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COMMEMORATING 45th ANNIVERSARY OF  
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

[Following is the translation of an article by Hong Chuong  
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On great Lenin's initiative, 45 years ago the Communist International was established. The founding Congress -- that is, the first congress -- of the Communist International was convened by Lenin 2-6 March 1919 in Russia, the homeland of the October Revolution. The Congress heard and approved Lenin's report on "Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship." The Congress pointed up the duty of the Communist International, which was to struggle for proletarian dictatorship. It passed a declaration calling on the international proletariat to be determined to struggle against the capitalists in order to seize state power and set up the proletarian dictatorship.

The coming into existence of the Communist International marked a turning point in the development of the revolutionary movement of the international working class. The Communist International united revolutionary workers and drew to their side millions of oppressed and exploited people struggling against the bourgeoisie and its stooges and struggling for the liberation of the working class, the laboring people, and other oppressed peoples. The coming into existence of the Communist International satisfied the demands of the revolutionary movement of the international working class at that time.

Imperialism is dying capitalism. World War I and the general capitalistic crisis caused by this War proved that the internal contradictions of capitalism were extremely acute. The capitalist regime became a great obstacle to the development of human society. The overripe material conditions in capitalist society opened the way for the birth of socialism, a revolution to overthrow the capitalist ruling yoke and to build socialism became a direct, urgent task for the working class and the laboring people in capitalist countries.

HISTORY OF THE VIETNAM WAR ON MICROFILM

Under Imperialism, the working class, the laboring people, and other small, weak peoples throughout the world groaned under the cruel ruling yoke of a group of monopolistic capitalists. Imperialism made the competition between capitalist countries become extremely acute, and it led human beings to mutual killing. Imperialism shook all the systems of relations at that time, and it led society to the world proletarian revolution under an irresistible law.

Imperialism intensively and ruthlessly exploited and oppressed the working class in all countries. This prompted the working class to seize power in order to liberate itself. Imperialism provoked the workers throughout the world to wipe out the frontiers that divide countries in order to form a unified international army for the proletariat; Imperialism led the people who were responsible for digging its grave to bury it into organizing an international combat group for the proletariat.

Imperialism had used its surplus colonial profits to bribe the aristocratic working class into serving as its stooge in order to strengthen its exploitation and oppression of the working class and to sow dissension within this class. The working class would have been unable to triumph over the bourgeois class and set up a proletarian dictatorship if it had failed to stand resolutely against the revisionists within its rank. The organization of revolutionary forces for the international working class could only have been successful on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The Communist International represented the unification of the revolutionary working class in all countries at that time. The Communist International struggled not only against the international bourgeoisie, but also against the opportunists in World War II. All theoretical and practical activities of the Communist International were based on revolutionary Marxism followed by Leninism -- that is, Marxism during the period of Imperialism and the proletarian revolution -- which subsequently developed.

The Communist International protected and propagated dialectic materialism and the historic materialism of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, which was considered to be a revolutionary method for recognizing the realities and reforming the objective world in a revolutionary manner. Holding firm to the proletarian stand, the Communist International unyieldingly struggled against bourgeois ideology and all kinds of opportunism.

The Communist International continued the cause of the League of Communists and the First International, founded and led by Marx. The Communist International continued the most beautiful traditions of the Second International, founded and led by Engels, while, at the same time, it discarded the dirty refuse of opportunism that flourished and developed during the Second International following the death of Engels.

The League of Communists and the First International laid the theoretical foundation for the international working class struggle for socialism. In its initial period, the Second International marked the period of basic

preparations for expanding the movement to many countries. The Communist International -- or the Third International -- continued the cause of the League of Communists and the First International, collected the results of the work of the Second International, discarded its opportunistic tendency, united the revolutionary workers in all countries, and led the world revolutionary movement in order to eliminate Imperialism and liberate the working class and oppressed peoples.

With the success of the Russian October Revolution and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship in the countries once belonging to the old Russian imperialists, Socialism was a theory no longer, but became a lively reality. The Communist International applied the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin to life and achieved the beautiful ideals of Socialism and the international Communist movement.

On the role of the Communist International, Lenin wrote: "The importance of the Communist International, that is, the Third International, to world history lies in the fact that it began carrying out the greatest Marxist slogan summarizing the century-old progress of Socialism and of the workers' movement which was adopted according to the concept of proletarian dictatorship."

