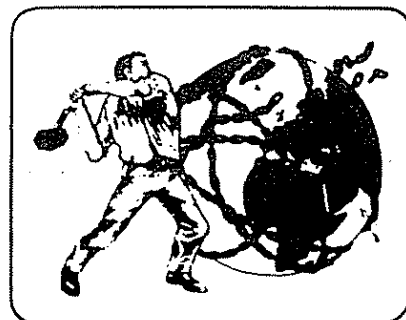


PROLETARIER ALLER LÄNDER VEREINIGT EUCH!  
PROLETARIER ALLER LÄNDER UND UNTERDRÜCKTE VÖLKER VEREINIGT EUCH!

# GEGEN DIE STRÖMUNG

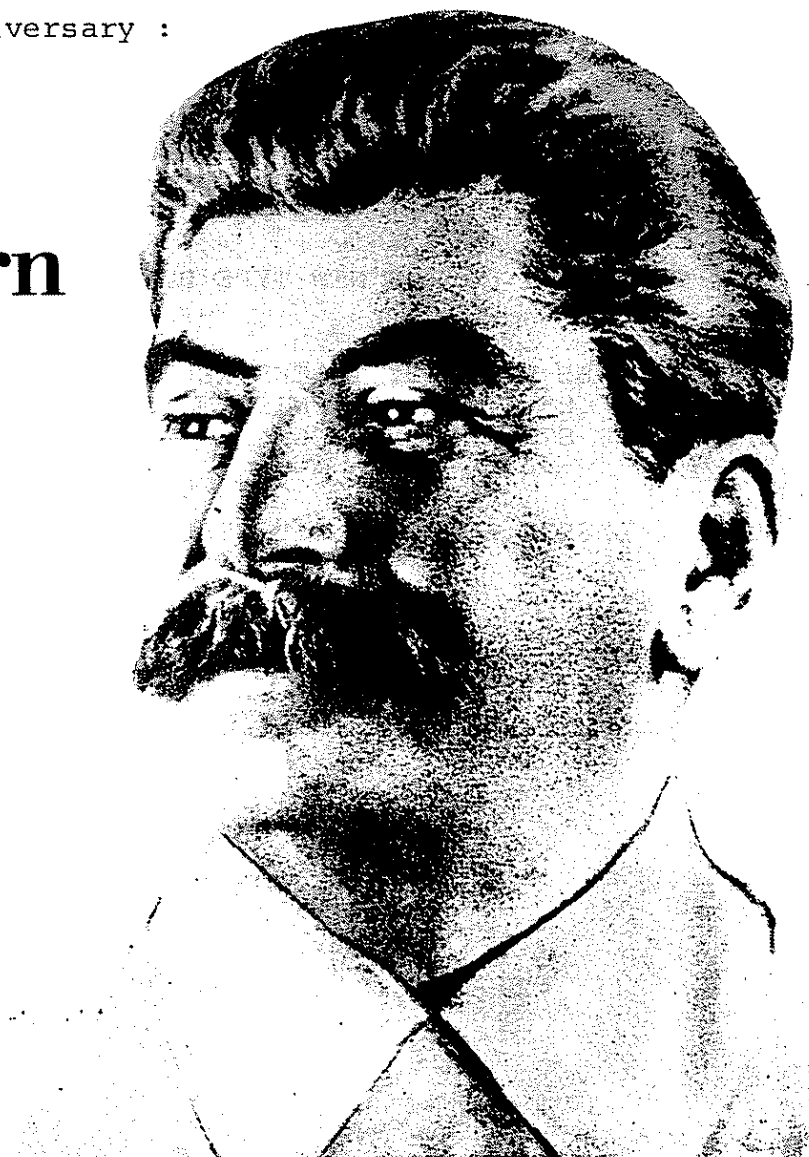


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On the Occasion of  
Stalin's 100th Birth Anniversary :

Let Us Learn  
From  
STALIN  
And  
Accomplish  
The Tasks  
At Hand !



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of West-Germany)

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## On the Occasion of Stalin's 100th Birth Anniversary :

### LET US LEARN FROM STALIN AND ACCOMPLISH THE TASKS AT HAND

On 21st December 1879 - more than a hundred years ago - one of the greatest personalities in the history of mankind was born : J.W. S T A L I N , the acknowledged leader of the world communist movement for almost three decades, the great teacher of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, the most outstanding disciple of the great Lenin and successful continuator of his work.

No one in the world can remain indifferent to Stalin. While all the forces of the old world, the exploitative world of capitalism and imperialism, of reaction and counter-revolution are crying themselves hoarse to slander Stalin to be a cruel tyrant and dictator, his name now, as before, inspires the deepest feelings of reverence and admiration, passionate veneration and indestructible love in the case of millions of true revolutionaries in all countries and the most conscious forces of the international working class and the revolutionary liberation movement of the whole world.

Stalin - that represents for them the memory of consequently defending and carrying forward the dictatorship of the proletariat in the first country of the victorious proletarian revolution. He represents for them the memory of successfully building socialism in the young Soviet Union, of the world historical victory over Hitlerite-fascism and of the development of a principled and united world communist movement during a whole generation.

Stalin - that signifies for them the clear-sighted continuation of Marx's, Engels' and Lenin's teachings: the science of the revolution of the proletariat and all exploited and oppressed masses ; the consequent path towards communism, the path from mankind's pre-history towards its actual dignified history, full of magnificent possibilities and breathtaking perspectives.

When Stalin died in 1953, he left the world proletariat and all oppressed peoples an invaluable revolutionary heritage of fundamental Marxist-Leninist works. In many ways, it is only now, in a period of the most frightful excesses of modern revisionism, whether it is the Russian, Chinese or any other variety, in a period of grave setbacks to the world communist movement, that the entire significance of these works emerges ever more convincingly, and we become aware of their significance. However, as in the case of any profound scientific knowledge, understanding it is not something which effortlessly falls into our laps. It is something which has to be a c q u i r e d seriously through deep study. It has to be a s s i m i l a t e d and won in close connection with one's own revolutionary practice in order to be able to use it as a compass and a weapon.

That is why we, the three undersigning sides, think n o t h i n g at all of just praising and celebrating Stalin, instead of s t u d y i n g his works and l e a r n i n g from them and him in order to solve the enormous tasks before us in his spirit and with the sharp weapons which he had created as continuator of Marx's, Engels' and Lenin's works, as a classic author of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin, whom Stalin always regarded to be his great teacher, said in relation to Marx's work:

"What is now happening to Marx's teaching has, in the course of history, happened repeatedly to the teachings of revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes struggling for emancipation. During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes meted out to them constant persecution, received their teachings with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say, and to surround their names with a certain halo for the 'consolation' of the oppressed classes and in order to dupe the latter, while at the same time emasculating the content of the revolutionary teaching, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it."  
(Lenin, "The State and Revolution", 1917, Peking 1976, p.7)

Today a similar thing in relation to Stalin is happening in the case of certain people. The force of his teachings, the irrefutability of his arguments, the impressive greatness of his entire theoretical and practical work is so immense that even some of those who do not have the least in common with it feel obliged and compelled to "disguise" themselves to be Stalin's defenders. They praise him to the skies in words and canonize him in order to obscure the fact that they are robbing his teachings of their revolutionary content.

At the moment, some parties and groups, claiming to be Marxist-Leninist, are raising a huge hue and cry about Stalin. They are proclaiming a "Stalin - Year", they are organizing a "Stalin Enrolment" and are even peddling "Stalin T-Shirts". These, and other things are gags of a fashionable political trend which has emerged very suddenly and which wants to utilize Stalin's 100th Birth Anniversary for purposes that were never his.

We three undersigning organizations demarcate ourselves most firmly from this kind of advertising propaganda concerning Stalin. Such a propaganda can only repulse true revolutionaries and harms the cause which Stalin struggled for all his life. Directly opposed to the necessity of seriously propagating Stalin, this kind of propaganda distorts Stalin's image into a caricature, sets his teachings at naught and feeds the current anticommunist prejudices against him.

This is especially true when such forces attempt to present and justify their out and out revisionist methods towards the masses and towards genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations as being Stalin's methods. For example, their method of suppressing all criticism and rendering impossible any serious discussion. For example, their methods of censorship, of prohibitions, of barrack-room discipline and even of the use of hoodlum-commandos. It is of decisive importance to present and defend, point by point, Stalin's real methods and line, not the least against precisely such slanders and aspersions against him.

