workers' Parties must support, co-operate with and help each other in a comradely way.

In recent years, there have been in gross contraventions of these standards of mutual relations agreed upon by the fraternal Parties.

Everyone asserts that he adheres to the principles laid down in the Declaration and the Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties. But all of them do not observe these principles in deeds.

Some claim that the principle of centralism

and the principle of the minority obeying the majority should be applied in the relations among the brother Parties.

The principle of centralism is a norm applied in the inner life of individual Parties. This principle can never be applied to the relations among fraternal Parties.

Within a Party, the lower Party organizations submit to higher organizations, all Party organizations submit to the Party Central Committee, and the minority to the majority.

What would happen if this norm governing the inner life of individual Parties is applied to the relations among fraternal Parties? It might bring about the result that an individual Party with established authority imposes its unilateral will upon other Parties by raking up the mechanical majority. Then, conscious and voluntary unity would disappear, arrogance of great-nation chauvinism and bureaucratic despotism would prevail and mutual distrust be created in the ranks of the communist movement.

It would, in the long run, be impossible for the fraternal Parties to maintain unity of will and action among them.

The Communists have from the beginning fought against inequality of all shapes. How can the Communists themselves create a relationship of inequality today?

The demand for the application of the principle of centralism to the mutual relationship between the brother Parties was already rejected

and frustrated at the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries.

Today, the brother Parties of various countries carry on their activities in a situation fundamentally different from the time when the Communist International existed.

The world revolutionary movement has expanded and developed in all continents on an unprecedented scale and in diverse forms, and the situation is undergoing radical, complex changes. The Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries have been so seasoned and have grown into powerful political forces, through a protracted revolutionary struggle, as to assume the responsibility of the revolution in their own countries.

Under these circumstances, an exclusive leadership from one "centre" has become impossible and unnecessary.

This, of course, does not mean that the fraternal Parties of all countries conduct their revolutionary work separately without maintaining any interrelations.

The Communist and Workers' Parties and socialist countries must work in close co-operation and support each other on the proletarian internationalist principles in the struggle against the common enemy and for the common cause.

At the same time, the fraternal Parties of all countries must achieve the unanimity of views through collective consultations on questions of

common concern, work out a unified strategy and tactics for the international communist movement and unanimously hold to their joint assessments and conclusions.

Only by so doing is it possible to strengthen the class solidarity among the brother Parties and countries, ensuring the unity of their will and action.

Differences of views may occur among fraternal Parties. They may arise from the difference of the conditions of activities and specific duties of the fraternal Parties of various countries, and also from a misconception of Marxism-Leninism and wrong approach toward the revolution.

In case differences of views arise between fraternal Parties, they should be overcome with sincerity and patience through comradely consultations on the basis of facts and principles.

But today some people have discarded at will the principles agreed upon by the fraternal Parties and try to dispose of the differences by various coercive methods. They arbitrarily attach the labels of "dogmatism," "sectarianism," "nationalism," "adventurism" and "war-like elements" to those fraternal Parties which do not obey their will.

Of late they are gradually extending ideological polemics among the Parties to worsen the state relations. They have unilaterally repealed their agreements with fraternal countries and have virtually cut off the relations of economic and technical co-operation. They expel ambassa-

dors and other diplomats and correspondents frequently. They do not hesitate to sever even state relations with fraternal countries.

Why should they extend ideological disputes among fraternal Parties to state relations and continue to aggravate the situation?

How can they behave in this way towards fraternal countries, while endeavouring to improve state relations even with imperialist countries?

This only benefits the imperialists and brings losses to the socialist camp.

Under all circumstances, the Communists must not deviate from the class stand nor forget communist morality and duty.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties of various countries of the world are firmly linked up with one another by the solidarity of the working class. The international communist movement is unthinkable apart from the principle of class alliance. The fraternal Parties of all countries must respect and co-operate with each other on an equal footing only as class comrades-in-arms, regardless of colour, race, region or the level of the development of the country.

Some people trample upon even this elementary principle of the international communist movement nowadays.

Some people allege that the Parties in Asia are not capable of acting independently for “lack of experience.” And still others look down on the class brothers of other countries, boasting of the “superiority” and distinguished role of a certain

nation or a certain race.

All these are an arrogant attitude of insulting the fraternal Parties and an act of chauvinism that undermines class solidarity. That is absolutely impermissible for the revolutionaries.

The idea of “backward Asia” and the idea of “superior nation” and “inferior nation” are survivals of the past which were repudiated and buried long ago. The ranks of the communist movement should make clean riddance of them.

The practice of one side interfering in the other’s internal affairs and demanding unilateral respect from the latter is the main source of aggravating normal relations among brother Parties and countries.

Some meddle in the domestic affairs of fraternal Parties and countries and impose their unilateral will in the name of aid.

It is the due internationalist duty of the Communist and Workers’ Parties and socialist countries to support and co-operate with each other in the struggle for their common cause. And such mutual assistance and co-operation are necessary to all the fraternal Parties and countries alike, not to any one of them alone. Accordingly, their aim is neither to do a favour nor to make an entry in the account book as the merchants do.

It has nothing in common with proletarian internationalism to indulge in boasting of aid and use it as a means of political interference and economic pressure.

“Aid” with strings attached or “aid” given as

a precondition for interference in others' internal affairs, as practised among capitalist countries, cannot and must not exist among socialist countries.

The aid of socialist countries should serve for the consolidation of the sovereignty and independence of each recipient and for the strengthening and development of the socialist camp.

Certain people describe the Party congress of an individual country as the opening of a "new stage" in the international communist movement, proclaim the policies and decisions of an individual Party as a "joint program" of the international communist movement and try to impose them upon other fraternal Parties.

Decisions or measures of a Party are obligatory on that Party alone and they cannot be binding on the activities of other Parties.

It is all the more impermissible to try to force the "anti-personality cult" campaign on other Parties, and behind this smokescreen interfere in the internal affairs of brother Parties and countries, even scheming to overthrow the Party leadership of some countries. Is it not true that precisely because of the "anti-personality cult" clamours, many fraternal Parties suffered from unnecessary "fever" and the international communist movement sustained serious losses? Yet, the "anti-personality cult" clamours are being raised by certain people still today. Such action must be categorically rejected in the international communist movement. Some also try to dictate

the domestic and foreign policies of other fraternal Parties and control their implementation. To force one's own subjective views upon other fraternal Parties without a clear understanding of their actual conditions will bring enormous losses to socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In the past period, some comrades failed to express due understanding or support to our Party's policies for socialist construction either.

Without a clear notion of our actual conditions, they took issues with us, saying: "The Five-Year Plan is an illusion," "You needn't build machine-building industry," "The speed of your agricultural co-operation is too fast," "How can you effect agricultural co-operation without farm machines?" and so on.

Needless to say we did not suffer big losses from these counsels, because we acted independently as we had determined. It is not difficult to imagine that we should have suffered certain damages if we had acted otherwise.

It is evident that inasmuch as the socialist revolution and socialist construction of each country are carried out under different circumstances and different historical conditions, policies or experiences of any one Party cannot be applied indiscriminately to all other countries.

The Communist and Workers' Parties must trust each other, rejoice over each other's success, have a due understanding of the lines and policies of fraternal Parties, respect their experience and learn from each other open-heartedly. However,

some people who are accustomed to dipping their fingers in other's internal affairs are not interested in nor rejoice over the actual achievements made by the fraternal Parties in the revolutionary struggle and construction, but, instead, always harbour doubts about fraternal Parties and only keep a close watch as to whether the fraternal Parties act as they have "instructed" and introduce their experience as a whole.

Thus, they unilaterally demand the fraternal countries obligatorily report decisions and documents of a certain Party in their press and radios, even try to supervise how the fraternal countries study the history of a certain Party and how they learn the language of a certain country, and go so far as to question as to how the films of a certain country are received and try to interfere in the matter. The spirit of equality and mutual respect can no longer be seen here.

These are nothing but an expression of big-power chauvinism.

If the relationship among fraternal Parties and socialist countries is allowed to develop this way, how can it be called a state relationship of a new type based on proletarian internationalism?

The relationship among the imperialist countries is one of domination and submission which allows larger countries to interfere in the domestic affairs of smaller countries, force their will upon the latter and demand unilateral respect and obedience. The imperialist countries advocate mutual "friendship" and "solidarity" out-

wardly but carry out subversive activities behind the back of others. They advertise “co-operation” and “aid” in words, but in deeds utilize them as a means of subordinating other countries politically and economically.

Such relations can never be tolerated among the socialist countries. The relations among the socialist countries are a state relationship of an entirely new type, the first of its kind in history.

For the development of such fraternal relations and for the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement, “scepticism” should be liquidated and big-power chauvinism rejected.

At the same time, we consider that the tendency to lose independence and follow other Parties blindly under outside pressure must also be overcome.

To parrot another’s words mechanically and follow in another’s steps without using one’s own judgement will not consolidate the unity of the communist movement nor does it mean loyalty to internationalism. On the contrary, it will inevitably bring losses to the revolutionary cause of one’s own country and weaken the internationalist cohesion.

Lenin pointed out: **“The unity of international tactics of the communist working-class movement of all countries demands, not the elimination of variety, not the abolition of national**

differences, but such an application of the fundamental principles of communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) as will... correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state differences.”¹

Only by maintaining their independent position can the Parties of all countries enforce their policies to suit the specific conditions of their countries.

The Communists are not engaged in the revolutionary work to be applauded by anyone. Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist conviction of its own, each Party leads the revolution of its country and assumes responsibility before its people. It must shape and pursue its policy by judging independently the problems arising in revolution and construction, and creatively applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the historical conditions and national peculiarities in its own country.

In socialist revolution and socialist construction, it should not step back from the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism nor follow the policies and experiences of fraternal Parties mechanically in disregard of the national peculiarities.

Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out: **“In the future, too, we must continue to study the expe-**

¹ V.I. Lenin. *Selected Works*, Moscow 1952, Vol. 2, Part 2, p. 420, Eng. ed.

rience of the fraternal Parties and learn from it. But we shall not be able to avoid the error of dogmatism if we always fail to study and consider the stage of historical development and concrete social and class relations of those countries where the experience was gained, as well as the actual situation of our country where it is to be applied.”¹

One should not swallow another’s experience in toto. When a Party commits dogmatist errors, it will eventually find itself divorced from reality and the popular masses, and will become unable to discharge satisfactorily the national and international duties it has assumed before the international communist movement.

Therefore, that the Party of each country maintains self-judgement and an independent position is of weighty importance for the development of the revolution of that country and the unity of the international communist movement.

The experience gained by the Parties of all countries in socialist revolution and socialist construction should be respected by every Party. One should not think that only the experience of a particular Party is useful and can serve as a model, and that the experience gained by other Parties is not worthy of learning or consideration.

¹ Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works*, Pyongyang 1960, Vol. 5, p. 245, Kor. ed.

The historical experience accumulated in the past years by the Soviet people in socialist revolution and socialist construction under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was headed by Lenin and later by the successor of his cause Stalin, constitutes precious assets of universal significance.

To negate this historical experience and describe the past period of the Soviet people as a "dark period" is to depart from the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the road of the October Revolution. The so-called "Yugoslav road" put up by the Tito clique is a case in point.

Along with the experience of those countries where capitalism developed, the experience of socialist revolution and socialist construction accumulated by those countries which were once colonies or semi-colonies is also of weighty significance.

Those countries which were colonies or semi-colonies have their own socio-economic conditions, historical traditions and national customs and other peculiarities distinct from those countries where capitalism developed. These peculiarities can by no means be ignored.

The experience gained in socialist revolution and socialist construction by those former colonial, dependent countries is very useful especially for the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and the peoples of the new-born independent states.

The more countries embark upon the path of

socialism and the more varied the concrete conditions of each country become in the future, the more diverse experiences will be accumulated in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The Parties of all countries make collective contributions to enriching the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism by skilfully solving theoretical and practical questions in the development of the revolution of their own countries.

The unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement can be defended only by the conscious, responsible efforts of each fraternal Party and fraternal country.

The Communist and Workers' Parties and the socialist countries must invariably pursue the policy of trusting and respecting each other, and supporting and co-operating with each other on a completely equal footing.

IV. Each Country of the Socialist Camp Should Be Strengthened

As they stand face to face with imperialism, the Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist countries assume the common duty to steadily strengthen the might of the socialist camp.

In order to increase the might of the socialist camp, it is imperative to safeguard the unity of the camp and, at the same time, to consolidate and develop each socialist country. Only when

each socialist country, the basic unit of the socialist camp, is consolidated and its strength pooled, can the entire socialist camp be strengthened.

The Parties of the socialist countries should exert every effort to fortify their social and political systems, develop the economy and culture, improve the people's living, and strengthen the defence capabilities in their respective countries. They should thus consolidate the positions of socialism already secured in every way. Without building up its own country firmly, no Party can fulfil the responsibility it has assumed before the people at home and the international working class.

Socialist revolution and socialist construction in each country are carried out, first of all, on its own strength.

The Communists must believe in their own strength before anything else. To mobilize under the guidance of the Party the inexhaustible strength of the people and the inner resources of their own countries to the maximum constitutes the basic guarantee for the successful carrying out of socialist construction.

Needless to say, this does not mean to exclude mutual co-operation and assistance among the socialist countries. The socialist countries must continue to develop relations of mutual co-operation. Mutual co-operation and assistance among the fraternal countries are of great significance for the acceleration of socialist construction.

However, the decisive factor in the socialist revolution and socialist construction in each country lies in its own strength.

