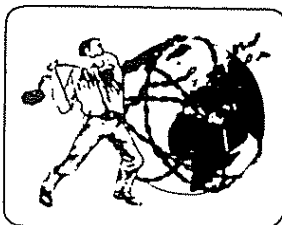


PROLETARIER ALLER LÄNDER VEREINIGT EUCH!  
PROLETARIER ALLER LÄNDER UND UNTERDRÜCKTE VÖLKER VEREINIGT EUCH!

# GEGEN DIE STRÖMUNG



Organ für den Aufbau der marxistisch-leninistischen Partei Westdeutschlands

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## BEAT BACK THE REVISIONIST ATTACKS AGAINST MARXIST-LENINIST PHILOSOPHY !

Recognise the Outstanding Role of Stalin's Writing  
„Dialectical and Historical Materialism“ and  
Defend it Energetically Against Attacks by the  
Modern Revisionists!

Do Not Abandon (Mao Tse-tung's Marxist-Leninist Views in  
the Field of Philosophy,) to the Attacks of the Modern  
Revisionists But Defend and Evaluate them in a Principled  
Way!

Basis For Discussion.	Jointly Worked Out BY
ROTE FAHNE	(Central Organ of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria)
WESTBERLINER KOMMUNIST	(Organ for Building the Marxist- Leninist Party in West Berlin)
GEGEN DIE STRÖMUNG	(Organ for Building the Marxist- Leninist Party in West Germany)

ON THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA'S "PROPOSAL ON THE GENERAL LINE  
OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT", 1963:

THE NECESSITY OF AN INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST GENERAL  
LINE AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY AGAINST  
MODERN REVISIONISM

### PART I

SEVERAL BURNING PROBLEMS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MARXIST-  
LENINIST WORLD MOVEMENT AND THE NECESSITY OF A CRITICISM  
OF THE "GREAT POLEMIC"

PROPOSAL FOR DISCUSSION  
April 1979

Joint Declaration of:

- \* Rote Fahne, MLPÖ  
(Red Flag, Central Organ of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria)
- \* Westberliner Kommunist  
(Communist of West Berlin, Organ for the Building of the Marxist-  
Leninist Party in West Berlin)
- \* Gegen die Strömung  
(Against the Tide, Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party  
in West Germany)

Other Joint Statements from this series  
translated in English:

Part I

Part III A, Part VI (see last page)

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Emphases in the original quotations are marked by (+). All the other emphases are ours.

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# INTRODUCTION oooooooooooo

In the field of the world outlook of the proletariat, of the philosophy of the proletariat, the dialectical materialism, the attacks of the modern revisionists since the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the attacks of their pseudo-learned professors (who have gigantic institutes and collaborating staff at their disposal), have practically not been opposed at all.

However, the defence of the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin includes initiating and continuing the fight in questions of dialectical materialism as well. Yet this task was basically not taken up. What is worse, in many cases, revisionist attacks in this field were repeated and propagated further in their essence by forces considering themselves to be anti-revisionist and Marxist-Leninist.

This is particularly true in relation to the attacks against Stalin and his significant work, "Dialectical and Historical Materialism", from the year 1938. Since the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956, the modern revisionists have been able to disseminate their poison more or less undisturbed throughout the world and to gain in influence. In the first part of this issue, we want to try to expose some important attacks of the modern revisionists.

We shall for the first time be dealing with problems, above all of dialectical materialism in greater detail. We will focus thereby particularly on the fundamental features of revolutionary materialist dialectics. We are aware that this is a first beginning in the necessary engagement with issues of the philosophy of the proletariat in the struggle against modern revisionism. This task must be taken up again and again and deepened over a long period of time. Here, for instance, the problems of historical materialism have more or less been kept aside for the time being.

The present issue focuses on dealing in a sharp way with some problems and questions, which appear important to us from the point of view of the current ideological struggle. In order to be really able to examine and evaluate the positions developed by us below, it seems to us to be very important to make an independent analysis of this complex of questions on the basis of the original works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

## ON THE NECESSITY OF A MARXIST-LENINIST EVALUATION AND DEFENCE OF MAO TSE-TUNG'S PHILOSOPHICAL WRITINGS

In Part II of this issue we have set ourselves the task of repudiating the slanders and attacks of the modern revisionists against Mao Tse-tung's philosophical writings. This for many reasons:

Apart from certain variations, the attacks against Mao Tse-tung's philosophical positions basically resemble, or are the same as, the attacks launched against Stalin. Since in the first part of this work a series of attacks against Stalin have already been dealt with and repudiated, in the second part we can, based on this, repudiate similar or identical attacks against Mao Tse-tung.

However, this more "practical" angle is not the main thing.

Rather, in connection with our work on the evaluation and appraisal of Mao Tse-tung's work, his philosophical writings were still outstanding. Very consciously, we did not want to deal with attacks by the revisionists on this front isolated from the revisionist attacks against Stalin.

In our extensive discussion on Mao Tse-tung's philosophical writings, during the preparatory work as well as while revising the present issue, we were repeatedly forced to come to the conclusion: In spite of all esteem for these philosophical writings they do not approximate to the clarity and depth of Marx's, Engels', Lenin's and Stalin's philosophical writings.

However, this does not make any difference to the fundamental task of repudiating the attacks of the modern revisionists against Mao Tse-tung in this area as well, and to emphatically state:

- Mao Tse-tung's discourses in his writings "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" are highly qualified and outstanding contributions
- to the philosophical debate, not only in his time, but, in general.
- In spite of their weaknesses and possible errors, they are based
- on Marxism-Leninism.

Dealing with Mao Tse-tung's philosophical writings in connection with defending Stalin is important for yet another reason. It is central because the attempts of various forces to establish Mao Tse-tung as the "fifth classic author" is very often combined with the elimination of Stalin from the ranks of the classic authors. This is substantiated precisely also by the philosophical writings of both. Mao Tse-tung's works in the area of philosophy are opposed to those of Stalin and are supposed to replace them.

But it becomes clear that all attempts to play off Mao Tse-tung against Stalin are basically not justified at all. In those cases where Mao Tse-tung has dealt with problems really in a way different from Stalin, with all regards for his achievements, a comparison, contentwise as well as from the point of view of clarity of presentation is to his disadvantage.

One final reason underlines the significance of a Marxist-Leninist appraisal of Mao Tse-tung's philosophical work for us: Mao Tse-tung's writings, particularly "On Contradiction" and "On Practice", but also "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People", have had a great influence on us: which cannot be underestimated. That is why their assessment today is also a necessary component of a self-critical review of our own theoretical and ideological foundations. (\*)

(\*) See for this, for example, Note 5 in our Joint Statement of 1975: "Criticism of Deng Hsiao-ping's 'Three Worlds' Pattern", (RF No. 165, GDS No.6, WBK No.3, Engl. transl. RF No.165, August 1977.)

In the fight against modern revisionism in the field of philosophy, things cannot be dealt with in a "purely philosophical" way. Rather, it has above all to be exposed that the revision of the fundamentals of dialectical materialism are used for and serve the revision of the theory of the proletarian revolution.

- The class struggle in the area of theory, the struggles on the philosophical front only can be really understood and their significance grasped, if they are seen in the context of the overall ideological struggle, the tasks of the revolution, and in connection with the real class struggles of the proletariat. Only in this way it is possible to really draw lessons from these struggles for the problems of revolution, and not allow the debate to degenerate into an empty fight over phrases.

November 1986

[illegible]

1. Take Marx's, Engels', Lenin's and Stalin's Fundamental Writings on Dialectical Materialism as the Starting Point

This ruthless reckoning with the dominant philosophy, as the philosophy of the ruling class, did not imply a simple further development of the philosophy up to that time. Rather, it was an immense qualitative leap forward towards the world-view of the revolutionary party of the proletariat.

Such a partial defence of the bourgeois fore-runners of scientific communism did not alter anything in the fact that Marx and Engels fought for the destruction of bourgeois ideology. This was an important component of their work: forging that "weapon of criticism" for the proletariat, which could then be used by it to destroy the bourgeois relations through the "criticism by weapons".

(\*) See also Lenin's article "The Three Sources and the Three Component Parts of Marxism", 1913, CW 19, pp.23-25.

The first comprehensive reckoning, above all with Hegel and his followers, are documented in the first four volumes of the Collected Works of Marx and Engels and in both the supplementary volumes (The latter two are not yet available in English- Transl.note). Beyond these writings, Marx's main work "Capital" is the decisive source of studying how Marx applied dialectical materialism. He himself emphasized this in an "Afterword" to his "Capital". (Marx and Engels, Sel. Works, Vol.2, Progress Publishers, Moscow, pp.91 ff). Lenin, too, had specially pointed this out (\*). Unfortunately, Marx was not able to realize his plan of concisely writing down the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist philosophy (\*\*).

Fundamental weapons in the struggle for the dialectical materialistic foundations of the scientific theory of communism were and continue to be Engels' comprehensive discourses in his work "Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science" (1876-78, Progress Publishers 1978), or in parts of this writing which were later incorporated in "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" (1880, Progress Publishers 1978) as well as "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy", (1886, Marx and Engels, Sel. Works, op.cit, pp.335-376). As Lenin said, these are the "handbooks of every class-conscious worker". Nothing can replace the study of these fundamental works.

He/she, whoever has studied Lenin's "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" and Stalin's "Dialectical and Historical Materialism", will be able to ascertain to what a large extent both referred back to the classical writings by Marx and Engels, and how profoundly they made use of and defended them.

■ L E N I N not only defended with all his might Marx's and Engels' theory of dialectical materialism in a comprehensive way against the renegades of revolution and the falsifiers of Marxism, who became active particularly in times of the defeat of the revolution. Rather, he further developed dialectical materialism, as Stalin emphasized in "The Foundations of Leninism". In his basic philosophical work "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" (1908, CW 14, pp.13-361), Lenin repudiated many different attacks against Marx, and particularly also against Engels. Lenin underlined hereby that it is decisive to take Marxism, the already created dialectical materialism, as the starting point.

The qualitative turning point in history, namely, the leap of premonopoly capitalism into its highest and last stage, which is the imperialism, the qualitative leap forward into the era of proletarian revolution, its preparation and carrying out, was accompanied by a further development of dialectical materialism in Lenin's works (\*\*\*).

(\*) See for this Lenin's "Plan of Hegel's Dialectics (Logic)", 1915, CW 38, pp.317-18.

(\*\*) See for this the following letters: "Marx to Engels", around Jan.16, 1858, MEW 29, p.260; "Marx to Joseph Dietzgen", May 9, 1868, MEW 32, p. 547; and "Engels to Pjotr Lavrowitsch Lavrov", April 2, 1883, MEW 36, p.3 (All references Germ.ed. MEW - Transl.note)

(\*\*\*) See for this "The Foundations of Leninism", 1924, Peking ed., 1977, p.20 and p.23, and "History of the CPSU(B), Short Course", 1938, p.104.

Beyond the fundamental writing "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism", Lenin in his writings like "The Three Sources and the Three Component Parts of Marxism" (1913, CW 19, pp.23-28) and "Karl Marx" (1914, CW 21, pp.43-91) as well as in "Marxism and Revisionism" (1908, CW 15, pp.29-39), laid down essential corners stones, proceeding from which it is possible to undertake the study of Marx's and Engels' dialectical materialism in view of different revisionist trends.

In the world communist movement, above all also within the Soviet Union, there was an intense struggle, particularly after Lenin's death, over assessing him and his theoretical work. In the course of this struggle many very strong Menshevik attacks on the philosophic front were also launched against Lenin's achievements. He was characterized to be "Plekhanov's pupil", and his essential further development of Marxism was disputed. It is a very important aid for the study of Lenin's writings to investigate this struggle for getting Leninism accepted in the field of dialectical materialism, and seeing the close connection which thereby manifests itself between wrong philosophical positions and right opportunist political concepts. In relation to dialectical and historical materialism it also facilitates the understanding of

|| "the distinctive and new in the works of Lenin that Lenin contributed to the general treasury of Marxism".  
|| (Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", 1924, op.cit., p.1)

■ S T A L I N intervened in this struggle and gave guidelines through his work "The Foundations of Leninism".

Under Stalin's guidance, the CC of the CPSU(B) took a stand against the falsifications of Marxism and Leninism in the field of dialectical materialism. In a comprehensive polemic against Trotskyism and the bloc of the Rightists, Stalin repeatedly uncovered the connection between the fundamental problems of materialist dialectics and political issues, the class struggle and the inner-Party struggle.

With his first philosophical writing "Anarchism or Socialism" (1906/07, Works 1, pp.297-391), Stalin had already made an important contribution in the framework of the struggle of the C.P. of Russia. Both his last great writings "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR", 1952 (Peking, 1976) and "Marxism and Problems of Linguistics", 1950 (Peking 1976), are milestones in the debate and in the development of important problems of dialectical materialism.

Towards the end of the 20's and above all in the 30's, comprehensive work was undertaken in the Soviet Union to evaluate the philosophical works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Important philosophical works were published for the first time in the SU like Lenin's "Philosophical Notebooks" (CW 38) and Engels' "Dialectics of Nature", which for years had been kept under lock and key by Kautsky. (1873-1883, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954).

In connection particularly with the publication of Vol. 22. of the "Soviet Encyclopaedia" on dialectical materialism, the first comprehensive Marxist-Leninist oriented textbooks and courses on

dialectical and historical materialism were published and debated (\*). After that Stalin wrote for the "History of the CPSU(B), Short Course" (1938) the till date unsurpassed work "Dialectical and Historical Materialism", which we are going to deal with hereafter in more detail. With this writing Stalin made an outstanding contribution to evaluating and developing dialectical and historical materialism. This work also became at the time the prime target for all bourgeois, social-democrat, trotskyist ideologues. After the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956 it was, so to say, also officially set free for the kill by Khrushchov and the other CPSU revisionists.

## 2. On the Significance of Stalin's Work "Dialectical and Historical Materialism"

"If only briefly" ("History of the CPSU(B), Short Course", 1938, p. 105), but then all the more profoundly, this writing presents the "fundamentals of dialectical and historical materialism" (ibid., pp. 105) by working out the four principal features of dialectics and the three principal features of materialism. It provides thereby very essential points of departure for the systematic study of Marx's, Engels' and Lenin's works as well as the other works of Stalin, in order to be able to really appropriate dialectical and historical materialism, the "theoretical basis of Communism". (ibid., p. 105).

Based on the works of the teachers of the proletariat, Stalin works out here the internal relationship between the principal features of dialectical materialism as a weapon in the class struggle of the masses in their millions for the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism. This is done in a concentrated and systematic way and in the closest connection of philosophical issues with their political significance.

It is very important to understand and to realize that Stalin's work marks a decisive turning point in a long struggle on the philosophical front. It sums up debates and at the same time contains guidelines for further work on philosophical problems.

(\*) Even after this there were intense debates and discussions on philosophical issues. Thus, in 1944, Vol. III of the "History of Philosophy", which had been worked out by an authors' collective of leading Soviet philosophers, was rejected by the CC of the CPSU(B). This was because the work, inter alia, concealed the opposition between Hegelian and Marxist dialectics and because of other right opportunist errors. (See for this two articles in the theoretical organ of the CPSU(B) "Bolshevik" of 1944: "On Errors and Defects in the Exposition of the History of German Philosophy at the End of the 18th and the Beginning of the 19th Century", "Bolshevik", No. 8, 1944, and "Hegel's Idealist Dialectics and its Opposition to the Marxist Dialectical Method", "Bolshevik", No. 9, 1944). G.F. Alexandrov's textbook "History of West European Philosophy" (Moscow, Leningrad, 1946) did not fare much better. It was sharply criticized in 1947 at the intervention of the CC of the CPSU(B) under Stalin's leadership. In this context, the entire state of affairs within the Soviet philosophers was sharply criticized by Shdanov. (See his speech of June 1947 at the Philosophy Conference in Moscow in the collection "Shdanov on Art and Science", Kiel, 1972, p. 80ff. Germ. ed.)

We also want to make clear that the immense appreciation attached to the writing does not in any way imply that it constitutes a kind of end point in the further development of dialectical materialism. Even less does it mean that the study of this work can replace that of the fundamental works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, which are introduced and quoted in it only briefly. On the contrary, we understand this work only then correctly and in its full significance, when we see it and use it as an essential and invaluable aid, as a compass for the extensive and not dissipating study of dialectical and historical materialism oriented towards the proletarian revolution.

There has hardly been a work which has unleashed so many hate-filled tirades and outbursts of fury (\*). One critic after the other has tried to show "all that is missing" in it, has thereby gone astray, rejected the work completely and landed up in the rubbish heap of the renegades of communism.

In the following, we want to deal with some of the main attacks of the revisionists against Stalin's writing "Dialectical and Historical Materialism". The purpose is not only to rebut their attacks, but also to understand better key ideological positions which are also to be found underlying the often primitive attacks of the modern revisionists against Mao Tse-tung. This is additionally necessary in view of those forces (like on the international level, for eg., the trend grouped around the RCP/USA) which glorify and distort Mao Tse-tung.

In one of the authoritative revisionist works, in the "History of Philosophy", Volume IV, brought out by an authors' collective of influential revisionist Soviet philosophers, various revisionist criticisms against Stalin's writing "Dialectical and Historical Materialism" have been summarised (\*\*). There it is said:

(\*) In the years to come, it will be necessary to come back to these revisionist attacks against this work. In the struggle against these attacks, from whichever side they may come, it will be necessary to utilize the entire wealth of this writing by Stalin, untapped for so long, for the ideological struggle.