Many forces, using such shabby methods, cite Stalin very loudly and energetically. We emphatically warn against looking for the roots of these methods in Stalin himself, instead of in modern revisionism, where they really lie, and on this basis adopting a reserved attitude towards Stalin. That would really mean walking into the trap

of such underhand ideological provocations. It would mean leaving the front of defending Stalin, that is, the front of Marxism-Leninism, at precisely a very important juncture in the struggle against modern revisionism. It was not just by chance that a frontal attack against Marxism-Leninism was launched in the form of the worst kind of slanders against Stalin at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U..

We three undersigning organizations commit ourselves to explaining, propagating and applying, as extensively as possible, in our own sphere of work Stalin's entire work, especially his basic teachings which we have emphasized in the coming chapters . We wish to stress that these teachings of Stalin are of great importance, particularly t o d a y in the struggle against Krushchovite revisionism and other deviations derived from it in the present-day world communist movement. It is important to stress these teachings and use them as a strong weapon precisely today in the struggle against revisionism of all hues.



## LET US APPLY STALIN'S METHOD OF STUDY

.....

In 1924 Lenin died. He left behind a whole series of great works and writings, which he had written in different situations with differing purposes. Fighting against all opportunist groups, who only hypocritically cited Lenin, Stalin was able, in a masterly way, to generalize Lenin's basic ideas, to connect the universal and the historical in his writings like "The Foundations of Leninism" and "Concerning Questions of Leninism". Thus he was able to bring Marxism-Leninism a great step forward.

Stalin's method of study was based on dialectical materialism. In his brilliant, short summary of the foundations of dialectical and historical materialism in 1938, Stalin emphasized that dialectical materialism demands a study of the inter-connections, of the development and its stages as well as of the struggle of opposites taking place. Under this pre-condition, he asserted that everything depends "on the conditions, time and place" ("History of the C.P.S.U.(B)", 1938, p.110, Moscow 1939, Red Star Press Reprint, London 1976.)

Stalin based his entire method of study on this teaching and taught:

★ While studying Marxism-Leninism, the writings and statements of the teachers of Marxism-Leninism must be studied and understood in their inter-connection, in their process of development in the respectively existing stage or era. They must be studied and understood as being the result of a struggle against the respective, currently significant revisionism.

Stalin showed in all his writings that wrong methods of study were often the first step for falsifying Marxism-Leninism, or a means therein. For, conditions and phases vary greatly. Stalin taught that certain principles and guidelines of Marxism-Leninism are valid under the conditions of an entire era. Other principles and guidelines are valid only in a certain phase within an era, others only under the conditions of some countries, or of one particular country. Other principles are valid only in a very limited way under certain concrete conditions of a country and only at a particular point of time etc. He also showed that certain statements and formulations could only be understood in the light of the knowledge of the political, in the context of which they were made.

Therefore, while studying Marxism-Leninism, it is an essential prerequisite to ascertain how principles and guidelines have been substantiated, from what conditions they have been derived and for what conditions they are thus valid.

Revisionists of all shades, starting from the Yugoslavian and Krushchovite revisionists since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. upto the Eurorevisionist varieties and the present-day revisionist leadership of the C.P. of China etc. never tire of vilifying Stalin to be a "dogmatist", of charging him with "schematism" and accusing him of having "vulgarized Marxism".

However, a study of Stalin's works proves all these reproaches to be slanders, because in all his works, Stalin fought against dogmatism and schematism, against mechanical thinking and against

vulgarization.

In reality, the revisionists attack Stalin because he defended, with utmost clarity, the principles of Marxism-Leninism for the working class and for the communists. He contributed very greatly towards the fact that the working class and the labouring people of the entire world took hold of the teachings of Marxism - Leninism and that these teachings were transformed into a material force.

In the great struggle for the victory of Leninism, in the struggle against social-democracy and Trotskyism, Stalin showed that Lenin's basic principles and guidelines have been valid for the entire era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution.

★ Stalin explained in a deep-going way that the world has entered into the era of the world proletarian revolution. He explained that, independent of the major distinctions between various countries, the main teachings of Leninism have not been derived only from the experiences of the Russian revolution and are not valid only in Russia. Rather, they are a summing up of the i n t e r n a t i o n a l experiences.

That is why L e n i n i s m, as Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, is in its essential features a "model for all".

Stalin wrote:

"Is not Leninism the generalisation of the experience of the revolutionary movement of all countries? Are not the fundamentals of the theory and tactics of Leninism suitable, are they not obligatory, for the proletarian parties of all countries?" (Stalin, "Concerning Questions of Leninism", 1926, Stalin Works 8, page 15)

Stalin very firmly gave affirmative answers to these questions. All his life he fought against attempts to revise fundamental principles of Leninism on the pretext of "national peculiarities", or on the pretext that "times have changed" etc.

At the same time, he also repeatedly fought against the revisionists' attempts to go against Leninism by using quotations from Marx and Engels, and against their attempts to play off Lenin's and Stalin's own statements from the era of pre-monopoly capitalism against conclusions valid for the era of imperialism.

In "Marxism and Problems of Linguistics" as well as in the chapter "Method" in the writing "The Foundations of Leninism", Stalin showed that conclusions from the era of pre-monopoly capitalism - for instance, the thesis that socialism must gain victory simultaneously in the most important highly industrialized countries - is n o t valid for the new era of monopoly capitalism. In this era, because of the emergence of new conditions, socialism can at first gain victory in o n e country.

Similarly, Stalin opposes disregarding the different eras while dealing with the n a t i o n a l question and blurring the big difference between the era of rising capitalism and moribund capitalism. (See Stalin Works 7, pp.225-229)

Stalin's method of study is further characterized by the fact that whenever he used Lenin's polemical statements, he kept in mind the direction of the polemic and fully comprehended the significance of various formulations.

For example, Stalin exposed the attempts to convert one polemical statement by Lenin into a *f o r m u l a* by separating it from its context thus undermining the correct relationship between the proletariat and the Communist Party. Opposing the method of not considering the conditions under which this statement was formulated by Lenin, thus also the context in which it was valid, Stalin explained the *o r i g i n* and the aim of these words by Lenin:

While answering the demand that the state in the Soviet Union should be led by *s e v e r a l* parties, Lenin spoke of the necessity of the dictatorship by a *s i n g l e* party. Thus, studied in context, he was *n o t* dealing with the question of the relationship of the proletariat to its party, but with the question of whether the country should be led by *o n e* or more parties.

However, the pseudo-Leninists left out this *c o n t e x t* of Lenin's words; they obscured the respective *s t r u g g l e* conducted by Lenin. Using words separated from the context, they constructed the absolutely wrong thesis of the necessity of the "dictatorship of the party".

Much can be learned from this and such examples precisely in a situation of intensified ideological struggle, where the revisionists are trying to combat Leninism, where they are trying to browbeat and create confusion by means of using quotations from Lenin and Stalin.

★ As Stalin showed, the only correct reply to all revisionist falsifications is not to turn a way from Leninism and from the study of its theory or give up using quotations, but to c l a r i f y the context of the conditions and the reasons for the validity of various quotations and writings of Marxism-Leninism.

In every single case this demands a lot of work and great effort. Stalin polemicized very strongly against simple summaries of Marxism-Leninism. He polemicized against all those who in this way wished to "skip" or save themselves the hard work of studying Marxism-Leninism. He ridiculed all those for whom taking into account the respective context and the respective conditions of Lenin's work was "too complicated" :

"I know that this complexity is displeasing, distasteful to some of our comrades. I know that many of them, on 'the principle of the least expenditure of energy,' would prefer to have a simpler and easier system. But what can you do about it ? In the first place, Leninism must be taken as it actually is (it must not be simplified and vulgarised); in the second place, history tells us that the simplest and easiest 'theories' are far from always being the most correct."

(Stalin, "Concerning the Question of a Workers' and Peasants' Government", 1927, Works 9, pp.190,191)

In the same context, Stalin opposed a certain kind of reader and pointed out:



"Certain not over-diligent 'readers' do not want to delve properly into the meaning of Lenin's works themselves and expect to have every sentence thoroughly masticated for them."  
(Ibid., p.190)

And Stalin asked these kind of "readers" to

"after all, pass from a light reading of Lenin's works to a serious study of Leninism".(Ibid.,p.191)

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★ Seriously studying all the fundamental works of Marxism-Leninism, understanding the real c o n t e x t s, the conditions and sphere of validity of Marxist-Leninist theses and teachings - these are the current demands and prerequisites which we must unconditionally fulfil for our ideological struggle, when we study theory.

