

PENG CHEN

**SPEECH
AT THE ALIARCHAM ACADEMY
OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN INDONESIA**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING

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(May 25, 1965)

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This is the full text of a speech made by Peng Chen on May 25, 1965 during his visit to the Aliarcham Academy of Social Sciences in Indonesia. Peng Chen, member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, was the leader of the Delegation of the Chinese Communist Party at the celebration of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Indonesia.

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Dear and Respected Comrade Aidit,
Dear Comrade Lukman,
Dear Comrade Hutapea,
Dear Comrade Sugijono,
Dear Mrs. Sukimah Aliarcham,
Comrades,

Today I am very much honoured and pleased to be here to talk to you at the request of the leading comrades of the Communist Party of Indonesia.

The Indonesian people is a great and heroic people. The Indonesian Communist Party is a great and staunch Marxist-Leninist party. The Communist Party of Indonesia and the Indonesian people have made very important contributions to the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people are proud to have such staunch comrades-in-arms.

Now I would like to discuss with you the question of combating imperialism and modern revisionism.

THE PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

Ours is the era of proletarian revolutions and revolutions of national liberation, the era in which socialism is advancing towards worldwide victory and imperialism is heading for its doom.

Since World War II, the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world has entered a new stage. The rapid growth of the people's revolutionary forces and the rapid decline of the counter-revolutionary forces are general trends in the post-war world situation.

After World War I, there was only one socialist state in the world. But today, socialism has won victory in a number of countries, which form the socialist camp. The socialist countries which uphold Marxism-Leninism constitute a powerful bulwark for the acceleration of the world revolution.

After World War I, only tsarist Russia and its colonies were liberated, while imperialism continued to maintain its colonial system in wide areas of the world. But today, the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America have set ablaze the raging fire of anti-imperialist struggle. The long night of centuries of colonial rule is coming to an end, and the colonial system of imperialism is in the process of rapid collapse.

After World War I, the capitalist system enjoyed a short period of relative stability. Since World War II there has been no such relative stability. The forces of imperialism have been greatly weakened. U.S. imperialism, the main prop of the imperialist system, is also in a state of general decline. The general crisis of capitalism has greatly deepened.

The international balance of class forces is very favourable to the socialist countries and the revolutionary people of the world and very unfavourable to imperialism and all the reactionaries. The international balance between the forces of revolution and of counter-revolution has changed, but not one of the basic contradictions of the contemporary world — the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism, and the contradictions among the imperialist countries and among the monopoly capitalist groups — has disappeared. These basic contradictions are all objective realities and they are becoming increasingly acute.

Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has stepped into the shoes of German, Italian and Japanese fascism and become the chief enemy of the people of the world. Throughout the post-war period, repeated and intense struggles have been going on

between the people of the world on the one side and U.S. imperialism and its lackeys on the other. The vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America are the main battlefields of these struggles.

Taking the world situation as a whole, the contradiction between the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the imperialists headed by the United States is the most prominent and most acute of all the basic contradictions and is the principal contradiction in the contemporary world.

Since World War II, tremendous revolutionary storms have risen in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The victory of the Chinese revolution, the victory of the Korean and Vietnamese revolutions, of the Korean people's war against U.S. aggression, of the Cuban revolution, of the Algerian war of national liberation and of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people as well as the successive great victories of the national-liberation struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have all dealt heavy blows at the imperialists headed by the United States and greatly changed the face of these vast areas.

Today, the national-democratic revolutionary movement is continuing to surge forward in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In Indo-China, the Congo (Leopoldville), the Dominican Republic and other vast areas in Asia, Africa and Latin America, fierce hand-to-hand struggles, including armed struggles, are going on between the oppressed nations and imperialism. The strategic rear areas of the imperialists have become the front lines of fiery struggles.

Asia, Africa and Latin America are the life-line on which imperialism depends for the maintenance of its rule, and they are the areas where imperialist rule is most vulnerable. A revolutionary situation exists in these vast areas today. The national-democratic revolutionary movement in these areas is the most important force directly hitting imperialism. This is an objective fact. It can neither be invented nor gainsaid.

The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America will always be thankful for the influence and impact of the advanced proletariat of the West, for the inspiration and assistance of the Great October Socialist Revolution and for the enlightenment and guidance of the founders of Marxism-Leninism.

The historical development of different countries is uneven, and so is the development of their revolutionary movements. While the proletariat in Western Europe and North America is experiencing a new awakening, for various reasons the situation there is not yet ripe for revolution; on the other hand, the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America are holding high the torch of revolution and marching forward.

