

C.P.S.U. 20th Congress—Root of All Evils of Khrushchov Revisionists

— Publisher's Note to "Statements by Khrushchov" Vol. V

- Khrushchov's successors are really following in his footsteps.
- The so-called general line of foreign policy which the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. has vowed to uphold, consisting of "peaceful coexistence" and "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for the solution of the problems of the world," has gone bankrupt in actual practice.
- However much they collaborate, the Soviet Union and the United States can never stamp out the just struggles of the great Vietnamese people and the revolutionary peoples of the world against U.S. imperialism.
- Khrushchov's successors are placing themselves in opposition to the people of the world (including the people of the Soviet Union). Their class position conditions them to place the noose left by Khrushchov around their own necks.
- Imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism are nearing their end and life gets more difficult for them day by day.

The fifth volume of the collection of "Statements by Khrushchov" in Chinese translation has come off the press and is now on sale throughout China.

Compiled and published by the "Shijie Zhishi" (World Culture) Press, the volume contains 34 speeches, reports, and interviews by Khrushchov that were made public in 1956, including the full text of the general report made by Khrushchov at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1956. The volume comes to some 230,000 Chinese characters.

A publisher's note prefaces the volume. It reads in full as follows:

BEGINNING with volume five, the collection of *Statements by Khrushchov* will carry public statements made by Khrushchov from 1956 onward.

In volume five, the general report made by Khrushchov at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. in February 1956 merits particular attention. It is a typical product of modern revisionism and is greatly treasured by all Khrushchov revisionists. It is indispensable reading for those who wish to understand and study the history of the development of Khrushchov revisionism.

What did the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., held under Khrushchov's auspices, do? What sort of a congress was it?

History has given an adequate answer.

That congress made a frenzied attack on the great Marxist-Leninist Stalin; essentially it defamed the party of the proletariat and its leader, defamed the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, attacked Marxism-Leninism and attacked the Soviet Union, communism and the people.

The congress postulated so-called peaceful transition to socialism "by parliamentary means"; essentially it negated the road of the October Revolution, opposed proletarian revolution and national-democratic revolution and opposed every kind of revolutionary armed struggle.

The congress postulated so-called peaceful coexistence as the "general line" of the foreign policy of socialist countries; essentially it advocated class collaboration on an international scale, capitulationism and the betrayal of proletarian internationalism; they themselves did not want revolution and forbade it for others, they themselves did not support revolution and forbade others to support it.

The congress postulated so-called "friendly cooperation" between the Soviet Union and the United States, and it prettified U.S. imperialism and its chieftain; essentially it propagated the notion that the nature of U.S. imperialism had changed and that two great

powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, should dictate to the whole world.

The congress postulated "combating the personality cult"; essentially this was intended as an attack on the Marxist-Leninists of all countries, so that buffoons of the Khrushchov variety "who speak at random and talk sheer nonsense" could become the "new leaders," and as a catch-word for purposes of subverting and controlling fraternal Parties and fraternal countries and thus paving the way for the introduction of Khrushchov revisionism.

The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. was the most significant sign of the emergence of Khrushchov revisionism. It was at that congress that Khrushchov first put forward the Khrushchov revisionist line in opposition to Marxism-Leninism. In the article "The Origin and Development of the Differences Between the Leadership of the C.P.S.U. and Ourselves" we pointed out that "the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. was the first step along the road of revisionism taken by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. From the 20th congress to the present, the revisionist line of the leadership of the C.P.S.U. has gone through the process of emergence, formation, growth and systematization. And by a gradual process, too, people have come to understand more and more deeply the revisionist line of the C.P.S.U. leadership."

The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. is the root from which stems all the evils done by the Khrushchov revisionists. In that congress we can find the origin of all such things as the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., the Programme of the C.P.S.U., the "three peacefuls" and "two entires" ("peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition," and "the state of the entire people" and "the party of the entire people"), and the "four alignments with and four againsts" (alignment with imperialism against socialism, alignment with the United States against China and other revolutionary countries, alignment with the reactionaries everywhere against the national-liberation movements and the people's revolutions, and alignment with the Tito clique and renegades of all descriptions against all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and all revolutionaries fighting imperialism).

The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. is the origin of the split in the international communist movement. From the moment it took place, confusion arose within the international communist movement and within the ranks of many Communist Parties. In the final analysis, all the current differences in the international communist movement stem from that congress. And they are becoming deeper with each passing day because the C.P.S.U. leadership persists in pursuing and developing the revisionist line of that congress and insistently seeks to impose it on the fraternal Parties of other countries.

The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. has greatly helped imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries by providing them with weapons against revolu-

tion, against communism and against the socialist camp. After the congress, the imperialists and reactionaries seized the opportunity to stir up great waves of opposition to the Soviet Union, to communism and to the people, most prominent among which was the counter-revolutionary rioting in Hungary. Those enemies of communism, the Trotskyites, also seized the opportunity to move into action. In the past nine years, imperialism and its stooges have consistently made use of the revisionist line, formulated at this congress and later developed and systematized, in order to undermine the international communist movement and to disintegrate the revolutionary cause of the people of all countries.

What Khrushchov and company did during and after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. has shown that they have thoroughly betrayed the international proletariat and the revolutionary peoples of the world, and have degenerated so far as to collude with imperialism and world reaction and work from within in collaboration with the outside enemy to oppose the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of all countries.