LET US DEFEND LENINISM AS MARXISM OF THE ERA OF IMPERIALISM AND THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

.....

It was S t a l i n who resolutely defended Lenin's teaching about the content of the era in which we are living, namely, the "era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution" against attacks by opportunists of all shades who, citing the "new conditions", practised the old revisionism.

Stalin defined Leninism in the following way:

"Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. To be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular."  
(Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", 1924, in "Problems of Leninism", Peking 1976, p.3 )

Even today this scientific definition is a crushing blow against all those who consider Leninism to be only a "Russian species of Marxism", or who defame Leninism to be only a purely Russian, local or temporary phenomenon.

At the same time, Stalin's definition of Leninism is also a blow against all those who consider Leninism to be merely a "revival of Marxism", and who in this way or that deny the epochal further development of Marxism by Lenin under the new conditions of imperialism and the new conditions of class struggle of the proletariat resulting therefrom.

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★ Against all these deviations, Stalin's definition expresses both the unity of Leninism with Marxism as well as the enormous further development of Marxism by Lenin. Stalin's definition also contains the statement about the most basic and profound c l a s s a n t a g o n i s m of our era.

Lenin and Stalin, disciples and successors of Marx and Engels, said that the class antagonism stated in the first document of Communism, in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" is in no way outda-

ted in the era of imperialism, as asserted by the apologists of the bourgeoisie.

Marx and Engels said: In the era of "developing capitalism", because of the class contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, particularly in Western Europe and North America, society was divided into:

"two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat."  
(Marx, Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party", 1948, Coll. Works 6, p.485)

This class antagonism is extended in the era of monopoly, parasitic and moribund capitalism : Now the two great camps confront each other on a world scale : Imperialism and the proletarian revolution, more precisely : the world front of the international counterrevolution , led by the imperialist bourgeoisie on the one side, and the world front of the world proletarian revolution with the international proletariat at its head on the other side.

★ This world-wide contradiction between revolution and counter-revolution, as contained in Stalin's definition of Leninism, this life-and-death class struggle must be made into the cardinal point of any Marxist-Leninist analysis. Not doing this means abandoning ★ the path of Marxism-Leninism.

This most fundamental contradiction includes within the camp of the world proletarian revolution not only the proletariat and his allies in the developed capitalist countries, but also the proletariat and the oppressed peoples in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries.

With the victory of the Great Socialist October Revolution, the most fundamental class contradiction, existing originally only within the imperialist world, received an a d d i t i o n a l manifestation, documented by the emergence of the first socialist state.

The world was divided into two "worlds" : Now there was no longer only the world of exploitation and oppression of the labouring people, but also the world of abolishing and removing exploitation, the world of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialism. The front of the world proletarian revolution was enriched by another special section, by a shock troop in the form of the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

These statements have the significance of principles. About the division of the world into two great camps. Stalin said :

"Who will win ? That is the essence of the question...Why are there two poles ? Because there is no longer a single, all-embracing capitalism in the world. Because the world has split into two camps - the capitalist camp, headed by Anglo-American capital, and the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union."  
(Stalin, "The Results of the Work of the Fourteenth Conference of the R.C.P.(B)", 1925, Works 7, p.95)

At the same time, as a peculiarity, he emphasized that today there already exist t w o worlds :

"The October Revolution is not merely a revolution 'within the national bounds', but, primarily, a revolution of an international world order; for it signifies a radical turn in the world history of mankind from the old to the new."

(Stalin, "The International Character of the October Revolution", 1927, Works 10, p.173)

The Krushchovite revisionists threw to the winds these fundamental statements about our era, about the forces of the world proletarian revolution and the significance of a socialist world, that is, of socialist countries. They falsified Stalin's definition of our era and spoke about the present-day era as an era of "peaceful co-existence" and so on. Their general attack against Leninism under the pretext of "new conditions" was bound up with the general attack against Stalin. Instead of taking as cardinal point the most basic and the most extensive contradiction - the contradiction between the camp of the world proletarian revolution and the camp of imperialism - the Krushchovite revisionists took as cardinal point a specific contradiction, namely, that between the imperialist countries and socialist countries. This was done in order to prevent and sabotage the revolution of the proletariat in the capitalist countries and the revolution of the oppressed peoples. Instead of calling for an alliance and a common struggle, they demanded that these forces of the world proletarian revolution should wait till all problems with world imperialism are resolved by means of "peaceful co-existence" and "peaceful competition".

In the new Marxist-Leninist world movement, which has emerged in the struggle against Krushchovite revisionism, a new trend has developed and spread. This trend, too, has thrown overboard Stalin's definition of Leninism and constructed a new epoch, the "epoch of Mao Tse-tung-Thought". According to this trend the two fundamental camps - the camp of world proletarian revolution and the camp of world imperialism - no longer represent the most decisive and the most extensive class antagonism. Instead, it declares one of the forces of the world proletarian revolution, namely, the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies to be the main force. Thus, it more or less openly condemns the proletariat of the imperialist countries to waiting.

The present-day "Three-World-theoreticians" have gone much further. They openly liquidate the revolution in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries. Without specifying the classes, they talk about the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America as being the "main force" and openly call for class collaboration.

Taking as pretext the fact that the former socialist countries have now degenerated, they drivel that the "socialist camp" has disintegrated in order to represent as non-existent the socialist camp in Lenin's and Stalin's sense of term, that is, the camp of the world proletarian revolution. The "Three-World-theoreticians" completely negate all class antagonisms and are firm enemies of Leninism and Stalin's works.

But even among the forces publicly struggling against the "Three-World-Theory", there are some who do not understand, or do not want to understand that the basic contradiction in the present era is that between the camp of the world proletarian revolution and the camp of world imperialism. By declaring the contradiction between

the proletariat and the bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries to be the main contradiction, or by declaring the contradiction between the world of socialism, or the country of socialism on the one hand and the world of imperialism, or the countries of imperialism on the other hand to be the main contradiction, they directly contradict Leninism. Similarly, they do not emphasize and propagate above all the alliance of the various sections of the world proletarian revolution under the leadership of the international proletariat. Instead, they show a disparaging attitude towards the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies.

★ With his definition of Leninism, with his description and explanation of the division of the world into two camps, Comrade Stalin gave the most fundamental point of departure for correctly understanding the tasks of proletarian internationalism and of class struggle in the era of imperialism. The main task before us is to defend and apply to all problems of the world proletarian revolution the ideas of Leninism, as set forth and explained by Stalin, against all deviations from Marxism-Leninism.

REVOLUTION CANNOT SUCCEED WITHOUT THE ALLIANCE OF THE PROLETARIAT OF THE DOMINANT NATIONS WITH THE PEOPLES OF THE OPPRESSED NATIONS

One aim of the world proletarian revolution is to smash world imperialism. That is why - under the hegemony of the world proletariat - the front of the revolutionary movements of all countries must be put in opposition to the front of world imperialism. Two great revolutionary sections exist inside the imperialist world: the working class in the metropolitan countries on the one hand and the revolutionary liberation movements of the oppressed peoples on the other. These two sections are to be united.

These teachings cannot be emphasized often enough in a period when the conception often prevails that preparing and carrying out the revolution in one's own country is a sufficient contribution towards the world proletarian revolution. There are a lot of people, for whom proletarian-internationalist solidarity is not necessary or only a part of their image-building. Their commitment to the necessity of forging an alliance of the working class of the dominant nations with the peoples of the oppressed nations - which is necessary for the victory of the world revolution and the victory of the revolution in every single country - is at most a phrase for purposes of display only.

Against this Stalin stressed as one of the basic guidelines of Leninism:

"The victory of the working class in the developed countries and the liberation of the oppressed peoples from the yoke of imperialism are IMPOSSIBLE without the formation and consolidation of a common revolutionary front."  
(Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", 1924, in: "Problems of Leninism", Peking 1976, p. 76)

Stalin was not satisfied with merely propagating this alliance; he also repeatedly explained and described in his speeches and

writings h o w to create this front. He explained what obstructions would have to be cleared out of the way in order to build this international revolutionary front.