As Lenin pointed out, the centre of the growing European working-class movement switched from Britain to France, which was comparatively backward economically, then from France to Germany, which was likewise comparatively backward economically, and then from Germany to Russia, which was again comparatively backward economically. The comparative economic backwardness of Asia, Africa and Latin America today does not prevent the people in these regions from becoming new shock brigades of the world revolution, and in fact they have already done so.

The national-democratic revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America is an important component part of the contemporary proletarian world revolution. It has shaken the imperialists' strategic rear areas, weakened their rule in their own countries, and promoted and supported the revolution of the proletariat and other working people within these countries.

The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America has hit at and weakened the imperialist forces of aggression and war. This revolutionary struggle gives support both to the struggles of the proletariat of the countries in Western Europe, North America and Oceania which has not yet won victory and to those of the already victorious states of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As Comrade Aidit has said:

On a world scale, Asia, Africa and Latin America are the village of the world, while Europe and North America are the town of the world. If the world revolution is to be victorious, there is no other way than for the world proletariat to give prominence to the revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America, that is to say, the revolutions in the village of the world.¹

The development and resolution of the contradiction between the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the imperialists headed by the United States have a vital bearing not only on the future of the people of these areas but also on the future of the people of the whole world. This is not a regional question but a question of an overall character in the contemporary world. Its development and resolution are of key importance in promoting the development and resolution of the other basic contradictions.

Asia, Africa and Latin America are the areas in which the various contradictions of the contemporary world are focused. Fierce struggles are going on in these areas between the oppressed nations and peoples on the one hand and imperialism and its lackeys on the other. The contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on an international scale, between the socialist countries and the imperialist countries and between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists all find acute expression in these areas. And so do the contradictions among the imperialist countries.

The inexorable facts since World War II and what is now taking place all go to show that the contradiction between the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the imperialists headed by the United States is the principal contradiction in the contemporary world.

It is essential for Marxist-Leninists to single out this principal contradiction from among the intricate contradictions of

¹ D. N. Aidit, *Set Afire the "Banteng" Spirit! Ever Forward, No Retreat!*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1964, p. 87.

the contemporary world and grasp it firmly. Only by so doing can one correctly discern and determine the principal enemy and the principal target of attack in the world today, decide which forces to rely on and which to unite with, and formulate the correct strategy and tactics.

Both the socialist countries which persevere in the Marxist-Leninist line and the proletariat of Western Europe, North America and Oceania who unswervingly follow a revolutionary path regard it as their most important internationalist duty to give resolute support to the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their revolutionary struggle against imperialism. The attitude one takes on this question constitutes the most important criterion for distinguishing between Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists, between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries and between real revolutionaries and sham revolutionaries.

The Khrushchov revisionists strenuously deny the great international significance of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They assert that Asia, Africa and Latin America "are not the focus of contradictions", "are not and cannot be the centre of contemporary contradictions" and cannot possibly be the storm centres of world revolution in our age. They accuse anyone who asserts the contrary of "substituting geographical principle for a class analysis of the revolutionary forces" and denounce him as a "nationalist", a "racist", or an adherent of the "colour" and "geographical" principles.

In the opinion of the Khrushchov revisionists, it is only Europe and North America that can be the centres of the world, whose inner "centres" are the two major powers, the United States and the Soviet Union.

Taking over the racial superiority complex of the European and American bourgeoisie and the imperialists, the Khrushchov revisionists shout in tune with the imperialists about "coloured people opposing white people", as soon as they see the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America rising against the imperial-

ists headed by the United States. There is not an iota of Marxism-Leninism in this view, which is a betrayal of the socialist countries and the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in the West. It is the propagators of this view who are actually putting themselves in the same boat as the nationalists, racists, or adherents of the "colour" and "geographical" principles.

The Khrushchov revisionists accuse us of belittling the role of the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries and setting the national-liberation movement against the international working-class movement. In fact, it is they themselves who set the national-liberation movement against the international working-class movement. They have completely abandoned the Leninist theory concerning the national-liberation movement.

Since the October Revolution, the national-liberation movement has ceased to belong to the category of the bourgeois world revolution, but belongs to that of the proletarian world revolution, of which it forms a part. Lenin said:

... the socialist revolution will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie — no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialism-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries against international imperialism.¹

He also said that the proletariat in the imperialist countries "will not be victorious without the aid of the toiling masses of all the oppressed colonial peoples, and primarily of the Eastern peoples".²

The Khrushchov revisionists' purpose in spreading their views is simply to disintegrate and suppress the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, to oppose and

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Address to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East", *On the International Working-Class and Communist Movement*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, p. 335.