(\*\*) The entire hatred of the revisionists against Stalin (and also against Shdanov) can also be seen - in part indirectly - from the following main revisionist works:

- \* "Fundamentals of Marxist Philosophy", Moscow, 1958, Berlin, 1959, Reprint West Berlin, 1974 -Germ. ed.
- \* "Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism", Moscow, 1960, Berlin, 1960 -Germ. ed.
- \* "History of Marxist Dialectics" particularly Vol. II, Moscow, 1973, Berlin, 1976 -Germ. ed.

It must be mentioned that leading authors of these revisionist textbooks, like M.B. Mitin, B.M. Kedrow, M.M. Rosental, Konstantinov, G.F. Alexandrov and others were, in Stalin's lifetime, among those who praised and "defended" him most vehemently. However, after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, they were all the more vehemently used as "specialists" against Stalin's "schematism".

"The multiplicity of the dialectical laws and categories were replaced by the four principal features of dialectics. According to them all phenomena in the world are mutually inter-connected, in motion, quantitative changes pass over into qualitative ones and development takes place through the struggle of the opposites. By themselves these theses are not wrong. But, firstly, some of them do not express the specificity of materialist dialectics, because its distinction from metaphysics does not consist in the simple recognition of connections and their motion, but in its new, different outlook. Secondly, the dialectical theses of the transition of quantitative changes into qualitative ones and the struggle of opposites has been made more crude and schematic; Stalin pointed out to the struggle of opposites, but he neglected the problem of their unity. Thirdly, the law of the negation of negation and many categories of dialectics, which express essential dialectical laws (essence and appearances, the single, the particular and universal, chance and necessity etc) do not find any place in Stalin's scheme."

("History of Philosophy", Vol. VI, Moscow, 1965, Berlin, 1967, pp. 140/141. Transl. from Ger.ed.)

In this, an entire revisionist program to "destroy" Stalin can basically be found. Inter alia, he is accused of:

- having replaced the "multiplicity" of dialectics by only "four principal features" and to have proceeded from a "simple recognition of relationships and their motion";
- having "made more crude and schematic the theses of the passing over of quantitative changes into qualitative ones and of the struggle of the opposites";
- having "neglected" the "unity of opposites";
- having ignored the "law of negation of negation".

Let us consider these points one by one.

### 3. On Some Attacks of the Modern Revisionists

#### a) Did Stalin Replace the "Multiplicity" of Dialectics through Four Main Features?

In 1965, in their antirevisionist "Programmatic Proclamation", the Soviet Marxist-Leninists appropriately characterized a certain kind of criticism of Stalin. They wrote about such a criticism, which in no way tries to present arguments and substantiate them, but, instead, simply asserts and slanders:

"the opportunists and their lackeys have been for more than ten years been looking for theories in Stalin's works, and if not for theories at least for particular theses, and if not for particular theses at least for particular which should contradict Marxism-Leninism. They seed but find nothing.

They began to make fun of the philosophic chapter of Stalin's short course 'History of the CP(B) of the SU', and every thing

consisted in the fact that the number of the particularities of dialectics presented by Stalin was raised from 4 to 12...

And thus they acted in the same way dozens of times in the most diverse fields: yells, victorious reports, but in fine we see the Liliputians at the end of their strength at Gulliver's foot."

("Programmatic Proclamation of the Soviet Revolutionary Communists (Bolsheviks)", Reprint by the Red Star Press, London 1975, pp.9-10)

The following is just such a criticism. The modern revisionists wrote about Stalin's text:

"...the presentation of the fundamentals of the Marxist philosophy in this work were schematic and showed up serious defects. The multiplicity of the dialectical laws and categories were replaced by the four principal features of dialectics." ("History of Philosophy", Vol.VI, op.cit., p.140)

Such a "criticism" is obviously aimed at those naive souls who would think that "more" must also certainly mean "better". The modern revisionists have no argument pertaining to content as to why and in which tradition Stalin had stressed precisely these four main features from among the many dialectical categories.

Let us first have a look at Stalin's exposition of the four principal features. He says:

1) The principal features of the Marxist dialectical method are as follows:

a) Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics does not regard nature as an accidental agglomeration of things, of phenomena, unconnected with, isolated from, and independent of, each other, but as a connected and integral whole, in which things, phenomena are organically connected with, dependent on, and determined by, each other.

The dialectical method therefore holds that no phenomenon in nature can be understood if taken by itself, isolated from surrounding phenomena, inasmuch as any phenomenon in any realm of nature may become meaningless to us if it is not considered in connection with the surrounding conditions, but divorced from them; and that, vice versa, any phenomenon can be understood and explained if considered in its inseparable connection with surrounding phenomena, as one conditioned by surrounding phenomena.

b) Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics holds that nature is not a state of rest and immobility, stagnation and immutability, but a state of continuous movement and change, of continuous renewal and development, where something is always arising and developing, and something always disintegrating and dying away.

The dialectical method therefore requires that phenomena should be considered not only from the standpoint of their interconnection and interdependence, but also from the standpoint of their movement, their change, their development, their coming into being and going out of being.

The dialectical method regards as important primarily not that which at the given moment seems to be durable and yet is already beginning to die away, but that which is arising and developing, even though at the given moment it may appear to be not durable, for the dialectical method considers invincible only that which is arising and developing.

"All nature," says Engels, "from the smallest thing to the biggest, from a grain of sand to the sun, from the protista (the primary living cell—Ed.) to man, is in a constant state of coming into being and going out of being, in a constant flux, in a ceaseless state of movement and change." (F. Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*.)

Therefore, dialectics, Engels says, "takes things and their perceptual images essentially in their inter-connection, in their concatenation, in their movement, in their rise and disappearance." (*Ibid.*)

c) Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics does not regard the process of development as a simple process of growth, where quantitative changes do not lead to qualitative changes, but as a development which passes from insignificant and imperceptible quantitative changes to open, fundamental changes, to qualitative changes; a development in which the qualitative changes occur not gradually, but rapidly and abruptly, taking the form of a leap from one state to another; they occur not accidentally but as the natural result of an accumulation of imperceptible and gradual quantitative changes.

The dialectical method therefore holds that the process of development should be understood not as movement in a circle, not as a simple repetition of what has already occurred, but as an onward and upward movement, as a transition from an old qualitative state to a new qualitative state, as a development from the simple to the complex, from the lower to the higher:

d) Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics holds that internal contradictions are inherent in all things and phenomena of nature, for they all have their negative and positive sides, a past and a future, something dying away and something developing; and that the struggle between these opposites, the struggle between the old and the new, between that which is dying away and that which is being born, between that which is disappearing and that which is developing, constitutes the internal content of the process of development, the internal content of the transformation of quantitative changes into qualitative changes.

The dialectical method therefore holds that the process of development from the lower to the higher takes place not as a harmonious unfolding of phenomena, but as a disclosure of the contradictions inherent in things and phenomena, as a "struggle" of opposite tendencies which operate on the basis of these contradictions.

"In its proper meaning," Lenin says, "dialectics is the study of the contradiction *within the very essence of things*." (Lenin, *Philosophical Notebooks*, Russ. ed., p. 263.)

And further:

"Development is the 'struggle' of opposites." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. XI, pp. 81-2.)

Such, in brief, are the principal features of the Marxist dialectical method.

("History of CPSU(B), Short Course", 1938, pp. 106-109)

Already a preliminary study shows that Stalin's exposition of the four "principal features" of dialectics contains a series of hints and references to further features and categories of dialectics. Thus Stalin in essence definitely deals with such categories as "essence and appearance", "chance and necessity", "negation of negation", even if he does not mention such pairs of categories by word and letter. For instance, he explains that phenomena can be understood, their essence grasped, only if they are seen in

their interconnections (*ibid.* p.106). Or, he explains the necessity of the historical approach so that science does not get submerged in a "jumble of accidents" (*ibid.*, p.110) etc. So the modern revisionists are simply lying when they assert the contrary.

However, in his essay "Dialectical and Historical Materialism", Stalin is concerned with the "principal features" of dialectical materialism, as he expressly says (*ibid.*, p.106). And, in this framework, the concentration on the four "principal features" of materialistic dialectics is absolutely correct. (Cf. *ibid.*, p.111).

In the tradition of Marx, Engels, and Lenin(\*), Stalin concentrated on the principal features of dialectics. The modern revisionists would have to prove, which further category of dialectics has the same weight as the four principal features expounded by Stalin.

On studying Stalin's exposition of these four principal features, it becomes clear that they constitute the essential cornerstones of dialectics, complete in themselves, and that with them the essence of a thing can really be grasped.

Firstly, Stalin notes that things and phenomena cannot be examined in isolation, but being inter-connected, their interaction and conditioning must be grasped. Secondly, they are not unchanging, but are always developing, and things must be analysed in their movement. Thirdly, he underscores the development from lower to higher, the passing over of quantitative changes into qualitative ones as the form of movement, in order to penetrate to the cause of this development. And fourthly, he ascertains that the internal contradictions of things, push forward their development and therefore it is a question of the "study of the contradictions in the very essence of things". And, finally, he says: "Development is the 'struggle' of opposites" (\*\*).

(\*) There is the special task, which must be accomplished elsewhere, of rejecting and repudiating the often indirect attempt to pit Marx's, Engels' and Lenin's expositions about the laws of revolutionary dialectics against Stalin. We shall deal later (see p.20f) with one of these manouvres, namely, with the assertion that Stalin, in opposition to Marx, Engels, and Lenin, left out the "negation of negation".

(\*\*) On studying the four principal features, their organisation and their system, it can be understood that another reproach of the modern revisionists is not justified. They criticize Stalin that some of his principal features do not express

"the specificity of materialist dialectics, because its distinction from metaphysics does not consist in the simple recognition of connections and their motion, but in its principally new different outlook." ("History of Philosophy", Vol. VI, op.cit., p.140)

The only meaning this assertion can have is the imputation that Stalin ostensibly was of the view: simple recognition of inter-connections and of movement, that is dialectics. However, the entire organisation of the four principal features, as well as Stalin's comments on each feature, prove that he is not at all  
(footnote continued on p.16)



The revisionists cannot stand Stalin's concentration on that which is essential and fundamental. They like to talk piffle about "multiplicity", not in order to penetrate deeper into things, but to divert from the essential and to make the revisionist conclusions plausible. With their attacks against Stalin's work, they only support the bourgeois outcry that the reality is "much more complex" than the way it is represented by the "horrible simplifying Marxism", which sees class struggle behind everything etc.

An exact study of Marx', Engels' and Lenin's works shows in our opinion that Stalin stands in their tradition. He superbly evaluated, summed up and further developed what they had already worked out about the laws and main features of dialectics.

In a certain respect, in "Karl Marx", Lenin set himself a similar task as Stalin, who concentrated on the principal features of dialectics. At the end of the chapter "Dialectics" in the writing "Karl Marx", we can discover precisely the 4 main features of dialectics as set forth by Stalin (\*). It is not without reason that

(Footnote from p.15)

concerned with a "simple recognition of inter-connections and movement". Rather, proceeding from the inter-connected totality, he follows things in their movement, studies this movement itself again in quantitative and qualitative change and comes to the essence, the recognition of the contradictions in the essence of things themselves.

(\*) Lenin writes on "some features of dialectics", as presented by Marx and Engels on the basis of an evaluation of Hegel:

"A development that repeats, as it were, stages that have already been passed, but repeats them in a different way, on a higher basis ("the negation of negation"), a development, so to speak, that proceeds in spirals, not in a straight line; a development by leaps, catastrophes, and revolutions; breaks in continuity"; the transformation of quantity into quality; inner impulses towards development, imparted by the contradiction and conflict of the various forces and tendencies acting on a given body, or within a given phenomenon, or within a given society; the interdependence and the closest and indissoluble connection between a l l (+) aspects of any phenomenon (history constantly revealing ever new aspects), a connection that provides a uniform, and universal process of motion, one that follows definite laws - these are some of the features of dialectics..."

(Lenin, "Karl Marx", 1914, CW 21, p.54).

In the same writing, Lenin also makes clear that it is a matter of applying the dialectical method to problems of class struggle, that it is a matter of resolving the practical and tactical tasks in "strict conformity with all the postulates of his (the proletariat's -Authors' note) materialist-dialectical Weltanschauung" (ibid., p.75). In "Karl Marx", Lenin himself takes up this task and here are to be found precisely those four principal features that were later formulated by Stalin in a very precise and systematic way. Lenin makes clear that it is a question of:

(footnote continued on p.17)

this fact is passed over in silence by the modern revisionists and their hangers-on.

On the basis of an evaluation of "Karl Marx" and other works by Lenin, as for example "The Three Sources and the Three Component Parts of Marxism", which set themselves a comparable task, it must be emphasized in the current ideological struggle how absurd those criticisms of Stalin are, which assert that he inadmissably named "only" the four principal features of materialist dialectics, and thus "replaced" the "multiplicity" of dialectics, and other such nonsense. This also makes evident that such rotten criticisms are also directed against Lenin and against a really comprehensive understanding of dialectics, which can only be based on clarity regarding the four principal features.

b) On the Sequence of the Four Principal Features of Materialist Dialectics

The modern revisionists also attack the construction and sequence of the four principal features in Stalin's presentation. They impute a wrong construction to Stalin because - as they formulate it - he did not take the "unity and the struggle of opposites" to be the starting point. Without at first analysing the reasons for the justification for the sequence undertaken by Stalin, they merely assert that one must proceed precisely in an opposite way. According to them, the way in which Stalin proceeded does not allow an understanding of the various laws at all. Thus in the Preface of the "Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC, CPSU" to Vol. 38 of Lenin's Collected Works, it is said:

"...he (Lenin) explains that the doctrine of the unity and struggle of opposites is the essence and core of dialectics, that the struggle of opposites is the source of development"(\*). (Preface, 1980, CW 38, p.18)

(As we shall show in one of the following chapters, concealed

(Footnote from last page)

- analysing the "sum total of the relations" in a society (ibid), which corresponds to the first principal feature (inter-connection);

- regarding things "not statically, but dynamically, i.e., not in a state of immobility, but in motion" (ibid), which corresponds to the second principal feature (movement);

- regarding this movement "not in the vulgar sense it is understood in by "evolutionists", but "dialectically" and in a revolutionary way (ibid), which corresponds to the third principal feature (qualitative leaps);

- applying these guiding principles to the proletarian class struggle and its different aspects (ibid), which corresponds to the fourth principal feature (struggle of opposites).

(\*) See Note 1: "Lenin's Understanding of the 'Unity of Opposites'", p.63 of this issue.

behind the ostensible special regard for the "unity and struggle of opposites", there is a massive depreciation of the significance of the struggle of opposites and a directly falsifying concept of what "unity of opposites" actually means for revolutionary materialist dialectics. However, right now some remarks on the question of the starting point.)

That one should "proceed" from such a law in order to understand the other laws is a completely wild invention of the revisionists. It is also a crude distortion of Marxism-Leninism.(\*).

This can be shown by some references to Engels and his discourses on problems of dialectics. Thus, in "Anti-Dühring", it is said:

"When we consider and reflect upon nature at large or the history of mankind or our own intellectual activity, at first we see the picture of an endless entanglement of relations and reactions (permutations and combinations,) in which nothing remains what, where and as it was, but everything moves, changes, comes into being and passes away." (Engels, "Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science", op.cit., p.30).

Engels remarks elsewhere:

"The first thing that strikes us in considering matter in motion is the inter-connection of the individual motions of separate bodies, their being determined (+) by one another". (Engels, "Dialectics of Nature", 1873-1883, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954, p.304)

In the same writing one can read the following:

"The whole of nature accessible to us forms a system, an interconnected totality of bodies...In the fact that these bodies are interconnected is already included that they react on one another, and it is precisely this mutual reaction that constitutes motion." (ibid.,p.93)

(\*) People, who opposed the Khrushchovite-revisionists and, after 1963, took sides with the PLA and the C.P. of China, have still spread exactly this rotten slander on the lines of the Khrushchovite revisionists against Stalin. Thus, for eg., Bo Gustafsson of the Communist League of Sweden (later the C.P. of Sweden) wrote on the ostensible "evident weaknesses", which Stalin's writing suffered from:

"Stalin did not succeed in proving the internal connection between dialectical laws. Further, his exposition does not show that the law of the unity and struggle of opposites is the primary one of all the laws of dialectical materialism". (Bo Gustafsson, "Remarks on the Stalin Question", Frankfurt, 1970, p.9, Trans. from Ger.ed.)

And like the Khrushchovite revisionists, he concluded that the other fundamental dialectical laws "are derived from this first one" (ibid.,p.5).

Taking the "interconnected totality" as the starting point which leads to the understanding of the movement (which has to be examined more precisely, in its quantitative and qualitative aspects etc.etc.) is thus no invention by Stalin, but is the only correct dialectical approach, already substantiated by Engels.

Furthermore: As Engels explains, it is totally impossible to analyse the contradictions inherent in things themselves if we regard these things to be "at rest and lifeless, each one by itself" ("Anti-Dühring", op.cit.,p.148), that is, if we do not consider these things in their interconnection and in their movement:

"But the position is quite different as soon as we consider things in their motion, their change, their life, their reciprocal influence on one another. Then we immediately become involved in contradictions". (ibid.,p.148)

Thus, only in this way it is possible to understand and to analyse that things "contain contradictions within themselves".

In short, precisely the study of writings like "Anti-Dühring" and "Dialectics of Nature" shows that it is the great merit of Stalin's essay "Dialectical and Historical Materialism" that it developed the starting point of materialist dialectics and the sequence of the various principal features in a precise way.

We want to make this clear with the help of another example. Against the argument that one should "proceed" from the "struggle of opposites", or, - as the revisionists formulate it, - from the "law of the unity and struggle of opposites", Marx's work "Capital", with its construction based on dialectical materialism, can be cited. In this, too, the key point, the secret of the production of surplus value had first to be crystallised out, but before that basic prerequisites like for eg., the commodity, then the particular commodity, labour power etc. had to be presented, so that the production of surplus value could be explained through the antagonism between use-value and exchange value.