The Communist International was the organizer and leader of proletarian revolutions in all countries aimed at achieving proletarian dictatorship throughout the world. In the foreword of the Communist International's Manifesto, passed by the Sixth Congress held in Moscow in September 1928, the Communist International stated: "Manifesting the historic need to organize the world revolutionary proletarian class -- which represents the person digging the grave to bury Capitalism -- the Communist International was the only international force that advocated achieving proletarian dictatorship and Communism and that operated openly as the organizer of the world proletarian revolution."

The Communist International pointed out that its aim was to achieve Communism throughout the world. This aim was mentioned in their Manifesto: "The world capitalist regime will be replaced with the world Communist regime. This is the goal of the Communist International." The Communist International played a decisive role in the stepping up of the revolutionary movement in all countries in the period between the two world wars. The resolutions of the Communist International Congresses -- in all there were seven Congresses -- as well as the resolutions and instructions of the Communist International Executive Committee, analyzed, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the world situation and the situation in the country at that time on a scientific basis, and they set forth correct lines for the working class and the laboring people in the world and in each country for the self-liberation struggle. The Communist International's resolutions greatly helped the Communist Parties in many countries to determine correct tactics and strategies for leading the revolutionary movement in their countries.

The Communist International profoundly analyzed the world situation after World War I and pointed out three main contradictions in the world: the contradiction between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries, the contradiction between the imperialist countries and the colonial and semicolonial countries, and the contradiction between the capitalists and the workers in the imperialist countries. These contradictions became ever more acute, and this enabled the world revolutionary forces to develop and this will lead the capitalist regime to inevitable destruction.

The Communist International recapitulated the experiences of the international proletariat's revolutionary movement, of the oppressed peoples' liberation movement, of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, and, on this basis, they drafted their Manifesto which was the "sole and common manifesto for all chapters" and which was the "manifesto of struggle for the proletariat's world dictatorship, a manifesto of struggle for world Communism."

The irregular development of capitalism in the imperialist era caused the irregular development of revolutions to set up proletarian dictatorships in many countries. The proletariat in these countries used different forms to seize power. The pace of development of the revolutionary process was not the same in each country. In a number of countries the struggle to seize power and achieve the proletarian dictatorship of the working class underwent transition periods. Forms of socialist construction also varied in each country.

The Communist International held that the international proletarian revolution comprised a series of revolutions of different character and with irregular speed: the purely proletarian revolution, the bourgeois democratic revolution turned into the proletarian revolution, the national liberation war and the colonial revolution. The extreme development of the international proletarian revolution will lead to world proletarian dictatorship. The Communist International outlined the main forms of the various revolutions to achieve world proletarian dictatorship. The Communist International maintained that the transition to proletarian dictatorship in many countries could be completed according to one of the three following main forms:

In the highly developed capitalist countries, such as the United States, Germany, Britain, and so forth, where the production force is great, where production is highly concentrated, where small production is reflected by a small percentage, and where the bourgeois democratic regime has long been established, the working class takes on proletarian revolutionary form. In these countries, politically, it is necessary to set up proletarian dictatorship directly; economically, it is necessary to seize all the great production branches, to set up many agricultural state farms, to distribute some of the land to the peasants, to reduce the scope of the existing market, to establish Socialism swiftly, and, especially, to achieve agricultural collectivization speedily.

In the fairly developed capitalist countries, countries such as Spain, Portugal, Poland, Hungary, the Balkan States, and so forth, where clear vesti-

ges of the semifeudal agricultural relations still remain, where there are very few material bases for building Socialist, and where the bourgeois democratic revolution has not yet been achieved, the working class must, according to the practical situation in each country, use the form of bourgeois democratic revolution which is to be turned swiftly into socialist revolution or the form of proletarian revolution which is entrusted with many tasks of bourgeois democratic character. In the first case, proletarian dictatorship is not established immediately, but it only has to make its appearance during the transition from the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants to the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat. In the second case the revolution must be directly developed into a proletarian revolution, but it must use the peasants' revolution and the land revolution led by the proletariat itself. The land revolution is of great importance and, at times, of decisive significance in revolutions in these countries. In these countries the working class has to distribute a great part of the land seized from landlords to the peasants. The scope of the market will still be very wide following the success of the revolution. The working class should set up cooperatives to reorganize the peasants into large production units and should consider this task one of the extremely important tasks in building Socialism. Socialist construction in these countries may be slow.