If one does not believe in one's own strength, counting only on another's assistance, one would be unable to carry out revolution and socialist construction. Such a stand has nothing in common with proletarian internationalism.

Only when one abides by the principle of self-reliance, can one successfully carry out socialist construction, lightening the fraternal countries of their burdens, and make a substantial contribution to the overall development of the socialist camp. This, indeed, is a faithful attitude towards internationalism.

In this connection, Comrade Kim Il Sung stated:

“It is not the attitude of a revolutionary not to exert his own efforts, only looking for foreign aid. With such an attitude, we cannot accomplish the revolution. The decisive factor in the victory of our revolution lies in our strength. We must build new society in our country and achieve the final victory of the Korean revolution mainly by our own efforts. To do so conforms to the principles of proletarian internationalism, it is a way of contributing to development of the international revolutionary movement.”¹

¹ Kim Il Sung, *Immediate Tasks of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea*, Pyongyang

In strengthening the might of the socialist camp, some countries are now confronted with the urgent task of building an independent national economy.

Each socialist country started building socialism in different social and historical conditions and on different levels of economic development. Certain countries had a relatively developed economy inherited from the past, while others set about building socialism with a backward economy as they were colonial or semi-colonial countries in the past.

In order to strengthen the might of the socialist camp as a whole under these circumstances, it is of primary necessity to construct an independent national economy as soon as possible in those countries which have inherited a backward economy.

Socialist countries must build a many-sided and comprehensive economy that can basically satisfy domestic requirements on their own, by means of establishing heavy industry with the machine-building industry as its core and developing light industry and agriculture. Only when economic independence is secured, can one consolidate the political independence of one's country and build up a modern, developed state. The establishment of an independent economy alone makes it possible to promote mutual economic co-operation and division of labour on the prin-

ciples of equality and mutual benefit among the fraternal countries.

From the outset, all this should be quite clear to those who observe things objectively without prejudice.

Yet certain persons doggedly oppose and obstruct the line of self-reliance and of building an independent economy in the socialist countries. They brand the construction of an independent national economy as a “nationalistic tendency” or “closed economy,” and accuse it of being a “politically dangerous and economically harmful” line. Distorting the truth, they draw a false picture as if the independent development of economy runs counter to co-operation and assistance among the socialist countries.

Babbling about “the traditions of production,” “profitableness” and so on, they allege that a comprehensive economy developed in a many-sided way can be built only in big countries. This means in the final analysis that the other countries should develop only a few limited branches of economy and always have a one-sided economy.

All this is quite a strange logic.

One may ask: If it is the principle of mutual relations among the socialist countries to ensure complete equality and sovereignty and, on this basis, to co-operate with and assist each other, how could this principle be “dangerous” and “harmful” in the economic field? Is it not that those who oppose the economic independence of

each socialist country want to reduce the principle of equality and sovereignty to empty words?

Without building a developed and diversified modern industry and modern agriculture, it is impossible to develop economy, culture, science and technology, improve the people's living and build socialism.

Those who oppose the building of an independent economy advocate, instead, the establishment of a "unified economy" of the socialist countries. They maintain that the "unified economy" is the most ideal form of international cooperation among the socialist countries at present. Under the signboard of "unified economy," they want to stamp out the economic independence of the fraternal countries, control the development of their national economy and make it a lop-sided one subordinated to others.

Today, the introduction of such a "unified economy" will make it impossible to tap the inner resources in each country to the maximum, will dampen the initiative of the people and bring about confusion and stagnation in the development of economy.

The enforcement of "unified economy" will reduce in the long run the economy of each socialist country to an appendage of the economy of one or two countries, and subordinate it to the interests of development of the economy of one or two countries.

It goes without saying that the loss of independence in economy will make it impossible for

any country to maintain its complete independence and sovereignty. There can be no genuine international co-operation in actuality where there is no independence and sovereignty.

To oppose the construction of an independent economy means in the final analysis that an economically backward country should remain backward and an agrarian country heretofore should remain an agrarian country forever.

Then the difference in the level of development of the socialist countries will not be eliminated, but rather widened, and the dependency of a backward country on the developed will remain unchanged.

This will exert a negative influence upon the people of those countries which are still under the oppression of imperialism. The people of the world are closely following the socialist construction in all socialist countries. Especially, the socialist construction in the former colonial and semi-colonial countries is a matter of great concern to the people in the colonial and dependent countries as well as in the new-born independent countries.

If this or that socialist country denies the line of building an independent economy and remains backward as ever, depending on others economically, it will inevitably give a distorted picture of the socialist system to the people of the colonial and dependent countries and the new-born independent countries.

If one is to remain dependent on others and

cannot secure political and economic independence even after the socialist revolution, who on earth would want revolution?

The socialist camp can be more powerful only when not one or two but all the socialist countries are developed alike.

To this end, the Communists should not oppose the line of building an independent economy in the backward countries, but should actively support it.

Those countries which had made revolution ahead of others and have an advanced economy should positively help the socialist industrialization of those countries which effected revolution later and joined the socialist ranks with a backward economy. All countries should strive to eliminate their backwardness and catch up with the level of the developed, advanced countries. Mutual co-operation should be promoted further among the fraternal countries on the basis of developing the national economy of each socialist country and of strengthening its independence.

Only by so doing can the might of the socialist camp be truly consolidated like bedrock and also contribute to the fulfilment of world revolution. Then, the imperialists will be further pressed down by the might of the socialist camp and dare not commit aggressive acts.

The Communists should not be jealous or afraid of, but should rejoice in and actively assist the earliest development of the once backward fraternal countries into developed, mighty pow-

ers with the foundation of an independent economy. This is the genuine act of proletarian internationalism.

The Parties of the socialist countries should invariably adhere to this stand in respect of strengthening the defensive capabilities of the socialist camp as well. For the purpose of reinforcing the defensive capacity of the socialist camp as firm as a rock, it is imperative to strengthen the defensive capacity of all the socialist countries, not a certain state alone.

The socialist camp is the champion of world peace and security of all nations. The socialist countries do not want war. But as long as imperialism exists, the danger of war cannot be removed. The armed forces in the hands of the socialist countries constitute a most powerful means of restraining the imperialists' policies of aggression and war, defending the socialist countries and safeguarding world peace.

Therefore, the slightest weakening of the armed forces of the socialist camp under whatever pretext is absolutely impermissible.

However, certain persons propagandize as though a certain country's armed forces alone were defending the entire socialist camp, as though the latest military technique of a certain country alone were maintaining the security of the socialist camp and world peace. They make light of the role of the other fraternal countries in the defence of the socialist camp and neglect their due co-operation in strengthening the defence

power of these countries.

All who are truly concerned about the security of the socialist camp and world peace cannot agree to such a stand.

It goes without saying that the armed forces and the latest military technique of a powerful socialist country can play a great role in curbing the machinations of aggression and war of the imperialists and in defending the socialist camp if the Party of that country which possesses them holds fast to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Yet this does not mean that the defence of the socialist camp can be left entirely with the military power of any one country.

The defence of the socialist camp should rest on the armed forces of the entire socialist countries, it should not rest on a certain weapon of the latest type alone but should rest on the strength of the people first and foremost.

In defending the socialist camp, each socialist country is assigned a definite outpost to defend. In the defence of its own outpost, no socialist country should try to rely solely on the military power of another country.

Today, the imperialists are not only preparing a "total war" against the socialist camp and the world people. They are also carrying on "limited wars" and "special wars."

Under these circumstances, each socialist country should rely firmly on the military power of the entire socialist camp, and should, at the

same time, make full preparations to counter any military strategic attack of the enemy by relying on its own strength and potentialities to the maximum. Hence, it is important for all the socialist countries alike to possess the latest military technique and strengthen their defensive power through mutual co-operation.

This is the very stand of internationalist solidarity and militant unity to combat imperialism jointly and safeguard the gains of socialist revolution collectively.

In increasing the might of the socialist camp, the Parties of respective countries should also make consistent efforts to consolidate the socialist system they have already won.

It is an important task in this respect to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist Party, heighten the leading role of the working class, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, and cement in every way the political and moral cohesion of the people.

The further socialist construction is promoted and the more the people's living standard is improved, the more it is necessary to intensify class and communist education of the masses. Where communist education is weakened, bourgeois ideas raise their head and the class consciousness of the masses is paralysed.

Although the landlords and capitalists have been liquidated as a class, their remnants are yet to be fully erased and the old ideological hang-over and old customs of life are still manifested

conspicuously. The imperialists infiltrate all kinds of spies, wreckers and saboteurs into the socialist countries, spread all hues of noxious bourgeois ideas and decadent ways of life, relying on the remnant forces of the already liquidated exploiting classes, old ideological survivals and old manners and customs in these countries, and try to transmute the socialist countries and undermine them from within.

All this shows that class struggle should not be weakened in the socialist countries.

The Parties in the socialist countries should strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, a powerful weapon in the hands of the working class, and further enhance its role.

At present, some people, while speaking about “freedom,” “democracy,” “legality” and “humanism,” try to paralyse the class consciousness of the working people and create ideological chaos, and want to give up class struggle. They allege that the dictatorship of the proletariat has completed its mission under the pretext that “hostile classes have been liquidated,” that “there are no political offenders” and “objects of repression no longer exist.” This is an attitude fraught with the danger of weakening the positions of socialism.

It is true that a fundamental change has taken place in the social and class structure of each socialist country. But this does not mean that class struggle has disappeared or that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer neces-

sary.

Experience shows that when the people are not educated properly and the proletarian dictatorship is weakened in the socialist countries, bourgeois ideas tend to spread and people indulge in an idle and relaxed life and become degenerated and dissipated, social order is disturbed, the enemy at home and abroad is given the chance to commit subversive activities, and, furthermore, a grave danger can be created in the socialist system itself.

Only when vigilance is always sharpened against the subversive manoeuvres of the imperialists and the proletarian dictatorship constantly strengthened in each socialist country, will the socialist positions be consolidated and the construction of socialism and communism carried out successfully.

The Parties in the socialist countries should steadily and persistently endeavour to heighten the class consciousness of the working people and to arm them firmly with the consciousness of the historical mission of the working class and the idea of carrying out the revolution to the end.

When all countries in the socialist camp are firmly fortified politically, economically, culturally and militarily, and their forces are united, the socialist camp will come to display an immeasurably great strength and fulfil its role as the bulwark of the struggle of the working class and the people of the whole world against imperialism and all the reactionary forces.

V. The Socialist Camp Should Actively Support the World People in Their Revolutionary Struggle

The ultimate goal of the Communists is to achieve the victory for socialism and communism on a worldwide scale.

The revolution in each country is a component of world revolution. The victory of revolution in individual countries is the process leading to the final victory of world revolution. Without consolidating the victory of revolution in individual countries, we cannot achieve the victory of world revolution, and, apart from the victory of world revolution, there can be no final victory of revolution in individual countries. The national task and international task of revolution are the two sides of one coin. The Communists must fight to the last not only for the revolution in their own countries but also for the victory of world revolution.

Lenin taught us that the proletarian dictatorship should be turned from that of an individual country into that of the whole world.

The Communists should not regard as their objective the victory of revolution and socialist construction in their respective countries alone.

“The victory of socialism in one country is not a self-sufficient task. The revolution which has been victorious in one country must regard itself not as a self-sufficient entity, but as an aid,

a means for hastening the victory of the proletariat in all countries.” (Stalin)¹

If one rests content with the successes gained in the revolution of one's own country and neglects world revolution, this is to call a halt to the revolutionary struggle halfway and retreat from the international cause of the proletariat. Only when they have accomplished the revolution in their respective countries and the world revolution can the Communists claim to have fulfilled the historical task assigned to them.

The Parties of the socialist countries must fight in the interests of both the people of their countries and the international working class and the oppressed working masses of the whole world. By so doing the socialist camp can properly fulfil its duty as the base of world revolution. Today the socialist countries are developing their economy and culture and doing everything in their power to consolidate the socialist camp. But that is not an end in itself; it is necessary also for furthering world revolution.

The socialist camp is supporting world revolution mainly in two ways: one is that the socialist countries incessantly encourage the world people to the revolutionary struggle through the examples in their own socialist construction, and the other is that they oppose the aggression and plunder by the imperialists and give positive sup-

¹ J.V. Stalin, *Works*, Moscow 1953, Vol. 6, p. 415, English ed.

port, material and moral, to the liberation struggle of the peoples.

The Party of each socialist country should, first and foremost, carry out socialist and communist construction with credit in its own country. The socialist countries should demonstrate to the world peoples the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system through the successes gained in socialist construction.

In the socialist countries political power is in the hands of the working people, led by the working class; the source of exploitation and oppression is eliminated once and for all; unemployment and poverty are rooted out; the rights to work, rest and education are ensured; economy and culture develop rapidly; and the material and cultural life of the people improves steadily. All these facts should be clearly demonstrated. At the same time, we should demonstrate the political and moral unity of the whole society inherent in socialism as well as the communist morality of the people and their noble traits.

This will further awaken the people of the capitalist world and encourage them to the struggle against the capitalist system itself.

But at present certain persons want to demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system only through economic competition. They palaver as though everything would be plain sailing if people lead a bountiful life giving themselves up to pleasure in the socialist countries.

If things go on like this, the true superiority

of the socialist system cannot be demonstrated; rather this will obscure the basic difference between socialism and capitalism, with the result that people will conceive a wrong conception of socialism.

Stressing the significance of examples one-sidedly, they are also bent on subordinating the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples to economic competition. They think that socialism will emerge victorious of its own accord in capitalist countries if only socialist countries triumph in economic competition.

The victory of the socialist countries in economic competition is still not enough to guarantee victory for revolution in the capitalist countries.