★ The main idea of Lenin's and Stalin's view of proletarian internationalism consists in the t w o - f o l d work of Communists to educate the workers of all countries in the spirit of internationalism. On the one hand, for the proletariat of the highly industrialized countries, Stalin demanded an irreconcilable struggle against d o m i n a n t - n a t i o n c h a u v i n i s m, fomented by the imperialists and opportunists. On the other hand, for the proletaria4riat of the colonies and semi-colonies, he called for a struggle against narrow-minded n a t i o n a l i s m .

In the case of work in the metropolitan countries, Stalin emphasized the struggle against one's "own" imperialism and the support of above all the liberation movements of those countries impoverished by one's "own" imperialism:

"The formation of a common revolutionary front is impossible unless the proletariat of the oppressor nations renders direct and determined support to the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples against the imperialism of its 'own country', for 'no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations'. (Engels)."  
(Ibid., p.76)

We, the undersigning sides, consider these teachings to be of paramount importance today in view of the wide-spread propaganda that the international revolutionary front is to be directed only against one or two great imperialist powers (the so-called "First World", or the so-called "Superpowers") and that the struggle against one's own imperialism plays only a subservient role.

With regard to ideological education, Stalin demanded:

"Hence the necessity for a stubborn, continuous and determined struggle against the DOMINANT-NATION CHAUVINISM of the 'Socialists' of the ruling nations (Britain, France, America, Italy, Japan, etc.), who do not want to fight their imperialist governments, who do not want to support the struggle of the oppressed peoples in 'their' colonies for emancipation from oppression, for secession." (Ibid., p.76)

In this struggle it is important to combat the feelings of superiority, often existing, and which have been fomented by the imperialists and the social chauvinists against the workers and other labouring people from the semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, or from the countries dependent upon imperialism. Only then is it possible to genuinely carry out the policy of uniting the workers of all countries :

Concerning the internationalist tasks of the proletariat of the oppressed nations, Stalin stressed :

"Hence the necessity of fighting against the NATIONAL ISOLATIONISM, NARROW-MINDEDNESS AND ALOOFNESS of the Socialists in the oppressed countries, who do not want to rise above their national parochialism and who do not understand the connection bet-

ween the liberation movement in their own countries and the proletarian movement in the ruling countries." (Ibid.)

In this struggle it is important to d e m o l i s h the distrust, often existing, of the oppressed peoples towards the proletariat of the imperialist countries which has been purposely created by the imperialists and the nationalist forces in the oppressed nations, in order to prevent the class solidarity of the workers of a l l countries. Without such a struggle the i n d e p e n-  
d e n t politics of the proletariat of the oppressed nations would be inconceivable.

Today, the revisionists and opportunists often sabotage the alliance between the oppressed peoples and the proletariat of the dominant nations also in a theoretically embellished form - that is by attempting to lay down in advance the sequence of the world revolution. Typical for the European countries is the relatively widespread chauvinist view that allegedly the centre of world revolution lies in Europe. The revolution would inevitably break out where industry is most developed and the proletariat is in the majority. Complementary to this is also the view that the revolution must first win victory in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, thus, basically where industry is least developed, before it can spread to the metropolitan countries.

Both views have in common : They make the possibility of revolution depend upon the extent of development of the productive forces of various countries; they condemn respectively one section of the forces of world revolution to waiting.

A strong weapon against these opportunist theses, sabotaging the common international struggle, is to be found in Stalin's views : Basing himself on the Leninist theory of proletarian revolution, Stalin emphasized in his works that the system of world imperialism as a whole has matured for revolution and that the proletarian revolution is above all a result of the development of the contradictions in the world system of imperialism. In his work "The Foundations of Leninism", Stalin raised the question :

"Where will the chain break in the near future ? Again, where it is weakest. It is not precluded that the chain may break, say, in India...It is also quite possible that the chain will break in Germany." (Ibid., p. 28)

★ Precisely this possibility, described by Stalin, of the chain of world imperialism breaking e i t h e r in a highly industrialized country o r in an economically undeveloped country demands that the working class in every country should always  
★ work at preparing the revolution.

"The inestimable importance of Lenin's theory of Socialist revolution lies not only in the fact that it has enriched Marxism with a new theory and has advanced Marxism, but also in the fact that it opens up a revolutionary perspective for the proletarians of separate countries."  
("History of the C.P.S.U.(B) - Short Course", Moscow 1937, Red Star Press Reprint London, 1976, p. 170)

STALIN'S TEACHINGS ABOUT CLASS STRUGGLE UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT ARE A SHARP WEAPON IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM OF ALL SHADES

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Stalin defended, deepened and developed Leninism particularly in the essential issues of establishing and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat as an instrument of proletarian revolution for the entire historical era of the transition from capitalism to communism.

★ Stalin's magnificent work for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism in the Soviet Union has always been a thorn in the eye of international reaction and its bourgeois and opportunist ideologues.

One of the most common slanders against Stalin, rehashed time and again, is representing him to be a narrow nationalist, who wanted to subordinate the entire international working class movement to purely "Russian interests", who wanted to transform the international working class movement into an appendage of this.

Often Stalin's struggle in favour of Lenin's theory concerning the possibility and necessity of building socialism at first in one country, i.e., in the Soviet Union, is demagogically utilized to make this slander. This struggle was waged by Stalin to smash the views of the Trotskyites and other opportunists who propagated an "inevitable degeneration" and thus capitulated in face of internal and external enemies.

★ We, the undersigning organizations, consider it an essential task to defend the spirit of internationalism in Stalin's entire work against these and similar attacks. This internationalist spirit is expressed particularly in the masterly treatment of the question of the international character of class struggle on the one hand and carrying it out in the national form in all phases of socialist construction on the other.

Thereby Stalin was always guided by the fundamental conception of Marxism-Leninism : the class struggle of the proletariat under the dictatorship of the proletariat against its internal enemies is part of the struggle of the international proletariat against world imperialism and serves the common aim of the victory of the world proletarian revolution.

Stalin demanded,

"The revolution which has been victorious in one country must regard itself not as a self-sufficient entity, but as an aid, as a means for hastening the victory of the proletariat in other countries." (Ibid., p. 37)

Struggling against the revisionist views of the "dying out of class struggle" under the dictatorship of the proletariat, for instance, against Bucharin's slogan of the "growth of the bourgeoisie into socialism", Stalin defended the validity of the Marxist theory of class struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. He emphasized that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be retained and consolidated only in an irreconcilable class struggle against the bourgeoisie as a class and, after its elimination,

against all bourgeois elements. Weakening or even discontinuing class struggle inevitably leads to the elimination of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Until now, we Marxist-Leninists were of the opinion that between the capitalists of town and country, on the one hand, and the working class, on the other hand, there is an irreconcilable antagonism of interests. That is what the Marxist theory of the class struggle rests on. But now, according to Bukharin's theory of the capitalists' peaceful growth into socialism, all this is turned upside down, the irreconcilable antagonism of class interests between the exploiters and the exploited disappears, the exploiters grow into socialism."

(Stalin, "The Right Deviation in the C.P.S.U.(B)", 1929, Works 12, p.32)

It was because of Stalin's line of irreconcilable class struggle that socialist relations of production were successfully established in the Soviet Union in both town and country, and in his "Report on the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.", Stalin could state :

"Thus the complete victory of the Socialist system in all spheres of the national economy is now a fact... Thus all the exploiting classes have been eliminated."

(Stalin, "On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.", 1936, Works 14, pp.156-157)

This immense success of the proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union, i.e., the elimination of the exploiters as classes and with that the elimination of the exploitation of man by man as an essential task on the path towards a classless society led within the C.P.S.U.(B) to the re-emergence of the old opportunist slogans of the weakening of class struggle and the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As opposed to this, Stalin unmistakably declared that even under the new conditions of the essentially socialist relations of production "the regime of the dictatorship of the working class" must be preserved (ibid ., p.179)

★ Till today, one of the main issues in the struggle against revisionism is the issue of continuing class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat even after establishing socialist relations of production, after eliminating the bourgeoisie and other exploiters as a class.

In the struggle against Stalin, the Krushchovite revisionists only revived once again the assertions of the anti-Leninist groups which had once been smashed within the C.P.S.U.(B), namely, with the smashing of the bourgeoisie as a class class struggle dies out and the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes superfluous.

However, in the course of the struggle against Krushchovite revisionism, "anti-revisionist" varieties of this view emerged within the world communist movement. This view asserts that the bourgeoisie as a class cannot be eliminated and continues to exist. This would be the reason why class struggle must be continued.