No matter how the Khrushchov revisionists try to justify the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., it will go down in the history of the international communist movement as an anti-Marxist-Leninist congress which proclaimed the birth of Khrushchov revisionism; a congress that betrayed the proletarian world revolution and served imperialism and world reaction; a congress that split the international communist movement and undermined the great unity of the revolutionary peoples of the whole world; a congress that denigrated the C.P.S.U. which Lenin founded, and put it on the path of degeneration from a proletarian political party to one going in the direction of a bourgeois political party; a congress that defamed the great Soviet state and put it on the path of degeneration from a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to one going in the direction of a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. will go down in the annals of history as one that will leave a stench for all time.

From the very beginning, the Chinese Communist Party had a different estimate of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. from that of the Khrushchov revisionists. At the time, we repeatedly conveyed our views to the leadership of the C.P.S.U. through inner channels and advanced principled criticism of their errors on the question of Stalin and on the question of so-called peaceful transition. We also openly published the two articles, "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and "More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," in which we expounded our views in a positive way. At that time, of course, it was still impossible to see the essence of Khrushchov revisionism as clearly as we did later, because Khrushchov revisionism was then only beginning to take shape.

According to Marxist-Leninist dialectics, the essence of a thing manifests itself through phenomena, and phenomena unfold gradually. It is only after a process

has gone on for a certain time and the contradictions are fully revealed that it becomes possible for people to comprehend the essence of the thing and arrive at correct judgments on the basis of a large number of phenomena and, in particular, the test of practice. Khrushchov revisionism has gone through a process of development. It was camouflaged under layer after layer of "Marxism-Leninism" and its true features revealed themselves step by step. One's comprehension of it has of necessity to undergo a process. However, it is not too difficult to distinguish between the pretensions and the real intentions found in the statements and actions of the Khrushchov revisionists if a Marxist-Leninist class analysis of the numerous objective facts is made and the essence of Khrushchov revisionism is grasped.

This is the way to deal with Khrushchov and, of course, it must be the way to deal with Khrushchov's successors. The experience gained in coping with Khrushchov makes it easier for people to see the essence of Khrushchov's successors and prevents them from being confused by superficial, transient and spurious phenomena.

Very clearly then, the problem of one's approach to the 20th and 22nd Congresses and to the Programme of the C.P.S.U. is the most important, the essential question in the struggle between Marxist-Leninists and Khrushchov revisionists. Whether one thoroughly exposes and criticizes the revisionist line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. and of the Programme of the C.P.S.U. or whether one persists in it and propagates it energetically—here rests the most fundamental difference between Marxist-Leninists and Khrushchov revisionists.

Inasmuch as they are persisting in the line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. and of the Programme of the C.P.S.U., Khrushchov's successors have shown that they have not in the least changed their revisionist, splittist and great-nation chauvinist nature, no matter how many fine words they utter. Their flowery talk about anti-imperialism, revolution and unity is only protective colouring designed to deceive people. Their most important, revealing words, their soul, their true essence, are to be found in their avowals of adherence to the line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses and the Programme of the C.P.S.U.

It has become increasingly clear that Khrushchov's successors are really following in his footsteps. They are really placing themselves in opposition to the more than 90 per cent of the people of the world (including the people of the Soviet Union). Their class position conditions them to place the noose left by Khrushchov around their own necks.

The so-called general line of foreign policy which the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. has vowed to uphold, consisting of "peaceful coexistence" and "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for the solution of the problems of the world," has gone bankrupt in actual practice. Today the U.S. imperialists' wild aggression in Viet Nam once

again shows up the absurdity of this revisionist general line. Johnson, ring-leader of U.S. imperialism, like Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy before him, is no "sober" or "sensible" person as Khrushchov and his successors have alleged, but a hatchet man who does not scruple to commit every imaginable crime. Subjected to aggression, the Vietnamese people, in dealing with the utterly vicious U.S. aggressors, have no alternative but to resist to the end, to resist until they have completely defeated them, and there can be no question whatever of "peaceful coexistence" with them. Collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States to dominate the world did not work in the past, does not work now and will not work in the future. However much they collaborate, the Soviet Union and the United States can never stamp out the just struggles of the great Vietnamese people and the revolutionary peoples of the world against U.S. imperialism; this simply reveals more and more fully how Khrushchov's successors are still transposing their relationships with friend and foe, aligning themselves with the chief enemy of the people of the whole world while directing the spearhead against the revolutionary peoples.

Now that volume five of *Statements by Khrushchov* has come off the press, we make a point of recommending to our readers Khrushchov's report of nine years ago. We suggest that they use the method of comparison to see what Khrushchov paid lip service to and what he actually did at the time, how his works compare with those of his successors, and how he tampered with Marxism-Leninism and what criticisms Marxist-Leninists have made of him. By reviewing the history of the past nine years and making such contrasts, one can better analyse and compare and arrive at correct conclusions.

Khrushchov is finished. Khrushchov revisionism, too, is bankrupt. Yet to this very moment, Khrushchov's successors are still clinging to the shattered hulk of Khrushchov revisionism. How can this help them? Battered by the storm of the revolution this lone craft is falling to pieces; how then can they hope to save it from destruction by patching it up with a few planks?

"A thousand sails skim past the shipwreck; a forest thrives beside the withered tree." These two lines of poetry superbly describe the present situation of revolution in the world. In the process of triumphing in the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism, revolutionary theory and the revolutionary ranks of Marxism-Leninism are ceaselessly developing and gaining strength. In the struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and the reactionaries of all countries, the revolutionary people of the whole world are breaking through all the obstacles erected by modern revisionism, one after another, and are advancing like a great fleet of ships riding the waves in full sail. Like forests of trees burgeoning in spring, the great cause of proletarian world revolution is thriving, while, like a sinking ship, like a withering tree, imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism are nearing their end and life gets more difficult for them day by day.