A criticism of "Capital" on the same lines as the revisionist criticism of Stalin's work "Dialectical and Historical Materialism" would be just as absurd because it would surely criticize the fact that Marx did not begin with the key point, with the production of surplus value and the creation of capital by exploitation, but first dealt with the commodity and then with the commodity labour power. On studying the way "Capital" has been constructed it also becomes clear how logical the construction of the four principal features is in the case of Stalin; namely, to first explain and derive the essence of revolutionary dialectics and then present it only at the end.

That the modern revisionists turn against Stalin's exposition of the dialectical interconnected totality and its placement as the first of the four principal features has its reasons which are all related to the practical-political right-opportunist essence of these revisionists.

The modern revisionists are not at all thinking of overthrowing the whole, that is the capitalist system in its entirety, but orient themselves towards parts, partial successes and reforms.

All too readily they allow the truth to vanish that the starting point for the activity of the Communists is their view of society as a whole and in its interconnected totality and not the view of particulars, isolated problems etc. Thus it is reformism lying concealed beneath the "philosophical criticism" of the modern revisionists against Stalin.

Further. In "Karl Marx", Lenin clarified what emerges from the "connection between all aspects of any phenomena", namely,

|| "a uniform, and universal process of motion, one that follows definite laws..." (Lenin, "Karl Marx", 1914, CW 21, p.54).

The analysis of the interconnected totality of social phenomena leads to the recognition of the underlying laws and only makes possible a principled, historical approach to political issues. However, this is unacceptable to the revisionist theory of the supposedly "new conditions", according to which the principles of imperialism and the proletarian revolution are allegedly "outdated" and "obsolete". That is why they disregard this fundamental feature of revolutionary dialectics.

It is just as Marx said:

|| "Once the interconnection is grasped, all theoretical belief in the permanent necessity of existing conditions collapses before their collapse in practice. Her, therefore, it is absolutely in the interest of the ruling classes to perpetuate this senseless confusion."  
("Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann", July 11th, 1868, Marx and Engels, Sel. Letters, Peking, 1977, p.35)

#### c) Did Stalin Make Disappear the "Negation of Negation"?

The Khrushchovite revisionists criticize that

"the law of negation of negation...does not find any place in Stalin's scheme".  
("History of Philosophy", Vol.VI, op.cit.,pp.140,141)

Elsewhere, in some more detail, it is said:

"In the latest period of the development of materialist dialectics, the investigation and application of the law of negation of negation had its peculiarities. In the period of the personality cult, this law had, so to say, vanished from the day to day scientific sphere, because it had not specially been mentioned in Stalin's work "Dialectical and Historical Materialism" and the development in 'an ascending line' had been formulated as the third main feature of the Marxist dialectical method. After that, when the wealth of the philosophical writings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism were fully utilized in research and propaganda, interest in this area grew. Since 1956, a whole series of special works on this were published."  
("History of Marxist Dialectics", Berlin 1976, p.296, Transl. from Ger.ed.)

Totally in contrast to these assertions by the modern revisionists, the question of the "negation of negation" had not "vanished from the everyday scientific sphere". In Stalin's time and under his leadership, there was an important debate about this concept derived from Hegel - however, this mentioned only by the way.

In "The Dialectical and Historical Materialism", Stalin did not use the term "negation of negation" on purpose. Instead, while characterizing the law of the passing over of quantitative changes into qualitative ones, he put in the place of this old Hegelian concept the clear and precise one of the progressive character of development, the development from the lower to the higher, from the simple to the more complex.

In Hegelian philosophy, the category "negation of negation" served as a means for the idealist construction of the world. Into this category, into the so-called "triade" (consisting of thesis, antithesis and synthesis) Hegel artificially pressed the entire development. Moreover, Hegel used the "negation of negation" as a means to reconcile the old and the new, as a means to weaken, neutralise and to cancel contradictions.

Marx and Engels gave a new character to this concept by modifying it in a materialist sense. The term "negation of negation" in their writings was itself nothing more than a relic of Hegelian terminology.

Thus, in the Afterword to the 2nd edition of "Capital", Marx wrote that here and there he "coquetted" with "modes of expression" used by Hegel. (Cf. Marx and Engels, Sel. Works, Vo.2, op.cit.,p.92).

In the struggle against the "friends of the people", Lenin, too, dealt with this question, above all with the attempts to fasten on to "Marx's manner of expression", borrowed from Hegel, in order to undermine the "essence" of Marx's theory. ("What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How they Fight the Social Democrats", 1894, CW 1, p.163).

Various critics of Marx pounce on

"relics of Hegelianism out of which scientific socialism has grown, a relic of its manner of expression" (ibid.,p.164),

to impute idealist Hegelian dialectics to Marx. Lenin makes clear that Marx's materialist dialectical method can do without the concept "negation of negation", which is historically so to say "encumbered" by Hegel. "Only philistines could be interested" in this Hegelian terminology. (ibid., p.167).

In "Karl Marx", Lenin formulates the correct content of this concept, which should be retained, in the following way. Thereby, the term itself is added on only in brackets and in inverted commas:

|| "A development that repeats, as it were, stages that have already been passed, but repeats them in a different way, on a higher basis ('negation of negation')..."  
(Lenin, "Karl Marx", 1914, CW 21, p.54)

From all this it becomes clear that it is only correct and conse-

quent that Stalin in his writing "Dialectical and Historical Materialism" does not use the formulation "negation of negation", but retains its rational kernel formulated in a clear and precise way. He presents this mainly in the third principal feature, where he writes:

"the process of development should be understood not as movement in a circle, not as a simple repetition of what has already occurred, but as an onward and upward movement, as a transition from an old qualitative state to a new qualitative state, as a development from the simple to the complex, from the lower to the higher".  
("History of the CPSU(B)- Short Course", 1938, p.107)

This law of the process of development is thus by no means disregarded in Stalin's writing, but its content is grasped in a precise way in Marxist-Leninist terminology, corresponding fully to the meaning of Marx's, Engels' and Lenin's struggle. Stalin's obviously conscious abandonment of the term "negation of negation" is thus not a defect, but a merit of his writing.

"Only philistines could be interested" in this Hegelian terminology, writes Lenin. In fact, the hue and cry raised by the modern revisionists about the "neglect of the concept of negation of negation" is the work of right opportunist philistines. Their puffed-up and extremely schematic "reintroduction" of the "negation of negation" is actually an attack on revolutionary materialist dialectics itself. For the revisionists, this formulation of the "negation of negation" serves to link up with Hegel's basic conciliatory tendency to make the most commonplace reformist evolutionism plausible, as well as to push into the background the element of destruction. Let us examine these aspects more closely:

Lenin makes clear, to approach something dialectically means explaining in each case how the element of negation, of destruction and annihilation is connected with the element of inter-connection, of preservation and further development (see "Philosophical Notebooks", CW 38, p. 225). Of particular importance here is that according to Lenin dialectics

"undoubtedly contains the element of negation and indeed as its most important element".  
(ibid., p. 225).

The modern revisionists like to drivel about the "negation of negation". But, in reality, the "element of negation", this "most important element" is a thorn in the flesh for them. When the modern revisionists quote from this passage of Lenin, they very often leave out Lenin's statement that the element of negation is an essential, indeed the "most important element" of dialectics.

Thus, for eg., the revisionist Preface to Vol. 38 of Lenin's works falsifies Lenin's passage in the following way:

"Lenin shows the dialectical character of negation and writes:  
'Not empty negation, not futile negation, not sceptical ne-

gation, vacillation and doubt is characteristic and essential in dialectics, - ... no, but negation as a moment of connection, as a moment of development, retaining the positive, i.e., without any vacillations, without any eclecticism (p.225)."  
("Preface", 1963, CW 38, p. XIX, German edition) \*)

There, where the revisionists have put three dots, that is to say where they have left out something, it is to be found in Lenin's work:

"- undoubtedly contains the element of negation and indeed as its most important element".  
(ibid., p. 225)

The modern revisionists let this unambiguous stress on negation by Lenin vanish to make plausible a dialectics, the essence of which is preservation.

Thereby, they also think they can present Engels as their crown witness. Their eyes gleam when they are able to advance Engels' example of the negation of the grain of seed from "Anti-Dühring". (See "Anti-Dühring", op.cit., p.173). The revisionist interpretation of this passage of Engels is supposedly the demand not to destroy, but to preserve everything! But precisely this means distorting Engels completely and throwing overboard revolutionary dialectics.

The meaning of Engels' idea, however, is clear and irreconcilable with what the revisionists want to make out of it. Engels is concerned with working out that the kind of negation must be determined according to the character and the circumstances of a contradiction, so that there is a development. But negation, destruction is a must. That is why Engels writes:

"Negation in dialectics does not mean simply saying no, or declaring that something does not exist, or destroying it in any way one likes... Every kind of thing therefore has a peculiar way of being negated in such manner that it gives rise to a development..."  
(ibid., p. 173)

With the example of a grain of barley Engels makes clear that - in a particular situation (for example during some work) the dialectical negation precisely does not consist in grinding this seed, but laying it in the earth so that barley can grow and there is a development of the barley. This kind of negation is naturally a destruction because the grain of barley is not preserved as a grain of barley, but it is not destruction "in any way one likes", but a kind of destruction which makes development possible. Let us take in this connection two examples from the field of politics:

It is self-evident that the bourgeois state apparatus, but not the whole of society, must be destroyed in the socialist revolu-

\*) This quote is not to be found in the English edition of Lenin's Collected Works from 1963. The Preface for the English edition is much shorter. We translated it from the German edition.  
(Translator's note)

tion by smashing and destroying it completely. What is required is not to destroy "in any way one likes". But destruction, indeed violent destruction, is a must.

Or: it is self-evident that the destruction of the small peasant economy under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat - picking out a non-antagonistic contradiction - does not mean an "arbitrary destruction" of small peasant economy. And it is also appropriate to consider this in the propaganda, for it is above all a matter of persuasion. Nevertheless, the small peasant economy is negated, destroyed, though certainly not in such a way that the small peasants are shot and repressed. Rather, the form of the destruction of petty bourgeois ideas as well as the petty-bourgeois forms of economy are based on the active participation of the concerned masses and not on a massive use of violence.

Nevertheless let us come back to Engels' "Anti-Dühring" and to what the revisionists make out of it. They present things in such a way as if there are two kinds of negation, one which destroys and one that does not destroy. Thus they deny that every negation means a destruction. In one of their textbooks they pick up Engels' examples from "Anti-Dühring" and write:

"Of course, one can break off a bud and burn it; this is also a negation, but one which destroys..."  
("Fundamentals of Marxist Philosophy", op.cit., p.310)

Thus, in the view of the modern revisionists, there is supposedly another kind of negation, namely, one which does not destroy, which fits into their right opportunist concept. The essence of their philistine infatuation for the "negation of negation" is that revolutionary dialectics means nothing to them (\*). Thus, from the entire passage of this revisionist

(\*) In the attacks of the modern revisionists against various writings of Stalin (not only against "Dialectical and Historical Materialism", but also against "Anarchism or Socialism?" as well as against "Marxism and Problems of Linguistics") they count it as their merit to have

"made precise the concept of evolution; it cannot be reduced to mere quantitative change."  
("History of Philosophy", Vol. VI, op. cit., p.166, Footnote)

Here the opposition between evolutionary and revolutionary is blurred. If the concept of evolution supposedly cannot be "reduced to mere quantitative change", then accordingly qualitative change can be arrived at also in an evolutionary way. Revolution is evidently no longer required for this.

In opposition to this, Stalin, applying revolutionary dialectics to society in relation to qualitative changes in this society, had noted:

"And so the dialectical method says that movement has two forms: the evolutionary and the revolutionary form.

Movement is revolutionary when the progressive elements spontaneously continue their daily activities and

(p.t.o.)

book on philosophy, there emerges that slimy dialectics of conciliation already stigmatized by Lenin in his book "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back", as : Merely nothing should be destroyed, smashed, this contradicts - ostensibly - dialectics, but "every thing preserved". (Cf. CW 7, pp.407ff).

As Lenin said, dialectics contains the "element of negation", i.e., of destruction, annihilation and elimination, in short, the element of struggle as its "most important element". With their resurrection of the "negation of negation", the modern revisionists crash against precisely this. For, the political conclusions from such a revolutionary dialectics are anathema for them, namely, the revolutionary upheaval which really smashes the old exploitative order and its reactionary state apparatus from its very foundations, and, in the course of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it, without any breaks, puts an end to all remnants of capitalism, destroys them in a sharpened class struggle in all areas. The modern revisionists combat revolutionary dialectics because it is the theoretical base for the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They want to replace it by a reformist pseudo-dialectics in which irreconcilable contradictions pass over and into one another.

d) Did Stalin Eliminate the Element of the Unity of Opposites ?

The modern revisionists claim that Stalin "made more crude" the dialectical thesis of the struggle of opposites and over and above this:

"He neglected the problem of their unity".  
("History of Philosophy", Vol. VI, op.cit., p. 140) (\*)

introduce minor, quantitative (\*) changes into the old order.

Movement is revolutionary when the same elements combine, become imbued with a single idea, and sweep down upon the enemy camp with the object of uprooting the old order and of introducing qualitative (\*) changes in life, of establishing a new order."

(Stalin, "Anarchism or Socialism?", 1906/07, Works 1, p.303, (\*) emphases by Stalin)

In 1938, summing up, Stalin wrote:

"The spontaneous process of development yields place to the conscious actions of men, peaceful development to violent upheaval, evolution to revolution".  
("History of CPSU(B)- Short Course", 1938, p.130

\*) The Chinese revisionists also accuse Stalin almost verbatim of the same thing, whereby they cite an unauthorised passage, supposedly by Mao Tse-tung. See for this "Investigations towards the Evaluation of the Teachings and the Work of Mao Tse-tung", Part I, particularly "Mao Tse-tung's Writings Between 1950-1976 and the So-Called 'Vol.V'", p.214, (Engl.ed. Oct. 1984).

Elsewhere in the same book it is claimed even more bluntly that Lenin allegedly set forth the "law of the unity and struggle of opposites", and

"Stalin and some philosophers who followed his example factually eliminated from the definition of this law the element of unity and reduced it solely to the struggle of opposites". (Ibid., p.162)

. And yet elsewhere it is said about the "dogmatic conceptions", by which Stalin and others are meant:

"They absolutize one aspect of the fundamental law, the struggle of opposites..." (ibid., p. 783)

The modern revisionists are outraged at the fact that Stalin does not take over a certain understanding of the "unity of opposites" which is precisely revisionist, and which can be traced back to Hegel.

Like in the case of the formulation "negation of negation", Stalin in reality does not use the formulation "unity of opposites" in his writing "Dialectical and Historical Materialism". However, just as in the question of the "negation of negation", it cannot be precluded that the "unity of opposites", too, explained in a Marxist-Leninist way, in direct contrast to Hegel's understanding and that of his revisionist followers, can be correctly explained.

Stalin's statements on this fully correspond to Marx's, Engels' and Lenin's sharp polemics against the Hegelian transcending of opposites with the help of the formulation "unity of opposites". Stalin rightly did away with this Hegelian and revisionist understanding of unity as reconciliation and covering up. But in no way did he eliminate "factually the element of unity", as the modern revisionists slandering him claim.

In "Dialectical and Historical Materialism", Stalin preferred to adhere in Lenin's words to the idea of the "unity of opposites", namely, to the idea of a framework, an arena of the struggle of opposites. He therefore spoke of:

"the study of the contradictions within the very essence of things". (+)  
("History of the CPSU(B)-Short Course", 1938, p.109)

"Within the very essence of things" - this contains the factor of an overall frame within which the struggle of opposites takes place; it contains the factor of the mutual dependence of the opposites engaged in conflict.

This idea, this aspect of the fourth principal feature of revolutionary dialectics is indispensable. For, there is no struggle of opposites according to dialectical materialism which does not take place within a process of development, i.e., in a certain framework, or, if one so wishes, within a certain

"unity".\*)

Thus, in his writing "Karl Marx", Lenin formulated that this struggle at first takes place

"within a given phenomenon".  
 (Lenin, "Karl Marx", 1914, CW 21, p.54)

In general, in view of the entire front of bourgeois ideology and, above all, in view of the question regarding the internal content of a process of development and the passing over of quantitative changes into qualitative ones, the following fundamental idea unreservedly takes priority. Stalin consciously uses Lenin's words to emphasize it:

"Development is the 'struggle' of opposites".  
 ("History of the CPSU(B)-Short Course", 1938, p.109)

The study of the entire passage from which we have quoted here shows that Stalin very rightly put the main emphasis on the "struggle of opposites" as the driving force of development. But he also unmistakably presented the framework, the "unity" of the concerned process of development within which there are contradictions, within which the "struggle of opposites" takes place, till, as a result of this "struggle", qualitative changes are arrived at.

If Stalin in his writing "Dialectical and Historical Materialism" abandons the term "unity of opposites", he does this in conformity with Lenin. At the same time, he does it with a clarity which is a guiding principle for the unavoidable ideological struggles against the falsifiers of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Stalin's formulations, above all, on the question of the "struggle of opposites", but also on the question of their "unity" and his conscious selection of certain passages from Lenin's works are a clear and maximum exposition. They contain a correct emphasis on primarily the "struggle of opposites", as well as the revolutionary, dialectical materialist significance of the "unity of opposites".

That the "polemics" of the modern revisionists are directed not only against Stalin, but in fact also against Lenin, can be seen in the following false assertion. The revisionists write:

(\*) Thereby it is also important to understand the idea that mere emphasis on the "struggle of opposites", on "development", on "movement", the "always new conditions and changes" in no way offers a guarantee against right opportunism. Rather, in the theoretical field, this can be the credo of a so-called "anti-dogmatism" which wants to present the framework, the existing unity (for instance, the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution) as being already "outmoded", already blown apart and as resolved, with the aim of throwing overboard the principles of proletarian revolution. The factor of "unity" to determine the historical framework, for instance, insofar means firmness and a principled stand, which must be defended against relativism, empiricism and revisionism.