Social revolution in a country is primarily the sum total of the work of the subjective and objective factors of the social development of the country.

The maturity of the revolutionary situation and the accomplishment of revolution are, first and foremost, the outcome of the internal development of the given country and depend on the consciousness and organization of its people. The revolution in this or that country is prepared and performed by the people of the given country themselves; never by another people.

Those who emphasize the significance of economic competition one-sidedly have actually deviated from the standpoint of class struggle.

Alleging that when the socialist countries win

economic competition, the world peoples will all be liberated automatically, they ask why the people should wage revolutionary struggles making sacrifices.

Such an allegation is, in fact, tantamount to preaching to the people to remain submissive to the arbitrariness of imperialism and colonialism. This is an attempt not to support and assist the revolutionary struggle of the people but to hamper the development of world revolution.

If we do not struggle for fear of sacrifices but just sit and wait, liberation and independence will never be attained.

Why do those people who talk so much about the sacrifice in the revolutionary struggle shut their eyes to the fact that under the capitalist system innumerable working people are constantly suffering from exploitation and non-right, unemployment and poverty, hunger and disease, and are deprived of their lives every day and every hour? How can they remain mere onlookers when the best sons and daughters of the people are groaning in prisons and are being cruelly executed under the persecution and oppression by the imperialist brutes?

To support world revolution is the internationalist duty of the socialist countries and Communists. Lenin taught us that the country which has won victory should **“do the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and**

awakening of the revolution in all countries.”¹

In supporting world revolution, with whom should the socialist countries ally themselves and where should they direct the spearhead of their attack? They should ally themselves with the international working class, with the oppressed peoples, with the oppressed nations and with all the progressive forces the world over. Furthermore, they should untiringly expand and strengthen the common front against imperialism and rally all the forces to isolate imperialism completely. With the united force of the people, we should resolutely fight imperialism and direct the spearhead of our attack at U.S. imperialism, the most heinous enemy of the people of the world.

We must unite with all forces opposing imperialism and support every form of struggle against imperialism.

We should win over and support all the forces however small they may be in strength, so long as they are helpful to the weakening of imperialism even slightly.

The socialist countries should express their class solidarity with and give militant support to the world working class which is fighting for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society, and support in every way the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations to break the

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, New York 1943, Vol. 7, p. 182, Eng. ed.

chains of imperialism and colonialism. We should never make a compromise with any imperialists' machination to infringe upon the rights and interests of the people; we should hamper and frustrate every plot of the imperialists to export counter-revolution.

The socialist camp must resolutely fight for the cause of world peace. The struggle for peace is unthinkable apart from the struggle against imperialism.

The socialist camp must expose and shatter the imperialists' policies of aggression and war at every step and actively support and encourage the struggle of the forces of all strata for peace and democracy.

All this will serve to turn the situation more and more in favour of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, and all the more unfavourable for imperialism. Only when the socialist camp adheres strictly to such a revolutionary stand, can it fully play its role as the base of world revolution both in name and deed.

To refuse to support the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the national liberation struggle of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America in order to be on good terms with the imperialists and not to offend them, to oppose their armed struggle on the ground that it is fraught with the danger of war — all this is a betrayal of the revolutionary cause of the people and capitulation to the imperialists.

We should be watchful against the trend of

not supporting world revolution as well as against such anti-class act as creating obstacles to the development of world revolution under the pretext of "aid."

The aid of the socialist countries must be rendered only in such a way as to consolidate the national independence of the recipient country and reinforce its revolutionary forces, and to weaken the positions of the imperialists in the international arena.

"Aid" deviating from this standpoint will help not the progressive forces but the reactionary forces, it will not conduce to the development of revolution but will hamper it.

The socialist countries must not render various aids including military aid to this or that country to enable it to use them in opposing and attacking a fraternal socialist country. Such an act is detrimental to world revolution.

The people of the socialist countries should always bear in mind that it is their sacred internationalist duty to support the peoples who are fighting; they should uphold the revolutionary idea that the socialist construction in their own countries should serve the development of the world revolutionary movement.

If one is content with the victory of socialism in one's own country alone and lives a bountiful life regardless of others, only enjoying the fruits of the revolution already won, how can the socialist camp play the role of the base of world revolution?

If any socialist country allows its people to work less than others and pursue their own pleasure and ease, it will lead them to forgetting the sufferings of their class brothers and ignoring the interests of world revolution. This is not the attitude of the revolutionaries, and it has nothing to do with the sense of duty Communists should have. The people of the socialist countries must continue to put up a tense struggle and do more work for the prosperity and development of their countries and for the emancipation of the working people of the whole world.

World revolution is not over yet. We cannot avert our eyes from the fact that two-thirds of mankind is still subjected to the exploitation and oppression by capital. No small number of people are yet to throw off the disgraceful yoke of colonialism. Moreover, the imperialists are binding new-born independent states with colonial fetters of a new type.

No genuine Communists nor genuine internationalists could possibly feign ignorance of all these facts. As long as imperialism exists on this globe, the Communists cannot call a halt to their struggle.

Some people, however, oblivious of the historical mission they have assumed before the world working class, want to give up their struggle halfway, seeking a life of ease for the present. They have not only stopped making revolution themselves but are preventing others from making revolution as well.

If they do not make revolution and keep others from doing so, who on earth will undertake the revolution? If no one makes revolution, what will be the fate of the people who are not liberated yet?

Even though there are people who waver in face of difficulties and ordeals and desert the revolutionary ranks, getting weary of revolution, those who have to carry out the revolution must continue their struggle.

All the Marxist-Leninist Parties must firmly unite with the people of the world, so as to advance the revolutionary movement further and carry forward the revolution to the last.

The support and encouragement rendered by the socialist camp to the world people is by no means unilateral. The socialist countries give support and encouragement to the world people and, at the same time, are given support by the latter which they are in need of. The support of the people of the world constitutes a tremendous encouragement and assistance to the socialist countries.

The revolutionary struggle of the working class and the toiling masses against the oppression by capital and the liberation struggles of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries deal blows at imperialism and its colonial system, and weaken its positions. This makes a great contribution toward turning the balance of forces in favour of socialism in the international arena and strengthening the might of the socialist camp.

If the people of the capitalist countries resolutely fight against the policies of aggression and war pursued by their governments and succeed in frustrating them, that will not only safeguard the interests of the people of the countries concerned but also render great support to the socialist countries. If the imperialists are bound hand and foot and peace is maintained and consolidated by a stubborn common struggle of the peoples of the countries of the world, socialist construction will be further promoted in the socialist countries.

Whenever the imperialists came out with frantic machinations against the socialist camp in the past, the working class in the capitalist countries and all the oppressed peoples and nations came out to support and protect socialism. This gave great encouragement to the socialist countries. We still remember the active support rendered by the world people to the just struggle of the Korean people in the years of the severe war against U.S. imperialism.

There is no country that does not need the support of the working people of the world. Mutual support and assistance will redouble our strength and promote the revolutionary cause.

The working people and the oppressed peoples of the whole world must further strengthen their unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, waging a stubborn struggle against imperialism. When the people of the countries in the great socialist camp and the people of the whole world unite and

fight, they will certainly win final victory.

VI. We Must Oppose Revisionism and Safeguard Marxism-Leninism

The socialist camp is a powerful base for the liberation struggle of the working class and the people of the whole world, the invincible bulwark of world peace. The people of the world count, and pin their hope, on the prosperity of the socialist camp and the development of the international communist movement, and link up their vital interests with them.

When united and cemented, the socialist camp and the international communist movement are powerful and mighty and are capable of discharging the historical duty they assume before the progressive mankind.

Today, however, the socialist camp and the international communist movement are confronted with a serious situation owing to internal differences of views.

The differences which emerged in the international communist movement have now grown into those of principles concerning the destiny of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The differences have a bearing not merely on the methods of struggle in the communist movement but on the fundamental questions of revolution: they cover not isolated questions but the general questions of the Marxist-Leninist theo-

ries, strategy and tactics.

Today the questions are: whether we should adhere to Marxism-Leninism or not, whether we should fight against imperialism or not, whether we should carry the revolution forward to the end or not.

The current polemics in the international communist movement are in the final analysis a struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism.

Under the pretext that the "situation has changed," the modern revisionists emasculate the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism, openly violating the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The revisionists compromise with the imperialists in an unprincipled manner, make undue concessions and meekly submit to them.

They abhor revolution and give it up, and scheme to drag the Parties and Communists of various countries into the quagmire of revisionism.

The revisionists kick up a dust in all parts of the world. They cause confusion and strain in the ranks of the international communist movement and try to split the socialist camp. They discredit socialism and impair the prestige of the socialist camp everywhere; they try to destroy one by one the great strongholds built by the sweat and blood of the working class of the whole world

over a long period.

Should such state of affairs be left alone? Where would it lead the socialist camp and international communist movement?

It is evident that if we fail in good time to get rid of the right opportunism which has appeared in the ranks of the communist movement, the cause of the international working class will suffer heavy losses.

There can be no compromise between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, and the revolutionary line is incompatible with the opportunist line.

Without combatting revisionism, it is impossible to save the grave situation created in the socialist camp and the international communist movement, advance the communist movement and fulfil the historical cause of the working class.

It is a pressing revolutionary task of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the Communists of the world to fight against modern revisionism and in defence of Marxism-Leninism.

Today, to fight against revisionism is a question related not only to individual Parties but to the Parties and Communists of all countries of the world.

The present situation calls upon all the Communists of the world to study calmly and ponder over the actual state of affairs with a deep sense of responsibility and determine their correct position. The Communists of each country all bear

responsibility for their Party and revolution in their country, and all the Marxist-Leninist Parties and Communists of the world, for the international communist movement.

The questions arising in the socialist camp and international communist movement must be solved by us Communists.

The present grave situation can by no means be saved by a few Parties or a few persons. It can be solved in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism only through the joint efforts of all Parties and Communists of the world.

Needless to say, the method and form of struggle against revisionism may differ according to the specific conditions of each Party. What method and form it should adopt is a question to be judged and decided by the Party of the given country itself. The Marxist-Leninist Parties and Communists must take part in this struggle from a principled and independent stand.

In the first place, we deem it necessary for the Communists of all Parties to raise their voice against revisionism and curb the activities of the revisionists.

We must exert pressure on the revisionists, isolate them and prevent revisionism from being infiltrated into the masses. We must see to it that no one is taken in by revisionism. We must revolutionize and unite all Communists and the masses so that the whole Party may take a firm Marxist-Leninist stand, and must firmly build up the communist, revolutionary ranks.

It is no less important that each Party, while combatting revisionism, should resolutely reject the practice of imposing revisionism on others in the ranks of the international communist movement and should not follow it.

Certain persons, taking advantage of the established authority of their Party, are spreading revisionism everywhere and forcing other Parties to follow in their footsteps. They are eager to enlist "colleagues" who are willing to support and keep step with their revisionist stand.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties and Communists should resolutely reject such an act and allow no one to place the socialist camp and the international communist movement under their control.

One should not accept revisionism imposed on him, nor follow in the footsteps of the revisionists. The Communists under no circumstances should depart from their principled stand, but should always maintain their independent position.

We consider that for opposing revisionism and safeguarding Marxism-Leninism, criticism and self-criticism should be extensively unfolded and an ideological struggle should be energetically waged within the ranks of the international communist movement and within the Parties of all countries.

Criticism and self-criticism are an incisive weapon of the ideological struggle of the Communists.

The differences which have emerged in the international communist movement today are in the final analysis an ideological and political question on the basic stand of all Parties and Communists. Such a question cannot be solved by a coercive method or by glossing over the state of affairs. It can be settled only through criticism and self-criticism, through an acute ideological struggle, by all the Communists.

Lenin taught us: **“The duty of the Communists is not to hush up the weaknesses of their movement, but to criticize openly to get rid of them speedily and radically.”**¹

Through the ideological struggle we can further temper all the Parties and Communists, arm the masses with the revolutionary ideology and prepare them for the revolutionary struggle.

Criticism and self-criticism should be conducted freely on the basis of facts and on an equal and impartial footing. In conducting criticism and self-criticism a strictly principled, comradely stand should be maintained. Such acts as suppressing the just voice of the Communists, labelling them “sectarians” and the like and resorting to retaliation should not be allowed in the ranks of the international communist movement or in individual Parties.

Communists should have the courage and capacity to correct their mistakes.

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, New York 1943, Vol. 10, p. 163, Eng. ed.

The extensive exercise of criticism and ideological struggle against revisionism will draw a clear line between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, and will enable everyone to see clearly who is in the right and who is in the wrong. Then revisionism will go bankrupt and the international communist movement will be able to preserve the purity of its ranks. Only by so doing, is it possible to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and develop the communist movement on a sound foundation.

There may emerge some laggards in the course of the arduous struggle against the class enemy, but with their purity safeguarded, the revolutionary ranks will be further reinforced and will keep on growing. The Communists should steadily build up their ranks in a revolutionary manner through the struggle against revisionism and opportunism. Experience shows that only when the revolutionary ranks are firmly consolidated with one and the same Marxist-Leninist ideology, is it possible for them to become a powerful militant detachment and energetically push ahead with the revolution.

The international communist movement has developed and won victories through the fierce struggles against the anti-Marxist, opportunist ideological trends of all hues.

Temporary twists and turns were encountered in the course of these struggles. Invariably

abiding by their revolutionary line, however, the Communists have surmounted the difficulties, and steadily developed their ranks from the small to the large, from the weak to the strong.

At one time, the revisionists in the Second International, taking advantage of their leading posts, created great confusion in the international communist movement. The strength of the revisionists seemed very great at that time.