Both these views obviously have a common theoretical source: The continuation of class struggle is made dependent on the existence of the bourgeoisie as a class.

Both these views have nothing in common with Stalin's teachings and the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle. Stalin had clearly stressed that, even after the elimination of the exploiters as a class, class struggle not only continues, but also inevitably sharpens as a necessary consequence of the advance of the proletariat.

"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.

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 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."

(Stalin, "Defects In Party Work and Measures For Liquidating Trotskyite and Other Double Dealers", 1937, Works 14, pp.263-264)

In the struggle against the Titoite-revisionists and their class-conciliatory course, Stalin once again penetratingly stressed after the Second World War :

"Nobody will deny the depth and the fundamental nature of the socialist transformation, which has taken place in the Soviet Union after the October revolution. This, however, has not led the C.P.S.U. to the conclusion that the class struggle in our country has been declining, that there has been no danger concerning a strengthening of the capitalist elements."

("Letter of the CC of CP of the Soviet Union to the CC of CP of Yugoslavia, May 4, 1948", quoted in "The Struggle of J. W. Stalin and the Cominform against Titoite Revisionism", "Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism", Nr 1/79 (24), p.22, published by the Marxist-Leninist Study Circle of the MLPA, Translated from the German edition)

Against all attacks against Stalin, asserting that he accepted the dying out of class struggle, it is of great importance to defend precisely these teachings of his about continuing and sharpening the class struggle after the liquidation of the exploiters as a class. (These attacks are often launched under the label of "anti-revisionism".) Amongst these attacks some stereotype reproaches also find a place: Stalin neglected the struggle on the ideological front. He ignored "class struggle in the superstructure" and had a careless attitude towards the masses and underestimated the role of the masses.

The study of Stalin's work shows the opposite :

Stalin stressed that after the establishment of the socialist relations of production, the struggle on the ideological front be-

comes one important front of class struggle. Thereby he proceeded from the fundamental position of the sharpening of class struggle even after the liquidation of the exploiters as a class, and also took into consideration precisely the danger of the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He drew attention to the survivals of capitalism in the consciousness of the people and to the dangers arising from capitalist encirclement.

"Still less can we say that we have overcome the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people. We cannot say that, not only because in development the minds of people lag behind their economic position, but also because the capitalist encirclement still exists, which endeavours to revive and sustain the survivals of capitalism in the economic life and in the minds of the people of the U.S.S.R., and against which we Bolsheviks must always keep our powder dry."

(Stalin, "Report To the Seventeenth Party Congress. On the Work of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B)", 1934, Works 13, p.356)

For Stalin, one of the essential guarantees to be invulnerable to unexpected events and against the degeneration of the proletariat, lay in the mobilization and in the initiative of the masses, precisely against revisionist bureaucrats. In this respect, it is important to evaluate systematically Stalin's entire work, precisely in relation to the current problems of the ideological struggle centred around the fundamental issue of how to prevent the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Stalin fought against both a liberalistic proliferation of mistakes, as well as against bureaucracy as being "one of the most serious obstacles, if not the most serious of all" ("Against Vulgarizing the Slogan of Self-Criticism", 1928, Works 11, p.137). In the fight against both these sources of revisionist degeneration, Stalin propagated the mobilization of the broad masses to control the work of the cadres and to secure the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"When , together with the dozen or so leading comrades, hundreds of thousands and millions of workers are on the watch to detect shortcomings in our work, disclosing our errors, throwing themselves into the general work of construction and indicating ways of improving it. Here there is a greater guarantee that there will be no surprises, that objectionable features will be noted promptly and prompt measures taken to eliminate them."  
(Stalin, "The Work of the April Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission", 1928, Works 11, p.39)

"With all the more persistence must we rouse the vast masses of the workers and peasants to the task of criticism from below, as the principal antidote to bureaucracy."  
(Stalin, "Against Vulgarizing the Slogan of Self-Criticism", 1928, Works 11, p. 138)

Often the reproach that Stalin disregarded the role of the masses is accompanied by an attack against Stalin's theory and practice of class struggle in socialism. It is alleged that Stalin, instead of carrying on class struggle, simply let his ideological and political opponents be liquidated. In reality, such a view, whether in the form of a criticism or in the form of a recognition of a

"consequent policy", derives its inspirations from the fairy tales of bourgeois atrocity stories.

Stalin's struggle against the Trotskyites, the Bucharins, the Kamenyevs and other anti-Leninist groups has nothing in common with such conceptions.

- ★ All these groups were first ideologically defeated in the Party before organizational measures were taken, and before they had to finally be expelled from the Party according to the principles of inner-Party democracy and democratic centralism, because
- ★ they continued to adhere to their anti-Leninist line.

They were put to trial only after it was p r o v e d that these groups had gone over to organizing the downfall of the Soviet Union, and only after it was proved that they had gone into a collaboration with the imperialists. They were given the possibility of defence and were then sentenced according to the laws of the proletarian state by means of proofs and documents made accessible to the proletariat of the Soviet Union and to the entire international proletariat.

The question can scarcely be answered to what extent these teachings of Stalin were carried out in practice by the Soviet government before the Krushchovite revisionists came to power.

- ★ However, in our opinion, the reason for the growth of revisionism, even before Stalin's death lies in the insufficient propaganda and application of his basic teachings about the dictatorship of the proletariat, about the Party, the role of the cadres and the masses etc., and not in his theory and line itself.

- ★ In order to really understand the causes of the degeneration of the socialist Soviet Union into an imperialist country in a Marxist-Leninist way and in order to oneself be able to propagate a correct line for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism, one of the b a s i c p r e r e q u i s i t e s is to study thoroughly and entirely Stalin's teachings about the dictatorship of the proletariat as the continuation of the class struggle and the realization of the hegemony of
- ★ the proletariat in all forms and in all areas.

# BUILD THE PARTY OF THE NEW TYPE BY LEARNING FROM STALIN

As continuator of Lenin's work, S t a l i n advanced Lenin's t e a c h i n g s about the Party and left behind a revolutionary heritage which cannot be over-estimated at all. We, the undersigning sides, emphasize that a large number of defects, weaknesses and faults, becoming evident today in the activity of the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, as well as in the entire international Marxist-Leninist movement, can be traced back to a d i s r e g a r d, or a very inadequate regard for these teachings.

Concerning the issue of the Party of a new type, the Bolshevik Party, we find the following teachings of Stalin to be of great importance :

★ In his writing "Dialectical and Historical Materialism", Stalin taught that

"the bond between science and practical activity, between theory and practice, their unity , should be the guiding star of the party of the proletariat."

("Dialectical and Historical Materialism", "History of the C. P.S.U.(B)", 1938, p.115)

Proceeding from and applying this basic principle, Stalin said that the creation, the building and consolidation of a Bolshevik Party is not a single act, but a protracted process of struggle and development. In this process it is particularly important to distinguish between two basic periods.

Fistly, the period of f o r m a t i o n , the actual creation of the Party :

"In this period the Party focussed its attention and care upon the Party itself, upon its own existence and preservation. At this stage it regarded itself as a kind of self-sufficing force." (Stalin, "The Party Before and After Taking Power", 1921, Works 5, p.104)

In this period, the fundamental task consists in winning for the party the best, the most active forces of the working class, most dedicated to the cause of the proletariat and it consists in educating and organizing the v a n g u a r d.

★ In this period, the appropriation of the revolutionary theory, the working out of the correct line and a principled strategy and tactics naturally stand in the forefront and constitute the most d e c i s i v e aspect - all the while waging a consequent struggle against all manifestations of opportunism and revisionism, particularly w i t h i n one's own ranks.

Without recognizing and following this, accomplishing the tasks of the first period is an impossibility from the beginning.

Connecting scientific work with practice is in the first instance related to the practice of building the Party. But it is also related to the practice of mass work. As Stalin expounded, in mass work we have to take propaganda as the main form of work , without

excluding agitation and action amongst the masses and with the masses.

By consolidating the party and work among the masses, we shall finally s t e p b y s t e p pass to the second phase of party building . This is the phase of winning the vast masses for the party, which now already directly incorporates the proletarian vanguard.

