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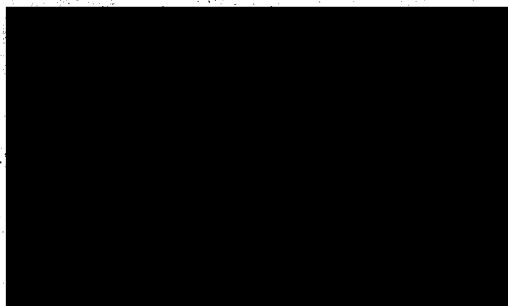
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A STUDY OF THE IDEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES  
BETWEEN THE USSR AND COMMUNIST CHINA

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In Communist states, ideology and policy are closely related. Primarily, ideology determines policy, but not ideology alone. Policies in these countries are decided only after national and international situations are carefully examined in terms of the ideologies of these states. On the other hand, changes in policies sometimes require changes in ideology. When either national or international situations change so drastically that a policy cannot be reconciled with the current ideology, a new ideology is established in order to justify the new policy.

Accordingly, such ideological struggles as may be observed among the Communist states should not be interpreted as simple ideological struggles but as either the result of or the anticipation of struggles involving wide differences of policy. In other words, ideological struggles between the Communist states are related to struggles concerning important policy matters, and the ideological struggles between the USSR and Communist China will be considered from this point of view.

The Soviet Communist Party and the Communist Party of Red China have been engaged in a number of theoretical struggles in the period following the establishment of Communist China. I shall not make a historical study of these struggles; rather, I shall classify them into groups and explain the manner in which they developed and their influence on the present relations between the USSR and Communist China.

#### I. Relations Between Socialist States

After the termination of World War II, the establishment of a number of socialist states in Eastern Europe led to the need for discussion as to what

policy should be taken concerning the relations between socialist states, but during the period of Stalin's control this problem was completely ignored, and the relationship of the USSR, the fatherland, to the socialist states of Eastern Europe was that of a leader to his subordinates. Since this relationship was not very different from that of a capitalist state to its colonies and dependent states, it was only natural that such a policy would be criticized as Soviet imperialism.

This relationship also continued between the USSR and Communist China for several years after the establishment of the Red Chinese regime -- a relationship attested to by the fact that, according to the provisions of the agreement concluded simultaneously with the signing on 14 February 1950 of the Sino-Soviet Agreement of Amity and Mutual Aid, the USSR acquired special rights on the Ch'ang-ch'un Railway and in Port Arthur and Dairen and later, on 27 March 1950, established the joint Sino-Soviet oil and nonferrous metal company and the joint Sino-Soviet commercial airline company. Communist China, which had been established only recently, must have realized that this relationship could not have been avoided. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that Chinese Communist leaders were not satisfied with this state of affairs, since, unlike the countries of Eastern Europe, Communist China had accomplished the revolution by its own efforts. The special interests held by the Soviet Government were gradually relinquished, however, and, after Stalin's death, were completely discontinued. On 12 October 1954, two joint declarations were made between the USSR and Communist China based on the principles of equal rights, reciprocity, and mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; Soviet troops were withdrawn from Port Arthur; all Soviet facilities in Port Arthur were transferred to the Chinese Communist Government (completed on 26 May 1955); and Soviet-held

shares in the joint Sino-Soviet enterprises were transferred to the Chinese Communist Government (effective on 1 January 1955). This improvement in Sino-Soviet relations was not the result of a so-called new doctrine but rather was the result of changes in the balance of power (including domestic factors) in both the USSR and Communist China.

The criticism of Stalin made at the 20th Party Congress resulted in an immediate counterargument by Chinese Communist leaders. 1/ Then, when the unrest in Eastern Europe occurred as an outcome of this criticism, the Chinese Communist leaders issued a statement on the relations between socialist states and the relations between the Communist parties of the socialist states in an article entitled "More on the Historical Experience of the Proletarian Dictatorship," issued on 28 December. This document emphasized the consolidation of the solidarity of proletarian internationalism centering around the USSR and explained that the international solidarity among the Communist parties of the countries of the world is the new form of union in the history of mankind. The Communist parties of the various countries must unite, and at the same time the countries must become independent states; they must recognize the fact that they are the representatives of the just racial interests and racial sentiments of their own people. Therefore, in order to strengthen the international unity of the socialist countries, "the Communist parties of the socialist states must mutually respect the racial interests and racial sentiments of other countries." However, the USSR under Stalin "showed a tendency to assume the attitude of a great power in its relations with its allies and by so doing ignored the independent and equal position of the socialist countries in their international relations." The leaders of Communist China emphasized the importance of mutual respect for racial interests and racial

sentiments in the socialist states and the establishment of independence and equal rights in these states and strongly opposed the tendency toward "major-powerism" that ignores these points.