In colonial and semicolonial countries, such as China, India, and so forth, and in dependent countries, such as Argentina, Brazil, and so forth, where industry has begun to develop or where industry has fairly developed but is still unable to insure the building of Socialism in an independent manner, where the feudal relations of the middle ages or the relations of "Asian production methods" are predominant in economy and politics, and where the main industrial enterprises, commerce, banks, principal communication facilities, large plantations, and so forth are in the hands of foreign imperialists, the working class has to carry out a struggle against the feudalist regime and the precapitalist forms of exploitation, to carry out a thorough agrarian revolution, and to conduct a struggle against imperialism and for national liberation. The transition to proletarian dictatorship in these countries must pass through a series of preparatory stages. Proletarian dictatorship in these countries will be the result of a transition from bourgeois democratic revolution to socialist revolution. The building of Socialism in these countries can be achieved only with the assistance of proletarian dictatorial countries.

In the underdeveloped countries, such as a number of African countries, where there are very few or there are almost no hired workers, where the great majority of people live in tribes and still preserve vestiges of tribalism, where the national bourgeoisie is almost nonexistent, and where the foreign imperialists use armed force to seize land, the main duty is the struggle for national liberation. A successful national revolt in these countries will open the way for the advance to Socialism without passing through the capitalist state if this revolt is truly assisted by proletarian dictatorial countries.

All these revolutionary tactics must be applied in a lively manner, in different forms, and according to the characteristics of the situation in each country.

The Communist International played an important role in the history of the international workers' movement. It reestablished and strengthened the relations between the working class in many countries -- relations which had been severed because of the betrayal by the leaders of the Second International during World War I. The Communist International resolutely struggled to oppose all manifestations of "leftist" and rightist opportunism, especially rightist opportunism or revisionism, and to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism. The Communist International raised high the Marxist-Leninist banner and propagated Marxism-Leninism among the laboring masses in many countries.

The Communist International helped the working class in many countries to set up vanguard parties, new types of parties which were built according to the principles set forth by Lenin and patterned after the Russian Communist -- Bolshevik -- Party.

The Communist International positively helped Communist Parties in many countries in training and further improving cadres and outstanding leading cadres capable of holding firm to Marxism-Leninism in order to lead the revolutionary movement in their countries. The Communist International fashioned strategies for the united front in order to lure the majority of the proletariat into the struggle for the establishment of proletarian dictatorship.

When Fascism took power in a number of countries and actively prepared for war, the Communist International adopted the strategy of setting up a united front to oppose Fascism widely. This front was aimed at uniting and mobilizing all the forces of the working class and other strata of the people to participate in the struggle against Fascism and against the preparations for a new war. The Communist International organized and led the struggle on a world scale to oppose Fascism and war, to protect the Soviet Union and the revolution in China, and to support the movement of struggle for self-liberation by imperialist-oppressed peoples. The Communist International organized and led the struggle against imperialists in order to protect the daily interests of the working class, to demand that freedom and democracy be achieved and that the living standard be improved, to attract the majority of the working class to follow Communism, to unite the working class, to prepare forces for the seizure of power, and to achieve proletarian dictatorship.

The assistance given revolutionary movements in many countries by the Communist International was essentially assistance in the political line. It was precisely due to this precious assistance of the Communist International that the Vietnamese revolution could adopt a correct political line which insured success. The first Vietnamese Communist was Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh), who had participated in the Communist International's activities since 1924. Representatives of Vietnamese Communists participated in the activities of the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Communist International Congresses. The Communist International positively helped the Vietnamese working class in preparing the establishment of its vanguard unit. The Communist International passed a resolution on 27 October 1929 on "The Setting Up of a Communist Party in Indochina," the task which was to unite the various Communist groups at

that time into a unified Communist Party which would lead the revolutionary movement in our country. This resolution analyzed the contradictions in Indochina at the time, that is the "contradictions between the workers, the peasants, and the poor people and the French imperialists in collaboration with the landlords and feudal mandarins." This resolution also pointed out that, at that time in Indochina, there were objective conditions for a bourgeois democratic revolution -- anti-imperialist revolution and land reform. This resolution also pointed out that, as "The growth of the revolutionary movement in Indochina, the hatred of the majority of the masses of people for French Imperialism, and especially the development of the movement of independent workers and the existence of Communist organizations in the country are creating the necessary conditions, and the urgent necessity is to organize a Communist Party in Indochina."