"In this period the Party was by no means as weak as it was in the preceding one; as a driving force, it became a most important factor. It could now no longer be a self-sufficing force, for its existence and development were now definitely assured; it changed from a self-sufficing force into an instrument for winning the masses of the workers and peasants, into an instrument for leading the masses in overthrowing the rule of capital."  
(ibid., p. 106)

"The Party now no longer focussed its attention upon itself, but upon the vast masses of the people."(ibid.)

If we do not make a clear distinction between both these basic phases in party building, if we do not grasp that the tasks of the first period constitute an i n d e p e n d e n t complex of tasks, and if we do not accomplish these tasks consciously and purposefully, then the attempt to win the vast masses for the party can only end either in a miserable fiasco, or in a further extension of the existing opportunist quagmire by yet one more area.

★ Stalin repeatedly criticized the negative attitude towards criticism and self-criticism.

"I know that there are people in the ranks of the Party who have no fondness for criticism in general, and for self-criticism in particular. Those people, whom I might call 'skin-deep' Communists (laughter) , every now and then grumble and shrug their shoulders at self-criticism, as much as to say : Again this accursed self-criticism, again this raking out of our shortcomings - can't we be allowed to live in peace ? Obviously, those 'skin-deep' Communists are complete strangers to the spirit of our Party, to the spirit of Bolshevism. Well, in view of the existence of such sentiments among those people who greet self-criticism with anything but enthusiasm, it is permissible to ask: Do we need self-criticism , where does it derive from, and what is its value ?

I think, comrades, that self-criticism is as necessary to us as air or water. I think that without it, without self-criticism, our Party could not make any headway, could not disclose our ulcers, could not eliminate our shortcomings. And shortcomings we have in plenty. That must be admitted frankly and honestly.

The slogan of self-criticism cannot be regarded as a new one. It lies at the very foundation of the Bolshevik Party."

(Stalin, "The Work of the April Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission", 1928, Works 11, pp.31-32)

Stalin taught that the phrase, "the Party is always right", or

"the Party does not make any mistakes", originally used by Trotsky, and propagated today by some forces considering themselves to be Marxist-Leninist, is anti-Leninist and wrong in principle.

"The Party, Trotsky says, makes no mistakes. That is wrong. The Party not infrequently makes mistakes. Ilyich taught us to teach the Party, on the basis of its own mistakes, how to exercise correct leadership. If the Party made no mistakes there would be nothing from which to teach it. It is our task to detect these mistakes, to lay bare their roots and to show the Party and the working class how we came to make them and how we should avoid repeating them in future. The development of the Party would be impossible without this. The development of Party leaders and cadres would be impossible without this, for they are developed and trained in the struggle to combat and overcome their mistakes." (Stalin, "Thirteenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B)", 1924, Works 6, pp.238-39)

For Stalin, constant and systematic open criticism and self-criticism on all levels and in all areas of work was always a central and indispensable part of the Marxist-Leninist method. He did all he could to educate, encourage and to commit the Communists and the masses in this direction.

"A party which hides the truth from the people, which fears the light and fears criticism, is not a party, but a clique of impostors, whose doom is sealed..."

Only parties which are departing into the past and whose doom is sealed can fear the light and fear criticism. We fear neither the one nor the other."

(Stalin, "The Results of the Work of the Fourteenth Conference of the R.C.P.(B)", 1925, Works 7, p.124)

★ We, the undersigning sides, think it is unquestionable that Stalin's forceful teachings concerning Leninist criticism and self-criticism have been most grossly neglected for a long time in our own ranks as well as in the entire Marxist-Leninist movement. In part, they are unpardonably neglected even now.

For this reason we find it urgently necessary to recall these teachings, to revive and to apply them on the broadest basis within our own organizations as well as in our external relations.

★ Stalin has taught that self-criticism and inner-Party struggle against enemies who have to be cleared out, cannot be separated from one another, but have to be set in a correct relationship to one another. Correspondingly, a correct relationship between the ideological struggle within the Party and respective organizational measures - according to the circumstances, accompanying it -, is of great importance. Although the ideological struggle, the education of the Party members, criticism and self-criticism do not always have to be accompanied by respective organizational measures (however at all events, when inner-Party struggle against enemies is on the agenda), controversially, as Stalin made repeatedly clear in both word and deed, every larger organizational operation must take place only on the basis of conducting and identifying the ideological struggle and on the basis of the widest possible use of criticism and selfcriticism.

Stalin clearly wrote :

"I am emphatically opposed to the policy of kicking out all dissenting comrades. I am opposed to such a policy not because I am sorry for the dissenters, but because such a policy gives rise in the Party to a regime of intimidation, a regime of bullying, which kills the spirit of self-criticism and initiative."

(Stalin, "A Letter to Comrade Me-rt", 1925, Works 7, p.45)

Further on, he said:

"To disavow Trotsky and his supporters, we Russian Bolsheviks carried out an intense campaign based on an explanation of principles in support of the foundations of Bolshevism as against the foundations of Trotskyism, although, considering the strength and prestige of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B), we could have dispensed with such a campaign. Was that campaign needed? Certainly it was, for by means of it we educated hundreds of thousands of new Party members (and also people who are not Party members) in the spirit of Bolshevism. It is very sad that our German comrades do not feel it necessary that repressive measures against the opposition should be preceded or supplemented by a wide campaign based on an explanation of principles, and are thus hindering the education of the Party members and Party cadres in the spirit of Bolshevism".

(Ibid, p.45)

★ If we do not apply this teaching from Stalin's theory and practice, the ideological struggle either runs the risk of getting bogged down in verbal campaigns which are not binding in any way, or administrative methods displace and replace the ideological struggle. However, precisely the administrative method brings on the danger that conscious Bolshevik discipline is replaced by a blind barrack-room discipline. It brings on the danger that democratic centralism is replaced by bureaucratism, and finally that the dictatorship of the proletariat degenerates into a counter-revolutionary dictatorship.

★ Stalin's teachings about inner-Party struggle, which became particularly current after the Krushchovite degeneration of the C.P.S.U. were hardly evaluated and applied in the struggle against modern revisionism, as we three undersigning organizations must self-critically admit. Among other things, this significantly facilitated the revisionist degeneration of the C.P. of China. For the present-day international Marxist-Leninist movement, too, the absence of such an evaluation and application presents grave dangers.

The false, anti-Leninist thesis of the alleged law regarding the existence and struggle of "two lines in the Party" directly contradicts and is opposed to Stalin's teachings. The same is also true of the conception that in a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party the emergence of two lines is from the beginning inconceivable and impossible.

As Stalin set forth, the monolithic unity of the Party is not an attribute which is inborn and which it possesses once and for all. Rather, it is the goal and result of an unceasing daily struggle, primarily of ideological character. However, if necessary, organizational measures have also be taken to stop the activities of enemies and to purge oneself of vacillating forces. This struggle is waged to prevent errors and deviations, occurring at first in an isolated way, from developing into a system of errors or even into a particular line which is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, to prevent the final degeneration of the entire Party, its falling into the hands of the enemies.

Stalin always taught that whenever the Party allows itself to be carried away by successes and becomes arrogant, whenever it neglects criticism and selfcriticism, whenever it underestimates the danger of a revisionist degeneration of its cadres and ceases to wage a systematic struggle against this, it will soon cease to be a Marxist-Leninist Party.

For Stalin, the danger that the Party's errors are not corrected in time and can gain ground, the danger of revisionist degeneration of the cadres and finally of the entire Party, were dangers that were never wholly banished and existed not only in critical phases, but were ever present, particularly in times of great successes and triumphs of the Party. That is why he untiringly struggled against those who "became dizzy with success", who believed that they no longer needed criticism and self-criticism, who considered the danger of degeneration to be eliminated forever, who became complacent and arrogant.

Stalin's teachings about the Party have been brilliantly summed up in the "Short Course" of the "History of the C.P.S.U.(B)", written under his personal guidance:

"1. The history of the Party teaches us, first of all, that the victory of the proletarian revolution, the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is impossible without a revolutionary party of the proletariat, a party free from opportunism, irreconcilable towards compromisers and capitulators, and revolutionary in its attitude towards the bourgeoisie and its state power...

2. The history of the Party further teaches us that a party of the working class cannot perform the role of leader of its class, cannot perform the role of organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution, unless it has mastered the advanced theory of the working-class movement, the Marxist-Leninist theory...

Only a party which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory can confidently advance and lead the working class forward. On the other hand, a party which has not mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory is compelled to grope its way, loses confidence in its actions and is unable to lead the working class forward...