The USSR was forced to accept Communist China's position because it was clear that the solidarity of the socialist camp could not be maintained without recognizing these relationships among newly established socialist states. Communist China's ideas were formally adopted in the joint Sino-Soviet communiqué of 18 January 1957, which called for "a further consolidation of the solidarity and cooperation among the socialist states" and affirmed the fact that "friendship and solidarity between the USSR and Communist China is an important factor in the union of socialist countries." The document also affirmed that socialist countries are bound by Communist ideas and that mutual relations among the socialist countries are founded on the teachings of Marx and Lenin and the various principles of proletarian internationalism. In addition, the communiqué emphasized that the individual socialist countries are sovereign states and that relations among these states must be based on the principles of respect of sovereignty, noninterference, equal rights, and reciprocal interests. The Moscow Declaration issued by the 12 Communist countries on 22 November 1957 declared as follows: "The relations among the socialist states are based on absolute equality, territorial integrity, respect of independence and sovereignty, and noninterference in domestic affairs. These are important principles, but these principles alone do not constitute the total substance of the relations between socialist countries. The indispensable section of this mutual relation is composed of brotherly aid. It is by this principle of mutual aid that international socialism lives." 2/

Stalin's "major-power" policy was replaced with a new relationship between the socialist countries that was placed within the framework of Communism and bound with strings called proletarian internationalism. In all other respects, however, relations were not different from those seen among independent nations. Since a relationship based on the three factors -- the framework of Communism, proletarian internationalism, and independence and equality of the respective nations -- is not necessarily clearcut, it cannot be concluded that no problem will occur in the future. It must be recognized, however, that when Stalin's "major-power" policy was challenged and when unrest occurred in the East European countries that resulted in the disruption of the solidarity of the socialist camp, the adoption of a new relationship between socialist countries based on independence and equality satisfied the peoples of the socialist camp and served to strengthen their unity. This new relationship -- together with the subjugation of formalism (explained in the next section) -- made it possible for the respective socialist countries to declare that their countries are independent countries and enabled them to follow their own course of socialism. Unlike the days of Stalin's control, Communist China, too, succeeded in acquiring a status equal to that of the USSR and became a leading power in the socialist camp. As for the USSR, it was forced into recognizing Communist China's new position; moreover, the USSR recognized the fact that it was actually to its advantage to work for the further consolidation of the socialist camp by cooperating with Communist China. The establishment of a new relationship between socialist countries contributed to the sense of unity and the friendly relations between the USSR and Communist China and contributed to a strengthening of solidarity in the socialist camp.

## II. Road to Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction

### A. Overcoming Formalism

Immediately after the criticism of Stalin made at the 20th Party Congress, Communist China was not completely sympathetic to the attitude of the USSR. Rather, China clarified its position by recognizing Stalin's demerits as well as his merits. 3/ Then, when the criticism of Stalin and the new platform adopted at the 20th Party Congress caused unrest in the European Satellites and brought harsh criticism of Stalin from the Communists in Yugoslavia, China actively supported Soviet policies. Chou En-lai departed for a tour of Eastern Europe on 17 November 1956 and returned to his country on 12 February of the following year. During this tour he actively mediated to improve relations between the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe. As we have already seen in the article "More on the Historical Experience of the Proletarian Dictatorship," Stalin's achievements were evaluated highly. 4/ The article stated that "compared to his services, his errors are of only secondary significance" and sharply rejected the criticism of Yugoslavia's Communist leaders that Stalin's errors were the result of the socialist system of the USSR. It pointed out, however, that Stalin's errors served to develop "formalism" and that this formalism must be overcome. Chinese Communist leaders explained that the formalists were so engrossed in the universal truths of Marx-Leninism that they failed to understand that these universal truths are expressed in and act upon the actual living of the people through their specific racial characteristics. The formalists also failed to see that (although the road to socialist construction must follow the general course experienced by the USSR during the Revolution and the subsequent construction of socialism) the development of "Communism in the respective countries must

follow a slightly different course according to the racial characteristics of each country and that its progress is closely connected with specific racial characteristics, so that all countries cannot be expected to follow exactly the same course."