After stressing that disunity among Communist groups at that time created the most harmful danger for the entire revolutionary movement in Indochina, the resolution of the Communist International said: "The most important and urgent task for Indochinese Communists is to set up a revolutionary party of proletarian character, that is, a Communist Party of mass character in Indochina. This must be unique and the only Communist organization in Indochina."

It was on the basis of this resolution that the conference of Communist groups in our country was convened on 3 February 1930 under the chairmanship of Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc, delegate of the Communist International. The conference decided to set up the Communist Party of Indochina, a vanguard unit of the working class in Indochina. In 1931 the Communist Party of Indochina was recognized by the Communist International Executive Committee as a chapter of the Communist International.

Following its establishment, the Communist Party of Indochina based itself on the instructions and resolutions of the Communist International to adopt its own tactics and strategies. The Party's first platform -- a political program drafted by Comrade Tran Phu, First Secretary General of the Party -- was an adaptation of the views expressed in the Communist International platform, as approved by the Sixth Congress held in 1928, to the practical circumstances of Indochina. This adaptation was necessary to set forth a political line for leading the revolutionary movement.

During the period from 1936 to 1939, the Party also applied, in a creative manner, the spirit of the resolutions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International to the practical circumstances in our country, and it adopted the strategy of a democratic front, thereby making it possible to launch an active, broad mass movement and to conduct a political struggle in legal and semilegal forms to demand improvement of the living standard and freedom and democracy, to oppose Fascism and war, and to protect peace. During the period of existence of the Communist International, our Party received precious assistance from it while, at the same time, our Party also endeavored to fulfill its duty to the International Communist movement.

The ever increasing, acute contradictions of Imperialism resulted in the outbreak of World War II. The ordeal of the War proved the importance of the Communist International's activities in building and training Communist Parties that were loyal to the interests of the working class and the laboring people and which were capable of conducting a struggle against fascist enslavement under the most violent, desperate conditions. In each country the Communist Party became the organizer and leader of the struggle to oppose the war of aggression and to protect the lives and property of the people. Communists took the lead in the struggle of all the people to oppose the fascist aggressors and to protect democratic freedoms, national independence, and the Soviet Union, the first Socialist country in the world. Although suffering many sacrifices and losses, the Communist Parties remained firm and incessantly developed during the War. This proves that the Communist International's activities during the past dozens of years were successful. In many countries, the Communist Parties grew up and became the political leaders of the working class. They were able to organize and lead the working class and the masses of people in independently carrying out their revolutionary struggles. During the difficult period of the War, only the Communist Parties had a clear platform of struggle for safeguarding the sovereignty of the Fatherland, for winning national independence and democracy, and for defending the interests of the people. The Communist Parties proved themselves to be steady in ideology and organization and strong in politics.

On the world scale as well as on the national scale, the situation underwent many great changes. Leadership over the international Communist movement by a central, unique organization was no longer appropriate. The Communist International came into existence because of definite conditions of the international workers movement during the period between the two world wars. Its advent satisfied the demands of the proletarian revolutionary movement in this period. The Communist International made great contributions to the revolutionary cause of the international working class, and especially to the building, in each country, of a new-type party for the working class, one equipped with Marxism-Leninism and capable of independently leading the revolutionary movement in the country. The organizational form of the Communist International as a "unique and concentrated international party of the proletariat" -- in accordance with the spirit of the Communist International's platform and statute -- was consistent only with a definite phase of development of the international Communist movement. Under the new conditions this form was no longer consistent; to the contrary, it impeded the further development of the international Communist movement, it affected the strengthening of Communist Parties in each country, and it obstructed the carrying out of tasks entrusted to the Parties, especially the task of mobilizing all forces in the struggle to eliminate Fascism.