But the true Communists headed by Lenin completely defeated revisionism by waging a staunch struggle in defence of revolutionary Marxism, overcoming all difficulties, and developed the international communist movement onto a new, higher stage.

Today the international communist movement has grown beyond comparison with the past. There has appeared a huge army of millions of, tens of millions of, Communists armed with the ideas of Lenin. The revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism is held firmly in the hands of the Communists and is waving in all parts of the world.

Under the guise of Leninism the modern revisionists may temporarily succeed in deceiving the people. But they can never cover up the great truth of Marxism-Leninism, nor can they arrest the powerful current of the international communist movement.

Today the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed working masses and the national-liberation struggle are on a steady upsurge despite the

manoeuvrings of the modern revisionists. The true colours of the revisionists are being brought to light and their opportunist line is going bankrupt before the gigantic revolutionary struggle of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the whole world. The great vitality of Marxism-Leninism is being further confirmed through practice and the revolutionary communist ranks are steadily growing in the fierce struggles against the enemies.

As long as there exist exploitation and oppression by the imperialists and their lackeys, the popular masses will rise up in demand of liberation and independence, and the communist movement will further develop with the rise of the revolutionary struggle of the people. The defeat of revisionism and the victory of Marxism-Leninism are inevitable.

The Communists of the whole world must raise higher the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism.

All the Marxist-Leninist Parties must unite and the Communists of the whole world must unite. The Marxist-Leninist Parties and the Communists must resolutely safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement, must closely unite with the revolutionary peoples of the whole world and carry forward the revolution to the end.

In any complex situation the Korean Communists, who are standing face to face with U.S.

imperialism, the chieftain of world reaction, have always opposed revisionism and upheld the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties. Our Party has resolutely fought against imperialism and actively supported the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the people of the whole world.

From the first days of the emergence of differences in the international communist movement, our Party has consistently upheld the principle of unity.

In the future, too, our Party will remain faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and to the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, and will wage a staunch struggle against imperialism and revisionism and in defence of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

We are convinced that the Communists and working people of the whole world will continue to march forward vigorously, raising high the immortal banner of Marxism-Leninism, and win a great victory.

HOLD HIGH THE REVOLUTIONARY BANNER OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

January 27, 1964

A great revolutionary change is now taking place in the life of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples.

A furious anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist revolutionary storm is sweeping these continents.

The imperialist colonial system is hopelessly crumbling under the powerful impact of the national-liberation movement. Here, the cursed imperialism which has brought so much misfortunes and tribulations to hundreds of millions of people is gasping its last.

History has never witnessed before a revolutionary movement of such magnitude and depth, embracing so vast an area and so many people.

The unprecedented upsurge in the national-liberation struggle is vigorously accelerating world revolution and hastening its victory.

Realities make it incumbent on all the Communists and the people to put up a resolute struggle against imperialism.

However, revisionism which has raised its head in the international communist movement is doing enormous harm to the development of the world revolution and throwing a great obstacle in the way of the national-liberation struggle

at the present time.

Modern revisionists are hurling slanders and calumnies against the national-liberation movement and preaching capitulation to and compromise with imperialism through their numerous publications and speeches, at the meetings of international democratic organizations and all other opportunities.

The revisionists not only do not fight against imperialism themselves but hamper others from fighting it, and are prettifying imperialism in every way. Pinning hope on the “reason” of the imperialists, they rant that freedom and liberation of the peoples can be won through the realisation of peaceful co-existence, disarmament, etc.

The revisionists oppose the armed struggle of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries on the ground that it might invite the horrors of world war, and they have gone the length of insulting the national-liberation movement, calling it “a movement for corpses.”

They underestimate the revolutionary significance of the national-liberation movement, calling it a bourgeois movement, and allege that the oppressed peoples cannot accomplish revolution by themselves.

The revisionists do not support the fighting peoples but are working to undermine the unity of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples from within.

This situation bespeaks that a more deter-

mined struggle must be waged in order to resolutely reject the machinations of the modern revisionists and get rid of their influence thoroughly for the victory of the national-liberation movement.

We consider it a lofty duty of all the Communists to oppose imperialism and revisionism holding high the banner of Marxism Leninism and to carry the national-liberation revolution through to the end in firm unity with all the progressive forces.

1. Imperialist Colonial System Must Be Liquidated

Today the aspects of Asia, Africa and Latin America have radically changed.

Over fifty countries have already won independence in these areas since World War II.

The Korean, Chinese and Vietnamese peoples have made tremendous achievements in socialist construction and the Cuban people have embarked upon the road of socialism, the first in the Americas.

The peoples of a number of new-born independent countries are building a new life.

The formation and development of socialist states and national states in Asia, Africa and Latin America which were only objects of imperialists' aggression and plunder, are a great historical event.

The Asia, Africa and Latin America of today

are not the Asia, Africa and Latin America of yesterday. Gone are the days when the imperialists lorded it over these areas and trampled underfoot and plundered the people in an unbridled manner.

The great victory of the national-liberation struggles in colonies has dealt a telling blow to imperialism.

“The breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system.” (*Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers’ Parties*)¹

But the colonial system has not yet been completely liquidated. Colonialism is still continuing bloody suppression and brigandish acts in vast areas of the world.

Thus the Asian, African and Latin American peoples are faced with the task of completely liquidating the imperialist colonial system, while consolidating the successes already gained.

But some people allege that today the colonial system has already collapsed and only some of its survivals remain and that the tasks of the national-liberation revolution have been almost fulfilled. They allege that the oppressed nations

¹ *Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers’ Parties*, Korean Workers’ Party Publishing House, 1960, p. 37.

have been freed from the colonial yoke and only about fifty million people now remain subjected to oppression and plunder by the imperialists.

Is that true? Realities emphatically disprove it.

Today hundreds of millions of people in the world are still left to suffer from the ruthless colonial oppression and plunder of the imperialists.

Now that the national-liberation struggle is in an upsurge, the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism find it ever more difficult today to rule the colonies in so open and direct a way as in the past. They are preserving the colonial system in many countries by the old method as well as cunning and camouflaged neo-colonial methods. No one can deny this fact, unless he deliberately shuts his eyes to the realities.

The imperialists today still keep many Asian, African and Latin American countries under their yoke in various ways.

The imperialists have installed their puppets in power in a number of countries and are executing their colonial policy through them.

The British and French imperialists are keeping many countries, which have proclaimed independence, in bondage to the past metropolitan countries by shackling them to such setups as “commonwealth” and “community.”

The imperialists are exercising political and military control over some countries by drawing them into such military blocs as the CENTO and SEATO and a host of bilateral military alliances.

The United States has set up 95 military bases, counting only the major ones, in 31 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and stationed 400,000 troops; Britain has stationed 70,000 troops at their military bases in over 10 countries; and France has dispatched 200,000 troops to countries in these regions.

These numerous military bases and stationary troops of the imperialists are used for the purpose of opposing the socialist countries and suppressing the national-liberation struggle.

The U.S.-led imperialists are wantonly interfering in the internal affairs of Asian, African and Latin American countries, using “aid” as a bait.

The “Alliance for Progress” of the U.S. imperialists intended for Latin America is nothing but a means for forcing their aggressive will on the countries in this area.

They use the “Peace Corps” and other devices as tools of their colonial infiltration.

Due to all these machinations of the imperialists, the national sovereignty of many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America is grossly violated and, in fact, these countries have yet been unable to extricate themselves from the status of colonies and semi-colonies.

The U.S. imperialists are occupying by force of arms South Korea, Taiwan, South Vietnam, Okinawa of Japan and many other areas and have completely turned them into their colonies.

All this shows that the colonial domination

of the imperialists still exists in vast areas.

The imperialists are intensifying their policy of economic enslavement in small nations.

The capital of over 2,000 American monopoly concerns is invested in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America today, together with the state capital of the United States.

The investments of the imperialists in the countries of these areas have increased several times in the postwar period. The U.S. investments in the countries of these areas reached around 30 billion dollars as of the end of 1962.

With the export of a huge amount of capital and all sorts of colonial concessions, the imperialists have established exclusive positions in the main branches of the economy of countries in these areas.

In Latin America the U.S. imperialists have monopolized the production of almost all the iron ore, 90 per cent of copper ore, two-thirds of zinc ore and most of the oil output. They are holding privileges in agriculture and animal husbandry as well, and occupying a big portion of farm land.

In Africa, the monopolies of the United States, Britain, France, etc. have seized the major mining branches almost completely and monopolized over 90 per cent of the oil in the Middle and Near East.

Is all this anything but colonial subjugation and arbitrariness?

Free export of capital by the imperialists to

small, economically backward countries and economic control over them are the most important aspect of colonialism. This is closely linked with the political and military control of these countries by the imperialists.

Those who maintain that the colonial system has almost ceased to exist, ignore the fact that the economic domination of the imperialists is a graphic manifestation of colonial enslavement.

The rich resources of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are mercilessly plundered by the imperialist robbers, and the monopoly capitalists are constantly lining their pockets with the fruits of labour of the peoples of these countries.

The rate of profits the imperialists squeeze out of the countries under their domination is many times higher than in their own countries. In recent years, the profits made by the monopoly capitalists of the United States and Britain in their dependent countries reached 30 to 100 per cent of their investments, sometimes even higher, whereas the profit rate in their home countries stood at 10 to 12 per cent in the United States and 8 to 9 per cent in Britain. This is indeed a brigandish pillage.

The imperialists impose long hours of back-breaking labour upon the toiling masses of the countries in colonial and semi-colonial conditions, while paying only a fraction, sometimes a few tenths, of the wages paid in their home countries. Even such starvation wages are not paid

regularly.

The gains the imperialists rake in from Asian, African and Latin American countries in the form of profits and interests, and the gains derived from the purchase of cheap raw materials and from the sale of their commodities at high prices add up to some 30 billion dollars every year. This means that the monopoly capitalists squeeze 3.4 million dollars an hour and nearly 100 million dollars a day from countries in these regions.

This sum of money plundered by the imperialists in one year is enough to buy 500 million tons of flour, with which 2,000 million people could be fed for one whole year.

Every dollar, every pound and every franc squeezed out by the imperialists bears the mark of the sweat and blood of the people who perished in resentment from hard labour, poverty and hunger.

The U.S. imperialists are also savagely exploiting the peoples of small nations through "aid." They force the recipient nations to disburse 2-3 times more money than the "aid" for military spendings.

The U.S. imperialists pumped out of South Korea wealth amounting to some 10 billion dollars for its "economic aid" of 3.5 billion dollars. The staggering amount of military burden and harsh exploitation accompanying the American "aid" have reduced the South Korean economy to complete bankruptcy.

The total bankruptcy of the South Korean economy given special “support” by U.S. imperialism most strikingly reveals the predatory nature of the imperialist “aid.”

All the rampage and brigandish plunder by the imperialists in various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America prove clearly that the colonial system has not been liquidated at all.

As a result of the savage, evil colonial rule of the imperialists, the peoples of many Asian, African and Latin American countries suffer continuously from misfortunes and tribulations.

Many countries with time-honoured culture, rich resources and industrious peoples remain most backward economically owing to the colonial policy of imperialism. Today some 60 million people in Asia, 10 million in Africa and 5 million in Latin America are wandering about the streets with no jobs, nor means of living.

Two-thirds of the population in Latin America, the bulk of the population in Africa and hundreds of millions of people in Asia are not free from chronic famine. Tens of millions of people of many countries in these parts of the world are dying of acute hunger, hard toil, and of diseases which are not so malignant.

The average life span of the peoples in colonial and dependent countries is 20-30 years shorter than that in the developed capitalist countries; in a number of countries it is even less than 30 years. Infant mortality in these countries is 3-4 times greater or even more than in other

capitalist countries. The imperialists are virtually indulging in slaughtering people en masse in these countries.

The oppression and exploitation by the imperialists have brought extreme cultural backwardness to Asian, African and Latin American peoples. Even today, in the middle of the 20th century, 70 million people in Latin America and 80 per cent of the African people are totally illiterate.

The percentage of children attending school in the countries of these regions is only one-third or one-fourth of that in the developed capitalist countries.

All these misfortunes and sufferings of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples are entirely attributable to the crimes of the imperialists. Imperialism and colonialism are the sworn enemy of the oppressed nations.

How can we suffer these calamities imposed upon the oppressed nations by the imperialists to continue any longer?

It is a most urgent demand of our age to liquidate the colonial system at the earliest date and wipe out the evil consequences of the colonial rule.

To do away with the colonial system even one year earlier means saving the lives of tens of millions of people; it also means freeing hundreds of millions of people from poverty and hunger and provide the opportunities for learning to tens of millions of children.

Those who allege that most of the peoples in colonies and dependent countries have already been emancipated are those who shut their eyes to the tribulations of the oppressed nations and are those who help the imperialists led by U.S. imperialism to cover up their unpardonable crimes.

The imperialists are camouflaging their colonial domination and predatory policy by every means possible and chanting as though the colonial system no longer exists on earth. In particular, U.S. imperialism is noisily propagandizing as if it has nothing to do with colonialism, as if it is striving for the “progress” of the peoples in the “underdeveloped countries.”

It is only too clear that such propaganda of the imperialists is a crafty trick to hoodwink the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and divert them from the national-liberation struggle.

How can the people who call themselves Communists try to deceive the people by saying, in tune with the imperialist propaganda, that the colonial system no longer exists?

The Communists of the world must expose and condemn the rampage and plunder of the imperialists against the oppressed nations and fight to relieve the people of their misfortunes and sufferings at the earliest date.

The anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggle can never be discontinued until colonialism of all forms is liquidated and the people enjoy complete national freedom.

The oppressed peoples must step up the national-liberation struggle and fulfil the historical task of completely liquidating the imperialist colonial system.

2. Imperialists Will Not Withdraw From the Colonial and Dependent Countries of Their Own Free Will

The peoples of the colonial and dependent countries should not expect any “benevolence” from the imperialists in their struggle for freedom and independence.

For imperialism the colonies are inexhaustible sources of exploitation and plunder.

Imperialist monopoly capital is lining its pockets by bleeding white hundreds of millions of oppressed peoples throughout the world. The monopolies cannot maintain their existence without encroaching upon the territories of other countries and without exploitation and plunder. The imperialists use their colonies also as military, strategic bases and as a source of cannon fodder. Colonies constitute the “life line” of imperialism.

History knows no example as yet of imperialists having withdrawn from a colony on their own initiative. As realities show, not only the imperialists do not get out of the colonies but are doing everything to seize and subjugate even one more inch of land. To attain their aggressive ends the imperialists do not hesitate to go to war.

By nature imperialism is reactionary and aggressive.

The nature of imperialism will never change. The more it is driven into a tight corner, the more frantic it becomes. There is no capital which does not exploit the working people, and no imperialism is conceivable that does not engage in aggression.

Such being the case, Marxist-Leninists invariably believe that if the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries are to achieve independence, they should wage with determination a revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

Nevertheless, certain people today allege that owing to the change in the balance of forces in the international arena in favour of socialism, imperialism has discarded its aggressive nature and become “reasonable”; they laud to the skies the imperialist bosses for their “wisdom.” They hold that the present age is an age of overall cooperation with imperialism and through this cooperation the problem of world revolution can be solved. According to them, the imperialists, obeying the dictates of their “reason,” will also leave the colonies of their own free will. Therefore, they say, by holding amicable negotiations and making compromises with the imperialists, the oppressed nations can be rewarded by a “gift” of independence.

This is an illusion about imperialism and a deception of the people. Can the imperialists **“give up colonies, ‘spheres of influence,’ export**

of capital? To think that this is possible means sinking to the level of some mediocre parson who preaches to the rich every Sunday about the lofty principles of Christianity and advises them to give to the poor, well, if not several billions, at least several hundred rubles yearly.” (Lenin)¹

Those who advocate co-operation with the imperialists put forward peaceful co-existence as a solution to the problem of world revolution.

They maintain that peaceful co-existence is the “only way” of revolution in the present age of nuclear weapons. Proceeding from this, they say that the primary task of the oppressed nations is not to fight for national independence and freedom but to work for the realization of peaceful co-existence.

Peaceful co-existence, however, concerns the question of relations between countries with different social systems. The socialist countries are fighting for peaceful co-existence.

But peaceful co-existence can never be applied to the relations between the imperialists and the colonial and dependent countries.

Even now the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries are oppressed and exploited inhumanly by the imperialists who keep them in bondage. What kind of peaceful co-existence can there be between the oppressors and the oppressed?

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 21, p. 407.

If some people nevertheless insist upon peaceful co-existence with the imperialists, it is nothing but preaching that the oppressed nations should submissively remain in colonial bondage.

Of late, the revisionists talk as if they have never pleaded for peaceful co-existence between the oppressed nations and the imperialists. By no vindication, however, can they conceal their real intentions

They are making every effort to prove that the complete triumph of the national-liberation revolution is possible only under the conditions of peaceful co-existence. They are clamouring that when peaceful co-existence is assured imperialism will be defeated in the economic competition between socialism and capitalism and, accordingly, national liberation will be achieved of itself. They are preaching that the national-liberation movement should be subordinated to peaceful co-existence. In the final analysis, they are preaching that the people should not make revolution.

They are so much given to advertising peaceful co-existence that they have gone the whole length of describing, shamelessly and without any qualms of conscience, the national independence and liberation of many colonial and dependent countries won by their peoples through fierce struggles after the Second World War as “fruits” of their policy of peaceful co-existence.

Peaceful co-existence between the socialist and the capitalist countries cannot bring inde-

pendence to the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries, and the triumph of the socialist countries in the economic competition with imperialism can never replace the revolutionary struggle of the peoples in bringing liberation to them.

It is a mean act of pirating others' merits and an insult to the heroic exploits of tens of thousands of revolutionary fighters and people who have fought imperialism at the cost of their blood, to allege that their national independence has been achieved as a result of peaceful co-existence.

There are also people who claim that general and complete disarmament is the surest way to the liberation of the oppressed nations.

They say that when general and complete disarmament is realized, the imperialists will be prevented from keeping military forces and arms, and so liberation will come of its own accord to the oppressed nations.

Therefore, they clamour, the colonial and oppressed nations have to lay down their arms for general and complete disarmament, instead of waging a struggle for liberation.

If general and complete disarmament can be achieved, it will of course be a good thing. The socialist countries have consistently made every sincere effort for the realization of disarmament.

But no progress has so far been made in the negotiations on disarmament, although they have been conducted among great powers for al-

ready 18 years since World War II, and this is due to the negative stand of the imperialists.

It is not the Communists but the imperialists that are opposed to disarmament. Can one ever think of “imperialism without arms?” Even now, the imperialists are busy expanding armaments and brutally suppressing the national-liberation movement.

Under these circumstances, to advise the oppressed nations to wait until general and complete disarmament is achieved is tantamount, after all, to dissuading them from waging national-liberation struggle.

The revisionists are idolizing the United Nations before the fighting peoples.

Certain people allege that the independence of the oppressed nations can be achieved also through the UN. They shout at the top of their voices: Who but the UN can tackle the job of liquidating the colonial system?

If the United Nations were faithful to its duties stipulated in the Charter, it could work in the interests of the oppressed nations in a measure. Even so, a few decisions of the UN cannot serve as a guarantee for the independence of the oppressed nations.

Moreover, the UN is misused today as an instrument of aggression by the U.S. imperialists. U.S. imperialism uses the UN as a tool for repressing the national-liberation movement in the colonial countries and interfering in the domestic affairs of small nations.

It was in the usurped name of the UN that the U.S. imperialists carried on a war of aggression in Korea and mercilessly slaughtered millions of Korean people. Under the signboard of the UN the U.S. imperialists occupy South Korea to this day, hampering the peaceful unification of Korea.

Under the signboard of the UN the U.S. imperialists trampled upon the sovereignty of the Congo, murdered its Prime Minister Lumumba and have suppressed its patriotic forces.

Under the signboard of the UN the U.S. imperialists have sought to infringe upon the sovereignty of Cuba and stretch their claws of aggression across the border of Cuba.

How can the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries achieve their national liberation and liquidate colonialism through the UN?

The allegation that the colonial system can be liquidated through peaceful co-existence, general and complete disarmament, or the UN is, in the final analysis, aimed at disarming the people ideologically, at paralysing the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle, and at fettering the oppressed nations to the bonds of colonial slavery forever.

The modern revisionists, prettifying and embellishing imperialism as much as they can, are preaching capitulation and submission to it.

The revolutionary peoples can by no means follow that way.

History shows that all those who pinned their

hopes on the “benevolence” of the imperialists in their national-liberation struggle met with bitter failure in the end. The oppressed nations can achieve liberation and triumph only when they rely on their own strength and rise in a determined struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Today the struggle of the oppressed peoples for national independence is inconceivable apart from the struggle against U.S. imperialism, the bulwark of colonialism in modern times.

U.S. imperialism is the ringleader of the world reaction and the mainstay of aggression and war. It is the biggest international exploiter, an international gendarme and a heinous enemy of the peoples.

Today the U.S. imperialists are trying to find a way out to escape their doom in the aggression against other peoples and intensification of international tensions.

The U.S. imperialists are incessantly perpetrating aggressive machinations and subversive activities against the socialist countries, and are seeking to subordinate newly-independent national states.

U.S. imperialism, in league with all the reactionary forces of the world, is making frantic efforts to repress and strangle all types of progressive movements.

U.S. imperialism is also the very ringleader that is hampering and suppressing the liberation struggle of the peoples of the colonial and de-

pendent countries.

In fact, U.S. imperialism has turned many countries into their colonies and semi-colonies, and thus become the largest colonial power.

The U.S. monopolies are bleeding the peoples of these countries white and robbing these countries of their resources as they please.

U.S. imperialism occupies the territories of other countries by force and is grossly violating their sovereignty. The U.S. imperialists are conducting aggressive wars everywhere against the peoples who have risen for freedom and independence, and are killing people brutally. The people shed blood everywhere the U.S. imperialists set foot.

All this proves that to achieve the liberation and independence of the oppressed nations and accomplish the world revolution, the spearhead of the struggle should certainly be turned against U.S. imperialism.

With each passing day, U.S. imperialism finds itself getting deeper into a sad plight. The attempts of the U.S. imperialists to achieve world supremacy and impose the yoke of colonial slavery on the peoples are naturally provoking indignation and resistance from the peoples throughout the world.

All peoples fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism should unite firmly, and expand and step up their joint struggle against U.S. imperialism, driving it further into a tight corner. The crafty neo-colonial-

ist tricks of the U.S. imperialists should be laid bare, repudiated and frustrated everywhere. The struggle against U.S. imperialism should be stepped up everywhere in the world and blows should be struck at it in the front and in the rear, binding it hand and foot. In all places where the U.S. imperialists are entrenched, the people should fight for the dismantling of their military bases and for driving out their troops, and no room should be left for the U.S imperialist aggressors to set foot

This is the way leading to the liberation of the oppressed peoples throughout the world.

3. Revolutionary Struggle Is the Only Road to National Liberation

It is the most pressing national task confronting the peoples of colonial and dependent countries to win freedom and independence from the yoke of imperialism.

The oppressed peoples must liquidate the system of colonial rule and win freedom and independence through their staunch struggle.

“The liberation of the colonial and dependent countries from imperialism cannot be achieved without a victorious revolution: you will not get independence gratis.” (Stalin)¹

Today the general situation is very favourable to the national-liberation struggle. The ques-

¹ J.V. Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 7, p. 191.

tion is how the Parties of the working class and the progressive, revolutionary elements lead the revolution, standing in the van of the struggle.

The correct leadership of the Party is a decisive guarantee for successfully carrying out the complex, difficult revolutionary tasks.

The Party of the working class must adhere to a revolutionary stand, draw up correct strategy and tactics and organize, mobilizing the broad popular masses to the struggle along the right path.

The victory of revolution hinges, first of all, upon whether or not the Party succeeds in winning over the popular masses. If the Party of the working class fails to win over and rally the revolutionary masses around it, it cannot wage the revolutionary struggle, nor can it guide the revolution.

The Party of the working class must closely rally all circles which oppose imperialism and colonialism.

Especially, the Party must direct its primary attention to enhancing the vanguard role of the working class, firmly ensuring their leadership and winning over the peasant masses, youth, students and intellectuals.

Along with the working class, the peasant masses are the main detachment of revolution in the national-liberation struggle.

As a result of the colonial rule of imperialism, the Asian, African and Latin American continents remain backward agrarian areas. The peas-

ants accounting for the great majority of the population in these areas are poor peasants and hired hands who are leading a miserable life, having almost no land or depending on small, lean patches of land. Due to their class position they have a vital interest in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, national-liberation revolution and are highly revolutionary and staunch in their struggle.

The Party of the working class can successfully wage the revolutionary struggle when it correctly links the tasks of the national-liberation revolution with the interests of the peasant masses and enlists them in the struggle on an extensive scale.

This notwithstanding, the modern revisionists ignore the revolutionary role of the peasant masses in the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

They hold that the revolutionary advance of the peasants in these areas is an undependable and insignificant petty-bourgeois movement and that it is not of much revolutionary significance.

This is not an attitude of those who want to make revolution.

It is absolutely wrong to outright ignore the masses of peasants without correctly analysing the specific conditions of colonial and dependent countries.

To ignore the role of the peasant masses in the national-liberation struggle is an anti-Marxist-Leninist attitude of negating the worker-peasant alliance and rejecting the hegemony of the

working class.

The upsurge of the national-liberation struggle today convincingly shows what great strength the peasant masses who have risen up in the struggle have and how victory can be won in the revolution when the peasants are given correct guidance.

Therefore, it is a major task of the Parties of the working class in Asia, Africa and Latin America to revolutionize and organize the peasant masses and turn the countryside into a powerful base of revolution.

Besides the peasants, the Party of the working class must widely enlist the youth, students and intellectuals in the struggle.

Owing to their status of the oppressed, the youth, students and intellectuals of colonial and dependent countries have a high degree of national consciousness and strong anti-imperialist sentiments. The youth, students and intellectuals play an important part in inspiring national awakening and anti-imperialist sentiments and disseminating the Marxist-Leninist ideology among the peoples of colonial and dependent countries.

The Party of the working class must strengthen its work among the youth, students and intellectuals, organize and constantly temper them and actively mobilize them to the revolutionary struggle.

The tasks of the anti-imperialist, national-liberation revolution can be successfully carried

out when the working class and all other anti-imperialist forces are closely united and the imperialists and all other reactionary forces are isolated thoroughly.

Holding high the banner of revolution, the Party of the working class must stand in the van of the struggle and lead the popular masses.

The Marxist-Leninists consider that they must come out in a decisive struggle when the revolutionary situation is matured and seize power without wavering in a favourable situation.

Especially when the people themselves rise up in the struggle, the Communists must correctly organize the people's struggle, impart consciousness to it and lead it to victory. And when the situation demands, they must organize and unfold an armed struggle.