The suppression of formalism was not emphasized by Chinese Communist leaders alone. Even during the 20th Party Congress, it was recognized that the "special characteristics and distinctive features of each country must be considered in guiding the socialist reformation," and it was asserted that this is "creative Marxism expressed in action." Moreover, criticism was expressed against the formalism that demands that "all experiences of the USSR" be "faithfully followed by other countries." This declaration was of great significance. The idea was accepted by the USSR in its Moscow Declaration issued in November 1957. In other words, "Marx-Leninism demands that the general principles of socialist revolution and socialist construction be applied in a creative manner appropriate to the historical conditions of the respective countries. It does not permit the mechanical imitation of the policies and strategy of the Communist parties of other countries. Lenin more than once warned of the importance of correctly applying the basic Communist principles according to the distinctive characteristics of the people and country in question. When a proletarian party ignores the racial characteristics of a people, the party will, without fail, become isolated from the actual living of the people and from the public itself, and this isolation will result in damage to socialist projects ... . The Communist parties of the socialist countries must uphold the universal truths of Marx-Leninism in the revolution and socialist construction of their own countries and apply in a creative manner the general rules of socialist revolution and socialist



construction in accordance with the concrete conditions in their own countries, taking lessons from others and exchanging experiences."

Stalin's formalism, linked with his "major-power" policy, brought about difficulties and dissatisfaction in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. The criticisms voiced against formalism by the leaders of Communist China (who, unlike those in the countries of Eastern Europe, carried out their revolution on their own power and who were engaged in the construction of socialism) naturally won the sympathy of the leaders of the Eastern European countries. Nevertheless, it is not appropriate to assume that this criticism against formalism and the assertion that it should be overcome had the effect of destroying Sino-Soviet solidarity or that it would imperil the unity of the socialist camp. It must be noted that Communist China's plea was made to strengthen the union between the USSR and Communist China and to reinforce the solidarity of the socialist camp. This purpose is attested to by the fact that the Chinese not only charged that they themselves must overcome formalism but also at the same time harshly criticized revisionism.

#### B. Struggle Against Revisionism

The suppression of formalism was naturally accompanied by a struggle against the revisionists because (although the many forms and methods of socialist construction and its independent nature may have been acknowledged) the important problem was to determine to what degree such diversion and independent nature could be permitted, since there was the need to criticize all those who went too far and who as a result became guilty of revisionism. In overcoming formalism, Chinese Communist leaders advocated this attack on revisionism and demanded concessions on the part of the Soviet leaders. Nevertheless, in these attacks the Chinese leaders actively supported the position of the Soviet leaders.

Communist China's attack on revisionism can be seen in the aforementioned editorial, "More on the Historical Experience of the Proletarian Dictatorship." This document emphasized the need to overcome formalism and at the same time pointed out the danger inherent in revisionism by explaining that "there is nothing in common between opposition to formalism and approval of revisionism." The editorial recognizes, first, that the October Revolution and fundamental experience of socialist construction "possesses universal significance in the present stage of human history." It further explains that "the fundamentals of the Soviet socialist revolution and socialist construction are the universal truths of Marx-Leninism and can be applied to the countries of the world." Therefore, the course of the October Revolution was "a common course that must be followed by all proletarian countries if they are to win victory." The course of Marx-Leninism opened by the October Revolution must be upheld, although the course of socialist construction in the various countries "will lead toward Communism by different courses according to the distinctive characteristics of the respective peoples." Marx-Leninism recognizes the fact that Communist movements in various countries will possess various racial characteristics, but this does not mean that these Communist movements need not possess fundamental common features or that they can deviate from the universal truths of Marx-Leninism. "Revisionists are those who deny the international significance of the fundamental experience of the Soviet [October] Revolution and Soviet [socialist] construction and the universal truths of Marx-Leninism. Such revisionism is judged to be mistaken." In other words, revisionism operates under the pretext of the developing of socialist democracy but actually "weakens and denies proletarian dictatorship, weakens and denies the democratic centralized government of the socialist

states, and weakens and denies the role of leadership of party." Revisionism also "denies the difference between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois dictatorship, denies the difference between the socialist camp and the capitalist camp, and teaches that socialist construction can be accomplished without a proletariat-directed proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries and without going through the course of proletarian dictatorship."\*