3. The history of the Party further teaches us that unless the pettybourgeois parties which are active within the ranks of the working class and which push the backward sections of the working class into the arms of the bourgeoisie, thus splitting the unity of the working class, are smashed, the victory of the proletarian revolution is impossible...



4. The history of the Party further teaches us that unless the Party of the working class wages an uncompromising struggle against the opportunists within its own ranks, unless it smashes the capitulators in its own midst, it cannot preserve unity and discipline within its ranks, it cannot perform its role of organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution, nor its role as the builder of the new, Socialist society...

5. The history of the Party further teaches us that a party cannot perform its role as leader of the working class if, carried away by success, it begins to grow conceited, ceases to observe the defects in its work, and fears to acknowledge its mistakes and frankly and honestly to correct them in good time.

A party is invincible if it does not fear criticism and self-criticism, if it does not gloss over the mistakes and defects in its work, if it teaches and educates its cadres by drawing the lessons from the mistakes in Party work, and if it knows how to correct its mistakes in time.

A party perishes if it conceals its mistakes, if it glosses over sore problems, if it covers up its shortcomings by pretending that all is well, if it is intolerant of criticism and self-criticism, if it gives way to self-complacency and vain-glory and if it rests on its laurels...

6. Lastly, the history of the Party teaches us that unless it has wide connections with the masses, unless it constantly strengthens these connections, unless it knows how to hearken to the voice of the masses and understand their urgent needs, unless it is prepared not only to teach the masses, but to learn from the masses, a party of the working class cannot be a real mass party capable of leading the working class millions and all the labouring people."

( "History of the C.P.S.U.(B)", 1938, "Conclusions", pp.353-362, Moscow 1939, Red Star Press Reprint, London, 1976)

★ We undersigning organizations see in this succinct summing up the concentrate of Lenin's and Stalin's teachings about the Marxist-Leninist Party. Precisely in today's situation it is absolutely essential to study these teachings deeply, to propagate them and make them the base for our own practice.

THERE WILL BE NO UNITY IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT WITHOUT APPLYING LENIN'S AND STALIN'S METHODS

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After Stalin's death, but particularly since the Meetings of 1957 and 1960, where the "principles guiding relations among fraternal parties" were decided under the influence of Krushchovite revisionism, a widespread negative attitude towards direct and public criticism has been established. Till today, in wide sections of the world communist movement an open and public debate about all the basic problems of the struggle against imperialism and opportunism within the Marxist-Leninist parties is rejected. rejection is substantiated above all by the "principle of internal consultation", which precludes any public debate. It is also justified as ostensibly being in the tradition of Lenin and Stalin.

★ The "principle of purely internal consultation" among fraternal parties can n o t be justified by the revolutionary methods of Marxism-Leninism. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin as well as the Comintern never adhered to such a principle.

In the chapter about "Method" in his fundamental work "The Foundations of Leninism", Stalin himself defended open criticism and self-criticism as being an essential requirement of the Leninist method. He demanded that the fear of self-criticism should be "thrown out" as it belongs to "the arsenal of the Second International". (See Stalin Works 6, p.84)

★ Corresponding to the basic ideological significance of criticism and self-criticism, Stalin used the method of naming things by their names and of public and open criticism of fraternal parties, whenever this was necessary in the interest of the common cause of the proletariat.

In Stalin's works we find a whole series of examples of open and public criticism of other Communist Parties. This proves that Stalin, too, continued the method which already had successfully been practised by Lenin. Stalin considered it his right and duty to criticize the mistakes of other Communist Parties.

For instance, the journal "Communist International" of March 1926 published Stalin's "Speech Delivered in the German Commission of the Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I.". In this speech, Stalin dealt with all groups, individuals etc who played a role in the Communist Party of Germany at that time, and he frankly voiced his opinion. (See for this Stalin Works 8, pp.115-122).

In his writing "Some Question Concerning the History of Bolshevism", Stalin related that the German Social Democrats and their left representatives, Parvus and Luxemburg, took a stand on problems of the Russian revolution. However, Stalin was very far from stigmatizing this to be an "interference" and as a "break of principles". Rather, he justified their intervention and merely criticized that Rosa Luxemburg's and Parvus' criticism was wrong. (See for this Stalin Works 13, pp.86-91).

In 1926, Stalin's speech "The Fight Against Right and 'Ultra-Left' Deviations" was published in the "Prawda". In this speech he dealt with the danger signified by the politics of the "Ultra-lefts" for the revolution in Germany. He criticized here publicly and by name Ruth Fischer and Hansen. (See Stalin Works 8, pp.1-10).

★ These examples, more of which could be cited, prove that in the relations to other parties Stalin was guided in his practice by the fundamental principle of open criticism. If necessary, he also made public criticism.

While consequently applying this principle, also against opportunist views aiming at undermining it, Stalin defended the fundamental significance of criticism and self-criticism. We wish to stress here particularly one argument which Stalin was confronted with. Today, too, this argument is used in the international communist movement in order to justify the "principle of consulting only internally". This "argument" says that in the case of public and open criticism and self-criticism, the enemy hears about the differences. Often this argument is carried to the extreme by means

a very crude reverse conclusion : Whoever criticizes openly and publicly, is allegedly "playing the enemies' game".

Such an argument has n o t h i n g to do with the method of Leninism. Stalin replied to this :

"It would be strange to fear that our enemies, our internal and external enemies, might exploit the criticism of our shortcomings and raise the shout: Oho! All is not well with those Bolsheviks ! It would be strange if we Bolsheviks were to fear that. The strength of Bolshevism lies precisely in the fact that it is NOT AFRAID TO ADMIT ITS MISTAKES...

As for our enemies, let them rant about our shortcomings - such trifles cannot and should not disconcert Bolsheviks."

(Stalin, "The Work of the April Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission", 1938, pp.33-34)

★ It was clear to Stalin that the enemy could certainly derive a certain advantage from mutual criticism and self-criticism. However, the question is : what is the relationship of this advantage to the benefit concerning the advancement of the Marxist-Leninists and the masses of the people ? Stalin's reply to this is clear : In relation to this benefit the harm is a bagatelle.

Stalin consistently upheld open and public self-criticism within the party. Similarly, he also consistently upheld open and public criticism between Marxist-Leninist parties because there can be no advancement without such an open ideological debate. Without it, unity cannot be created or consolidated.

A necessary consequence of such an attitude was that Stalin was inimical towards any formalization of the relationship between parties. For him ideological content was primary.

In "The Foundations of Leninism", Stalin attacked the attitude of hushing up controversial issues, of creating an atmosphere as if everything were in order, of assiduously circumventing burning problems, of concealing and covering up problems. For him such attitudes belonged to the arsenal of the Second International and crassly contradicted Leninism. He mocked at the fact that, for the sake of keeping up appearances, controversial issues were discussed once in a while, however, only in order to wind up with some sort of "elastic" resolution. (cf. Stalin Works 6, p.83)

★ In our opinion, certain features of the present-day world communist movement, too, actually belong to the physiognomy of the Second International. Under the cover of the principle of "purely internal consultation" there exists a widespread fear of public criticism and self-criticism, which suppresses from the beginning any lively, mutually fruitful, critical and corrective debate. Instead of public, mutual and solidarist criticism, we often find mutual sycophancy in public and in joint declarations, in which the most urgent issues are left out, or in which the assessment of certain parties are considered obligatory from the very start without having one's own standpoint and without entering into any debate.

★ Stalin fought against such views as being incompatible with the tasks of a revolutionary Party. He urgently warned against Commu-

Stalin very vehemently opposed a formalization of the relations among parties and defended the principle of criticism and self-criticism as an ideological prerequisite in order to really achieve united ideological and political views in mutual relations.

★ In Stalin's work and practice, as far as the mode of relation among parties is concerned, a central position is occupied by open and, if necessary, by public and mutual criticism and self-criticism of the parties. Precisely in today's situation, where the task is to fully break with the influence of modern revisionism, we, the undersigning organizations, consider this Leninist method, defended and applied in such a masterly way by Stalin, to be a decisive touch-stone for seeing whether the parties of the world communist movement really develop into revolutionary parties and remain revolutionary, or whether they become petrified into mummies.

Like Lenin, Stalin, too, showed us how the Communists must exalt the authority of their great teachers in a really Marxist-Leninist way, w i t h o u t linking it with the capitalist ideology that "individuals make history", "science is the product of individual genius", and "without infallible authority and without great reverence for this authority there can be no progress" etc.