The Party is needed for the working class and revolution, as the vanguard detachment and headquarters of revolution to tackle this task. If the Party, contrary to this, tails after the masses and does not fight for revolution, it cannot play its role fully.

Today the revisionists are scheming in every way to prevent the Party of the working class from playing a guiding role in the national-liberation struggle. Influenced by them, some Parties have abandoned revolution and are staying away from the revolutionary struggle.

At a decisive juncture when the situation demands an armed struggle and the people come

out in arms, the revisionists are preventing the Party and the Communists of the given country from coming out in the struggle, advocating “peaceful” means only.

Even when a favourable situation has been created for the seizure of power, they hold that the revolutionary forces should refrain from coming out in the struggle for power, menacingly stating that this may entail the intervention of the imperialists.

Thus the line of “peaceful transition” imposed by the revisionists has done, and is doing, a great harm to the national-liberation struggle in a number of countries in recent years.

The infection of “peace” malady has caused confusion within the armed ranks which had been waging a revolutionary struggle with arms in their hands, and no small number of people have fallen back from the road of struggle. In some countries, the revolution had been left defenceless and met with a fiasco in face of sanguinary suppression by counter-revolution and the revolutionary forces sustained heavy losses.

If those who style themselves Communists do not take part in the struggle and harp on “peace” only, sitting behind with folded arms when the revolutionary masses are fighting with arms in their hands, shedding their blood, this can never be regarded as an attitude of those who want to make revolution.

If the oppressed nations give up the struggle, not fighting against the violence of imperialism

and the reactionary forces, and do not seize power in fear of the offensive of counter-revolution, they will never be able to win liberation and independence.

The revisionists rendered it impossible for the oppressed peoples to win victory which could have been won, and led them to make sacrifices which could have been avoided, in their liberation struggle against imperialism.

If the Party of the working class does not come out in the struggle and lead the revolution, another class will replace it. In that case, the Communists will lose the revolutionary masses and will certainly be deserted by the masses.

The Party of the working class must be fully prepared for struggles of all forms, including armed.

The liberation struggle can be victoriously waged only by organically combining violent struggle with non-violent struggle, making the most of all possibilities.

If the revolutionary forces do not prepare themselves for violent struggle, counting on non-violent means alone, as advocated by the revisionists, they will be unable to cope with the situation on their own initiative.

The colonial rule of the imperialists is based on violence without exception. In disregard of this, how can one force the oppressed peoples who oppose imperialism to wage the liberation struggle by peaceful means alone?

Whether to choose the form of violent strug-

gle or non-violent struggle in the national-liberation struggle is a question to be decided by the Party of each country in accordance with its specific conditions. According to the resistance of the imperialists and subjective and objective conditions of the revolution, now the violent struggle may come to the fore and now the non-violent struggle.

It will differ according to each country and each area.

Needless to say, when the question can be settled peacefully, peaceful means ought to be employed. The Communists do not want to shed their blood for no reason.

“When the class struggle becomes fierce, it will go over to an armed struggle in many cases. To wage a war or not depends by no means on the revolutionary masses but on the exploiting classes suppressing the masses. The revolutionary masses resist by force, because the ruling class suppresses them by force.” (Kim Il Sung)¹

When the imperialists suppress the people by force, they cannot sit still and only make sacrifices. Reactionary violence must be countered with revolutionary violence. Without a revolutionary army opposed to the armed counter-revolution, the revolutionary forces cannot be preserved from suppression by the imperialists and

¹ *On the Strengthening of Political Work in the People's Army*, p. 35.

the reactionary forces, and the struggle is doomed to failure.

The armed struggle is the most active form of struggle which can strengthen the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces, deal heavy blows to the enemy and make it possible to successfully carry out the revolutionary tasks.

When the oppressed nations unite and rise up in the armed struggle, they will become an invincible force and emerge victorious in the fight against any imperialists.

The Cuban people who began their armed struggle with seven rifles overthrew the dictatorial regime, a puppet of U.S. imperialism, and won victory by their heroic resistance.

The Algerian people who launched the armed struggle with a few hundred hunting guns fought valiantly for seven odd years and won victory over the French imperialists who mobilized hundreds of thousands of troops and employed all kinds of modern weapons.

Today the South Vietnamese people are heroically fighting for freedom and independence against the armed aggression of U.S. imperialism and are winning one big victory after another, dealing crushing blows to the aggressors. The peoples of Venezuela, Angola and many other countries are waging fierce armed struggles. Though they are fighting under very difficult conditions, they will surely win victory.

The Communists must actively support these heroic struggles of the peoples.

Some people, however, are actively opposing the armed struggles of the oppressed nations under various pretexts.

Holding that the armed struggle of the oppressed peoples for liberation may become a “spark” which will touch off a “world thermonuclear war,” they slander it as a “suicidal act,” “reckless act of exterminating mankind,” and the like.

They are also raving: Of what use is independence if a world thermonuclear war breaks out and destroys the whole mankind? What a queer argument this is!

The revisionists claim that today the very nature of war has completely changed with the emergence of nuclear weapons. They declare that there is no longer any distinction between just and unjust wars in the age of nuclear weapons. They clamour that all wars, therefore, are crimes of manslaughter and unjust wars.

This is a crude falsification of Marxism-Leninism.

It goes without saying that nuclear weapons possess a great destructive force. But this cannot change the nature of war. Nuclear weapons are only a means of war. And not all wars become thermonuclear wars.

Their assertion is tantamount to urging the fighting people to give up revolution and endure oppression and exploitation by the imperialists. Their idea boils down to saying that the people may as well become the imperialists’ slaves,

abandoning sovereignty, freedom and honour, in order to survive on this globe.

This is nothing but a trick of theirs to blackmail and threaten the oppressed people allying themselves with the imperialists, so as to divert them from the struggle.

Such threats, however, cannot frighten the people who have risen up in the struggle nor check their righteous struggle. It is a futile attempt.

In order to camouflage their true colours, the modern revisionists sometimes voice their support, though merely in words, for the armed struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples. But who will be fooled by this? The people are fully aware who support the revolution and who are opposed to it.

The oppressed peoples will deal blows to the imperialists and frustrate their aggressive schemes through an implacable anti-imperialist struggle for freedom and independence in unity with the revolutionary peoples of the whole world.

Today the national-liberation struggle demands the Parties of the working class to enhance their role as never before.

Only those Parties and fighters that adhere to the principles of revolutionary struggle can discharge the glorious mission of the vanguard detachment.

No matter how hard the imperialists and revisionists may try, they cannot bring the revolu-

tionary struggle of the popular masses to a halt.

The ultimate victory of the national-liberation struggle and the complete liquidation of the colonial system are inevitable.

4. Peoples Who Have Won Independence Must Carry the Task of National Liberation Through to the End

The peoples of the national states, having won political independence as a result of the national-liberation struggle, have entered a new stage in their historical development.

Winning of political independence, however, does not mean the completion of the national-liberation revolution. It marks only an initial step towards the ultimate victory of the national-liberation revolution.

Society demands continued progress and life presents new problems awaiting solution.

The working class Party must answer the questions of whether or not the revolution should be carried to the end, whether or not the fight against imperialism should be kept on, which course should be taken in developing the country.

Today the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists are diametrically opposed to each other over these questions, too.

The Marxist-Leninists deem it necessary that the national states which have won independence continue to offer resolute opposition to imperial-

ism and carry the national democratic revolution to the end. This is the only path for the peoples of these countries to follow in order to end the centuries-old backwardness and poverty, the legacies of the colonial rule, and to build prosperous independent countries.

Nevertheless, the revisionists allege that the task of the national-liberation revolution will be fulfilled merely by winning political independence. They leave the task of fighting imperialism out of account. They allege that the working class Party should confine itself to economic construction in co-operation with the bourgeoisie and that there is no need of advancing the revolution.

This is a harmful argument throwing grave obstacles in the way of the revolution of the peoples of the countries that have won independence, and even jeopardizing their independence.

After winning political independence, the popular masses demand democratic development of the country by doing away with the old fetters at an early date and radical improvement in their living conditions.

Gaining political independence in no way means that social progress and consolidation of independence will come of themselves without any struggle. They can be achieved only by thoroughly carrying out the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution and transforming the society into a new one.

This represents a continuous process of the revolution.

For a thorough-going accomplishment of the national-liberation revolution, it is necessary above all to completely demolish the old imperialist colonial ruling machine and deprive the imperialists of their economic foothold. It is also needed to enforce land reform in the countryside and put an end to the feudal relations of production. It is imperative to build an independent national economy and develop national culture after having wiped out the consequences of the imperialist colonial rule. It is necessary to effect democratic reforms in all spheres of social life and ensure legitimate rights and interests to the working people.

In foreign relations, opposition must be offered to the constant pressure and the aggressive policies of the imperialists and an independent peace-loving policy followed.

All these revolutionary measures will inevitably arouse resistance on the part of the imperialists and their accomplices, the reactionary forces at home.

As the revolution advances, class antagonism between various sections of society gradually comes to the fore. Struggle takes varied forms in the new historical conditions.

Struggle between classes, a product of the objective course of social development, is inevitable. One can hardly advance the cause of social revolution even a step without fighting against imperialism and its accomplices, the reactionary forces. The working class Party must defend the

national and class interests and, rallying the revolutionary forces, must resolutely fight to carry the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution to the end.

Many historical facts have shown what twists and turns the revolution has to go through when the laws of class struggle are ignored.

Vacillation of the national bourgeoisie gradually becomes more open as social revolution moves further ahead and class struggle becomes fiercer.

Because of the contradictions between the national bourgeoisie on the one hand and foreign imperialism and the feudal forces on the other, it is possible for the national bourgeoisie to join the working people in the struggle to carry out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution.

On the other hand, it may feel uneasy about the growing political consciousness and revolutionary advance of the working masses and show the tendency to give up the revolution halfway and join hands with the reactionary forces. The working class Party, therefore, must give support to the progressive aspects of the national bourgeoisie and form an alliance with it, while curbing and combatting its negative aspects.

In its relations with the national bourgeoisie, the working class Party must always hold to the principled stand of both uniting and fighting with it.

The working class Party wants to maintain an alliance with the patriotic and progressive

bourgeoisie and work hand in hand with it in its endeavours for building a new society.

The possibility of maintaining the unity of the working class and the national bourgeoisie in the united front depends above all on the attitude of the national bourgeoisie, whether it defends in all sincerity the interests of the whole nation or not. National interests are inconceivable apart from the interests of the workers and peasants who make up the absolute majority of the nation. The bourgeoisie must respect the interests of the working masses if it wants to be truly faithful to the national interests. It must, at the same time, fight against imperialism, feudal forces and reactionary forces of all hues. This will lead to a firm unity between the working class and the progressive bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie, however, will be infringing upon the national interests and, accordingly, undermining its unity with people of all walks of life if it seeks to place its narrow class interests above the interests of the nation as a whole.

The working class Party must fight against such move on the part of the reactionary bourgeoisie that betrays the national interests. The Party will lose its independency, become divorced from the revolutionary masses and, in the long run, will spoil the revolution if it gives unqualified support to and blindly follows the bourgeoisie which has turned reactionary.

The Dange group of the Communist Party of India has slid down to the shameful capitulation-

ist stand in its attitude to the reactionary bourgeoisie. The Dange clique, having cast aside the revolutionary principles of a proletarian Party, has pledged itself to give the reactionary government “unconditional support.”

It actively backs the aggressive foreign policy of the reactionary government, declaring that its policy is “in line with internationalism.” It has thus degenerated into a social-chauvinist group engaged in slandering and disparaging the Marxist-Leninist Parties and socialist countries; it has torn the Communist Party asunder.

Some people calling themselves Communists support and praise the sordid actions of the Dange group. All this is a plain treachery to the working class and the labouring people of India.

Marxist-Leninists should draw a lesson from this, even though it may be a bitter one.

The working class Party should, in the course of the national democratic revolution, consolidate in every way the worker-peasant alliance and closely rally people of all strata around the united front.

Ultimate victory of the national-liberation revolution and the revolutionary transformation of society depend, after all, on the might of the working class Party and the solidity of the worker-peasant alliance. The working class Party will be able to take the initiative in the revolution and bring it to a victorious completion if it correctly organizes a united front of broad sections of people with the worker-peasant alliance as its

basis and leads it steadfastly. Only under these conditions can urgent social problems posed by life be satisfactorily solved.

Social progress does not mark time. Peoples who have won independence want to build a new society free from exploitation and oppression.

They know well from their own experience that capitalism brings nothing but poverty and hunger and deprives them of all rights. Socialism alone can bring prosperity and progress to the country and a happy life to the people.

Under all circumstances the working class Party must keep to a principled, independent stand and fulfil the people's desire for building a new society by actively uniting and mobilizing the strength of the masses.

To keep up a resolute struggle against the aggressive schemes of imperialism is as yet the most important task for the national states after they have won political independence.

Today certain people deny the necessity of fighting against imperialism in the national states.

Now that political independence is won, they preach, the fundamental contradiction has disappeared between the national states and the imperialists. According to them, there remains only the "distinction between economically developed regions and backward ones" in the present era.

Accordingly, they declare, aggressive imperialism, which existed before, has now ceased to exist and, therefore, all things will go well when mu-

tual “co-operation” is effected with the imperialists.

This, too, is a dangerous view which brings about confusion for the peoples of the national states.

For the independent peoples there will be no successful social reforms and revolution without the anti-imperialist struggle. The imperialists have not quit their former colonies; they are constantly penetrating into them by new methods. They bring political pressure of every description to bear upon, and exercise economic control over, the peoples who have newly won independence, in their scheme to make the political independence of these countries a nominal one. The imperialists, when they fail to achieve their aggressive ends by peaceful means, launch an armed invasion without hesitation and carry on all sorts of subversive activities to overthrow the national states.