Struggles against revisionism were subsequently emphasized many times. At the meeting of the Supreme Soviet held during the Anniversary of the Revolution in 1957, Premier Khrushchev voiced harsh criticism by stating: "I approve

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\* Chinese Communist leaders insist that a capitalist system cannot be transformed into a socialist state without first going through a proletarian revolution directed by a proletarian party and first experiencing the stage of proletarian dictatorship. These leaders further state that those who support a peaceful transformation that does not go through this stage are revisionists. This claim is different from the line expressed at the 20th Party Congress. Premier Khrushchev in his speech stated that "the transition to socialism will take varied forms" and declared that "the opinion that Communists regard violence and civil wars as the only course to social reform" is contrary to fact, and he brought up the question of whether or not it is possible to accomplish the change to socialism through parliamentary means. He recognized the fact that "in cases where the working class in capitalist countries and former colonies succeed in winning a stabilized majority in the parliament through the support of the revolutionary movements of the proletariat and working class" the fundamental conditions for the enforcement of social reform can be established.

of socialism, but I consider that the present revisionism that opposes proletarian dictatorship, guidance of social living by the working class and the Communist party which is their vanguard body, and also proletarian internationalism is a traitor to socialism." He also stated that so-called "racial socialism" and "racial communism," which advocate the search for a completely new artificial course that will "enable the countries to accomplish socialist transformation," are mistaken and are doomed to "eventual failure."

Mao Tse-tung, who attended the anniversary celebration and also made a speech, fully supported Khrushchev's position and explained that China was able to solve correctly the problem of its own revolution and socialist construction only after it had analyzed and studied the various experiences of the Soviet proletarian dictatorship and socialist construction and had applied them in a creative manner best suited to the concrete conditions in China. "Those who ignore this point," he said, "are revisionists," and he concluded that "the most urgent problem is the struggle against revisionism."

The Moscow Declaration, issued in November 1957, also regarded revisionism as rightist opportunism and declared that revisionism "paralyzes the revolutionary energy of the working class and is a manifestation of the bourgeois ideology that demands the revival or existence of capitalism" and that revisionism "is the main danger facing Communist parties." The Moscow Declaration asserted (1) that "revisionism is hostile to the belief that there is a historic necessity for a proletarian revolution and a proletarian dictatorship that will appear during the transition from capitalism to socialism"; (2) that it denies the authority of Marx-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism; (3) that it denies the fundamental principles of Lenin as they apply to party construction (mainly, democratic centralization); and (4) that it aims to change the Communist party from a revolutionary organization into a bourgeois party.

The argument concerning revisionism erupted again when the draft platform of the Yugoslav Communist League was announced in March 1958. The Soviet Communist Party harshly criticized the Yugoslav draft platform as "modern revisionism." Pravda on 9 May printed a long editorial entitled "The Solidarity of the Marx-Leninism Parties Will Assure the Future Victory of the International Socialist System," which declared that the draft platform demanded the revision of Leninism, distorted historical facts and placed the responsibility of international tension on the USSR, ignored the existence of the two major systems of capitalism and socialism, emphasized the existence of the military and political blocs only, and attempted to create dissension among the socialist countries. The editorial also charged that the draft platform regarded US aid (which demands economic and political subordination) and Soviet aid (which means brotherly aid) in the same light, ignored the principles of proletarian internationalism, and regarded the comradely criticism of socialist countries toward the draft platform as interference in Yugoslav internal affairs. Furthermore, the draft platform ignored the Moscow Declaration.

Attention was centered on the attitude of Communist China toward the argument between the USSR and Yugoslavia. Communist China gave full support to the Soviet position. On 5 May, the first day of the second session of the 18th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, Ten Hsiao-ping, Secretary General of the Party, criticized the draft platform as opposed to Marx-Leninism and called it all-out revisionism. The Peoples Daily on the same day declared, in its editorial "Modern Revisionism Must Be Criticized," that the Yugoslav draft platform interpreted the world as being divided into two opposing military and political blocs and that it confused the issues that divide

capitalism and socialism. The editorial emphasized that the draft platform was all-out revisionism and that it agreed with American imperialism, which aims for the destruction of international Communist movements. Open and direct criticism must be made, the editorial asserted, against this revisionism that opposed Marx-Leninism.