² *Ibid.*, p. 338.

hinder the extension of firm support by socialist countries and the international proletariat to the revolutionary movement in these areas and to serve imperialism, and especially U.S. imperialism, in promoting neo-colonialism.

U.S. IMPERIALISM CAN DEFINITELY BE DEFEATED

U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy confronting the people of the world. Since the war, it has made use of its economic strength, which was inflated during the war, to build up an unprecedented and colossal war machine, brandishing its nuclear weapons and carrying out frantic aggression everywhere in its attempt to dominate the whole world.

How one regards and assesses the strength of U.S. imperialism, whether or not one has confidence in winning the struggle against U.S. imperialism and whether or not one dares to wage resolute struggle against it are major questions in the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world.

U.S. imperialism is strong in appearance but weak in essence. Postwar developments have proved that neither its dollars nor its armed forces can prevent the final victory of the people's revolution of the world. Similarly, the nuclear weapons in the hands of U.S. imperialism cannot possibly save it from its doom or prevent the progress of human history.

Let us leave aside what happened in the past and take a look at events which are attracting worldwide attention today!

In Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism is being badly battered by the 14 million south Vietnamese people, despite the fact that this huge monster has been engaged in its aggression for more than ten years, in the course of which it has expended thousands of millions of U.S. dollars, sent in tens of thousands of troops and employed new weapons of all kinds except nuclear weapons. In the face of the organized armed people, the U.S. aggressors find themselves besieged and attacked from all sides, so that they take the very rustle of a leaf and the very shadow

of a tree for an enemy. As the American press has put it, "The war in south Viet Nam is largely a war against an unseen enemy. The enemy is everywhere and nowhere at the same time." U.S. imperialism is doomed to defeat in Viet Nam. Like a buffalo rushing into a fiery maze, it will certainly be burned to death.

In the Congo (Leopoldville), U.S. imperialism has not been able to strangle the national-liberation struggle, whether by armed intervention in the name of the United Nations or by direct armed intervention. The grass cannot be burned out by a prairie fire but grows again with the spring breeze. The people of the Congo (Leopoldville) have regrouped their forces and, arms in hand, renewed their victorious struggle.

In the Dominican Republic, an island country with a population of 3 million at the very gate of the United States, the people's armed uprising has thrown U.S. imperialism into confusion. It has dispatched more than 30,000 invading troops to engage in suppression. This fully shows that U.S. imperialism is in a grave predicament.

The path U.S. imperialism is taking now is the same path Hitler took in his day. Its aggressive ambition far surpasses Hitler's, but it is weaker than Hitler, the disparity between strength and ambition being greater. Today it finds itself in an ever worsening strategic position.

Like a mad dog dashing everywhere, U.S. imperialism is frantically pursuing its policies of aggression and war, committing aggression everywhere and riding roughshod over the world, thereby arousing the people's universal resistance and its allies' opposition and completely isolating itself.

U.S. imperialism has over-reached itself. It has deployed its armed forces in every continent and ocean of the world; it has committed aggression and tried to suppress the people's revolution everywhere. With its shortage of troops, its far-flung battle fronts, its remote rear and the dispersion of its forces, it is keeping up its strength in one place at the expense

of others, and is unable to attend to everything at once. Its position is becoming very passive and strategically it is already receiving blows on all sides.

In the meantime, with new changes in the balance of forces among the imperialist countries, the dominant position of U.S. imperialism in the capitalist world has become precarious. The imperialist camp is disintegrating.

As the last and largest bulwark of imperialism, U.S. imperialism is trying to save the incurably sick imperialist system, but in vain — the result can only be like drinking poison to quench one's thirst. It is trying to dam the world current of the people's revolution, only to make it more tempestuous. Everywhere it is creating its own grave-diggers in increasing numbers to dig its grave for it.

The people of the world can definitely defeat this ferocious enemy provided that they clearly recognize U.S. imperialism as their chief enemy, unite with all the forces that can be united, and form the broadest possible united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The Khrushchov revisionists are spreading pessimistic and defeatist views everywhere in order to intimidate the people of the world and sabotage their revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

In contrast to the Marxist-Leninists, the Khrushchov revisionists have no faith at all in the strength of the people and in victory in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. They are exponents of the theory that weapons, and in particular nuclear weapons, decide everything. They play up and exaggerate the horrors of war, asserting that with the emergence of nuclear weapons it is no longer possible to wage anti-imperialist struggles or to make revolution. They dare not touch U.S. imperialism themselves and, what is more, they forbid others to struggle against it. They have no confidence in victory themselves, and try to shake and sap the confidence and will to fight of other people. They do not want revolution themselves and forbid others to make revolution. They capit-

ulate themselves, and want to drag others along with them in their capitulation, or force others to capitulate.