The anti-imperialist struggle neither becomes less intense nor comes to a halt in the national states after they have won political independence. It remains as sharp as ever and becomes more complicated in all spheres.

The revisionists, closing their eyes to this fact, describe the imperialists as a “friend” or “benefactor” of the liberated peoples.

The revisionists allege that the so-called “aid” of the imperialists can assist in the economic development of the national states. They have gone so far as to declare that the U.S. impe-

rialists' "aid" can "help the peoples lagging centuries behind quickly to get on their own feet."

Further, they propagandize that the imperialists will use the money released from disarmament for economic development of the "underdeveloped countries." They clamour that this will enable these countries to attain, in an historically brief span of time, the level of the advanced industrial nations and will open a "new era" in the economic development of the "underdeveloped countries."

All this talk is a sheer nonsense.

This is graphic evidence of how far the modern revisionists have departed from the Marxist-Leninist principles and the class stand.

Is there an example of any Asian, African and Latin American countries having achieved economic progress with the help of the so-called "aid" of the imperialists, led by U.S. imperialism? No, there is not.

On the contrary, life shows that the more one becomes reliant on the imperialist "aid," the more one's political independence is jeopardized and the more one's economic situation deteriorates.

The so-called "aid" advertised by the imperialists is nothing but a noose of neo-colonialism designed to subordinate the national independent countries once again.

"Outwardly the imperialist countries advocate 'friendship' and 'solidarity' between them-

selves, but they carry on subversive activities against each other behind the scenes; they claim to stand for ‘co-operation’ and ‘aid’, but in reality, they utilize them as instruments to subordinate other countries politically and economically.” (Kim Il Sung)¹

It is absurd to expect the imperialist robbers, who have fattened on the cruel exploitation and plunder of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries, to show “charity” all of a sudden.

Experience has proved that those countries resolutely fighting against the imperialists have made big headway in consolidating national independence and in political and economic development. On the contrary, those countries whose ruling circles have allied themselves with the imperialists or have been reduced to the imperialists’ stooges still remain virtually in the colonial or semi-colonial status.

The countries that have won political independence must build their national economy on the principle of self-reliance.

Independent national economic construction is essential for consolidating national independence and establishing relations with other countries on an equal footing.

Peoples of the national states, who have in-

¹ *On the Immediate Tasks of the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea*, p. 60.

herited a backward economy on account of the imperialist colonial rule, meet with no small difficulties in building a new society. These difficulties can be overcome by following the path of self-reliance.

Reliance on the imperialist “aid” renders it impossible for a country to achieve a sound development of their economy on a self-supporting foundation. For a country to deliver itself from the economic subordination to imperialism and develop into a mighty, prosperous one in an historically brief span of time, it is necessary to mobilize domestic resources to the greatest possible extent relying on the strength of its own people. This alone will make it possible to make an effective use of foreign aid, if it is given.

As for foreign aid, we believe that to supplement each other’s needs and assist each other among the liberated peoples, it is important in accelerating the economic construction in the national states.

These countries are endowed with rich resources and favourable natural conditions.

They are at different levels of economic and technical development.

Mutual exchange of natural resources, economic and technical exchanges and mutual assistance between these countries will be of great help to each national state in its economic construction.

Particularly, those countries which were liberated earlier or are comparatively advanced eco-

nomically must give active help to the peoples who have embarked on the path of national independence later.

Close ties and mutual aid between the liberated peoples is an important factor in smashing fresh aggression and economic penetration of the imperialists, consolidating their countries' independence and achieving their national prosperity.

In building new society, peoples of the national states expect much from the socialist countries.

The socialist countries should approach the peoples of the national states open-heartedly and modestly and give sincere aid to them on the principles of respect for sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit.

The economic and technical aid rendered by the socialist countries to the national states today plays a big part in accelerating the economic development of these countries.

This aid is fundamentally different from the so-called "aid" of the imperialists, for it is given, above all, out of a sincere desire to help the recipient countries in consolidating their independence and achieving their prosperity.

No political strings should be attached to the aid of the socialist countries; it should be most effective from the economic and technical point of view.

Violation of these principles might lower the

prestige of the socialist countries among the peoples of the national states and give them a wrong idea of the socialist system.

The socialist countries can in no way cast aside the class principle in giving aid to the national states.

This notwithstanding, certain people are giving aid to the reactionary circles of the countries allied with imperialism.

They are giving, without any qualms, even military aid to be used against a fraternal socialist country.

They boast of their emulation with the imperialists in this matter.

This is a shameful thing.

Under no circumstances should Marxist-Leninists act in collusion with the imperialists before the peoples of colonial and dependent countries and of the national states. If one makes no distinction between friends and foes, it may possibly bring about dangerous consequences. This sort of act should be criticized and stopped promptly.

The struggle of the peoples of the national states to uphold their countries' independent development against fresh imperialist aggression is mounting higher day by day.

Whatever machinations and schemes they may make, the imperialists and their stooges will not be able to arrest the advance of the peoples who have entered on the path of national independence.

In spite of all sorts of slanders and vilifications by the imperialists, the people will govern their countries splendidly and develop their economy and culture for themselves.

The liberated peoples will never again be subordinated to imperialism.

5. National Liberation Movement Is a Great Revolutionary Force of Our Epoch

The liberation movement of the oppressed nations against imperialism and colonialism is a link in the whole chain of world proletarian revolution and its powerful ally.

The victory of the proletariat of the capitalist countries is impossible unless it is in direct alliance with the national-liberation movement in colonies, and the final solution of the national problems of colonies is unthinkable apart from the progress of world proletarian revolution.

The significance and role of the national-liberation movement in the development of world revolution are tremendous, indeed.

Foreseeing the enormous revolutionary role to be played by the national-liberation struggle, Lenin once stated:

“Millions and hundreds of millions — actually the overwhelming majority of the world’s population — are now coming out as an independent and active revolutionary factor. And it should be perfectly clear that in the coming decisive battles of world revolution, this movement of

the majority of the world's population, originally aimed at national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will, perhaps, play a much more revolutionary role than we have been led to expect.”¹

Lenin's prediction has come true today.

Two-thirds of world population is living in Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have enormous natural and economic potentials.

These continents with such great might are turning from a reserve of imperialism into a decisive force opposing imperialism.

The national-liberation revolution is seething, shaking the imperialist foothold to its foundation.

The imperialist colonial system is crumbling everywhere, and a new force is emerging on the international arena.

All facts show that a great revolution is now making a dynamic progress in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to bury imperialism.

The policies of aggression and war of imperialism are being dealt telling blows by the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and this is a source of great strength for the cause of world peace.

The national-liberation struggle is strengthening the position of the socialist camp in the international arena and creating extremely favour-

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 32, p. 629.

able conditions for the furtherance of the world labour movement.

As Lenin pointed out, as a result of the unprecedented upsurge of the national-liberation struggle, there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt what the final outcome of the world revolution will be. In this sense, it can be said that the final victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured.

The national-liberation movement, along with the socialist camp and the world working class movement, constitutes a great revolutionary force of our epoch for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

However, today some people in the ranks of the world communist movement underestimate the revolutionary significance of the national-liberation movement and describe it as a petty-bourgeois or a bourgeois movement incapable of dealing a serious blow to imperialism.

How can they possibly take such a view?

Following the October Socialist Revolution, the national-liberation movement in many countries in the East has emerged from within the bounds of the old bourgeois national movement and developed into a national-liberation movement led by the proletariat. With the emergence and growth of the working class, the Parties of the working class have been formed in these countries. These Parties have taken the leadership in the van of the national-liberation struggle and this movement has merged into the general

current of the world communist movement.

In a number of countries the national-liberation revolution has developed into socialist revolution. How can one appraise this great current of revolution as a mere bourgeois movement or describe it as an impotent petty-bourgeois movement?

In countries where the working class has not yet come into being or is still weak, the national-liberation movement is led by other classes.

Even in such cases, however, Marxist-Leninists should not negate the revolutionary significance of the movement. Even when proletarian elements are not to be found or are small in this movement, one should support it positively, so long as it is a movement weakening imperialism.

No one who looks straight at realities can ever ignore the fact that the "lifeline" of imperialism is being cut off in Asia, Africa and Latin America at present.

The imperialists themselves are raising a cry of agony as their colonial system is disintegrating.

We think we should not take a formalistic approach toward the national-liberation movement, but should appraise its revolutionary significance, in the light of the actual effects of its blows at imperialism.

The revisionists allege that Asia, Africa and Latin America cannot become the theatre of powerful revolutionary struggle at the present time, because capitalism has not developed

enough and the industrial proletariat is scarce in these areas.

Such allegation is nothing new for the Communists. This is no more than a rehash of the outdated anti-revolutionary “theory” of the leaders of the Second International. It was the renegades of the Second International who claimed that revolution could not break out in countries where the productive forces were not highly developed.

The whole world knows that their “theory” has been shattered completely in practice in history.

One cannot judge mechanically by the level of development of capitalism and the size of the industrial proletariat alone, whether preconditions for revolution exist in a given country or not.

Nor is it the size of the industrial proletariat alone that determines the conversion of the national-liberation movement into socialist revolution.

Even if capitalism has attained a high level of development and the industrial proletariat assumes an overwhelming proportion of the population, the flames of revolution will not flare up when the working class Party, marred by revisionism, is unable to provide correct leadership. On the contrary, socialist revolution has been victorious in a number of Asian countries and Cuba in Latin America though the industrial proletariat in these countries is relatively small.

In the stage of imperialism one cannot tell whether or not a revolutionary situation has been created by taking individual countries singly.

The question is at which link the contradictions are the most acute, where the weakest link of imperialism lies and where the revolutionary forces are at the ready.

It is not accidental that today Asia, Africa and Latin America have turned into zones of revolutionary tempest. Sharp national and class contradictions that give rise to revolution have been concentrated here more than anywhere else.

Contradictions between the imperialists and the peoples of these countries and contradictions between the exploiting class and the working people of these countries are interwoven, and contradictions among imperialist powers and among the groups of monopoly capital are in conflict in these areas.

Contradictions between the socialist camp and imperialist camp also find expression there in various forms.

Underlying the contradictions between imperialism and the oppressed nations are class contradictions. Contradictions between the capitalist class of imperialist powers and the working class and other toiling masses of colonial and dependent countries, above all, constitute the main content of the contradictions between imperialism and the oppressed nations.

The working class and people in colonial and dependent countries are undergoing twofold and

threefold exploitation and oppression, more rigorous than the exploitation and oppression in the developed capitalist countries. Peoples of these areas are subjected to barbarous national, racial and class oppression and exploitation by the imperialists.

Exploitation and plunder of foreign imperialists, coupled with the tyranny of the native ruling classes, have become even more unbearable.

All these add to the enormous sufferings of the peoples of these areas and inevitably drive them onto the road of revolution.

Subjective forces capable of carrying out the revolution are ready in a number of countries in these areas.

There is the revolutionary working class, which grew up amidst the most wanton suppression of the imperialists, and the revolutionary peasant masses; there are a number of seasoned and tempered Marxist-Leninist Parties.

In countless battles against class enemies the peoples and Parties of these areas have been reared into powerful revolutionary detachments.

It is thanks to all this that the storm of revolution is raging so powerfully over these regions to shatter imperialism.

What approach is to be taken towards the upsurge of national-liberation revolution today concerns, in the final analysis, the question of principle for all Communists — whether to make revolution or not. World revolution is impossible if one slights the national-liberation movement

and does not believe in its strength.

That some people do not recognize the enormous revolutionary significance of the national-liberation struggle shows precisely that they are disinclined to make revolution

These people arrogantly claim that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America cannot accomplish the revolution on their own and that they can win the revolution only under the leadership of the European working class.

Those who put up such argument are distorting Lenin's thesis on proletarian hegemony in the revolution of a single country. They allege that it is quite natural for the European working class to lead the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries and that no one can dare refute this.

Leadership of the working class in alliance with the peasant masses and other working people is undoubtedly an indispensable condition for the victory of revolution in a single country.

However, it is totally wrong to apply this thesis mechanically to the relations between the labour movement in Europe and the national-liberation struggle of the peoples in colonial and dependent countries. This is an adulteration of Marxism-Leninism.

As historical facts show, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been waging a revolutionary struggle for themselves and have already won great victories.

The main thing is for the international work-

ing class and national-liberation movements to support and assist each other and to strengthen their alliance. There is not, nor should there be, a relationship of one side leading the other or any relationship of one subordinating the other.

The view that Europe should lead Asia, Africa and Latin America is a product of the reactionary bourgeois idea of regarding the peoples of colonial and dependent countries as “inferior nations,” which originates from geographical and racial prejudices. Marxist-Leninists should under no circumstances become captives to such a bourgeois idea.

True Marxist-Leninists should, first of all, set a revolutionary example on the common front against imperialism before claiming the “leading role” in world revolution.

If one looks down upon the struggle of other people, while not making revolution himself, that is nothing but an act of national chauvinism. Communists should value the fruits of struggle won by the people on the front of anti-imperialist revolution, no matter how small they may be, and learn from them open-mindedly.

Geographical and racial prejudices are taboo among Communists. Communists are related to each other by the common goal — the fulfilment of world revolution — in whatever regions, in whatever country they may fight.

