

15-104

IN  
REFUTATION OF  
MODERN  
REVISIONISM

**IN  
REFUTATION OF  
MODERN  
REVISIONISM**

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS  
PEKING 1958**

### *Publisher's Note*

This is a collection of the major editorials and articles on modern revisionism that appeared in the Chinese press in May and June, 1958, and the Resolution on the Moscow Meetings of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties adopted by the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on May 23, 1958.

*Printed in the People's Republic of China*

現代修正主义必須批判

\*

外文出版社出版(北京)

1958年7月第1版

編號: (英)3650-103

# PEKING REVIEW

---

THE WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS IN ENGLISH

北

*Gives You*

京

❖ News

周

❖ Theoretical Articles

報

❖ Political, Economic and  
Cultural Trends

❖ Documents and Statistics

---

*You can get a Free Sample Copy by writing directly to:*

**PEKING REVIEW**

Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37)

## CONTENTS

RESOLUTION ON THE MOSCOW MEETINGS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES . . . . .	1
MODERN REVISIONISM MUST BE REPUDIATED "Renmin Ribao" (People's Daily) Editorial . . . . .	14
MODERN REVISIONISM MUST BE FOUGHT TO THE END "Renmin Ribao" Editorial . . . . .	22
YUGOSLAV REVISIONISM—PRODUCT OF IMPERIALIST POLICY Chen Po-ta . . . . .	33
YUGOSLAV REVISIONISM IS JUST WHAT U.S. IMPE- RIALISM NEEDS Kang Sheng . . . . .	50
IN REFUTATION OF MODERN REVISIONISM'S REAC- TIONARY THEORY OF THE STATE Wang Chia-hsiang	63
THE MORE THEY TRY TO HIDE, THE MORE THEY ARE EXPOSED "Renmin Ribao" Commentator . . . . .	82

## **RESOLUTION ON THE MOSCOW MEETINGS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES**

*Adopted on May 23, 1958,  
by the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress  
of the Communist Party of China*

The Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, at its Second Session, having heard the report delivered by Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping on the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries held in Moscow from November 14 to 16, 1957, and the meeting of representatives of 64 Communist and Workers' Parties held from November 16 to 19, unanimously endorses the Declarations adopted by the two meetings and expresses satisfaction with the work of the delegation of the Communist Party of China headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung during the two meetings.

The Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries and the two Declarations they adopted ushered in a new stage in the international communist movement of our time and were a very great inspiration to the labouring people and all forces for peace, democracy and progress throughout the world. The Communist Parties throughout the world have welcomed and given their support to the two Declarations. The Communist Party of the United States of America, after

clearing out the revisionist John Gates, has also endorsed the stand taken by these Declarations. Only the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has not only openly assumed an attitude of opposition to the Declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, but has also adopted an anti-Marxist-Leninist and out-and-out revisionist programme at its Seventh Congress, and set it against the Declaration of the Moscow meeting. At their Congress, in an effort to defend their anti-Marxist-Leninist and out-and-out revisionist programme, Tito and other leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia made a series of vicious attacks against the international communist movement and the socialist camp with the Soviet Union as its centre, whereas in regard to U.S. imperialism, that most ferocious enemy of the people in every part of the world, they were sycophantic and deeply grateful.

At present, the international communist movement has the important responsibility to adhere firmly to the viewpoints expressed in the Declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, to defend the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and oppose modern revisionism.

The Declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries sums up the experience of the international communist movement in the past century, especially in the past forty years; expounds the common principles which the Communist Parties of all countries must abide by in the socialist revolution and socialist construction; puts forward the basic policy of the Communist Parties in rallying the broad masses of the people to the struggle

for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism; it lays the ideological and political foundation for solidarity among the Communist Parties and strengthens the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. It is an epoch-making document which is in the nature of a programme for the international communist movement.

Analysing the current international situation, the Declaration points out that "world development is determined by the course and results of the competition between two diametrically opposed social systems," that "while socialism is on the upgrade, imperialism is heading towards decline," that the colonial system is crumbling and that "capitalist economy is bound to encounter new deep slumps and crises." It points out that the question of war or peaceful co-existence has become the basic issue in world politics, while the existence of imperialism is the source of aggressive wars. It points out that the aggressive imperialist circles of the United States have become the centre of world reaction, the most deadly enemy of the peoples. It says: "By this policy these anti-popular, aggressive imperialist forces are courting their own ruin, creating their own grave-diggers." At the same time, the Declaration points out that the forces of peace have so grown that there is a real possibility of averting wars and that at the forefront of the forces of peace is the indestructible socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. The Declaration says: "An alliance of these mighty forces can prevent war, but should the bellicose imperialist maniacs venture, regardless of anything, to unleash a war, imperialism will doom itself to destruction, for the peoples will not tolerate a system that brings them so much suffering and exacts so many sacrifices."

The Peace Manifesto adopted at the meeting of representatives of 64 Communist and Workers' Parties points out that the threat to peace and the security of the people comes from "the capitalist monopolies which have amassed unprecedented riches from the two world wars and the current arms drive." It appeals to people of goodwill throughout the world: Organize and fight for peace!