Whether or not one dares to fight and dares to win victory when confronted by powerful and vicious class enemies internally or externally has always been the dividing line between Marxist-Leninists and opportunists, between revolutionaries and capitulationists. The outcome of the struggle is invariably victory for the Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries and the people, and the consignment of the opportunists and the capitulationists to the garbage heap of history along with the collapse of the class enemy.

History shows that the new-born revolutionary forces are invariably weak to begin with, but that they always keep on growing, developing from small and weak to large and strong forces, and eventually defeat the seemingly strong forces of counter-revolution. To begin with, the new-born revolutionary forces have no arms at all or are only poorly equipped, but they always defeat the forces of counter-revolution which are well-equipped and armed to the teeth. In the final analysis, it is men and not things, the masses of the people and not weapons, that are the basic factor deciding victory or defeat.

In Lenin's famous words, "Do you want a revolution? Then you *must* be strong!"¹ Why? The revolutionaries represent the new emerging forces of society and believe in and rely on the strength of the people, which is invincible, and that is why they should be strong and will inevitably be strong. The reactionaries cannot but be weak, and inevitably so, because they divorce themselves from the people and are opposed by the people. They will fail in the end however strong they are outwardly for a time.

After World War II, Comrade Mao Tse-tung advanced the celebrated thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. Basing himself on the objective laws governing

¹ V. I. Lenin, "No Falsehood! Our Strength Lies in Stating the Truth!", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1962, Vol. IX, p. 299.

social development, he had faith in the inevitable triumph of the new emerging social forces over the decadent social forces and of the people's forces over the anti-popular forces. Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a profound analysis of the changes in the postwar international balance of class forces and pointed out: "The strength of the world anti-imperialist camp has surpassed that of the imperialist camp. It is we, not the enemy, who are in the superior position."¹ He added, "All views that overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people are wrong."² The development of the world situation has since testified to the correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis.

The people's revolutionary struggle is surging forward and winning constant victories, while imperialism is being battered everywhere and nearing its doom. The Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionaries are fighting together with the masses of the people with full confidence, dealing hard blows at imperialism and propelling it to its grave. All pessimism is utterly groundless. Whoever spreads pessimistic and defeatist views will be punished by history.

MODERN REVISIONISM IS THE NEW SOCIAL PROP OF IMPERIALISM

The great Lenin taught us that "a struggle against imperialism that is not closely linked up with the struggle against opportunism is an idle phrase, or a fraud".³

In endeavouring to bolster up the tottering edifice of imperialism, in addition to the direct use of violence, the monopoly capitalists of the imperialist countries invariably rely

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 172.

² *Ibid.*, p. 173.

³ V. I. Lenin, "The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 577.

upon the labour aristocracy as a social prop and life-saver to sap the revolutionary will of the proletariat, to fool and divide the revolutionary people and to resist the proletarian revolutionary storm.

Before World War II, monopoly capital, with its superprofits exacted from the people of the colonies and semi-colonies, pursued a policy of bribery and corruption with regard to the working class in its own country, nurturing the labour aristocracy and making social democracy its social prop. Since World War II, with the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, monopoly capital needs such a social prop more than ever in order to maintain its rule. It is aware that it is not enough merely to use the Right-wing social-democratic parties as its tool for undermining the working-class movement. While continuing its policy of bribery and corruption with regard to the working class in the capitalist countries, fostering new labour aristocracy and causing the Communist Parties of some capitalist countries to degenerate into new bourgeois labour parties and new social-democratic parties, it is practising the policy of "peaceful evolution" towards the socialist countries and is causing the leadership of the Communist Parties in some socialist countries to degenerate into its flunkies and agents.

In the postwar years, U.S. imperialism has spent thousands of millions of dollars in fostering the Tito clique, the "bellwether" that betrays socialism and the proletariat. But the Tito clique can play only a limited role. Therefore U.S. imperialism has looked around for something new and employed the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of threats and blandishments, using the stick and the carrot. Khrushchov revisionism is the product of this U.S. imperialist policy.

Khrushchov first put forward his counter-revolutionary revisionist line at the 20th Congress of the CPSU. It was systematized and officially embodied in the Programme of the CPSU, which was adopted at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU with Khrushchov's hallmark.