The 16th May issue of the Party organ, Red Flag, also criticized the revisionists of Yugoslavia as "reactionaries clothed in Marx-Leninism but serving the interests of American imperialists." The National Conference held on 23 May criticized the Yugoslav platform in a similar vein and called for "a determined struggle against modern revisionism."

The joint Sino-Soviet communiqué issued on 3 August following a conference between Soviet and Chinese leaders announced an agreement "to carry out a determined struggle against revisionism -- the main danger facing Communist movements" and declared that "this revisionism is clearly expressed in the platform of the Yugoslav Communist League."\*

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\* Reference materials concerning the manner in which Soviet leaders interpret revisionism can be found in the treatise by N. Matkovskiy printed in Pravda (12 June 1960) entitled Ideological Weapon of Communism: Lenin's 'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder." This document asserts the existence of certain general rules concerning socialist revolutions and socialist construction as seen in "the course of socialist and Communist construction shown in Leninism and the great October Revolution -- the course that has been tested by historical experience." It lists the following "lawful rules":

These documents and statements indicate that there is absolutely no difference of opinion between the USSR and Communist China concerning the necessity to attack revisionism. From the Soviet point of view the greatest danger in the period following the criticism of Stalin was a revisionist tendency among socialist countries. The active and strong support by Communist China, a powerful socialist state, of the Soviet stand against revisionism was extremely welcome to the Soviet Government. This can be seen from the fact that Communist China's thesis, "More on the Historical Experience of the Proletarian Dictatorship," was printed in full in Pravda. Furthermore, since this rejection of revisionism theoretically identifies the course of the Soviet

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1. Guidance of the working people by the working class;
2. The enforcement of various forms of proletarian revolution and establishment of various forms of proletarian dictatorship;
3. The federation of the working class, farmers, and all other workers;
4. The abolition of the system of ownership by capitalists and establishment of socialist control of principal industries;
5. A gradual socialist reorganization of farming;
6. A balanced development of the economy for the construction of socialism and Communism and the improvement of the living standards of the working class;
7. The enforcement of the socialist revolution and the training of the workers, the general public, and the intelligentsia who will serve the interests of socialism;
8. Extermination of factors that oppress the people and the establishment of friendly relations that will promote equality among the various peoples;
9. Protection of the fruits of socialist struggles from attacks from within and without; and
10. The establishment of solidarity among the working classes, which means proletarian internationalism.

In other words, modern revisionists "ignore the principle of the October Revolution and the main course of the socialist construction; they attack the principle of socialist construction of the USSR and other countries, and they distort Leninism."

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October Revolution and socialist construction as the main road of proletarian revolution and construction in the various countries, it constitutes a theoretical and actual acknowledgment of the leadership of the USSR within the socialist camp in all phases of government, economy, social affairs, and culture, and this acknowledgment results in the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp.

### III. Imperialism, War, and Peace

During the past several years the USSR has actively promoted its policy of peaceful coexistence, whereas Communist China, on the contrary, has not necessarily supported this position in its foreign policy. China has assumed a rather arbitrary attitude on this question on more than one occasion. For example, in the autumn of 1958 when Premier Khrushchev proposed settlement of the Middle East crisis within the framework of the UN, Communist China opposed the idea, resumed firing on Quemoy Island, and opposed the visit of Soviet leaders to the United States. Various reasons can be cited as the cause of these early differences of opinion, but, following the collapse of the Paris Summit Conference in May of 1960, the existence of an open divergence in the points of view of the two countries became apparent, a divergence concerning the nature of imperialism, war, and peace.

Approximately 3 weeks after the opening of the Paris Summit Conference, a number of articles on this subject were published by the Chinese Communist authorities on 22 April on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth. The articles include "Imperialism Is the Cause of Modern Wars," by Li Yu-chao 5/; "Hurrah for Leninism" 6/; and "Let Us Follow the Course of Great Lenin." 7/ The treatise by Li Yu-chao declared, first, that Lenin's proposition that war will continue as long as imperialism exists remains true