"Out of all the dialectical laws Lenin selected the law of the unity and struggle of opposites as the kernel, as the essence. In the formulation of this fundamental law both the inseparably connected and equally essential aspects are pointed out: the struggle and the unity of opposites".  
 ("History of Philosophy", Vol. VI, op.cit., p.782)

This is really a fanciful and wild invention by the modern revisionists. Nowhere Lenin has ever formulated a "law of the unity and struggle of opposites". Rather, he emphasized the struggle of opposites (which takes place within a given framework) with the aim of the development towards the revolutionary leap. (That Lenin elsewhere in his "Conspectus of Hegel's Book 'The Science of Logic'", which he wrote for his own use, spoke about the "unity of opposites" as the possible essence of dialectics, shall be dealt with in detail elsewhere)(\*).

From September to December 1914, parallel in time to the conspectus of Hegel's writing "The Science of Logic" in the "Philosophical Notebooks", Lenin also wrote the essay "Karl Marx". This publication was written between July and November 1914. In the section on dialectics Lenin briefly and precisely dealt with the question of the unity and the struggle of opposites. He wrote there:

"inner impulses towards development, imparted by the contradiction and conflict of the various forces and tendencies acting on a given body, or within a given phenomenon, or within a given society;"  
 (Lenin, "Karl Marx", 1914, CW 21, p.54)

Here it becomes clear what the motive force of development is: namely the contradictions. And it becomes clear what the main point in the "unity of opposites" - if correctly understood - is: the point is not conciliation, a balancing out and an equilibrium of opposites, but the opposites are acting "within a given phenomenon, or within a given society", the contradictions are "inner impulses towards development".

There can be no doubt about the fact that in all the passages in which Lenin deals directly with the problems of dialectics, he emphasizes precisely the

"development, which proceeds in contradictions and through contradictions".  
 (Lenin, "Differences in the European Labour Movement", 1910, CW 16, p.348)

By the "dialectical way", Lenin understands "by way of contradictions". (Cf. "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back", 1904, CW 7, p.409).

The thesis that the unity and struggle of opposites supposedly represent two "equally essential aspects" is completely wrong. And the attempts of the modern revisionists to impute this thesis to Lenin is a tremendous distortion.

\*) See for this Note 1: "Lenin's Understanding of the 'Unity of Opposites'", p.63 of this issue.

Lenin declared precisely the opposite. He saw the problem of how much weightage to give to the element of unity, or to the element of the struggle of opposites respectively. He took an unambiguous stand on this question and said:

"The unity (coincidence, identity, equal action) of opposites is conditional, temporary, transitory, relative. The struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, just as development and motion are absolute."  
 (Lenin, "On the Question of Dialectics", 1915, CW 38, p.358).

This passage is of great importance for the correct understanding of revolutionary dialectics because it makes clear, inter alia, the following:

Unity and struggle are in no way "equally important", but struggle has primacy, is absolute.

Unity as "equal action", thus as a certain peace, is only temporary. Inevitably, the continuous struggle of opposites leads to the open, sharp struggle.

Unity as the identity of opposites, in the sense of mutual conditionality, is similarly relative. It will be overcome through the struggle of opposites, through qualitative change, through revolutionary upheaval.

However, it becomes fully evident that the modern revisionists, in their attempts to criticize Stalin, have landed into directly revising Lenin.

Why do the modern revisionists twist and turn to such an extent to "prove" that supposedly the "struggle and unity of opposites", but above all, the unity of opposites is the alpha and omega?(\*). As right opportunists and reformists, they are concerned with attacking and combating the political conclusions which emerge from the recognition that it is above all the struggle of opposites which constitutes development. They make all assiduous theoretical efforts to oppose the revolutionary application of dialectical materialism to social reality, to the practical activity of the party of the proletariat, as so brilliantly formulated by Stalin:

"If development proceeds by way of the disclosure of internal contradictions, by way of collisions between opposite forces on the basis of these contradictions and so as to overcome these contradictions, then it is clear that the class struggle of the proletariat is a quite natural and inevitable phenomenon."

(\*) Thereby, the modern revisionists follow in the footsteps of Deborin, who, in the political background of the attempts to hush up the clash between the Kulaks on the one hand, and the workers and the toiling peasantry on the other, formulated:

"The identity of opposites is in fact the basic law of the universe".

(Deborin, "Lenin on Dialectics"; quoted from "Controversies on Dialectical Historical Materialism", Frankfurt 1969, p.135, Transl. from Germ. ed. - Translator's note)



Hence we must not cover up the contradictions of the capitalist system, but disclose and unravel them; we must not try to check the class struggle but carry it to its conclusion.

Hence, in order not to err in policy, one must pursue an uncompromising proletarian class policy, not a reformist policy of harmony of the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, not a compromisers' policy of 'the growing of capitalism into Socialism.'

("History of the CPSU(B)-Short Course", 1938, p.111)

- e) On the Political Significance of the Revisionist Distortion of the "Struggle of Opposites" For the Class Struggle in Socialism

Behind the modern revisionists' attacks against Stalin's expositions on the significance of the "struggle of opposites", there is an entire political programme: namely, to emphasize the political unity of opposites in society in opposition to the struggle of these opposites, and to deny the sharpening of class struggle in general and while building socialism in particular. Thus, in the framework of their "philosophical" criticism, they reproach Stalin that he

"towards the end of the 30's, falsely predicted a supposedly unavoidable sharpening of the internal class struggle."

("History of Marxist Dialectics", op.cit., p.263)

Very consciously, they explain this alleged error of Stalin by saying that he characterised the struggle of opposites to be absolute in relation to the relative unity of opposites. Thus, they write:

"The dogmatic conceptions similarly diverge from dialectical materialism. They absolutize one aspect of the fundamental law, the struggle of opposites, and arrive at wrong conclusions. Thus, for example, they uphold the view of a sharpening of class struggle in socialist society."

("History of Philosophy", Vol. VI, op.cit., p.783)

Here it becomes clear in a very crass way why the love for the "unity of opposites" has flared up so strongly in the case of all the right opportunists. Only in this way, they can avoid "conclusions" regarding a "sharpening of class struggle", which they dislike so much. This corresponds to the counterrevolutionary class-character of the modern revisionists, who oppose with all their means the sharpened class struggle of the proletariat, to keep alive, or to restore the imperialist exploitative system, as it happened in the Soviet Union after Stalin's death.

No wonder then, that in another passage, after initial praise, they angrily spit venom against Stalin:

"On the other hand, in his report to the extraordinary Eighth Congress of the Soviets, Stalin presented a correct characterisation of the social structure of Soviet society. It consisted of the friendly classes of the workers and peasants and a social stratum, the intelligentsia. Finally, in contradiction to the above conclusions, Stalin, asserting that class struggle sharpens with successes in socialist construction, demanded

that antagonisms and class struggle be 'ascertained' in socialist society, although there was no exploiting class in it. This erroneous and harmful thesis penetrated into philosophical literature. Thus it was stated that, as long as classes and class distinctions exist, socialism will develop only through the sharpening of class struggle." (ibid., p. 228)

It is anathema to the revisionists that Stalin precisely even after the establishment of socialist relations of production under the dictatorship of the proletariat called for sharpening the class struggle of the proletariat (\*) in its advance towards communism, to destroy the remnants of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism in all areas and spheres. (\*\*)

The revisionist formula "no exploiting class anymore, therefore no more class struggle" fully and completely contradicts revolutionary dialectics. Against this, Stalin's "conclusions" from revolutionary dialectics that development is "the 'struggle' of opposites", that class struggle must sharpen, is correct and necessary in respect of the development towards communism. In opposition to the rotten theory, dulling vigilance, that class struggle dies down more and more with every step forward, that the class enemy becomes ever more tame as successes are gained, Stalin emphasized in general:

"We must smash and cast aside the rotten theory that with every advance we make the class struggle here must subside, the more successes we achieve the tamer will the class enemy become.

This is not only a rotten theory but a dangerous one, for it lulls our people, leads them into a trap, and enables the class enemy to recuperate for the struggle against the Soviet government."

(Stalin, "Defects in Party Work and Measures for Liquidating Trotskyite and other Double-Dealers", 1937, Works 14, pp.263-64)

And he further expounded:

"On the contrary, the further forward we advance, the greater the successes we achieve, the greater will be the fury of the remnants of the defeated exploiting classes, the more ready

(\*) See for this the Joint Statement of 1979, "Let Us Learn From Stalin and Accomplish the Tasks at Hand". (RF No. 178, WBK No.11, GDS No. 13; Engl.ed.)

(\*\*) The modern revisionists construe a "double dialectics": one for capitalism and one for socialism. In opposition to Lenin's statement that the struggle of opposites is absolute, it is asserted:

"In capitalism the unity of opposites is temporary; this is determined by the antagonistic essence of social contradictions. In socialism, the unity of opposites, above all, the unity of the various aspects of the mode of production, attains an enduring character."

("History of Philosophy", Vol.VI. op.cit.,p.164)

That the "unity of opposites" is transitory, naturally holds true fully and completely also in socialism, for, then otherwise a forward development above all to a completely new social order, to communism, would be impossible.



will they be to resort to sharper forms of struggle, the more will they seek to harm the Soviet state, and the more will they clutch at the most desperate means of struggle as the last resort of the doomed.

It must be borne in mind that the remnants of the defeated classes in the U.S.S.R. do not stand alone. They have the direct support of our enemies beyond the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. It would be a mistake to think that the sphere of the class struggle is limited to the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. One end of the class struggle operates within the frontiers of the U.S.S.R., but its other end stretches across the frontiers of the bourgeois states surrounding us." (Ibid.)



It certainly is not easy to immediately grasp - through the various distortions of the modern revisionists, their demagoguery and their eclecticism - the practical political background to their philosophical attacks and falsifications. The presentation of the views of the modern revisionists, the long quotations of various passages from their philosophical textbooks, the initial, mainly theoretical treatment of their revisionist attacks, the attempt to refute as precisely as possible their sophistries and distortions, should precisely not lead to regarding this struggle as a "purely philosophical one", as "purely theoretical". Rather, the aim of this theoretical refutation is to facilitate the exposure of their revisionist politics and practice.

■ The aim of the theoretical struggle against the falsification of dialectical materialism is to uncover that the modern revisionists through their distortion of the role of "inter-connection" as the starting point want to let the struggle against the entire capitalist system, the struggle for overthrowing this system in general, vanish behind the reformist struggle for shares, for partial gains and reforms. With their theory of the supposedly new conditions, it is a thorn in the flesh of the modern revisionists that the knowledge of the "laws of the world process" can emerge from the "interconnected totality". Their drivel about the "multiplicity" of the dialectical laws is meant to let the significance of the four principal features vanish from view. These make an orientation possible instead of aimlessly losing oneself in a heap of various dialectical relationships and sub-relationships, which are the subject of investigation by paid philosophy professors. In no way do they serve as a guide in the practical-political revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

■ The theoretical struggle against the revisionist falsification of revolutionary dialectics into a tame, toothless, evolutionary pseudo-dialectics has the aim of making the proletariat aware of the fact that negation means destruction, of making him aware that conscious destruction is in fact precisely one of the

basic features of Marx's, Engels', Lenin's and Stalin's theory. Only in this way can a new society be organised on the ruins of the old one. Twisting and turning, fawning and adjusting - this is instead the practical politics of the modern revisionists. It very soon becomes apparent that behind their ringing phrases of the "negation of negation", which does not destroy, lies their interest in diverting from the armed struggle of the masses to destroy the state apparatus.

■ The aim of the theoretical struggle against the modern revisionists is to expose that their propaganda about the supposed equality of the "unity and struggle of opposites" is only the philosophical smoke-screen, the pseudo-theoretical mask, behind which they carry out their hushing up and covering up of the essential antagonisms of this exploitative society. In spite of all their phrases about the necessary struggle, the modern revisionists emphasize precisely "unity" as absolutely necessary. That is why we must show that for them it is a matter of unity with the bourgeoisie that they do not want to blow apart and destroy the chains of this exploitative system which the working class is chained to, that they do not regard this enforced unity to be "relative" and temporary.

On the other hand, for the Marxist-Leninists in their current struggle, where they are concentrating their energies above all on organising strong Marxist-Leninist parties, there emerge, -from the theoretical defence of dialectical materialism, as expounded precisely also by Stalin in such a masterly way linking up with the practical revolutionary conclusions, -essential touchstones and tasks; for instance:

- \* Firmness of principles on the basis of the analysis of the interconnected totality and the laws emerging therefrom;
- \* Perseverance and the ability to hold out, emerging from the recognition of the laws, which do not collapse in the face of setbacks etc.
- \* Irreconcilability in the struggle against imperialism and opportunism, active ideological struggle, frank revolutionary criticism and self-criticism from the recognition of the struggle of opposites, which must be developed, instead of being hushed up.

[illegible]

Both these writings unquestionably stand at the centre of our expositions, and must do so, because of their significance. Still, it is also necessary to take a position on Mao Tse-tung's writings published later. These are "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" from the year 1957 and "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From" of 1963, which were published together with "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" in the "Four Philosophi-

\*\*) See for this Part I of the "Investigations...", particularly the chapter "Serious Violations of Marxism-Leninism in Mao Tse-tung's Writing of 1957 'On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People'", op.cit. pp. 152-157. In addition, we would like to point out the criticism of the RCP/Chile, "The C.P. of Indonesia's and the RCP of Chile's Line in the Struggle Against the Counter-Revolutionary Theory of the 'Peaceful Path'", in: "The Scheme of the 'Peaceful and Non-peaceful Path' Contradicts Marxism-Leninism" (RF No. 189, WBK No.18, GDS No.20; Engl.ed. October 1984, pp. 75-81). See also "Position of the Editorial Board of the Marxist-Leninist Study Circle on the Evaluation of Mao Tse-tung by the RCP/Chile and the CP of Ceylon", particularly Point 3: "Mao Tse-tung's Attitude Prior to 1966 towards the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and towards the National Bourgeoisie" (MLSK No.3/80, pp.18-28, German ed.)

# 1. On the Circumstances Under Which "On Contradiction" and "On Practice" Were Written

## a) Influence of the Struggles on the Philosophical Front in the Socialist Soviet Union on Mao Tse-tung

In the very first introductory lines of his writing "On Contradiction" Mao Tse-tung writes:

"The criticism to which the idealism of the Deborin school has been subjected in Soviet philosophical circles in recent years has aroused great interest among us. Deborin's idealism has exerted a very bad influence in the Chinese Communist Party, and it cannot be said that the dogmatist thinking in our Party is unrelated to the approach of that school. Our present study of philosophy should therefore have the eradication of dogmatic thinking as its main objective."  
(Mao Tse-tung, "On Contradiction", 1937, Selected Readings from the Work of Mao Tse-tung, Peking 1971, pp.85-86)

In the second chapter of this writing, in which Mao Tse-tung deals with the "universality of contradiction", he returns to Deborin's mistake and writes:

"As can be seen from the articles written by Soviet philosophers criticizing it, the Deborin school maintains that contradiction appears not at the inception of a process but only when it has developed to a certain stage. If this were the case, then the cause of the development of the process before that stage would be external and not internal. Deborin thus reverts to the metaphysical theories of external causality and of mechanism. Applying this view in the analysis of concrete problems, the Deborin school sees only differences but not contradictions between the kulaks and the peasants in general under existing conditions in the Soviet Union, thus entirely agreeing with Bukharin. In analysing the French Revolution, it holds that before the Revolution there were likewise only differences but not contradictions within the Third Estate, which was composed of the workers, the peasants and the bourgeoisie. These views of Deborin school are anti-Marxist. This school does not understand that each and every difference already contains contradiction and that difference itself is contradiction (\*). Labour

(\*) It is not at all by chance that the modern revisionists today take their place as successors of Deborin, for contradictions do not at all fit into their right opportunist concept. They are criticising this passage of Mao Tse-tung and thus defending Deborin, when it is said:

"The difference can be the beginning stage of the development of a contradiction, but it does not need to be so".  
(A.M. Rumjanzew, "Sources and Development of 'Mao Tse-tung Thought' - On the Anti-Marxist Essence of Maoism", Berlin, 1973, p.49, Transl. from Germ.ed. - Translator's note)

Moreover, the modern revisionists make an effort to rehabilitate Deborin in the framework of the so-called "Struggle against the personality cult". Thus they write that Deborin was "illegally deprived of the possibilities for scientific work", which did "harm to philosophical science". (See "History of Philosophy", Vol. VI, op.cit. pp.124-125)

and capital have been in contradiction ever since the two classes came into being, only at first the contradiction had not yet become intense. Even under the social conditions existing in the Soviet Union, there is a difference between workers and peasants and this very difference is a contradiction, although, unlike the contradiction between labour and capital, it will not become intensified into antagonism or assume the form of class struggle; the workers and the peasants have established a firm alliance in the course of socialist construction and are gradually resolving this contradiction in the course of the advance from socialism to communism. The question is one of different kinds of contradiction, not of the presence or absence of contradiction. Contradiction is universal and absolute, it is present in the process of development of all things and permeates every process from beginning to end.  
(ibid. pp.93-94)

This passage is an accurate characterisation of Deborin's important errors. It is also a contribution to the ideological struggle against his idealism, against his hushing up of antagonistic contradictions (as they exist between the kulaks and the mass of the peasantry) and also against his rotten contrasting of "difference" with "contradiction". Moreover, it sheds light on a very important source of the aims and thrust of Mao Tse-tung's writing "On Contradiction".