In view of this situation, on 15 May 1943, the Communist International Executive Committee issued a resolution dissolving the Communist International and declaring that, from that time on, all Communist Parties in the Communist International would not be bound by the duties as set forth in the Communist International's resolutions and statutes. In spite of the self-disso-

lution of the Communist International, Communist Parties in many countries still existed and continued to lead the revolutionary movements in their countries. The self-dissolution of the Communist International further facilitated the broad assembling of all forces that could be assembled in order to launch a general attack on the common enemy at the time -- Fascism. The self-dissolution of the Communist International effectively refuted the reactionaries' slanderous argument that Communist Parties operated on the orders of foreign countries and not for the interests of the people in their own countries. The self-dissolution of the Communist International enabled the Communist combatants in their own countries to carry out their tasks more easily and to play a leading, active role in the unification of all progressive forces in their countries, without distinction of political tendency or religious views, in the common struggle against Fascism and for national liberation.

The dissolution of the Communist International never weakened the international Communist movement; instead, the matured Communist Parties in many countries were able to develop fully their independent and creative spirit and to lead the working class and the laboring people in the struggle against reactionary powers. During and after World War II, the worker and Communist Parties in a series of countries led the people to achieve the people's democratic revolution successfully and advance toward Socialism. These successes led to the advent of the world socialist system.

In view of the fact that Communist Parties have grown strong, that they have truly become national parties representing the interests of the people in many countries, and that they have operated under different conditions, the setting up of a central organ of leadership for the Communist movement throughout the world is not appropriate and is, inevitably, an obstacle to the further development of the Communist movement in all countries. This, however, does not mean that, among the Communist Parties operating in the various countries, relations, exchange of experiences, and coordination of action are not necessary. The Communist and worker parties have not stopped finding and using new organizational forms to settle these demands of the international Communist movement. There was a period after World War II when a number of Communist and worker parties in Eastern and Western Europe set up an organization called the Communist Information Bureau in order to exchange experiences and coordinate action among these parties. The Communist Information Bureau made definite contributions to revolutionary movements in various countries, especially to the member-parties of this organization; however, it proved to be not completely consistent with relations among the parties. Therefore, after a period of operation, the Communist Information Bureau voluntarily ended its activities. Since 1957, Communist and worker parties have found a new form of relations among parties -- that of the conference of delegates of Communist and worker parties. Conferences of delegates of Communist and worker parties were convened in Moscow in 1957 and in 1960 to exchange experiences with brother parties and to determine the common line, tactics, strategies, and tasks for the international Communist movement.

The organizational form of the Communist movement and the work method of this organization were always based on definite historic circumstances and

on the problems arising from these circumstances. The political tasks set forth for the working class during definite historic stages decided the organizational form and the work method of this organization. The organizational form of the international Communist movement was decided by its content. In each definite stage of development, the international Communist movement had organizational forms consistent with the stage of development. Today the international Communist movement develops strongly throughout the world. The organizational form of the type having "a single and concentrated party of the proletariat" -- like that of the old Communist International or a similar organizational form -- cannot embrace the large content of the present international Communist movement. Today Communist Parties have matured and operate under different circumstances. Some have seized state power and are achieving proletarian dictatorship; others have not seized power and are operating in capitalist-controlled countries. In view of this situation, the international Communist movement cannot have a unique, concentrated supreme leading organ like the former Communist International's Executive Committee, because no central leadership organization can lead the very great and complex activities of all parties in the world.

The 1960 Moscow Declaration pointed out that all Communist and worker parties ~~in the world are independent and equal.~~ Each party is responsible to the working class and people in its country while, at the same time, it is responsible to the working class and people of the world. In the relations among Communist and worker parties, the principle of unanimity that is, the principle of "exchanging opinions in order to shape unanimous views," should be respected. The principle of "submission of a minority to a majority and of lower echelons to higher echelons" is the principle of leadership over the relations within each party. This principle cannot be applied mechanically to the relations among Communist and worker parties in the present historic stage.

The 1960 Moscow Declaration clearly stated: "The Communist and worker parties must, according to need, convene conferences to discuss urgent problems, to exchange experiences, to seek to understand one another's viewpoints and standpoints, to exchange opinions in order to shape unanimous views, and to coordinate actions in the struggle for common goals." This is a very correct principle of leadership over relations among Communist and worker parties.