to this day and, second, that the essence of imperialism is still unchanged. Therefore, there is no change in the truth that imperialism is the cause of war. The position of imperialism has undergone a great change, but the fact that this change has made it difficult to wage a war cannot be taken to mean that war and its cause have thereby been exterminated. We must not lightly assume that the development of nuclear weapons has made it impossible to start an all-out war, and even if it were impossible to start a total war, there exists the possibility of starting localized wars. Actually, during the past 10 years following the end of World War II, a number of localized wars were started by imperialists, particularly the United States. US imperialists have been actively preparing for both total and localized war. But now that the influence of the East overwhelms the influence of the West, socialism possesses the ability to force imperialism to accept peaceful coexistence. Nevertheless, American imperialism has surrounded us with a network of military bases, and we must be on our guard against the danger of war which imperialism poses. The third thesis of Li Yu-chao is in a similar vein, but it points out the following major duties of Communist China: (1) speedy establishment and construction of socialism, (2) opposition to imperialism, and (3) friendship and unity among the socialist countries. Concerning the second duty of opposition to imperialism, the treatise points out that "even after the Camp David talks and on the eve of the East-West Summit Conference, we do not see any essential change in the war policies of the imperialists. The United States, by concentrating its efforts not only on expanding its military strength but also on fostering the military strength of West Germany and Japan, is making these countries the base of its military operations. Unless the people of the world are determined to expose and struggle against these imperialist war policies of the United States, they will invite grave danger and damage."

The second article harshly criticized modern revisionists in the light of Lenin's doctrine and at the same time emphasized that imperialism is the cause of modern wars. The words and actions of Chinese Communist leaders following the collapse of the Summit Conference continued to take the same tack.

On 20 May, Secretary General Teng Hsiao-ping in his speech entitled "World Peace Cannot Be Gained Through Negotiations Alone" 8/ stated that "the USSR is a powerful ally of Communist China, and the socialist camp with the USSR at the head is a closely knit body that cannot be broken up. Invasion of and conspiracy against the USSR means invasion of and conspiracy against Communist China. It also means invasion of and conspiracy against the socialist camp." The article further stated that "the 650 million people of Communist China fully support the fair attitude taken by the Soviet Government at this conference. The USSR is the stronghold of world peace, and the United States is the No. 1 enemy of world peace." American imperialism "assumes an attitude of favoring peace while it is making extensive preparations for war and military expansion." "The United States attempts to carry out aggressive military policies under the camouflage of peace," whereas "Communist China endeavours to effect the settlement of international disputes through negotiation" and intends to continue these efforts, but China does not believe that lasting world peace can be realized by a dependence on negotiations alone. "Peace can be gained only through the people's struggles against imperialism," and China appealed for the formation of a united front against imperialism. In his statements made at Tsinan and Chenchow, Mao Tse-tung stated that "American imperialism is at present the most powerful imperialism in the world" and that "world peace cannot be won through the individual struggles of the various peoples of the world." "Therefore," Mao continued, "an extensive united front must be formed in order to win in the struggle against imperialism." 9/

Except for their mutual hatred of American imperialism, the Soviet and Chinese leaders differed in their attitudes toward imperialism, war, and peace -- at least, their points of view must be regarded as having different nuances. The Soviet stand on these issues is clarified in Khrushchev's report to the 20th Party Congress in which he took up the problem of the possibility of preventing war and explained that present conditions are fundamentally different from those that existed when Marxian theory first propounded that "war is inevitable as long as imperialism exists." Khrushchev asserted that today the international socialist camp has already been formed and has achieved great influence and that "the peaceful influences know how to prevent war through spiritual as well as material means through this socialist camp." Under these conditions, Lenin's proposition that "the economic foundation for war exists and is effective as long as imperialism exists" stands true today, but since factors other than economic have changed, "war is not a thing that cannot be prevented by any means." In other words, according to Khrushchev, Lenin's theory that war is inevitable as long as capitalism exists must be restated to read that "even though capitalism exists, war is not inevitable." It goes without saying that this theory of imperialism and war provides the theoretical background of his policy of peaceful coexistence. The Soviet argument is that in a time like the present when two social systems exist with one following a course toward "the most destructive war" (with the use of atomic weapons) and the other adopting a course of "peaceful coexistence," and when war is not inevitable even though capitalism exists, there can be no other course to follow but the course of peaceful coexistence. Therefore, the Soviet Government could not ignore Communist China's recent interpretation of imperialism, war, and peace. The Soviet position was expounded in Matokovskiy's

dissertation, "Ideological Weapons of Communism," published on 12 June 1960, which explains that "the leftist sectarianism and tendency criticized in Lenin's 'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder is evident even at the present. Certain circles have made the mistaken assumption that the efforts toward the accomplishment of peaceful coexistence, the struggles for the suspension of military expansion, and the strengthening of peaceful friendship and negotiations between the leaders of the socialist and capitalist systems have in some way departed from the course of Marxian principles." He emphasized that "Communists can compromise on all principles other than Communist ones, and the right policies oppose war and support over-all disarmament and peaceful coexistence." Thus, although Communist China is not mentioned by name, the policy of Communist China is sharply criticized.\*