It is striking that this connection of "On Contradiction" with the struggle on the philosophical front in the Soviet Union is missing in actually all the reviews, glorifications, or revisionist criticisms known to us. This is so in spite of the fact that the study of this connection not only facilitates the understanding of the entire writing "On Contradiction", but also that only then many of the various ideas formulated in it can be understood more deeply.

In 1931, the CC of the CPSU(B) had intervened with a resolution in the philosophical debate with Deborin. The resolution clarified the connection between his philosophical views and Menshevism and right opportunism, and criticised his hushing up of contradictions. In addition, it strongly criticized the entire attitude of the Soviet philosophers till then towards the "role of practice", as it was manifested in the journal "Under the Banner of Marxism" and called for the most close inner connection of philosophical work with the issues of world proletarian revolution and the construction of socialism in one's own country (\*).

(\*) See for this the collection of essays "For a Turning Point in the Philosophical Arena", of the Institute of the Red Professorship of Philosophy and Social Sciences, Moscow, Leningrad, 1931, above all the Resolution of the CC of the CPSU(B) of 25th of January, 1931 "On the Journal 'Under the Banner of Marxism'", as well as M. Mitin's speech held on 1st January 1931: "On the Results of the Philosophical Discussion" and the Resolution of the Bureau of the cell of CPSU(B) at the Institute of the Red Professorship of 2nd August 1930, "Immediate Tasks of the Cell of the Philosophy Department of the Institute of the Red Professorship". (Some of these documents published in Russian were also distributed in German in 1931. See for this Issue No.2 of the Journal "Under the Banner of Marxism", Vol.V, August 1931, pp.159-214)

The entire struggle which was also continued after 1931 consciously laid emphasis on the outstanding role of p r a c t i c e for philosophical debates. This not simply in a general sense; but it was demanded that the fundamental theoretical and philosophical debates should be linked with current revolutionary practice. It is self-evident that this discussion also influenced Mao Tse-tung's writing "On Practice".

It is beyond question that Mao Tse-tung attentively followed and studied the debate on the philosophical front in the Soviet Union. The often verbatim, but above all conformity in content, of important thoughts of Mao Tse-tung with Stalin's writing "Dialectical and Historical Materialism" (which appeared one year after the publication of Mao Tse-tung's two articles, i.e., in 1938) is certainly, inter alia, connected with the fact that Mao Tse-tung based himself on the positive results of the struggle against Deborin as well as on the working out and teaching of dialectical materialism in the Soviet Union in general.

We are emphasizing this also against all those numerous and innumerable glorifiers of Mao Tse-tung who break out into loud cheers at many of his correct ideas and claim that it is "the first time in the history of Marxist thought" that this has been so brilliantly formulated, or that this has been worked out "for the first time in the theory of dialectical materialism". In the final analysis, these people sell Mao Tse-tung's independent and magnificent work as being directed against Marxism-Leninism, above all against Stalin. Thereby, they finally swim on the wave of anti-communism and anti-Stalinism.

#### b) Why Did Mao Tse-tung in 1937 Lay the Emphasis on the Struggle Against Dogmatism ?

Both Mao Tse-tung's fundamental philosophical writings certainly cannot be understood primarily in the framework of the struggle against Deborin-Menshevism on the international level, though we have specially emphasized this aspect here precisely because it is simply passed over with ignorance. Rather, it is beyond question that these writings above all served to combat serious errors of "dogmatist thinking to be found in the Party at the time", which is why Mao Tse-tung laid the "stress on exposing the dogmatist kind of subjectivism". (See for this the footnotes of the editors of the "Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tse-tung", op.cit. p.85 and p.66).

Mao Tse-tung mentioned the struggle against Deborin - as we have quoted in detail earlier - because the dogmatic views in the C.P. of China, the separation of theory from the revolutionary practice of the masses in the particular situation of China were linked with Deborin's mistakes. Precisely for this reason, Mao Tse-tung stressed in "On Contradiction":

"Therefore, it is necessary to stress the study of the particularity of contradiction and to explain it at adequate length." (ibid., p.91)

This emphasis concerns not only the s e l e c t i o n of the examples and the scope of their treatment, but also concerns the accent to be put on the theoretical presentation, the comprehen-

sive in-depth treatment of precisely those theoretical problems which must be tackled for smashing dogmatism.

This approach is not new or even a peculiarity of Mao Tse-tung's writings. Rather, while studying Marx's, Engels', Lenin's and Stalin's polemical works, one must likewise establish clarity about the conditions under which a particular writing was written and on what the emphasis was laid in the ideological struggle. But this is true not only of the directly polemical writings. Fundamental works like the "Manifesto of the Communist Party", "The Foundations of Leninism", "The State and Revolution" etc accentuate certain aspects which are determined by the current state of the struggle between bourgeois and proletarian ideology, and cannot be understood and evaluated profoundly without a knowledge of this context.

Taking this aspect into account does not mean, as it is usual among all revisionists and pseudo-Marxists, to refer to the polemical character of this or that writing, to refer to the "peculiar situation", and thus dismiss Marx's, Engels', Lenin's and Stalin's views and their fundamental insights to be conditioned by the "concrete" situation, to dispose them off as being a "necessary exaggeration at the time" and thus to make impossible their evaluation. Just the opposite is true: Only when the respective conditions under which a given writing has originated, are assessed and taken into account, then the part which is specific and temporary can be separated from the fundamental, essential content. Only thus a deep understanding is possible.

For the study of "On Contradiction" and "On Practice" this means above all to understand that at the time in China, there had emerged an extended, gigantic revolutionary mass movement under the leadership of the C.P. of China, that revolutionary practice was the practice of the masses in their millions. At the time, the C.P. of China laid down - on the basis of the Programme of the Communist International and its own programme, adopted at the 6th Congress of the C.P. of China in 1928 - comprehensive general guidelines for the revolution in China. On this basis it became necessary to correctly grasp the newly emerged peculiarity of Japanese aggression for the revolutionary practice of the masses in their millions led by the Communist Party. It became necessary to unconditionally take into account the tactical principle of "the masses' own experiences", which at the time were above all the particular experiences in the struggle against Japanese imperialism.

Does this mean for us today that we can dismiss these writings to be only "interesting polemics from a past historical period", because for us today it cannot be the main thing to study above all the peculiarities of our revolution on the basis of a generally recognised ideological and political basis? Or, because in our case the revolutionary practice of the masses in their millions under the leadership of the Communist Party is still many years ahead? It is self-evident that such an evaluation would be completely wrong.

Rather, it is a question of understanding the enormous difference between the situation of the C.P. of China in 1937 and our situation in 1986, in order to be able to evaluate Mao Tse-tung's work correctly and not schematically.

More important than all the differences that have been mentioned, is the essential change in relation to the main danger in the ideological struggle which has emerged above all because of the betrayal by the modern revisionists. Already in 1957 Mao Tse-tung had pointed out in relation to China:

"For a long time now people have been levelling a lot of criticism at dogmatism. That is as it should be. But they often neglect to criticize revisionism... It is revisionism to negate the basic principles of Marxism and to negate its universal truth...

In present circumstances, revisionism is more pernicious than dogmatism. It is an important task for us to unfold criticism of revisionism on the ideological front now."

(Mao Tse-tung, "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work", 1957, "Vol.V", pp. 434,435)

In the same year, Mao Tse-tung wrote:

"Revisionism, or Right opportunism, is a bourgeois trend of thought that is even more dangerous than dogmatism." (Mao Tse-tung, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People", 1957, in "Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tse-tung", p.466)

The betrayal by the modern revisionists, the entire consequences of which today have become evident more clearly than ever before, drastically confirms the correctness of this evaluation. That is why in the current struggle above all against right opportunism and revisionism, the only correct method of study and evaluation is to defend Mao Tse-tung's work in the field of philosophy in its basic Marxist-Leninist essence.

## 2. On the Main Attacks of the Modern Revisionists Against Marxist-Leninist Positions in Mao Tse-tung's Philosophical Writings

In 1952, hence in Stalin's lifetime (\*) the second edition of Vol. 14 of the "Great Soviet Encyclopaedia", with the chapter "Dialectical Materialism", was published in Moscow. With great esteem

(\*) There was also a short period a f t e r the 20th Congress, in which the Soviet revisionists (and for example Walter Ulbricht, too) praised a great deal Mao Tse-tung's writings "On Practice", "On Contradiction" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People", which had been published in many languages in the early 50's.

In all this precisely that passage from "On Practice" was approved, praised and quoted in detail, which, a few years later, was condemned to be "mere movement in a circle", namely "practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge... with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level." ("Fundamentals of Marxist Philosophy", op.cit., p.370: See also "On Practice", "Selected Readings...", op.cit., p.82)

In the criticisms against Mao Tse-tung in the 70's precisely this passage was repeatedly attacked. (See Chapter II.2.e. of this issue). This hither and thither, once praising and then again  
(footnote contd. overleaf)

for Mao Tse-tung it is said there:

"The leader of the Chinese people, Mao Tse-tung, who is guided by the thoughts of Lenin and Stalin, showed how Marxist dialectics must be applied under the conditions of the Chinese people's liberation struggle.

In his work 'On Contradiction', published in 1937, he creatively investigated the problems of the universal character of contradiction, the specific peculiarities of its manifestation in the various spheres of phenomena, the question of the main contradiction and the main aspect of contradiction, the question of antagonism in a series of contradictions etc." ("Dialectical Materialism", Berlin, 1973, p.27, Transl. from Germ. ed. - Tr.)

However, the r e j e c t i o n of the 20th Congress by the C.P. of China and by Mao Tse-tung, which became ever more clear, led to the fact that the modern revisionists (and in part the same theoreticians who had earlier so much praised Mao Tse-tung's

(Footnote contd. from last page)

condemning, shows the entire unprincipled character of the modern revisionists, who decide completely according to their political interests when something is right and when the same thing again becomes wrong.

The "favourable" judgement of the modern revisionists about Mao Tse-tung at the time for a short period cannot be explained only by the political mistakes of the 1957 writing "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People", according to which the "by nature antagonistic" contradictions between the working class and national bourgeoisie, if correctly handled, can be "transformed into a non-antagonistic one and be resolved by peaceful methods" (ibid., op.cit., p.435). The modern revisionists linked up this wrong political position of Mao Tse-tung with the "peaceful path to socialism", put forward by Khrushchov and used it to justify this revisionist position. Mao Tse-tung's corresponding passage was quoted in detail in various Soviet revisionist textbooks and heaped with praise (See for this "Fundamentals of Marxist Philosophy", op.cit., p.297; and "Textbook of Political Economy", Moscow, 1959, Berlin 1960, p.414ff).

It particularly suited the modern revisionists that Mao Tse-tung in his philosophical writings of 1937 at the time very correctly laid the main emphasis on the struggle against dogmatism. He did not focus above all on the significance of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism, because these were at the time not primarily attacked. Rather, he put in the forefront the grasping of China's p e c u l i a r i t i e s. After the 20th Congress, the modern revisionists propagated not only "main struggle against dogmatism", but also the "particular path to socialism" under allegedly 'new conditions', which annuls the general laws in various countries and makes possible the parliamentary-peaceful transition to socialism. The modern revisionists and their theoreticians also tried to utilize Mao Tse-tung's authority for these rotten operations. So in the textbook already mentioned, "Fundamentals of Marxist Philosophy", precisely Mao Tse-tung's presentation of the "specific character of contradiction", which "must unconditionally be grasped in every single case" was emphasized, underscored and valued. In view of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the reasons for this are obvious.

writings) silently passed over their earlier positive evaluations and slandered, distorted, wrongly quoted Mao Tse-tung's writings in the most nasty way, and consciously criticized, from a revisionist viewpoint, their Marxist-Leninist content.

Precisely the study of this struggle appears to us to be really instructive and topical, for, in this area, as unfortunately in many other areas, the significance and effects of revisionist theoretical polemics was and is widely underestimated. For many years and decades there has not taken place any real criticism of these revisionist attacks. This made possible and explains, inter alia, the phenomenon like that of the PLA getting bogged down in the theoretical positions of the Khrushchovite revisionists. A graphic example of the immense influence of modern revisionism is precisely the question of the assessment of Mao Tse-tung and his work. The criticisms of the PLA are in essence nothing but a more or less cheap imitation of the modern revisionists' attacks. And if one takes a look at the specific criticisms of Mao Tse-tung's philosophical writings, then, in essence, one does not come across anything new, but is confronted only with the old accusations from the repertoire of the modern revisionists.

Two points are characteristic of these "criticisms" of the modern revisionists against Mao Tse-tung:

Contentwise there lies behind their attacks the most deep right opportunism, reconciliation with the bourgeoisie, hushing up of contradictions, rejection of class struggle and the revolution. Today, the modern revisionists attack above all that which is revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist in Mao Tse-tung's work.

As far as method is concerned, their attacks are primarily slanders, which are very often put forward without any attempt at proofs. To run Mao Tse-tung down, all means are legitimate - distortions, falsifications, lies and more of this type.

In the following we shall try to repudiate central attacks of the modern revisionists against Mao Tse-tung's two important philosophical writings. We shall emphasize thereby key ideas for our current struggle against the modern revisionism.

#### a) Did Mao Tse-tung Talk of only One Law of Dialectics?

In the background of revisionist slanders against Stalin, let us consider the level and the "arguments", with which the Soviet revisionists bring forward their attacks against Mao Tse-tung. With not attempt at proof, a central reproach runs:

"Mao Tse-tung basically reduces the entire wealth of the laws and categories of dialectics to the question of the struggle of opposites."

("Maoism - An Ideological and Political Opponent of Marxism-Leninism," Berlin, 1974, p.46, Transl. from Germ.ed.-Tr.)

Let us recall: Stalin allegedly reduced the "multiplicity" of dialectics to only four principal features. Mao Tse-tung now allegedly reduces it to only one law.

Some remarks on this imputation by the modern revisionists, an imputation, which on the other side is counted to be a merit, a new discovery, by those who understand themselves to be the only true defenders of Mao Tse-tung. Both ways, such an assertion is completely wrong and nothing but a slander.

First of all it must be stated that Mao Tse-tung in his writing "On Contradiction" very evidently laid the main accent on presenting this problem. With his writing he did not set himself the task of dealing with the comprehensive theme of dialectical materialism, but, within this framework, he dealt with the problem of contradiction.

Does this mean, however, that Mao Tse-tung investigated only this problem without any connection with the other principal features of dialectics, that he now proceeded from the struggle of opposites as the only law of dialectics and did not acknowledge any other principal features of revolutionary dialectics? Such a reproach is absurd. Mao Tse-tung had to and did grasp and present the struggle of opposites in connection with the other basic features of dialectics, in order to arrive at the correct results, which can be read up in "On Contradiction". Let us examine the whole thing more closely:

Mao Tse-tung begins his writing as follows:

"The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites (\*), is the basic law of materialist dialectics."  
(Mao Tse-tung, "On Contradiction", op.cit., p.85).

By characterising the "law of contradiction in things" as the "basic law", Mao Tse-tung already rules out the arbitrary interpretation that it is the sole law of dialectics.

In addition, in Chapter I, Mao Tse-tung contrasts "the two world outlooks", namely, metaphysics and dialectics, and thus, in effect, presents those four principal features of dialectics, which Stalin systematically presented in "Dialectical and Historical Materialism".

Let us examine this presentation and comment on each characteristic of metaphysics put forward in it:

"The metaphysical or vulgar evolutionist world outlook sees things as isolated, static and one-sided. It regards all things in the universe, their forms and their species, as eternally isolated from one another and immutable."  
(ibid., pp.86-87)

(\*) See for this Note 2: "On the Stress Laid by Mao Tse-tung on the Unity of Opposites and on the Struggle of Opposites" p.68). Further Note 1, too. There the dangers are shown up which can arise from a wrong understanding of the "unity of opposites".

Here, very evidently, metaphysics is characterised proceeding from the first two fundamental features of materialist dialectics, presented in such a masterly way by Stalin. Here a dialectical approach is propagated, namely, to see things, as Engels formulated it, "in their interconnection, in their interconnected totality", or as Lenin demanded, to study them in an "all-round" way as well as to regard things in their movement, instead of seeing them in a "static way", as "eternally unchanging".

Immediately following this, Mao Tse-tung writes about a further characteristic of metaphysics:

"Such change as there is can only be an increase or decrease in quantity or a change of place." (ibid.)

It can be recognised that, for this criticism of metaphysics, the starting point is the third fundamental feature, as presented by Stalin, namely, not to see merely the quantitative increase or decrease, but to see the qualitative changes.

Finally, Mao Tse-tung says:

"Moreover, the cause of such an increase or decrease of change of place is not inside things but outside them, that is, the motive force is external." (ibid.)

Against such a metaphysical conception, Stalin emphasized as the fourth principal feature of dialectics the significance of internal contradictions and made clear that: "In its proper meaning, dialectics is the study of the contradiction within the very essence of things." (See "History of the CPSU(B)-Short Course", 1938, p.109).