Communist and worker parties have the duty to respect one another's independent character; ~~the one must not interfere in the internal affairs of another.~~ When, in a certain party, problems arise related to the activities of another brother party, the leading organ of the party should talk with the other party interested and, if necessary, hold meetings to exchange views in accordance with the spirit of the 1960 Moscow Declaration. To settle differences of view, the parties interested should adopt a sincere and reasonable attitude which is truly based on a desire to promote solidarity and to carry out criticism in order to strengthen solidarity. They should talk with one another on the basis of brotherhood, patience, and willingness to wait for one another. In the relations among Communist and workers parties, each party, whether it be large or small, has an independent character, is equal with

other parties, and cannot be commanded by any other party; moreover, all parties must be united and mutually support one another. There is no common supreme leading organ in the world for the international Communist movement like that of the former Communist International Executive Committee. But this does not mean that Communist and worker parties need not promote solidarity among themselves. Their solidarity is a decisive condition for insuring the success of the cause of the working class in each country and the world. The 1960 Moscow Declaration pointed out: "The noble international duty of each Marxist-Leninist Party is to have an interest in constantly consolidating the unanimity of the international Communist movement."

After World War II ended, there appeared in the world a new revolutionary movement which has continuously developed and has induced hundreds of millions of people to stand up and struggle against and attack Imperialism unceasingly. In this revolutionary movement, the world Socialist system, a fortress of the world revolution, came into existence and was consolidated and developed. The strong development of the national liberation movement led to the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism. The world capitalist system, whose fortress is the imperialist camp led by the United States, weakened quickly and suffered a deep crisis. The balance of forces in the world changed and is changing for the benefit of peace, national independence, democracy, and Socialism. The world revolution is attacking Imperialism in two principal aspects: the struggle for peace and the struggle for a national independence.

In the new revolutionary movement which appeared following World War II, Communist and worker parties continuously developed and grew strong. If, in 1935 when the Communist International held its Seventh Congress -- its last Congress -- there were only 76 chapters of the Communist International -- 76 parties -- with a total membership of 3.1 million, there are now more than 90 Communist and worker parties with a total membership of 42 million members. The international Communist movement has become the largest and strongest political force in our era. The world Socialist system, which the working class gave birth to and which is the greatest result of the international Communist movement, is becoming the factor deciding the development of human society. Thus, Marxism-Leninism has achieved a great success.

Faced with the storm-like development of the world revolutionary movement led by Communist and worker parties, the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, are assembling all reactionary forces and using their lackeys to sow dissension in the international Communist and worker movement. The most dangerous scheme the imperialists are using is to support and encourage modern revisionists in slandering Marxism-Leninism, in sabotaging the Marxist-Leninist lines of the world revolution, in sabotaging the Socialist camp, and in sowing disunity among Communist and worker parties.

Lenin once pointed out that the dialectics of history lies in the fact that the theoretical success of Marxism forces its enemy to pose as Marxist. Lenin stated that, after hostile theories are replaced with Marxism relatively

harmoniously, the tendencies of these theories is to seek "new paths." Lenin also said that, after anti-Marxist Socialism is defeated, then it will not continue to struggle on its own terrain, but it will take the form of revisionism in order to continue its struggle on terrain common to Marxism. The world situation after World War II underwent great changes. Therefore, new problems were raised for the international Communist movement. This agrees with Lenin's statement that, whenever a problem becomes a little bit "new" or change takes place somewhat suddenly or abruptly, this certainly and always gives birth to this or that kind of revisionism. Like the revisionism of Lenin's era, modern revisionism is an event of international character

Modern revisionism urges the revision of Marxist-Leninist principles on a series of basic problems. Under the label of development of Marxism-Leninism under new circumstances, modern revisionism discards many Marxist-Leninist principles. It replaces Marxist-Leninist theories on class struggle, proletarian revolution, and proletarian dictatorship with views of class reconciliation and peaceful progress. Modern revisionism's line is "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful emulation," and "peaceful transition." Actually, this is a line on a world scale as well as in each country.

Modern revisionism denies the acute contradictions in the world capitalist system. It gives Imperialism a facade, explaining that Imperialism has changed its warmongering and aggressive character; on the problem of war and peace, it propagandizes for bourgeois pacifism, claiming that the appearance of nuclear weapons has changed the character of war, that war in the future will be war of complete destruction, and that there will, therefore, be no more just wars or unjust wars. It advocates positive coexistence and comprehensive cooperation with imperialism.

Modern revisionism does not approve of the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of colonies and dependent countries. It advises oppressed peoples to wait for the imperialists to grant them independence when implementing the policy of "decolonialization." In other words, it advises oppressed people to accept the imperialists' neocolonialism.