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\* Matkovskiy's treatise also criticized Communist China's communes, which are that country's means for attaining speedy Communist construction. The article pointed out that Lenin stated that those who call themselves "leftist" Marxists have forgotten the fundamental principle of Marxism. Lenin was referring to the words of Engels. At the time, Engels criticized Blanqui-ism because it ignored the course of historical development and held that "Communism [the system] could be introduced as soon as they [the Party] came into power" and, accordingly, ignored all intermediate steps necessary to accomplish the establishment of Communism. Engels characterized the urgency with which Blanqui-ism attempted to push forward its theories as "childish artlessness." "The course of socialist development is objective. The claim of the 'leftists' in the present international Communist movement that Communism can be introduced by jumping over the stages of the historical methods of gaining control of government is mistaken and not right. Such claims are contrary to the principles of Leninism."

Criticism of the policy of Communist China was also voiced by Khrushchev. At the Third Convention of the Rumanian Workers' Party held at Bucharest on 21 June, he asserted that under present conditions war can be prevented even if imperialism remains, and he added that "it is an error to apply mechanically Lenin's theory that war is inevitable as long as capitalism exists." He stated that "if Lenin were alive today, he would probably teach the real nature of the matter to those persons who fail to consider changes." Among the factors that have caused conditions to be different from those of the time when Lenin expanded his theories on imperialism are the following: (1) the existence of the socialist state of the USSR, which is powerful both economically and militarily; (2) the establishment of the socialist camp, which possesses a population of 1 billion; (3) the elevation of the organization and consciousness of the working class in the capitalist countries and their active struggle for the protection of peace; (4) the extensive peace movements that have spread throughout a wide section of the peoples of the world; (5) the increase in the number of countries working for peace; and (6) the loss of colonies that were regarded as the hinterland of imperialism. Khrushchev claimed that in view of these changes in the world situation, the imperialists themselves must be prepared for destruction if they attempt war. Therefore, although it cannot be assumed that the essential nature of imperialism has changed, there is now the possibility of preventing war.

This theoretical difference of opinion between the USSR and Communist China had to be adjusted. The delegates of the socialist countries who attended the Workers' Party Conference held at Bucharest issued a joint statement which affirmed that the Marx-Lenin principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Peace Declaration of November 1957 were correct and that these two

declarations are the charters of the present Communist and labor movements and that they constitute the platform with which peace, democracy, and socialism are to be accomplished. The delegates attending the conference affirmed their loyalty to the principles shown in these two declarations. As to the points at issue, the delegates affirmed (1) the peaceful coexistence of countries of different systems; (2) the possibility of preventing war under present conditions; and (3) the fact that all peoples must be on their guard against the danger of war (because under present conditions where imperialism exists, there are still grounds for the occurrence of various aggressive wars). 10/

In spite of the statement made at the Bucharest Conference, it is obvious that adjustment of the difference in the opinion between the USSR and Communist China was not completely accomplished, because the two countries still continued their argument on the principles and theories involved. Another attempt to reconcile the disparate opinions was made at the conference in Moscow which was held in November on the occasion of the anniversary of the November Revolution and which was attended by representatives of 81 Communist parties from around the world. The conference continued for more than 1 month, quite contrary to expectations. Finally, the conference unanimously issued a communiqué reconfirming the Moscow Declaration of 1957. In the light of this pronouncement, it may be assumed that the differences of opinion were settled by a compromise in which Communist China accepted the interpretation of the USSR.

Whether the views of the leaders of the USSR and Communist China were in fact successfully adjusted or whether final settlement of the problem was postponed is not clear at this time.

It cannot be denied that the difference of opinion concerning imperialism, war, and peace is the result of different domestic circumstances in the various

socialist countries. We do not have the space to go into details of these differences, but it may be noted that Communist China is immediately and directly opposed to the United States on such issues as Korea, Formosa, the Chiang Kai-shek regime, and UN membership for Communist China, and the country's hatred and distrust of American imperialism is very strong. In a word, Communist China is not satisfied with the international circumstances in which it finds itself. On this point, it is in a very different position from that of the USSR, which is concerned only with maintaining the status quo. As for domestic conditions, the Chinese Government was established a mere 10 or more years ago, and it must still encourage its people into speeding up national construction. In order to keep the people in a state of tension to carry out this progress of production and construction, China desires the continued existence of international tension rather than a lessening of it. Domestic and international circumstances such as these have caused China to pursue a policy different from that of the USSR and thus adopt a different basic theory.