But Mao Tse-tung proceeds from the four fundamental features of dialectics not only in his presentation of what metaphysics is, but he also deals with the question of contradiction itself in connection with the other main features of dialectics. Let us pick out some examples in this respect which shall substantiate this:

■ In the most diverse questions, Mao Tse-tung points out that they must be viewed in their inter-connection with other things. Thus, in his discourse, he explains how opposites can be identical and how far they are so, that the respective connection, the respective circumstances must be studied, under which the opposites transform themselves or do not transform themselves into one another:

"Why can an egg but not a stone be transformed into a chicken? Why is there identity between war and peace and none between war and a stone? Why can human beings give birth only to human beings and not to anything else? The sole reason is that the identity of opposites exists only in necessary given condition. Without these necessary given conditions there can be no identity whatsoever." (ibid., p.122)

Or, as Stalin concludes from the application of the first principal feature of dialectics:

"Everything depends on the conditions, time and place."  
("History of the CPSU(B)-Short Course", 1938, p.110)

In other questions, Mao Tse-tung refers above all to the historical context which must be considered. Thus, for instance, he explains with respect to the prospects of the Chinese revolution:

"Why is it that the Chinese revolution can avoid a capitalist future and be directly linked with socialism without taking the old historical road of Western countries, without passing through a period of 'bourgeois dictatorship'? The sole reason is the concrete conditions of the time".  
("On Contradiction", op.cit., p.123)

Thus, for the prospects of the Chinese revolution, not only the contradiction within China was fundamental, but the Chinese revolution had to be placed within and subordinated to the overall context of the present proletarian stage of world revolution.

■ Similarly, the demand to study a thing in "all its sides", which Mao Tse-tung emphasizes in Lenin's words (p. 101), can emerge only if it is proceeded from the fact that things are interconnected with one another.

■ It is almost a key concept in Mao Tse-tung's essay "On Contradiction" that, in the handling of contradictions, stages must be ascertained, the peculiarities analysed, and, in each case, the corresponding methods of resolution be determined. All this would be impossible if Mao Tse-tung had only seen the "struggle of opposites" and had not proceeded from another essential fundamental feature of dialectical materialism, i.e., from the development of quantitative changes into qualitative ones. In this regard he wrote:

"We often speak of 'the new superseding the old'. The supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe. The transformation of one thing into another, through leaps of different forms in accordance with its essence and external conditions - this is the process of the new superseding the old... And the moment the new aspect gains dominance over the old, the old thing changes qualitatively into a new thing." (ibid., p.113)

We could continue with our exposition, and shall take this up again in the next chapters, of how Mao Tse-tung, as a Marxist-Leninist, in his entire writing "On Contradiction", took as a starting point the fundamental features of materialist dialectics worked out by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and applied them and had to apply them. Still we think that the Soviet revisionist thesis, that Mao Tse-tung recognised only one law of dialectics, has at this point already been sufficiently proved to be not a very profound but a very obvious slander.

In a specific way, and only apparently in opposition, the "only true defenders of Mao Tse-tung", hang on to the coattails of the modern revisionists. These forces, for instance the RCP/USA, hold the same views as the revisionists, only under a different signboard. In their book, "Mao Tse-tung's Immortal Contributions", the RCP/USA criticizes Stalin that he did not give importance to the struggle of opposites because he represented "contradiction only as the fourth point of dialectics". (ibid., pp.147/148). And, based on obscure sources, they assert that Mao Tse-tung, in con-



trast to Stalin, was more correct, for it seems he criticized Engels' exposition of the three laws of dialectics and declared: "I don't believe in two of these categories" (ibid., p.182). Thus, Mao Tse-tung, according to the RCP/USA, propagated the existence of only o n e law of dialectics.(\*).

Why is such a reduction of the four principal features of dialectics to the fourth principal feature unmarxist and a renunciation of communism and the proletarian revolution? It is also necessary to deal with this question because the modern revisionists, in their criticism of Mao Tse-tung only curse that he has "reduced" etc, but, with regard to content, do not utter anything about why this could at all be wrong.

The mistake becomes clear when we consider the development of society: In the social arena it is fully legitimate to present the struggle of opposites as class struggle, the motive force of world history up to communism. But already Marx stressed, and Lenin explained, that the recognition of class struggle alone, the struggle of opposites alone, is something which already the bourgeoisie accepts and which in no way suffices (\*\*).

Only the recognition of the connection of this class struggle with certain historical circumstances, the recognition of the d e v e l o p m e n t of this class struggle through the revolution (qualitative leaps), the recognition of progressive development up to the dictatorship of the proletariat as the highest form of class struggle, up to the establishment of communism, enables for the proletariat and its party a comprehensive line based on dialectical materialism. Only the placing of class struggles in their historical context and the future aims which result therefrom, only their placing in development through qualitative leaps, through revolutions etc, can create the necessary clarity to lead the proletariat to victory in the revolution. The mere recognition of the struggle of opposites, the class struggle, would transform the communist Party into an economistic and reformist party.

Considering the matter in this way, it becomes clear why it would be completely wrong to absolutize one principal feature of dialectics, even if it forms the essence of dialectics. And such

\*) See for this Bob Avakian, "Mao Tse-tung's Immortal Contributions", Chicago, 1979, pp.182ff. The modern revisionists similarly quote this unauthorised, completely wrong passage and utilize it for their struggle against Mao Tse-tung. See "Maoism - An Ideological and Political Opponent of Marxism-Leninism", op.cit., p.46, Germ.ed, and Gerd Hautsch, "Papiertiger", 'Sozialimperialismus', 'Supermächte', Verlag Marxistische Blätter, Frankfurt 1974,p.83.

\*\*) See the letter "Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer" of March 5, 1852 ("K.Marx, F.Engels, Selected Letters", Peking 1977, p.18), and Lenin's "The State and Revolution", 1918, CW 25, pp.416-417. Already in the "Poverty of Philosophy" (end of 1846/beginning of 1847, MEW 6), Marx criticized the mere recognition of opposites by Proudhon, who wanted this struggle of opposites to be settled in the given framework, without overthrowing the given base. See for this also the letter "Marx to P.V. Annenkov" of December 28, 1846, in: "K.Marx, F.Engels, Selected Letters", op.cit., pp.1-17, above all p.14.

figures like Bob Avakian from the RCP/USA, (and possibly also similar vulgarisers of Mao Tse-tung's views within the C.P. of China), are for the Soviet revisionists a useful supplement in the struggle against dialectical materialism and Stalin. They must therefore similarly be combatted most firmly.

#### b) Only Struggle and No Unity of Opposites in Mao Tse-tung's Works?

For the modern revisionists, the central reproach against Mao Tse-tung is that he exaggerates the contradictions, absolutizes the struggle of opposites, sees only antagonism etc. The parallelism to the critique of Stalin is again obvious.

This criticism is important for the modern revisionists because these positions of Mao Tse-tung strike their reformist, pacifist and right opportunist essence to the marrow. That is why they attack Mao Tse-tung in this sphere very comprehensively.

At one place it is said:

"Mao Tse-tung absolutizes the struggle of opposites". And : "According to the logic of Maoism there is only one thing: either unity or struggle. If there is struggle, there can be no unity". ("Maoism - An Ideological and Political Opponent of Marxism-Leninism", op.cit., p. 46 and p.52, Germ. ed.)

Let us first state that it is totally absurd to impute to Mao Tse-tung that he spoke o n l y about the struggle of opposites and did not also address the question of the "unity of opposites" as an arena for the struggle of opposites. He emphasized unambiguously and fully in conformity with Marxism-Leninism:

"Lenin said: The unity (coincidence, identity, equal action) of opposites is conditional, temporary, transitory, relative. The struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, just as development and motion are absolute.

What does this passage mean?

All processes have a beginning and an end, all processes transform themselves into their opposites. The constancy of all processes is relative, but the mutability manifested in the transformation of one process into another is absolute." ("On Contradiction", op.cit., p.123)

When the revisionists curse that Mao Tse-tung absolutized the struggle of opposites, then contentwise and in respect of method, this is an expression of their revisionism.

In respect of content, in a certain sense, the struggle of opposites m u s t be characterised as a b s o l u t e in relation to the unity of opposites. Otherwise there would never be the possibility of a qualitative progress. From the point of view of method, it can be seen that the modern revisionists simply falsify Mao Tse-tung, for he very evidently in no way denies or ignores the unity of opposites.



On the relationship between unity and struggle Mao Tse-tung says:

"There are two states of motion in all things, that of relative rest and that of conspicuous change. Both are caused by the struggle between the two contradictory elements contained in a thing."  
(Ibid., p.123)

Mao Tse-tung writes further: "Things"

"are constantly transforming themselves from the first into the second state of motion; the struggle of opposites goes on in both states but the contradiction is resolved through the second state. That is why we say that the unity of opposites is conditional, temporary and relative, while the struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute."  
(Ibid., p.124)

All this is completely correct and only in this way it can be explained how a certain relative peace in a process of development can pass over into an open breaking out of struggle up to the point leading to a qualitative leap and then to the resolution of the conflict.

Mao Tse-tung's views are based on Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. By attacking him, the modern revisionists simultaneously revise the principles of the classics of Marxism-Leninism in dialectical materialism.

The criticism of the modern revisionists against Mao Tse-tung is concentrated on the question of contradiction since it is here that their basically right opportunist attitude is most deeply hit. We have already dealt with one type of this criticism. We shall briefly present some others.

#### c) Did Mao Tse-tung Only Talk of Antagonistic Contradictions ?

The modern revisionists assert:

"In the work 'On Contradiction' (1937) Mao Tse-tung regarded any kind of sharpening of contradictions in inanimate or animate matter as well as in the development of society to be an antagonism."  
("History of Marxist Dialectics", op.cit., p.281)

They repeat this lie in varied writings (see for eg. "Maoism...", op.cit., pp.52,53), although Mao Tse-tung very unambiguously made clear:

"The question of the struggle of opposites includes the question of what is antagonism. Our answer is that antagonism is one form, but not the only form."  
("On Contradiction", op.cit., p.125)

Mao Tse-tung thus deals here with the question of antagonism as a sub-point in the question of the struggle of opposites. He em-

phasizes, particularly in relation to the inner-Party struggle(\*), the distinction between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions, between contradictions which go beyond the framework of the party and must lead to expulsion, and those which can be resolved within the framework of the Party.

A further falsifying manoeuvre of the modern revisionists consists in smuggling in the rotten formula that "non-antagonistic" means that the contradictions (for instance in the politics of alliance) could be reconciled. The central thing is unity; the struggle, only because it has another form, is completely unnecessary.

This is perhaps the most foul and dangerous distortion and is fully in harmony with the other attempts of the modern revisionists to put across concealment and reconciliation as the most "basic law" of dialectics.

But Lenin had shown that for example in the politics of alliance, or for the coming together of revolutionary forces, struggle is the pre-requisite, the motive force, the decisive means, even if this struggle does not include the form of armed struggle, but ideological demarcation and debate.

Lenin wrote:

"Two main tasks to the class struggle in the dictatorship of the proletariat: 1. Suppression of the resistance of the exploiters (and every relapse, every return to capitalism and the capitalist traditions)  
2. The systematic influencing, guiding (this is also struggle, but struggle of a particular kind, the overcoming of what is familiar, in reality, a completely different kind of opposition and a totally different kind of overcoming) the tailors except the proletariat."  
(Lenin, "First Sketches and Plan of a Brochure on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", 1919, CW 39, 5th edition, Russian; German in "Sowjetwissenschaft", Gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Beiträge, 1970, Nr.3,4, S.242,243)

Here, Lenin makes clear that in the case of influencing all working people there is a "completely different kind of opposition" at hand. The essence, however, is that this, too, must not be reconciled, but overcome.

Completely in contrast to this, the position of the revisionists is that "irreconcilable" necessarily means "antagonist". Accordingly, non-antagonistic contradictions can be "reconciled". Thus they impute to Mao Tse-tung that he asserts that

"all contradictions, both in capitalist as well as in the socialist societies, lead to total antagonism."  
("Maoism - An Ideological and Political Opponent of Marxism-Leninism", op.cit., p.46)

(\*) See for this "Investigations towards the Evaluation of the Teachings and the Work of Mao Tse-tung", Part II, 1985, pp.182-217: "On Some Positions of Mao Tse-tung on Inner-Party Struggle" (RF No. 218/219/220, WBK No. 32, GDS No.37, Germ.ed.)

As proof for this imputation the modern revisionists bring forward a quotation by Mao Tse-tung, which, in their eyes, is completely wrong. Apart from the fact that they do not give any source for this quotation by Mao Tse-tung, what is said there is completely correct. It does not in any way go against Mao Tse-tung, but speaks in his favour. It says:

"All contradictions are irreconcilable. Where can you find contradictions which can be reconciled?"  
(Ibid.)

With this proof, the modern revisionists reveal that, in their opinion, only antagonistic contradictions "cannot be reconciled". In contrast to this, however, the non-antagonistic contradictions can allegedly be resolved through reconciliation. This completely contradicts dialectical materialism, which, though it recognises different forms of struggle to resolve antagonistic or non-antagonistic contradictions, but never the reconciliation or concealment of any contradictions, whether antagonistic or non-antagonistic.

d) A Useless Attempt to Point out "Philosophically" Mao Tse-tung's  
Nationalism and Underestimation of General Experiences

The modern revisionists accuse Mao Tse-tung:

"On the one hand, he places the peculiarities of China before the general conditions of the socialist revolution. On the other hand, wherever he spoke of the general conditions, he practically identified them with the particular conditions of China."

(Gunnar Matthiessen, "Critique of the Philosophical Foundations and the Social-Political Development of Maoism", Köln, 1973, ("Kritik der philosophischen Grundlagen und der gesellschafts-politischen Entwicklung des Maoismus", p.16, Transl. fr.Germ.ed.).

This attack repeated elsewhere as the reproach of "nationalism", as "discrediting the international revolutionary experiences while building socialism and the ideas of proletarian internationalism" (see "Maoism...", op.cit., p.11) is, from the philosophical side, formulated in the following way:

"For Mao the universal and the particular fall apart into two different quantities. In this way he arrives at a dualist and not dialectical understanding of the particular and the universal, showing the after-effects of his earlier peculiar reception of Kant."

(G. Matthiessen, "Critique of the Philosophical Foundations...", op.cit., p.17)

This criticism is untenable. That Mao Tse-tung in "On Contradiction" laid the main emphasis on the "particularity of contradiction" is undisputed. It was his aim to proceed against ignoring peculiarities, against dogmatic mistakes. Mao Tse-tung very rightly at that time laid the main stress on this. At the same time, however, in "On Contradiction", he also made clear the relationship between the universal and the particular and showed, to what extent the universal is the starting point for knowledge.

He wrote:

"Since the particular is u n i t e d with the universal and since the universality as well as the particularity of contradiction is inherent in everything, universality residing in particularity, we should, when studying an object, try to discover both the particular and the universal and their inter-connection, to discover both particularity and universality and also their interconnection within the object itself, and to discover the interconnection of this object with the many objects outside it."  
("On Contradiction", op.,cit.,p.108)

However, Mao Tse-tung not only very correctly described the relationship between the universal and the particular, as just quoted, but also just after this passage gives a stimulus to study this question with the help of a real model example. He shows, how Stalin in "The Foundations of Leninism", while analysing the historical roots of Leninism made a correct internal connection of the universal with the particular:

"Thus, Stalin analysed the universality of contradiction in imperialism, showing why Leninism is the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, and at the same time analysed the particularity of tsarist Russian imperialism within this general contradiction, showing why Russia became the birthplace of the theory and tactics of proletarian revolution and how the universality of contradiction is contained in this particularity. Stalin's analysis provides us with a model for understanding the particularity and the universality of contradiction and their interconnection."  
(Ibid, p.108)

The following statements by Mao Tse-tung are of particular importance, not only mainly because of the attacks of the modern revisionists, but more so under the aspect of our present task of defending the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Mao Tse-tung wrote:

"Unless we understand the universality of contradiction, we have no way of discovering the universal cause or universal basis for the movement or development of things;"  
(Ibid, p.97)

Mao Tse-tung described in detail how the human being in history comes to a recognition of the universal through a study of the particular and the specificities, and, as soon as the universal has been recognised, this is again taken as the starting point for further study of the particular and is then used for a deeper knowledge of the universal:

"When man attains the knowledge of this common essence, he uses it as a guide and proceeds to study various concrete things which have not yet been studied, or studied thoroughly, and to discover the particular essence of each; only thus is he able to supplement, enrich and develop his knowledge from withering or petrifying. These are the two processes of cognition: one, from the particular to the general, and the other, from the general to the particular."  
(Ibid.) (\*)

\*) Footnote overleaf

His own writings, as for example "On Contradiction" as well as others are constructed in this way. In his work "Problems of War and Strategy" (Sel. Works II, pp.219-236), Mao Tse-tung first presented the general laws of revolutionary war in all countries, then differentiated between imperialist countries and other countries, to then, in the main section, link up the general principles of Marxism-Leninism with the particularities of waging war in China.

Here two things become evident:

Firstly: In his fundamental writings, Mao Tse-tung tried to first present and solve the general questions and then to go over to specific questions, to problems of the Chinese revolution, in accordance with Lenin's advice:

"anybody who tackles partial problems without having previously settled general problems, will inevitably and at every step 'come up against' those general problems without himself realising it. To come up against them blindly in every individual case means to doom one's politics to the worst vacillation and lack of principle."  
(Lenin, "The Attitude towards Bourgeois Parties", 1907, CW 12, p.489).

Secondly: this, however, does not mean that "in general" and always the resolution of the general question stands at the forefront. For, if these are resolved, or if their resolution is indicated in essence, then the specific questions get the main emphasis. Only by solving the specific questions on the basis of clarity about the general questions, this combination of the general and particular can be created, which can be characterised as "concrete analysis" in the Marxist-Leninist sense, and which alone enables the education and the leadership of the masses on the basis of their own experiences in revolutionary struggle.

The mutual inseparable interaction of the particular and the general also becomes clear by the fact that, as Mao Tse-tung explained one and the same thing in a different context can at the same time be "universal", or also "particular". To recognise and to distinguish this is of essential significance. Mao Tse-tung made clear:

"Because the range of things is vast and there is no limit to their development, what is universal in one context becomes particular in another. Conversely, what is particular in one context becomes universal in another."  
("On Contradiction", op.cit., p.107)

(\*)Footnote from last page:

Mao Tse-tung laid great stress on this combining of universal truths with the peculiarities of the Chinese revolution. In 1949, he wrote that the history of China is characterised precisely by an ever closer linking up of the two. (See "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship", SW IV, p.411ff). And in 1964, he made clear in a dedication to Japanese workers that to achieve victory it is necessary to combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the specificities of the country.