The correctness of the appraisal of the international situation made in the Declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries is confirmed by the development of events. In the past six months, in the socialist camp, economic and cultural construction in the Soviet Union, China and many other brother countries has shown a continuous upward trend. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, there has been a fresh advance in the national liberation movement waged against the imperialists and their lackeys, and in some countries fierce struggle is going on. Meanwhile, the imperialist countries have landed in a new, grave and deep economic crisis. This began first in the United States, where capitalism is most developed, and the economic crisis of the United States is now hitting the whole capitalist world. On the issue of peace or war, the Soviet Union, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Rumania and other brother countries have put forward a series of peace proposals. The Soviet Union has stopped the testing of nuclear weapons before others; the governments of the Korean Democratic People's Republic and of our own country jointly decided to withdraw the Chinese People's Volunteers from Korea. These facts demonstrate to the people throughout the world the determination of the countries in the socialist camp to do all in their power to

secure peace. Despite the desire for peace of the people of all countries, the aggressive bloc headed by the U.S. imperialists persists up to now in its refusal to stop nuclear tests, to end the cold war, to reduce armaments and to withdraw its troops from Korea, and it is doing all it can to delay the convening of a summit conference. The U.S. imperialists have been occupying our Taiwan. They have gone so far as to interfere openly in the internal affairs of Indonesia, aiding and abetting and supplying the rebel clique in that country with materials and now they are interfering in the internal affairs of the Lebanon. We must be awake to the fact that U.S. imperialism and the imperialist bloc headed by it are still actively threatening war, preparing for new wars, stepping up their political, economic and cultural aggression against many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, undermining the internal unity of these countries and even resorting to armed force to suppress national liberation movements. It is our task to rally the peace-loving forces of the whole world to safeguard peace and smash the war schemes of the aggressive imperialist bloc headed by the United States.

The Declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries points out that in adhering to the principle of combining the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution and construction in various countries, attention must be paid to overcoming revisionism and doctrinairism. The Declaration lays stress on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism—dialectical materialism—refutes metaphysics and idealism, and holds that “the application of dialectical materialism in practical work and the education of Party functionaries

and the broad masses in Marxism-Leninism are urgent tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties." To the question of what is the main danger now facing the international communist movement, the Declaration gives this clear-cut answer: "The main danger at present is revisionism, or, in other words, right-wing opportunism, which, as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology, paralyses the revolutionary energy of the working class and demands the preservation or restoration of capitalism." The Declaration points out: "The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source." Making a special note of the emergence of modern revisionism, the Declaration points out: "Modern revisionism seeks to smear the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, declares that it is 'outmoded' and alleges that it has lost its significance for social progress. The revisionists try to exorcize the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, to undermine faith in socialism among the working class and the working people in general. They deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, reject the principle of proletarian internationalism and call for rejection of the basic Leninist principles of Party organization and, above all, of democratic centralism and for transforming the Communist Party from a militant revolutionary organization into some kind of debating society."

We Chinese Communists, like the Communists of other countries, note with pleasure that since the publication of the Declaration, fresh achievements have been made by the fraternal Parties in the countries of the socialist

camp in socialist revolution and socialist construction, in ideological and political work and in unity and co-operation. New progress has also been made by the fraternal Parties in the capitalist countries in the struggle against revisionism and right-wing renegades, in the work of consolidating their own ranks, defending the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Party and increasing its militant strength, and in the work of establishing close ties with the workers, peasants and the rest of the broad masses of the labouring people.

It is clear that, to wage a joint struggle against imperialism for the common cause of the proletariat of the whole world, the unity and solidarity of the Communist Parties in all countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism is of special importance. Brother Parties should strengthen their mutual contacts. All talk and action that go against this unity and solidarity are harmful, they must be resolutely opposed.

The truth of the judgment made in the Declaration that the main danger at present is revisionism, that is, right-wing opportunism, has also been confirmed by the facts. On a series of fundamental questions, the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia recently approved by its Seventh Congress betrays the principles of Marxism-Leninism, sets itself against the Declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, and turns against the Peace Manifesto adopted by the meeting of representatives of 64 Communist and Workers' Parties, which bears the signature of the representative of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Just as the Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has the right to adopt its programme, so the Communist

Parties of other countries have the right, as well as the obligation, to criticize and repudiate this revisionist programme in their effort to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

This programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia asserts, on the one hand, that "the swelling wave of state-capitalist tendencies in the capitalist world is the most obvious proof that mankind is indomitably moving into the era of socialism through a wide variety of different roads," and that the state apparatus in the capitalist world is "a regulator in the sphere of labour and property relationships, of social rights and social services and other social relations," which tends increasingly "to restrict the role of private capital" and "deprive the owners of private capital of certain independent functions in the economy and in the society." On the other hand, the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia describes ownership by the whole people, that is, ownership by the state, in the socialist countries as "state capitalism," and they hold that it is directly from the foundation of this so-called "state capitalism" that "bureaucracy and bureaucratic-statist deformities" are produced. In this way the Programme smears socialism and glorifies capitalism, smears the proletarian dictatorship and glorifies the bourgeois dictatorship.

The Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia holds that "factors of socialism" are taking shape in the capitalist countries and that provided the working class "exercises incessant pressure" on the bourgeois state apparatus and strives to "win a decisive influence" in it, it will be possible to "secure the development of socialism." Here, in an attempt to sap the revolutionary energy of the working class in capitalist

countries, the Programme spreads the erroneous view that there is no need to carry out the proletarian revolution, no need to smash the capitalist state machine, no need to set up a proletarian dictatorship.

The leading group of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia claim to be standing outside the socialist camp and the imperialist camp. In fact this is not so; they have always directed the spearhead of their attack against the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, but have not dared to touch U.S. imperialism in the least. They describe the two fundamentally different world economic-political systems, the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, as a "division of the world into two antagonist military-political blocs" and do their utmost to smear the socialist camp and glorify the imperialist camp. It should be pointed out that quite a number of countries, though they are not socialist countries, have adopted the policy of neutrality which opposes war and supports peace. This is of positive significance to the maintenance of world peace; it is opposed by the aggressive imperialist forces, but has the sympathy of the peace-loving peoples of all countries. On the other hand, the so-called position outside the blocs advocated by the leading group of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which aims at disrupting the solidarity of the socialist countries, caters to the policy of the imperialists headed by the United States against communism, against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. That is why it is applauded and rewarded by the U.S. imperialists.

The Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia quotes some phrases of Marxism-Leninism just to disguise itself with a cloak of Marxism-Leninism and thus make it easier to deceive others. In method of

thinking, the Programme substitutes for revolutionary matérialistic dialectics a sophistry which turns the facts upside down and confuses right with wrong; politically, it substitutes the reactionary theory of the state standing above classes for the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state, and reactionary bourgeois nationalism for revolutionary proletarian internationalism; in political economy, it defends monopoly capital and obscures the fundamental differences between capitalism and socialism. The Yugoslav revisionists betray the Marxist-Leninist theories concerning the class struggle of the proletariat, the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship, and thus completely forsake the Marxist-Leninist doctrine about the political party of the proletariat. In a wild attempt to undermine and disintegrate the Communist Parties of various countries, they propagate a series of absurdities which deny the leading role of the Communist Party in socialist revolution and socialist construction, attack the Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist countries, and slander the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries as "ceasing to act as a revolutionary creative factor and motive power of social development in their respective countries."

This out-and-out revisionist programme is put forward for the purpose of splitting the international communist movement. It is propounded at the very time when the general crisis of capitalism is deepening and when the revisionist harangues of the right-wing socialists are daily losing their paralysing effect on the working class and the labouring masses. That is why the service rendered by this Programme to imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, is tantamount to "sending it a present of firewood in cold weather."

The Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party at its Second Session considers as basically correct and necessary the criticism made in 1948 by the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties in its resolution "Concerning the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia" in regard to the fact that the Yugoslav Communist Party departed from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and took the wrong road of bourgeois nationalism, although there were defects and mistakes in the methods adopted at that time in dealing with this issue. Our Party agreed with and supported that criticism. The second resolution concerning the Yugoslav Communist Party adopted by the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1949, however, was incorrect and it was later withdrawn by the Communist Parties which took part in the Information Bureau meeting. Since 1954, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade N. S. Khrushchov initiated improvement of relations with Yugoslavia and has adopted a series of measures to this end. This was entirely necessary and correct. This initiative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had the approval of all socialist countries and the Communist Parties of various countries. We also took similar steps to those of the Soviet Union and established relations between China and Yugoslavia and between the Chinese and Yugoslav Parties. Starting from the desire for unity, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and some other Communist Parties concerned made necessary self-criticism of past defects in their relations with Yugoslavia. In order to improve relations with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Communist Parties of various countries have since then made

their best efforts, waiting patiently for the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to return to the stand of Marxism-Leninism. But the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia have completely ignored the well-intentioned efforts of the Communist Parties of various countries; they have failed to realize their own mistakes and have not made any self-criticism. Furthermore, they have continuously attacked and slandered the socialist countries and the Communist Parties of various countries, and have gone so far as to echo the attacks of the imperialists against the socialist camp and the international communist movement. They played the inglorious role of provocateur and interventionist in the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary. Their schemes failed only because the leading comrades of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party consistently maintained a principled and correct attitude during and after suppressing the counter-revolutionary uprising. And now, when the Moscow meetings have strengthened the solidarity of the Communist Parties of various countries, they display a stubborn anti-Marxist-Leninist standpoint in their Programme and intensive hostility towards the socialist countries and the Communist Parties of various countries. There is no doubt that by this stand and conduct, the Yugoslav leaders have alienated themselves from the ranks of the international communist movement. This is in no way in the interests of the true Communists of Yugoslavia and of the Yugoslav people.

The Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party at its Second Session fully endorses the decision of the Party's Central Committee not to send a delegation, but only an observer to be present at the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of