Will this difference in theory -- that is, difference in foreign policy -- cause a disruption in Sino-Soviet relations? I do not think so. Look at the actual condition of Sino-Soviet relations: as explained earlier, Communist China is a powerful socialist state that has won the rank of ally of the USSR. The stage of national construction in China is far below that of the USSR, however, and Soviet technical and economic aid to carry on this construction is still required. In particular, Communist China depends heavily on the USSR for military aid, which is the foundation on which China's diplomatic policies are built. The views of Communist China concerning the prosecution of all-out war with nuclear weapons is not at all in sympathy with the Soviet view, 11/

but Communist China is entirely dependent on the USSR for its national defense, including atomic weapons and space weapons.\* Such dependence on the USSR -- in spite of the differences of opinion that affect their foreign policies -- will eventually force Communist China to agree with the position of the Soviet Government in matters involving day-to-day decisions and -- eventually -- on the formulation of foreign policy. Furthermore, these differences can be resolved through talks between the two countries. Even if theoretical differences over imperialism, war, and peace were to continue to exist between the two countries, it would be hasty to conclude that such differences would result in a disruption of relations between the USSR and Communist China. The debates on theoretical issues during this period were designed to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp. It can be said, for example, that the establishment of relations based on equality among the socialist countries and the criticism of Stalin's formalism were all aimed at reinforcing the sense of unity of the socialist bloc of countries. Furthermore, in the criticism of revisionism, it was reaffirmed that the main road of the October Revolution and socialist construction of the USSR was the path that must be followed by socialist countries. In other words, Communist China voluntarily accepted Soviet leadership as a means of consolidating the socialist camp. This concession is of great significance. To be sure, Chinese Communist leaders regard their country as one of the two most powerful socialist states, and, therefore, both Communist China and the USSR are placed at the center of

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\* In view of the Soviet attitude toward the establishment of an atomic-weapons-free zone in the Far East, it would appear that the USSR is taking a negative attitude toward the possession of atomic weapons by Communist China.



the socialist camp. The corollary to all this is that the USSR also recognized the Chinese as co-leaders. The unity of the socialist camp may not, therefore, be maintained by Soviet influence alone, nor can it be maintained by Communist China's influence alone. Such unity can be further strengthened only by the closest cooperation between both countries. Since Communist China did voluntarily recognize Soviet leadership, it can be said that the feeling of unity of the socialist camp was actually strengthened. Also, since Communist China regards the solidarity of the socialist camp as of the highest importance, China will continue to recognize Soviet leadership as a step that is essential to this solidarity.

#### IV. Solidarity of the Socialist Camp

The fact that the USSR and Communist China are still closely associated even after a number of theoretical arguments and even though some difference of opinion exists is evidence of their recognition of the need for the unification of the socialist camp and of their full agreement concerning the necessity of further consolidating their solidarity.

During the period of Stalin's control the solidarity of the socialist camp was accomplished by the Soviet Government's strong demands and dominant control. It could therefore be said that this was not solidarity at all in the real sense of the word. It is certainly doubtful whether the newly established Communist Chinese Government ever really fully agreed with Stalin's dominant system of control and unity. The unrest among the Satellites of Eastern Europe following Stalin's death (and especially after the criticism of Stalin) was evidence of the weakness of this solidarity.

Communist China, which had emerged from the position of a quasi-Satellite after Stalin's death, quickly discerned the instability of the socialist camp

as evidenced by the disturbances in Eastern Europe and actively tried to mediate between the USSR and the Satellites to unify the camp. It is not necessary to refer to the statements of the leaders of these two countries to prove that both the USSR and Communist China regarded the solidarity of the socialist camp as of the highest importance. As long as the USSR and Communist China consider the unity of the socialist camp in this light and as long as they adhere to the idea that they are essentially responsible for the continued solidarity of the camp, there will be little possibility of disruption in Sino-Soviet relations, although there may be a certain number of theoretical arguments and differences of opinion over domestic and foreign policies.

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