Modern revisionism does not welcome and support the armed struggle for independence and freedom of oppressed peoples. Maintaining that national liberation wars may lead to a world war, it makes much of the role of the United Nations in the national liberation problem, thereby causing oppressed peoples to have illusions with regard to the United Nations and the imperialists.

Modern revisionism propagandizes that Capitalism has changed its nature and is in a position to transform its kind of peace into Socialism and that the working class in capitalist countries need not carry out a proletarian revolution and need not smash the bourgeois state machinery and set up proletarian dictatorship, but, instead, that they can use the "parliamentary path" or adopt the method of "structural reform" within the limits of the bourgeois constitution in order to achieve a "peaceful transition" to Socialism.

Modern revisionism sows disunity in the Socialist camp. It helps the imperialists in carrying out their plot to overthrow and sabotage Socialist countries. It also helps the imperialists in implementing the "peaceful developments" plan in Socialist countries according to the U. S. imperialists' "strategy of peace," a strategy which is aimed at destroying the results of the Socialist revolution and restoring Capitalism in Socialist countries.

Modern revisionism sows dissension in the international Communist movement, and it criticizes Communists who are faithful to Marxism-Leninism. It accuses them of being "dogmatic" and "belligerent." It tries to coerce Communist and worker parties into accepting its erroneous views, thereby plunging the international Communist movement into ideological confusion and organizational disunity.

CLARIFY NOT YUGO -

Modern revisionism is obviously the main danger to the international Communist movement at the present time. The 1957 Moscow Declaration stressed that the existence of bourgeois influence is the internal cause and the surrender to imperialist pressure the external cause of revisionism. The 1960 Moscow Declaration stated: "In slandering Marxism-Leninism and depriving itself of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit, revisionism and rightist opportunism have, in theory as well as in practice, reflected bourgeois thoughts, have paralyzed the revolutionary will of the working class, have stripped the workers and the laboring masses of their weapons, and have destroyed their moral in their struggle against the ruling yoke of the imperialists and exploiters and for peace, democracy, national liberation, and the success for Socialism." Only by resolutely struggling against modern revisionism will the purity of Marxism-Leninism be protected and will the solidarity of the international Communist movement and the Socialist camp be strengthened. Only by triumphing over modern revisionism will Marxism-Leninism be protected and developed and will the most important factor of success for the revolution in each country and throughout the world be safeguarded and further improved.

Since the dissolution of the Communist International, the international Communist movement has developed broadly in the world. This has inevitably limited the quality of the movement in a number of countries. In his article titled "The Third International and its Position in History," Lenin, when dealing with the Second International, said: the broad development of the international organization of the proletarian movement resulted in temporarily lowering the revolutionary standard and allowing opportunism to become strong.

Applying this opinion of Lenin's to the present international Communist movement, we cannot help thinking, as a result of the activities of a number of revisionist leaders, a number of Communist and workers parties seem to have become "instruments for parliamentary struggle." The two words "proletarian dictatorship" in the platforms of these parties are stripped of their Marxist-Leninist content. While many Communist and worker parties have struggled heroically and led the people to conduct revolutionary struggles in which a number of parties succeeded in seizing power and achieving proletarian dictatorship in some countries, a number of other parties have restricted their acti-

vities to the limits specified in the constitutions and laws of the bourgeoisie. During the period following World War II, at least two revolutions were successful and their success was not due to the leadership of the working class. This fact prompts us to ponder the vanguard role of a number of Communist and workers parties. Is it not true that in a number of countries Communist and worker parties can no longer maintain their character as a new type party set up according to Lenin's party building principles? Modern revisionism has sabotaged the vanguard role of a number of Communist and workers parties in revolutions. Communist and worker parties cannot firmly maintain their vanguard role if they are not determined to struggle against modern revisionism. The struggle against modern revisionism is a struggle of lines in the present international Communist movement. This is a struggle of the Marxist-Leninist line against the modern revisionist line. This struggle reflects the class struggle aimed at settling the problem of "who will win over whom" on a world scale. This struggle is closely related to the revolutionary cause of the working class and the people of the world.