Mao Tse-tung explained this with the help of important problems of historical materialism: Certain truths which in relation to capitalism are general are only particularities in relation to the entire history of mankind. But - and this is significant, too - by means of a profound study of the peculiarities of capitalism - Marx also correctly worked out fundamental general laws of world history.

The study of all these aspects in Mao Tse-tung's essay "On Contradiction" shows that the "highly learned" sounding slander of the modern revisionists about the supposed "dualistic" separation of the particular and the general and the alleged overemphasis on the particular is a manoeuvre directed at the ignorance of the readers, at the superficial study of "On Contradiction", which does not stand examination.

#### e) On the Question of "Change of Position" and the Alleged "Circular Theory" of Mao Tse-tung

In the question of the possible or not possible change of position between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat after the socialist revolution all the pseudo-theoreticians of modern revisionism - and even Enver Hoxha and his followers following the modern revisionists - have so to say fired their shots at one passage of Mao Tse-tung in "On Contradiction". He explained there that the proletariat after the socialist revolution becomes the ruling class after having been the ruled one. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie becomes a ruled class after having been a ruling one and in so far a "change of position" takes place. In a passage about the "transformation of opposites into one

"in given conditions, each of the contradictory aspects within a thing transforms itself into its opposite, changes its position to that of its opposite."  
("On Contradiction", op.cit., p.119)

And Mao Tse-tung explained this with the example of the proletarian revolution:

"by means of revolution the proletariat, at one time the ruled, is transformed into the ruler, while the bourgeoisie, the erstwhile ruler, is transformed into the ruled and changes its position to that originally occupied by its opposite."

For their attack against Mao Tse-tung in this question the modern revisionists perform a sleight of hand. They assert that Mao Tse-tung did not relate the change of position merely to the question of "who rules over whom?", but also to all the characteristics of the proletariat and bourgeoisie, above all, to their character of being an exploited class or an exploiting class. Such a distortion then runs as follows:

"Does the bourgeoisie become the exploited class and the proletariat correspondingly to an exploiter of the bourgeoisie 'by means of the revolution'? It suffices to pose the question in that way to make clear the philosophical untenability, the absence of dialectics in this example.

The proletarian revolution does not 'transform' the bourgeoisie from a ruling, exploiting class into a ruled and exploited one. The proletarian revolution transforms the entire social order by undertaking the objectively necessary complete socialisation of the modern means of production and eliminates the exploitation of man by man at all and finally all classes and other social strata of society. Consequently, the proletarian revolution eliminates, in the process of setting itself through, both the bourgeoisie as a class as well as correspondingly the proletariat as a class, as a wage labourer alienated from the means of production."  
(A.M. Rumjanzew: "Sources and Development of 'Mao Tse-tung Thought', op.cit., pp.53/54)

We have quoted so extensively because this is a model example for the revisionist criticism on Mao Tse-tung and for the approach of the revisionists in general:

Firstly, the method becomes clear here of imputing a stupidity to the opponent, to then be able to criticise him extensively and with relish. Mao Tse-tung did not at all say that now the proletariat becomes the exploiting class and the bourgeoisie the exploited one. This was never said, and this criticism is totally absurd.

However more important is what this revisionist smuggles in and brings to the people by way of content in his polemics against Mao Tse-tung. Completely in a passing way it is put into question that through the proletarian revolution the bourgeoisie becomes a ruled class from a ruling class. Thereby the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat is operated away. The entire fustian about "change in the entire social order", the elimination of exploitation and classes in general etc, can only badly hide the evasion of the dictatorship of the proletariat in which the proletariat becomes the ruling class.

Let us mention in passing(\*) that the reproach that Mao Tse-tung advocated only a "change in position" and not the resolution of the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, similarly does not stand the test.

Mao Tse-tung explained fully correctly that to begin with, the proletariat becomes the ruling, and the bourgeoisie the ruled class, that this contradiction is not yet fully resolved after the proletarian revolution and the bourgeoisie is destroyed only in course of time. ("On Contradiction", op.cit., p.114).

This entire revisionist slander against Mao Tse-tung's discourse on "change of position" is combined with another imputation. The revisionists claim,

"development is not viewed (by Mao Tse-tung, Translator's note) as a negation of the old by the new, but as a simple repeti-

\*) We have dealt elsewhere in detail this criticism which is also brought forward by Enver Hoxha and his followers. See for this "Criticism of Enver Hoxha's book 'Imperialism and the revolution'", IVth and last Part: "Revisionist Positions on Fundamental Problems of the Development of Socialism and Communism", 1984, RF No.211, WBK No.30, GDS No.33, pp.10-13. Germ.ed.)

tion of the past, as a circular movement or even as a movement in reverse."

("A Critique of Mao Tse-tung's Theoretical Conceptions", Progress Publishers Moscow, 1972; See also A.M. Rumjanzew, "Sources and Development...", op.cit., p.68)

Repeatedly in "On Practice" as well as in "On Contradiction", Mao Tse-tung referred to the fact that the real development as well as the process of cognition in human beings develops progressively. We want to cite here only one passage in which he explains that consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat means precisely preparing

"the conditions for abolishing this dictatorship and advancing to the higher stage when all state systems are eliminated."  
("On Contradiction", op.cit., p.120)

Mao Tse-tung applied this concept of progressive development also to the question of the Communist Party, the question of the army and so on.

In relation to the process of cognition he stressed the spiral development to a higher stage each time, and thereby based himself on a corresponding view of Lenin. He wrote:

"Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level."  
(Mao Tse-tung, "On Practice", 1937, in: "Sel. Readings", op.cit., p.82)

Because Mao Tse-tung, like Stalin, too, did not expressly talk about the "negation of negation", the modern revisionists impute to him that he did not want to preserve the "valuable old". Thus they write:

"Maoism factually rejects the dialectical law of negation of negation, according to which development, the forward movement, the emergence of the new is connected with preserving and maintaining all that is valuable, gathered together in the preceding stages of social development."  
(A.M. Rumjanzew, "Sources and Development of 'Mao Tse-tung Thought'", op.cit., p.69)

Here the deep antipathy of the revisionists against the Marxist demand of a "radical break" becomes clear. In order to attack this demand they criticise Mao Tse-tung. But they criticise thereby the fundamental Marxist idea, already formulated by Marx and Engels in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party". Completely in contrast to the phrase of "preservation of the old", it is said there:

"The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas."  
(Marx, Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party", 1848, Peking 1975, p.59)

Mao Tse-tung brilliantly set forth the necessity of correctly understanding the "negation of negation" and delivered thereby a blow to all revisionists. On the revolutionary dialectical further development, on the correct combination of the negative with its negation, the positive, he wrote:

"there is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation, it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction."  
(Mao Tse-tung, quoted in: "Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party", of May 16, 1966, Foreign Languages press, Peking, 1967, p.7)

- f) Can a Factor Which is Secondary in the Overall Course of Historical Development Still Play a Primary Role in a Certain Context?

Let us first take a look at Mao Tse-tung's statements in "On Contradiction", which drive the modern revisionists to bring forward extreme right arguments. Mao Tse-tung writes:

"True, the productive forces, practice and the economic base generally play the principal and decisive role; whoever denies this is not a materialist. But it must also be admitted that in certain conditions, such aspects as the relations of production, theory and the superstructure in turn manifest themselves in the principal and decisive role. When it is impossible for the productive forces to develop without a change in the relations of production, then the change in the relations of production plays the principal and decisive role. The creation and advocacy of revolutionary theory plays the principal and decisive role in those times of which Lenin said, "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement". When a task, no matter which, has to be performed, but there is as yet no guiding line, method, plan or policy, the principal and decisive thing is to decide on a guiding line, method, plan or policy. When the superstructure (politics, culture, etc.) obstructs the development of the economic base, political and cultural changes become principal and decisive. Are we going against materialism when we say this? No. The reason is that while we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also - and indeed must - recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base. This does not go against materialism; on the contrary, it avoids mechanical materialism and firmly upholds dialectical materialism."

("On Contradiction", op.cit., p.116)

This is an excellent evaluation of historical experiences and of

the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin(\*). But the modern revisionists get excited:

"Viewed from this angle, Maoism is seen to start from the primacy of the 'subjective factor', 'subjective activity', politics, ideas. This is expressed in such postulates as: the main role in the 'socialist mode of production belongs to the relations of production and not to the productive forces; politics and not economics is the command force in socialist society';  
("A Critique of Mao Tse-tung's Theoretical Conceptions", op. cit., p.50)

Apart from the fact that Mao Tse-tung did not present things in such a general way, it still becomes very evident here that the modern revisionists do not shy away from attacking the primacy of politics for the Communist Party.

In contrast to this, Lenin writes:

"Politics is a concentrated expression of economics...Politics must take precedence over economics. To argue otherwise is to forget the ABC of Marxism."  
(Lenin, "Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin", 1921, CW 32, p.83)

(\*) Marx and Engels dealt with this complex of questions more than once, particularly with the evaluation of the experiences of revolutions and counterrevolutions. See for this above all the "Four Letters on Historical Materialism" by Engels: "Engels to Conrad Schmidt in Berlin", October 27, 1890, in: "Marx and Engels, Selected Letters"; Peking, 1977, pp.71ff; "Engels to Joseph Bloch in Königsberg", September 21, 1890, *ibid.*, pp.75ff; "Engels to Franz Mehring in Berlin", July 14, 1893, *ibid.*, pp.89ff; "Engels to W. Borgius in Breslau", January 25, 1894, *ibid.* pp.100ff.

Starting with his struggle against the vulgar materialist "Economists" up to his last struggles within the CPR(B) against Trotsky and Bukharin, Lenin dwelt on the primacy of politics, particularly in relation to the main area of influence of the Communist Party. (See, *inter alia*, "Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin", 1921, CW 32, p.83).

Stalin dwelt on this complex of questions when dealing with the three principal features of materialism in "Dialectical and Historical Materialism". Finally, he also dealt with it in "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR", too.

We are saying this to make clear that the modern revisionists, with their primitive attacks against Mao Tse-tung's correct presentation, go fundamentally against the working out and further development of dialectical and historical materialism by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The modern revisionists ignore the differentiation, "in what respect", "under what conditions", and thereby distort Lenin.

The case is similar in their attacks against Mao Tse-tung's exposition of the relationship between productive forces and relations of production. Stalin opposed the "theory of productive forces" and criticized the mechanical carrying over of the primacy of the productive forces in the entire process of history to the analysis of the contradictions between the relations of production and productive forces in socialism. He made clear:

"the new relations of production (in socialism - Authors' note) are the chief (+) and decisive force, the one which in fact determines the further, and, moreover powerful, development of the productive forces..." (Stalin, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR", 1952, op. cit., p.62)

The modern revisionists want to trample underfoot the important Marxist-Leninist guideline that in a certain respect it is a fact that economics has the primacy, and in another respect politics is primary, that under precisely defined conditions that which is fundamental and primary can also play a secondary, subordinate role. In this way they want to spread their "theory of productive forces" to divert the working class from its central political tasks of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and reduce it in theory and practice to the role of a mere producer.

Also, in respect of the possibility that revolutionary theory, its creation and spreading can play the "main, the decisive role", it is by no means only Mao Tse-tung that the modern revisionists assail. Rather, they thereby in fact combat experiences of the C.P. of Russia, which precisely today are significant for the Marxist-Leninists in the entire world. For instance Lenin characterized the period around 1898 as a period in which social democracy in Russia found itself in an

"embryonic state in which theoretical questions predominate." (Lenin, "The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats", 1897, CW 2, p.345)

The aspersions cast against Mao Tse-tung by the modern revisionists are thus in reality once again also directed against Lenin.

#### g) Disparagement of Theory and of International Experiences by Mao Tse-tung ?

The modern revisionists write about Mao Tse-tung and his essay "On Practice":

"Objectively the author ... depreciates the international significance of Marxist-Leninist theory". ("Maoism - An Ideological and Political Opponent of Marxism-Leninism", op.cit., p.58)

And elsewhere:

"Under the garb of pseudo-philosophical ideas on practice, through the criticism of dogmatism and the significance of 'direct experiences', the Maoists waged an unbridled campaign to discredit international revolutionary experiences while building socialism, and to discredit the ideas of proletarian internationalism." (ibid., p.11)

The essence of this reproach is the assertion: discrediting of theory, of international experiences (by which the revisionists naturally understand the disregard for their internationally widespread revisionist theories).

For this slander no proof, no quotation, no evidence is given. And the study of "On Practice" shows that none can be given.

It is true and also fully correct that Mao Tse-tung stressed the role of immediate sense experience against idealism. He explained that all theories, views, judgements etc have their ultimate origin in the practical experience of human beings, that they ultimately originate from immediate experience. But Mao Tse-tung in no way remained at that; he did not underline only this aspect, but emphasized:

"This stage of conception, judgement and inference is the more important stage in the entire process of knowing a thing; it is the stage of rational knowledge. The real task of knowing is, through perception, to arrive at thought, to arrive step by step at the comprehension of the internal contradictions of objective things, of their laws and of the internal relations between one process and another, that is, to arrive at logical knowledge ... Perception only solves the problem of phenomena; theory alone can solve the problem of essence." ("On Practice", op.cit., pp.69-70)

Mao Tse-tung, who expressly underlined the indispensable significance of direct knowledge, of participation in revolutionary practice, simultaneously emphasized "indirect experience", inclusive of international experiences:

"All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience. But one cannot have direct experience of everything; as a matter of fact, most of our knowledge comes from indirect experience, for example, all knowledge from past times and foreign lands." (ibid., p.71)

For the question regarding the source of theory, it is in fact important that the theory originates from direct experience. But this is not the only, but merely the first question, which Mao Tse-tung deals with in order to bar the way for idealism. Against empiricism and vulgar materialism, he emphasizes that scientific theory is essential for the Communist Party and the fighting proletariat, in order to achieve victory in the revolution. Mao Tse-tung emphasizes precisely in this context:

"It is necessary to make a leap from perceptual to rational knowledge. Such reconstructed knowledge is not more empty or

more unreliable; on the contrary, whatever has been scientifically reconstructed in the process of cognition, on the basis of practice, reflects objective reality, as Lenin said, more deeply, more truly, more fully. As against this, vulgar 'practical men' respect experience but despise theory, and therefore cannot have a comprehensive view of an entire objective process, lack clear direction and long-range perspective, and are complacent over occasional successes and glimpses of the truth. If such persons direct a revolution, they will lead it up a blind alley."  
(Ibid., p.75)

The modern revisionists are simply slandering Mao Tse-tung when they accuse him of undermining the significance of theory and of international experiences. While defending Mao Tse-tung, it is our task to emphasize his regard for revolutionary theory originating in practice and created for practice. This must be utilized and made to bear fruit against the prevailing revision of the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

#### h) On the Criterion of Practice: Social or Individual Practice in Mao Tse-tung ?

The modern revisionists polemicize that Mao Tse-tung's concept of practice is an "individual" one. He would not - as Marx did - understand it to be a social concept:

"For Marx the concept of practice is a social and historical one. Therefore it is not bound merely to 'single' individuals and mere direct, sensual, individual activity here and now. In contrast, Mao's concept of practice is by nature utilitarian. Only in direct practice it can be decided what is correct and necessary."  
(Gunnar Matthiessen, "Critique of the Philosophical Foundations and the Socio-Political Development of Maoism", op.cit.,p.19).

In contrast to their usual habits, the modern revisionists do not leave this as a mere assertion, but attempt a "proof". They quote Mao Tse-tung in the following way:

"What actually happens is that man's knowledge is verified only when he achieves the anticipated results ..."  
(Ibid, pp.18,19)

Let us ascertain what the modern revisionists have left out here to be able to impute a purely individual concept of practice to Mao Tse-tung. In place of the three dots, it stands word for word in Mao Tse-tung's writing:

"in the process of social practice (material production, class struggle or scientific experiment)"(\*).  
("On Practice", op.cit.,p.67)

\*) In 1963, Mao Tse-tung declared on the role of social practice that certain temporary defeats of the revolution certainly need not be the result of a wrong line, but reflect an unfavourable correlation of forces. (See "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?", in: "Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tse-tung", Peking, 1971, p.503). By means of this clarification, some vagueness in (footnote continues next page)

This falsification is hardly believable, but true. It is calculated on the basis that the readers of these "revisionist fragments" of Mao Tse-tung do not read up the original text, or within the USSR and the GDR, are not at all able to get hold of it.

In order to be able to attack Mao Tse-tung, his hints that knowledge is a "process" - and not just a one-time, momentary action -, that it is "social practice" - and not just an individual one - is simply suppressed. All in all, it is once again a case of slander and falsification of Mao Tse-tung by the modern revisionists, and in no case an error on his part.

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On the whole, it can be seen that the modern revisionists can by no means contribute anything to a critical analysis of Mao Tse-tung's philosophical writings. In this question, too, they are genuine enemies, whose revisionism, anti-Marxist standpoints and slanderous methods must be decisively combatted.

#### AFTERWORD

In the work on this issue, in the discussion on both writings of Mao Tse-tung, we were confronted with some passages in which Mao Tse-tung did not deal clearly and unambiguously enough with some questions - and/or wrongly presented them, which in our own ranks was a point of controversy. These complexes of questions are not without significance for the theory and practice of a Communist Party, and mainly for this reason, we shall definitely pursue them up to their final clarification.