If revolution should break out in Europe today, it would bring immense joy to the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, it would be a

great support to their struggle. Similarly, the victory of revolution in Asian, African and Latin American countries today constitutes a great encouragement to the working class of Europe. Therefore, no matter where and by whom victory is won, it is a common victory, a source of common joy of progressive mankind the world over. There is no ground whatever to be unhappy about the revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the situation is ripe and the masses are ready to fight.

Some often wield the “authority” and traditions of their Parties to force their anti-Marxist views of the national-liberation struggle upon others.

As for the traditions and authority of such Parties, all Communists have regard for them. They highly appraise the past revolutionary exploits of these Parties and draw on their experience.

Important as the past is, more important is how one fights today against imperialism and for world revolution. Showing off the traditions and past exploits cannot replace the revolutionary work. The authority of the revolutionary Parties is built up amidst the flames of struggle. Once the working class Party retreats from the revolutionary position, it forfeits respect.

Communists should make practical contributions to world revolution, not by empty words or by boasting of their past exploits, but by fighting imperialism and supporting the fighting people.

The strengthening of the national liberation movement is the way to reinforce the revolutionary force of the world proletariat, the way to hasten the final ruin of imperialism and the way to facilitate victory for world revolution. Anyone who fights for world revolution in good faith should direct the greatest attention to the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have turned into zones of revolutionary tempest today, and should do everything in their power for the victory of this struggle.

6. The Working Class and the Oppressed Nations of the Whole World Must Unite

Today the entire revolutionary forces of the world should constantly expand and strengthen the common struggle against imperialism.

The socialist camp, the international labour movement and the national-liberation movement are powerful revolutionary forces on the common front against imperialism at the present time. These revolutionary forces should firmly unite with each other and cement their militant solidarity.

Unity is the most powerful weapon in the hands of the international working class and the oppressed nations. The strengthening of their unity redoubles their might. When they are united, the working class and the oppressed nations can destroy any fortress of imperialism.

It is the very unity of the socialist camp, the international working class and the oppressed nations that the imperialists fear more than anything else. In order to check the revolutionary movements which are growing in all countries of the world, they are manoeuvring to align all the reactionary forces and destroy the unity of the forces of revolution.

The working class and the oppressed nations of the whole world must unite and counter such manoeuvrings of the imperialists.

The socialist camp, the international labour movement and the national-liberation movement should resolutely wage revolutionary struggles against imperialism on their respective fronts. They should thus deal blows at the imperialists led by U.S. imperialism so as to prevent them from arbitrary actions.

Here the socialist camp, first of all, should play an important role.

The countries in the socialist camp should regard it as an internationalist duty emanating from the very nature of Marxism-Leninism and of the socialist countries to give active support and encouragement to the national-liberation struggle. The countries of the socialist camp, as the base of world revolution, should persistently oppose the predatory colonial policy of the imperialists and actively struggle to safeguard the rights of the oppressed nations on the international arena. They should also render active support, material and spiritual, to all forms of liber-

ation struggles waged by the oppressed nations including armed struggle.

This strengthens the allied forces of the socialist camp and the international working class, and accelerates their common victory over imperialism.

Due to the manoeuvrings of the revisionists, however, certain socialist countries have failed to perform this important mission today.

Certain people do not want revolution and are afraid of hurting the feelings of the imperialists. They, therefore, not only do not support the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations but also obstruct it. What is important for them is not their unity with the oppressed nations but their compromise with the ruling circles of imperialism, not the abolition of colonies but the “tranquil” preservation of the status quo.

These people even allege that to support the national-liberation struggles in colonies is to interfere in the internal affairs of colonial powers.

This is tantamount to throwing overboard the historical cause and internationalist duty of the working class.

However vociferously one may talk about internationalism, there can be no genuine internationalist action if one does not extend active support to the peoples fighting the imperialists at the cost of their blood.

A socialist country is by no means entitled to consider itself to have fulfilled its revolutionary duty even if it has won victory in the revolution

earlier than others. The Marxist-Leninists cannot pretend ignorance of the fact that hundreds of millions of people are still groaning under the oppression of capital and fighting against it in many parts of the world.

Along with the socialist camp, the working class in the capitalist countries must support the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations by waging a revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

Under imperialist domination, the position of the working class in the capitalist countries is the same as that of the oppressed peoples.

The imperialists, with a view to intensifying their plunder of colonial peoples, engage in all sorts of manoeuvrings to estrange the working class in metropolitan countries from the peoples in colonies. They attempt to contaminate the working class with the ideas of national chauvinism and racism, they attempt to bribe the upper crust of the working class with part of the super-profits squeezed out of colonies and to disorganize its ranks.

The working class of the capitalist countries should thoroughly frustrate such sinister designs and intrigues on the part of the imperialist ruling circles and unfold resolute struggles against their policies of aggression and plunder in colonies and dependencies. Full support should be given to the right of the peoples in colonies and dependent countries to complete independence, and the class struggle should be waged more vig-

orously against the capitalist system.

This is the way for the working class in the capitalist countries to contribute to the development of the liberation struggles of the colonial nations, the way to step up their own class emancipation.

In no circumstances must the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries be servile to the ruling circles of their respective countries without organizing such struggle.

Unless direct and decisive support is given to the national-liberation movement in colonies through the revolutionary struggle, the revolutionary solidarity between the international working class and the oppressed nations remains entirely empty talk.

Engels pointed out that **“no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations.”**¹

This truth must not be forgotten.

If the working class of all countries, including the socialist countries, regards their support to the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations as a sort of “burden” or a sort of “charity,” it is a grave mistake. It is not the right attitude for Communists to care only for boasting of their aid.

Aid is by no means unilateral.

The relationship between the international working class and the oppressed nations is al-

¹ K. Marx and Engels, *Works*, 2nd Russ. ed., Vol. 18, p. 509.

ways that of mutual support and mutual aid. The support given by the socialist countries and the working class of the capitalist countries expedites the victory of the oppressed nations in their liberation struggle.

On the other hand, the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations helps create favourable conditions for socialist construction in the socialist countries and the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries by dealing blows at imperialism.

“The victory of the working class... and the liberation of the oppressed peoples from the yoke of imperialism are impossible without the formation and the consolidation of a common revolutionary front.” (Stalin)¹

The common front of the socialist camp, the international working class and the oppressed nations — this is a decisive condition for the ultimate triumph of the international labour movement and the national-liberation revolution against imperialism.

The activities of the international democratic organizations on the common anti-imperialist front are of great importance today.

The international democratic organizations embrace hundreds of millions of the working people and progressive forces of the world. These organizations set it as their task to fight for peace

¹ J.V. Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 6, p. 200.

and democracy, national independence and social progress.

So, it is one of the central tasks in their activities to oppose imperialism and colonialism, and support the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations.

In this respect, these organizations did much work in the past, which was a great encouragement to the oppressed nations. It is hardly possible, indeed, to talk about a lasting peace and the happiness of peoples apart from the struggle for the complete emancipation of the oppressed nations.

But today certain people are trying to divert the activities of the international democratic organizations from their original mission. They are forcing the organizations to abandon their anti-imperialist struggle and are preventing them from giving support to the national-liberation struggle.

They demand that the international democratic organizations should keep entirely to the line of peaceful co-existence and disarmament, thus causing confusion and split in them. Modern revisionists would not allow people even to voice their denunciation of imperialism from the rostrums of meetings of these organizations. According to their view, the bourgeoisie will be frightened if voices are raised against imperialism.

Which is really important, to unite with hundreds of millions of peoples in Asia, Africa and

Latin America or to join hands with the upper strata of the bourgeoisie at the risk of losing that large, powerful allied force?

The answer is clear.

The modern revisionists value compromise and collusion with the ruling circles of imperialism more than anything else.

They are machinating to turn the international democratic organizations struggling for safeguarding peace against imperialism into bourgeois pacifist organizations which prettify the U.S. and other imperialists, create illusions about them and paralyse the fighting spirit of the people.

The international democratic organizations must never fall back from their original mission. They must fight determinedly against the splitting, capitulationist acts of the modern revisionists and render active support to the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations, holding aloft the banner of anti-imperialist struggle.

It is very important in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism to strengthen close cooperation and unity among the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The common position and the common objective of the peoples in those parts of the world demand firm unity in the interests of the common struggle against imperialism. Once they are closely united and intensify the struggle against imperialism, their common enemy, the Asian, African and Latin American peoples can drive

imperialism into a tight corner and deal bigger blows at it.

It will, at the same time, enable them to attain national liberation, consolidate the independence already achieved and secure an independent development.

For a common victory, it is important today to strengthen ties and hold necessary meetings of the governments and trade organizations of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, and set up organizations for common struggle.

That will make it possible to exchange experience in struggles, work out programs of joint struggle, strengthen mutual support and co-operation and unfold vigorous struggles against imperialism.

Such activities are meant to ensure equal and free development for the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in international relations and protect the rights and demands of the oppressed nations.

This is the way to cement the unity with the international working class and reinforce the world peace movement.

Now, some persons also vigorously oppose the efforts of the peoples in these parts of the world to strengthen their unity and co-operation.

They are opposed to international meetings of representatives of various social strata in Asia, Africa and Latin America aimed at discussing measures together for anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggles. They slander and vilify such ac-

tivities as “geographical” and “racist” “isolationist actions” “rather than an anti-imperialist struggle.”

What a strange logic this is!

If they are Marxist-Leninists, they should not be prejudiced against the flames of revolution raging in all their fury in Asia, Africa and Latin America today, but ought to be rejoiced at and actively encourage them and step up world revolution.

If the united international activities of the peoples in these parts against imperialism and colonialism are not an anti-imperialist struggle, what are they?

As one of their methods of preserving their colonial privileges, the imperialists take advantage of racial and religious differences and other things still remaining in Asia, Africa and Latin America to cause strife deliberately in these parts. They attempt to make Asians fight each other in Asia, Africans in Africa and Latin Americans in Latin America.

What is wrong with the peoples of these parts finding ways and means to jointly counter the sinister aggressive manoeuvrings of the imperialists through international meetings and coordinated joint organizations?

Those who oppose, on the absurd ground of being “racial” and “geographical,” the activities of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for their unity, want to serve the policy of imperialism designed to estrange the peoples in these

areas from and set them against each other. It could not be otherwise.

That historic Bandung Conference of Asian-African countries dealt a severe blow at imperialism and colonialism, and contributed greatly to the cause of world peace. And the already organized Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization plays a big role in intensifying the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggle of the peoples in these parts of the world.

There can be no ground whatsoever to oppose the joint organizations aimed at the unity of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples.

In short, certain people stand opposed to the measures taken by the peoples in these areas for their unity because, in actual fact, they fear the spread of the flames of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial struggle and do not want the revolution at all.

We are convinced that the strengthening of the unity of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp, the working class and the oppressed nations of the whole world are the essential guarantee for the victory in the people's struggle of our times for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

The working class and the oppressed nations throughout the world will unite firmly to wage a decisive struggle against colonialism and national oppression of all shades.

* * *

Today the revisionists are doing incalculable harm to the international communist movement and the national-liberation struggle. They are now pursuing the road of splitting and undermining the working class Parties of various countries.

Abusing the authority of their Party, certain people have forced revisionism upon Parties in other countries, thus driving these Parties into confusion and making them impotent.

As a result, some Parties have failed to guarantee correct leadership for the national-liberation struggle, and fail to play their role as revolutionary Parties of the working class.

The revisionists are interfering in the internal affairs of other Parties at will and place them completely under their thumb.

They have kicked up a row in a number of Parties, excluding and expelling staunch Marxist-Leninists from the Party ranks.

At present certain people are abusing the principle of democratic centralism to spread and justify revisionism.

On the instructions, and under the coercion, of these people, some Parties are checking the revolutionary activities of Marxist-Leninists, persecuting them on charges of "sectarianism," "splittism," and all sorts of ideological charges, even expelling them from the Party ranks unreasonably. By doing so the revisionists are in effect splitting the Parties of other countries.

The principle of democratic centralism is a revolutionary principle of organization that consolidates the Party on Marxist-Leninist principles.

This is necessary for strengthening the Party ranks on Marxist-Leninist principles and enhancing the militant role of the Party. But, on the contrary, the principle of democratic centralism is abused by the revisionists to split the Party and persecute steadfast Communists. This must never be tolerated.

Those steadfast Marxist-Leninists unjustly expelled from certain Parties cannot but unite themselves, and form new Communist organizations in the interests of the revolution.

Their action is entirely justified.

Today the differences within the international communist movement have developed into the question of principle that affects Marxism-Leninism and the destiny of world revolution.

Should the question of the differences be obscured and left undecided, it would further foster revisionism and thereby inflict an irretrievable damage on the cause of world revolution. We consider that the solution of the question of the differences cannot be consigned to the "lapse of time," to spontaneity. The interests of the revolution do not permit the infiltration of any ideas that run counter to Marxism-Leninism into the ranks of the fighting people. No Communist can sit even a moment with folded arms when revisionism is spreading in the ranks of the interna-

tional labour movement and the national-liberation struggle. He must fight revisionism to the last and must clearly distinguish between right and wrong basing himself on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Revisionism must be eradicated thoroughly in the Party ranks and the Party must be built up in a revolutionary way on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Only then can the Party secure its leading role and make advance in the revolutionary struggle.

Revisionism is doomed to ruin. Through the resolute struggle against revisionism, the international communist movement will achieve a new, great unity based on Marxism-Leninism and emerge victorious.

Communists of all countries have before them the Declaration and the Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, their guide to action, which were adopted unanimously. All Communists should, without exception, adhere strictly to Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, firmly safeguarding the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp, the international labour movement and the national-liberation movement.

Communists and working men of all lands, let us march on vigorously holding aloft the banner of all conquering Marxism-Leninism!