~~The struggle against modern revisionism, though protracted and complex, will certainly be successful. Close solidarity among Marxist-Leninists and their determination to struggle will certainly enable them to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism and defeat modern revisionism.~~

Marxist-Leninists will certainly achieve final victory in their struggle against modern revisionism, because every day life asserts that Marxism-Leninism is completely correct and it condemns the erroneous revisionist line. The more the revolutionary movements in many countries develop, the more the working class and the masses of people are revolutionalized; the more Communist and worker parties mature, the more their theoretical and political standard is improved. Imperialism is weakening and suffering a serious crisis. Its warmongering character is increasingly more obvious. The policy of unprincipled conciliation with the imperialists will be protested by the masses of people and will be bitterly defeated.

As a result of the struggle against modern revisionism, Communist and worker parties have been further improved and matured and Marxism-Leninism has developed more strongly and enormously. Along with struggling against modern revisionism, which constitutes the main danger at the present time, Communists struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism. Moreover, Communists also struggle against nationalism and chauvinism, which are other manifestations of modern revisionism in the international Communist movement.

The Communist International came into existence 45 years ago and dissolved itself 21 years ago. The Communist International no longer exists today, but its achievements remain with us. These achievements are Communist and worker parties which were set up and further improved by the Communist International and which are operating in nearly all countries in the world.

Communist and worker parties share the same ideological system, which is Marxism-Leninism. They also have the same enemy, which is Imperialism.

They cherish the same great goal, which is to carry out revolution to overthrow the entire imperialist system, to eliminate all oppressive and exploiting systems in society, to achieve proletarian dictatorship, and to build Socialism and Communism in the world. This is an objective basis for solidarity among Communist and worker parties. The solidarity among Communist and worker parties and the solidarity among Socialist countries led by these parties are extremely important factors insuring the success of the revolutionary cause of the working class and the people the world over.

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~~In the past few years, because of the coming into existence of modern revisionism, differences of view have occurred in the international Communist movement among Communist and worker parties on problems of Marxist-Leninist principles and on the strategies and tactics of the revolutionary struggle. This loss of unity has exerted an adverse effect on the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world. Therefore, consolidating and strengthening solidarity in the international Communist movement on a Marxist-Leninist basis is an urgent task of Communist and worker parties and of the Socialist countries at the present time. To consolidate and strengthen international solidarity in order to triumph over the imperialists, headed by the U. S. imperialists, and other reactionary classes, it is necessary to struggle unyieldingly against modern revisionism, the cause of the loss of unity in the Socialist camp and the international Communist movement.~~

One of the important measures for strengthening solidarity in the international Communist movement is to step up criticism and self-criticism in Communist and worker parties. Many times Lenin stressed the significance of self-criticism. He said: the attitude of a party toward its mistakes is one of the most important and surest criteria to judge whether this party has seriously and truly fulfilled its duty to the working class and laboring masses. (Not published as a direct quotation -- Ed.) Lenin also remarked: (not quoted -- Ed.) all revolutionary parties have been destroyed so far because of their vainness, because they did not realize what made them strong, and because they dared not speak of their shortcomings. Only by stepping up criticism and self-criticism will Communist and worker parties be able to realize their mistakes so as to correct them, will they be able to strengthen the solidarity of the international Communist movement, and will they be able to fulfill their duty to the working class and the people throughout the world.

The Socialist camp is the result of Marxism-Leninism and of the revolutionary struggle of the international working class. It is the fortress of peace and world revolution. Today, the touchstone of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is loyalty to the Socialist camp. We are determined to struggle against all plots and acts of the modern revisionists aimed at weakening and damaging solidarity among Socialist countries. We advocate strengthening solidarity, cooperation, and mutual assistance among Socialist countries in accordance with the principles of complete equality, voluntariness, mutual interests, respect for one another's independence and sovereignty, and mutual assistance springing from comradeship and an international proletarian spirit.

The Vietnamese Communists, now as always, advocate strengthening solidarity in the Socialist camp and the international Communist movement according to the slogan which Marx and Engels put at the top of the platform of the Communist Party: "Proletarians in all countries, unite!"

On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Communist International, we once again affirm our loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to the revolutionary cause of international proletarianism, and to Communist ideals. Continuing the glorious traditions of the Communist International, we are determined to build Socialism in North Vietnam, to struggle for the liberation of South Vietnam and national unification, and to protect peace in Southeast Asia and the world. We pledge to do our best to make our contribution to strengthening solidarity in the international Communist movement. We pledge to contribute positively to the struggle to annihilate Imperialism in order to achieve Socialism and Communism throughout the world.

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