Such questions were related in part to problems already dealt with, such as "unity and struggle of opposites". But issues were also debated which have hardly, or not at all, been taken up here:

\* One complex of questions, which repeatedly gave rise to controversial discussions was Mao Tse-tung's presentation of the "main contradiction". Here the question was raised, whether his presentation was not wrong, or at least liable to be misunderstood and supported a harmful schematism. A clarification of this problem must unconditionally incorporate what the classics of Marxism-Leninism have said on this question.

\* Another big complex of questions was: Did Mao Tse-tung discover a new category of contradictions, namely, the distinction between "antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions?" A clarification of the problem of antagonistic or non-antagonistic contradictions is necessary, above all on the basis of evaluating that what the classics of Marxism-Leninism have written on this.

(Footnote from last page)

"On Practice" was in some respect removed. We have dealt in detail with this question in "Investigations towards the Evaluation of the Teachings and the Work of Mao Tse-tung", Part I, 1981, op.cit., p.88, and in "Questions and Answers on Problems from the Joint Statements Regarding the Criticism of the 'Great Polemic' of the 60's", 1982, RF No.208, WBK No.28, GDS No.31, pp.44-47.

\* A further question concerned one partial aspect of Mao Tse-tung's discourse on "theory and practice". In relation to his explanations of what Marx and Engels could gain knowledge of or could not gain knowledge of, and what remained reserved for Lenin and Stalin, the question arises whether here the role of direct practice is absolutized and Mao Tse-tung underestimated the possibility to fathom the future of communist society in a far-sighted way by means of theory.

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The three editorial boards are planning to bring out a special discussion issue, which not only deals with the above-mentioned questions, but also with the criticisms, contributions to this discussion, positions on our publications "General Evaluation of the Teachings and the Work of Mao Tse-tung", as well as part I and II of our "Investigations towards the Evaluation of the Teachings and the Work of Mao Tse-tung". We hope to get many contributions to this, which we will naturally answer.

## NOTES :

### 1. LENIN'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE "UNITY OF OPPOSITES"

The right opportunists earlier as the modern revisionists today raise a great hue and cry that Stalin d i s r e g a r d e d Lenin's statement characterising the "unity of opposites" to be the "essence of dialectics".

In the "Preface" of the revisionist "Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC, CPSU", it is said about the "Philosophical Notebooks", published in Vol. 38 of Lenin's Collected Works:

"Lenin regarded the law of unity and struggle of opposites to be the fundamental law of dialectics, where one has to start from to understand the other laws and categories. 'Dialectics', Lenin wrote, 'in brief can be defined as the doctrine of the unity of opposites' (p.222)."  
(Preface, CW 38, 1963, p. XVIII, Germ. ed.(\*))

The modern revisionists refer here to a passage of Lenin from his "Conspectus of Hegel's Book 'The Science of Logic'." In order to understand it correctly, Lenin must be studied in the original and in context.

Let us first consider the Lenin quotation, which the modern revisionists refer to, and which they quote in an abridged way. In the conspectus meant for his own use, Lenin noted:

|| "In brief, dialectics c a n be defined as the doctrine of the unity of opposites. This embodies the essence of dialectics, but it r e q u i r e s explanations and development."  
(Ibid., p.222)

To begin with, we want to emphasize here against the revisionists that firstly the formulation "law of the unity a n d struggle of opposites" as the "essence and core of dialectics" does n o t originate from Lenin; and secondly that Lenin expressly says that the "essence of dialectics" c a n be determined in this way, but subsequently adds to this that this r e q u i r e s explanation and development.

The modern revisionists pass over both the "can" as well as the "require". They do not at all quote the very significant addendum "but it requires explanations and development", but break off earlier.

But why does Lenin expressly demand that this must be explained and developed? Why does he use this formulation only here, but not in his publications? How does he himself explain the formula of the "unity of opposites", and develop it? Let us deal with

\*) This is translated from the German edition because the English one is different to the German one.



these questions one by one.

In his conspectus Lenin is concerned with not taking over Hegel's mistakes. His concern is, not to praise Hegel's ambiguous positions, but to work out the rational kernel of Hegel's positions from its idealism and its metaphysical parts. This is also true for the "unity of opposites", this significant fundamental idea, which at the same time had already been evaluated to be a dangerous, two-sided slogan by Marx and Engels, which can also lead to glossing over of contradictions. That is why it should not simply be taken over and left uncommented.

In the case of Hegel and his followers this formula, which can also be correctly interpreted, became the central philosophical substantiation for the ideology of philistine husher-ups, who want to "transcend" contradictions, not through overcoming them, through blowing apart their basis, but through reconciliation and neutralisation. - As if this were possible.

The Hegelian thesis of the "transcending of contradictions" rested on the metaphysical, idealistic conception that, through the process of reconciliation and coalescence, the contradictions would more and more be smoothened out, neutralised and cancelled.

This Hegelian background of the "unity of opposites" is also what led Lenin to state that this "requires explanation and development". On the other hand, it is this underlying philosophy of the cowardly, conservative German philistine, this rotten harmonisation, above all of the gigantic social contradictions, which so much attracts the revisionists and makes them into advocates of Hegel.

This erroneous understanding of the "unity of opposites" also dominated among Hegel's pupils at the time of Marx and Engels and they repeatedly dealt with this complex of questions.

Marx described in "Poverty of Philosophy" how Hegel himself became unfaithful to dialectics. He uncovered that Hegel recognised the struggle of opposite elements, but sacrificed this in favour of a rotten theory of balance:

In the case of Hegel, "the contraries balance, neutralise, paralyse each other."  
(Marx, "The Poverty of Philosophy", Dec. 1846/April 1847, MEW 6, p.164)

Applied to the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, this is obviously wrong and reactionary. Instead, Marx and Engels constantly declared that contradictions can be overcome only by way of irreconcilable struggle, whereby for this the foundations out of which the contradictions grow, must be overthrown. The contradictions between the classes cannot be weakened and made disappear, but the classes must be eliminated by sharpening the class struggle, to make the contradictions disappear.

Marx criticized Proudhon because he took over precisely the reactionary components of Hegelian philosophy:

"In his desire to reconcile the contradictions Mr. Proudhon does

not even ask whether it is not the basis of those contradictions that must really be overthrown."  
("Marx to Pavel Vasilyevich Annenkov", December 28, 1846, in: "K. Marx, F. Engels, Selected Letters", Peking, 1977, p.14)

In a similar way also Engels criticized the English bourgeois sociologist, Bentham:

"Bentham here makes the same error in his empiricism as Hegel made in his theory; he does not seriously try to overcome the contradictions..."  
(Engels, "The Condition of England", 1844, MEW, Vol.3, p.486)

Marx showed up the method and the moves of idealist bourgeois ideology, namely, to first admit to contradictions, then to stress their unity, to then finally make them disappear. Marx exposed this trick in the case of an economist named Mill who felt himself to be "very dialectical". Today, the modern revisionists again try out this very same trick. Marx wrote:

"It is always the same logic. If a relationship includes opposites, then it is thus not only opposition, but also unity (+) of opposites. It is therefore unity without opposition (+). This is Mill's logic, with which he eliminates the 'contradictions'."  
(Marx, "Theories of Surplus Value", January 1862/July 1863, MEW 26.3, Germ.ed., pp.96/97, own translation)

Marx showed up here the consequence of those people who very consciously emphasized the unity of opposites against the struggle of opposites.

As the study of Marx shows, such a manoeuvre, which is again used by the modern revisionists, is very old. In the polemics against Mill's attempts to hush up certain recognised opposites in the economy, Marx wrote in another passage:

"Where the economic relationship - thus also the categories which express it - includes opposites, is contradiction and precisely the unity of opposites, he emphasizes the element of unity (+) of opposites and denies the opposites (+). He makes the unity of opposites to be the direct identity of these opposites."  
(Ibid., p.84)

Thus Marx expressly warned against a distortion of the concept of "unity of opposites" in the sense of a fusion of opposites, of a "direct identity of these opposites".

For contradictions cannot be reconciled and covered up. They must be worked out up to the end and must be overcome, destroyed, by means of struggle.

Therefore Marx criticized Hegel that in his case wrongly

"the sharply-marked character (+) of actual (+) opposites, their development into extremes, which is nothing else but their self-cognition and also their eagerness to bring the fight to a decision, is thought of as something possibly to be prevented

or something harmful;" (Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law", 1843, MEW 3, p.89).

The formula of the "unity of opposites" thus has its pre-history in Hegel's idealist dialectics. Hegel was not only of the view that the contradictions mutually cancelled themselves in the unity, ultimately in the idea, but he also combined this with a reactionary political view of hushing up all the essential contradictions in society. The formula of the "unity of opposites" is, just like the formulation "negation of negation", so to say hereditarily encumbered with the tradition of propagating with the help of this concept the reconciliation of contradictions, the philistine philosophy of the harmonisation of forces.

This is certainly one of the reasons why Lenin in those of his writings meant for publication in no case simply declared the "unity of opposites" to be the essence of dialectics.

Add to this the fact that Eduard Bernstein, the father of revisionism, precisely propagated "unity as the motive force", and regarded the "philosophy of development out of contradictions" to be the most "fatal point" in the theory of Marx and Engels. (Quoted from M.M. Rosental, "Die marxistische dialektische Methode" (The Marxist Dialectical Method), Berlin, 1953, pp.244-45, Transl. from Germ. ed.)

All this was undoubtedly known to Lenin. That is why in his manuscripts wherever he talked of the "unity of opposites" he explained what was to be understood by it. Here we want to give some examples:

In his Conspectus of Hegel's Book "Science of Logic", before Lenin made the formulation of the "essence of dialectics", he had repeatedly shown up the role of the contradiction, of the opposing tendency and of struggle while working out the 16 elements of dialectics in Hegel's work. (Cf. Lenin, CW 38, pp.220-222, mainly the points 4,6,9,15,16).

One example from this: He explains point 5 "the thing (phenomenon, etc) as the sum and unity of opposites (+)" in point 6 where it is said: "The struggle (+), respectively unfolding of these opposites, contradictory strivings, etc." (Ibid., p.221)

In an essay, which was written in 1915 and published in 1925 with the title "On the Question of Dialectics", Lenin emphasized the splitting of a single whole as the "essence of dialectics":

"The splitting of a single whole and the cognition of the contradictory parts... is the essence (+) (one of the 'essentials', one of the principal, if not the principal characteristics or features) of dialectics." (Ibid., p.357)

Precisely in this writing he explained in two different places what materialist dialectics means by the "unity of opposites". He says:

"The identity of opposites (it would be more correct, perhaps, to say their 'unity', - although the difference between the terms identity and unity is not particularly important here. In a certain sense both are correct) is the recognition (dis-

covery) of the contradictory, mutually exclusive (+), opposite tendencies in a l l (+) phenomena and processes of nature ( i n c l u d i n g (+) mind and society)". (Ibid., pp.357,358).

And as a fundamental dialectical conception of development, Lenin once again explained on the same page, how he understood the "unity of opposites":

"unity of opposites (the division of a unity into mutually exclusive opposites and their reciprocal relation)." (Ibid., p.358)

And in the same passage Lenin formulated the words emphasized by Stalin in "Dialectical and Historical Materialism".

"Development is the 'struggle' of opposites". (Ibid.)

In a discussion on how much weight to give to unity and how much to struggle, one cannot in any way present both sides to be "equally essential" and even quote Lenin in support. This is untenable and totally contradicts Lenin. Concerning the relationship between the unity of opposites and the struggle of opposites, Lenin unequivocally characterised unity to be "relative" and struggle to be "absolute"(\*):

"The unity (coincidence, identity, equal action) of opposites is conditional, temporary, transitory, relative. The struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is a b s o l u t e, just as development and motion are absolute." (Ibid.)

From all this it can be seen that the attempts of the modern revisionists to claim Lenin for their conciliatory approach must firmly be repudiated, and are doomed to failure, because they contradict the truth.

(\*) That the struggle of opposites is absolute does not mean that a certain struggle lasts forever, that, for example, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will always be there, that this struggle is eternal. Rather, it means that the struggle of opposites is absolute, just as - in Lenin's words - "development and motion are absolute". In relation to a concrete struggle, this means that an interruption of the open struggle is possible, but that fundamentally the struggle goes on upto its resolution, that the struggle is more "powerful" than the unity, which is negated in a revolutionary and dialectic way such that the obstructing part will get annihilated and the part which is driving things forward will unfold and develop itself under new conditions.

## 2. ON THE WEIGHTAGE GIVEN TO THE UNITY OF OPPOSITES AND THE STRUGGLE OF OPPOSITES BY MAO TSE-TUNG

As already put forward, there is an attempt to represent unity and struggle to be so to say "equal" in order to ultimately, by means of this equivalence theory, represent the "unity of opposites" to be the main thing.

Against this, it must be emphasized that of course both unity and struggle are conditions for the development of things, but primarily the struggle of opposites represents the fundamental cause of development.

To substantiate this Marxist-Leninist view we can - as we have shown earlier - also refer back to Mao Tse-tung, who, in spite of some passages which are open for false interpretations, also unambiguously stated:

"Contradictoriness within a thing is the fundamental cause of its development..."  
("On Contradiction", op.cit., p.88)

In addition, both in "On Contradiction" as well as in "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People", Mao Tse-tung emphasized - as Lenin had put forward - that the struggle is "absolute", the unity, however, is "relative". (See for this "On Contradiction", op.cit., p.123, and "On the Correct Handling..." op.cit., p.443).

All this must be emphasized all the more, as Mao Tse-tung in a number of passages puts both the elements side by side without any express weightage. Though the discussions in our ranks on these various passages in his writings were often controversial, the evaluation could still be crystallised out that these passages must absolutely be explained and that, by themselves, they are at least open to revisionist interpretations. We are concerned with the following passages:

In "On Contradiction", it is said at the outset:

"The law of contradictions in things, t h a t i s, the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics."  
(Ibid., p.85)

And elsewhere, in the first instance, it is said likewise without any weightage:

"The interdependence of the contradictory aspects present in all things a n d the struggle between these aspects determine the life of all things and push their development forward."  
(Ibid., p.92)

And in "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People", it can be read:

"that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental (\*) law of the universe...Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is t h i s that impels things to move and change."  
(Ibid., p.442, 443)

In the study and discussion on Mao Tse-tung's philosophical writings one must in any case deal with these passages in view of the modern revisionists, and make clear that, in themselves, they do not suffice. They must be explained and supplemented, precisely also with the help of other passages from Mao Tse-tung's writings, in which clearly the struggle is emphasized as the fundamental cause for movement, as absolute in contrast to unity, which is relative.

Such a clarification is important, not only in the struggle against the modern revisionists, but it was also significant in relation to the ideological struggle within the C.P. of China.

Thus, in 1964, Mao Tse-tung under the motto "one divides into two" led a struggle against the revisionist conception of the "unity of opposites", which is very important for our discussion. (It is all the more regrettable that the original documents of this struggle, which could enable a more precise study, are not available.)

What was the issue at stake in this struggle according to our information? The slogan "one divides into two" was quasi used synonymously for the "struggle of opposites", and opposed to the slogan "two in one", which corresponded to the "unity of opposites". In this struggle on the philosophical front, it was not a question of disputing that both elements exist, both unity as well as struggle, but it was a matter of the fundamental primacy of one of these two elements.

In our study and evaluation of this debate we depended on a brochure brought out in 1973 in Peking in English under the title, "Three Important Struggles on China's Philosophical Front" (1949-1964). Here it is said about the third struggle, the struggle around the question of the "unity and struggle of opposites",

"In 1964 Liu Schao-tschi put Yang Hsien-chen up to concoct the reactionary thing of 'two in one', openly opposing the revolutionary dialectics of Chairman Mao: One divides into two. With this a struggle on a larger scale began..."

(\*) Moreover, here it is not explained whether there is perhaps only one law of materialist dialectics or more. That there are also o t h e r laws of dialectics is not expressly disputed here. Still, the impression can remain that there is but only one "fundamental law".

The reactionary theory of 'two in one' claims that 'two in one is applicable to all' and that the equality of opposites shows that the opposites have an inseparable link, a 'common origin' and a 'common aim'. This reactionary error aims at reconciling contradictions, liquidating the struggle, negating the transition and the resistance to revolution. It was complete bourgeois metaphysics and idealism. Basically he wanted to 'unite' the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, as well as revolution and counterrevolution; he opposed the thesis of going on with the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and tried to restore capitalism. This was the basis of Liu Schaotshi's theory of 'dying away of class struggle'.

In order to sell dirt-cheap their reactionary goods, Yang Hsienchen and others shouted that 'too much had been said about one divides into two and too little about two in one'...

Chairman Mao personally led the struggle of criticism against this reactionary theory and sharply emphasized that its core is revisionist class-reconciliation...." ("Three Important Struggles on China's Philosophical Front (1949-1964)", Peking 1973)

Here, too, it again becomes apparent that it is not a question of a purely philosophical struggle, but it is a political issue, whether under the conditions of socialism the struggle of opposites continues to be the driving force of social development. Whether the proletariat, as long as imperialism and class enemies continue to exist, should or should not continue the class struggle with the help of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In addition, this struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism in 1964 in China shows that special vigilance is required in the treatment of the complex of questions dealing with the "unity of opposites" and the "struggle of opposites".

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On the "Proposal" of the CP of China "Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement", 1963

THE REQUIREMENTS OF AN INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST  
GENERAL LINE AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE CP OF CHINA  
AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM

PART III A

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF  
MARXISM - LENINISM IN THE STRUGGLE  
AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM

- A Basis For Discussion -

EXTRACTS FROM

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON PROBLEMS FROM THE JOINT  
STATEMENTS REGARDING THE CRITICISM OF THE "GREAT  
POLEMIC" OF THE 60'S  
(Joint Statement, published in December 1982)

Part VI

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# The Scheme of the "Peaceful and Non-peaceful Path" Contradicts Marxism-Leninism

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Basis for Discussion

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