

## SUMMING UP

Judging the line of the leadership of the CPC in its entirety, on the basis of the theoretical propositions put forward by it as also by its actual deeds, it is clear that it is a complete repudiation of the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960. Moreover, it is a line of complete disruption of the international communist and working class movements, international democratic organisations, the unity of the socialist camp, the unity of the socialist countries with the newly-independent peaceloving countries, the unity of the Afro-Asian countries, and the unity of the colonial liberation movement with the international working class movement.

The Chinese leaders talk endlessly of the growing superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system. In fact, they either do not see it or deny it. They underestimate the strength of the forces of socialism, national liberation, peace and democracy.

For the crux of seeing the superiority of the socialist system lies in seeing the new stage of the crisis of imperialism and in utilising the new features of this crisis for undermining, weakening, disintegrating and finally defeating imperialism. It lies in seeing and utilising the new opportunities for preserving world peace and carrying forward the struggle for national liberation, for strengthening the economic and political independence of the newly-liberated countries, for the broadening and deepening of the struggle for democracy and socialism all over the world. It lies in forging unity with the new allies that the working class can now secure in its march forward to peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

It is nowhere maintained that these new opportunities imply the acceptance of the position that the nature of imperialism has changed, or that imperialism does not drive towards war and aggression, or that imperialism and reaction can be defeated without the intensification of class struggles and wider democratic struggles based on the unity of the working class and the peasantry and including other democratic elements of society. It is nowhere maintained that there is a guarantee that the new paths must, in all circumstances, yield successful results. In the event of war, and in the event of a peaceful transition to socialism not becoming feasible, the socialist countries and communist parties must be vigilant and keep themselves prepared for adopting non-peaceful methods.

All this is true. But the vital fact remains that the running emphasis of the Moscow Statement, written right across its face from page to page and sentence to sentence, is on *what is new in the new epoch* through which we are passing and how communists, democrats and all good and peaceloving people should go about their job to give flesh and blood to the age-old dream of humanity, viz., peace, equality, brotherhood and freedom.

Hence the possibility of preventing imperialism from unleashing a world war while rebuffing aggression and the export of counter-revolution; hence the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism, i.e., without recourse to civil war; hence the possibility of subject countries securing national independence by non-military methods; hence the opportunities for strengthening the economic and political independence of the newly-liberated countries and their advance to socialism through national democracy and the non-capitalist path. Hence the new world significance of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition between the countries of the socialist and the capitalist systems.

The Chinese leadership equates all this with revisionism, class collaboration, capitulationism, and allying with im-

perialism and reaction against world socialism and national liberation. Thereby it sees no prospect for the success of the world revolution except through war, armed struggle and civil war. With all its high-sounding and fire-eating revolutionism, this is the path of dismal defeatism, adventurism and black ruin.

No amount of abuse hurled by the CPC leaders against the Soviet leadership or fraternal parties, no amount of insinuations and accusations that the fraternal parties are underplaying this contradiction or that, can cut any ice. It is all a facade for covering up their own dogmatism and the Trotskyite bent of their understanding and policies.

Dogmatism leads to national ego and opportunism, the latter in their turn, deepen dogmatist blindness. Many of the theories and deeds of the CPC leaders are an expression of national egoism and opportunism, for which even dogmatism is only a cover and pretext. When it suits their purpose, the Chinese leaders swallow all their so-called hatred of imperialism and reaction, and pursue cold-bloodedly narrow-nationalist and great-power policies, reminiscent of Bismarckian "real politic."

The essence of the entire controversy and conflict can be summated in a few words.

*The Moscow Statement and the brother parties want to strain every nerve to utilise the opportunities and perspectives of the new epoch to take humanity forward to peace, socialism, national independence and democracy with the minimum of suffering and privations for the common people. They want the working class to secure every possible ally in the execution of its historic mission. They want to unite each and every force of world communism, democracy, peace and national independence, however small and vacillating it may be, in the interest of the sacred cause of mankind.*

*In contrast, the CPC leadership leaves no perspective before humanity except that of a catastrophic world war,*

*civil war in the capitalist countries, and armed struggle in the subject and dependent countries. And in the pursuit of this suicidal objective, it is out to disrupt the unity of all the socialist and progressive forces of the world. In the pursuit of this objective, it stoops to the lowest depths of opportunism and chauvinism.*

This is the quintessence of the challenge given by the Chinese leadership to the world communist movement, and to all lovers of peace, freedom and democracy in every nook and corner of the globe.