After Lenin's death, Stalin did n o t try to propagate his authority by means of repetitive stereotyped empty words and ti-

rades, or by simply enumerating facts from his life. Rather, he set about comprehensively and fundamentally evaluating Lenin's work, he set about propagating its content and defending it in this way. Stalin's entire work is characterized by this endeavour. Here we wish to draw attention to "The Foundations of Leninism" and the "History of the C.P.S.U.(B), Shourt Course".

For our task of comprehensively propagating the works of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism, and specially those of Comrade Stalin, these principles regarding approach are of tremendous significance.

In the struggle for defending Stalin, the Communists often meet with the argument : "Indeed, do you believe that Stalin did not make any mistakes ?" "Is it not permissible to criticize Stalin ?"

These questions, apparently so simple and justified, involve in reality a large number of problems, which require a clear answer and which must therefore be examined more closely.

★ Of course, it would be completely un-Marxist to think that a comrade like Stalin, fighting for decades in such a prominent position during such a world-shaking time, untiringly dealing the enemy many blows on so many fronts of the class struggle, and carefully educating comrades, could have committed no mistakes at all. We must then at the same time make clear that it is just as much true that Lenin, Engels, and Marx, too, were also not infallible. We wish to make the point that in this respect we do not in principle see any distinction between Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

★ If we speak about Stalin's possible mistakes, then we must discuss in detail the problem of the possible mistakes of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism in general.

The classic authors of Marxism-Leninism practised self-criticism in their works, whenever necessary, and also dealt with the works of their co-fighters in a spirit of mutual criticism. Thus Lenin named his mistakes in the trade union issue and in other issues. Stalin often gave evidence of the fact that he understood how to self-critically and openly confess and correct his mistakes.

Stalin reports, for instance, about certain vacillations before Lenin's arrival in Russia in 1917, from which, however, no platform or any such thing emerged (See Stalin, Work 6, p.348, Works 9, pp.67,78). He made clear: "I have never concealed either my mistakes or my momentary vacillations" (Stalin, Works 10, p.64).

He devoted the foreword of the first volume of his works to the correction of his mistakes in the agrarian question and in the question regarding the pre-requisites for the victory of the socialist revolution. In "Concerning Questions of Leninism" and in other later works Stalin also corrected certain formulations in "The Foundations of Leninism", for example, concerning the question of the complete and final victory of socialism. (See Stalin Works 8, pp.364,365).

This shows that the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism never considered themselves to be infallible and naturally also never deman-

ded such an attitude towards themselves by others.

On the other hand, one should not take it too easy in the matter of criticism. One should know what one is talking about. What already Lenin had said in relation to Engels' fundamental writings, namely : " every sentence...can be accepted with confidence, in the assurance that it has not been said at random but based on immense historical and political material "(Lenin, "The State", 1919, Coll. Works 29, p.473) is also true of Stalin's works.

★ That is why thoughtless critics of Stalin again and again will  
○ only expose their own mistakes and weaknesses.  
★

Lenin wrote about such thoughtless critics :

"In my day I have seen an awful lot of HASTY CHARGES THAT ENGELS WAS AN OPPORTUNIST, and my attitude to them is supremely distrustful. Try, I say, and PROVE first that Engels was wrong !!...

No. No. Engels was not infallible. Marx was not infallible. But if you want to point out their 'fallibility' you have to set about it differently, really, quite differently. Otherwise you are 1,000 times wrong."

(Lenin, "To Inessa Armand", 1916, a letter to I.Armand after she had charged Engels of opportunism in the question of general strikes, Coll.Works 35, pp.268,269)

In his passionate defence of the great teachers of Communism, Lenin was not of the simple opinion : Marx and Engels are infallible ; thus any criticism is wrong from the very beginning. Rather, he made clear that any criticism against Marx and Engels must be seen in its relationship to the ideological class struggle, in its relationship to the slanders and unproved theoretical reproaches of the opportunists.

That is why it is fully correct to be "extremely mistrustful" right from the beginning towards the "critics" of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism, to insist above all on p r o o f s and to repudiate any unconsidered and unserious criticism as being "1,000 times wrong".

★ If we are confronted with problems while studying the texts of  
○ the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism, then the only correct  
○ attitude to take is to regard these problems firstly and primarily  
○ ly as one's o w n problems, as problems of one's own lack of  
○ understanding and of niveau, and not necessarily as being the  
○ problems of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.  
★

One could ask the question : Though some years had to pass after Stalin's death before Krushchov could carry out the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., were not Stalin's mistakes also important points of departure for the revisionist betrayal which followed. Are they not in so far of great significance ?

This argument must be countered by the following fact : If anyone at all fought untiringly against the emerging revisionist trend in the C.P.S.U. and in the world communist movement, then it was above all Stalin.

To ignore this would mean to blur the class front between the revisionist betrayal and the possible mistakes of the great teachers

of communism. To put Stalin anywhere in the proximity of the revisionist betrayers is an unprecedented falsification of history. Today, anyone can read the documents of the struggle against revisionist tendencies in the C.P.S.U.(B) in "Economic Problems..." and in "Problems of Linguistics" and convince himself that all pseudo-Marxists representing Stalin to be a fore-runner of revisionism are completely wrong. These are slanders and slanders must be stigmatized and not discussed.

Nevertheless, we think it fully legitimate to ask the question whether Stalin should not have, particularly in his last years and works, stressed much more clearly, unambiguously and comprehensively the sharpening class struggle and its laws and linked this up with his analyses in the struggle against Bucharin in the '30s. For, it became evident that after the creation of socialist relations of production, after the victory over the Trotskyites and Bucharinites, after the victory in the anti-fascist war, his great teachings regarding the intensifying class struggle and the inner-Party struggle, the danger of the revisionist degeneration in the C.P.S.U. were not understood in the way it would have been necessary in order to defeat Krushchovite revisionism.

Today, after the degeneration of the Soviet Union, obviously there is nothing very clever about asking such a question, nor is it a matter of great pride. However, that one always knows better later than sooner, does not alter the fact that such a question is justified - even though, up to a certain degree, objective factors must of course be taken into consideration.

Slanders that Stalin denied the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat must be combated. The study of Stalin's works and the study of his "critics" show how much above his pseudo-Marxist "critics" Stalin stands. For, in his entire work, he analyzed fundamentally and in a deep-going way the historic and basic issue of continuing class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as the issue of the possible degeneration of cadres and the Party and the necessary struggle against these possibilities.

#### Stalin's Place Is In the Same Ranks As Marx, Engels, And Lenin

★ Defending Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, strengthening their authority in a Marxist-Leninist way, means defending the experience of the revolutionary workers' movement and of the history of the class struggle in general and strengthening the authority of these lessons for today's struggle.

We three undersigning organizations admit that in our own ranks we did not sufficiently emphasize the role of the classic authors and their works. Particularly, we did not attach the necessary significance to defending Stalin's works, as a result of which numerous mistakes were made.

★ We three undersigning organizations consider it to be our task to decisively repudiate and combat all direct and indirect attacks against the Marxist-Leninist works in general and in particular against Stalin's Marxist-Leninist works. This is one of the basic prerequisites on the path towards creating a principled Marxist-Leninist unity of the world Marxist-Leninist movement.

# SOME PROBLEMS OF THE PRESENT-DAY WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

After the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, Stalin waged a great ideological struggle against revisionism. He struggled against Titoite-revisionism and other revisionist tendencies. His great work "Economic Problems..." of 1952, a document of the ideological fight against revisionism, is, however, frequently under-estimated and often insufficiently evaluated.

Stalin's death in 1953 greatly facilitated the take-over of power by the Krushchovite revisionists in the Soviet Union as well as the cancerous world-wide proliferation of revisionism. After his death no leader of the international proletariat equal to him in stature emerged. After Lenin's death, Stalin had fought against all attacks of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism and contributed greatly to the defence and further development of Leninism. In contrast to this, after Stalin's death, no forces emerged which immediately opposed ideologically in a comprehensive way the mad attacks of the Krushchovite revisionists.

★ In order to estimate correctly the immensity of the tasks before us in the struggle for the unity of the world communist movement, it is necessary for us to become aware of and to take full note of the fact that today there is no international communist organization, or internationally organized centre, and also no joint, Marxist-Leninist platform of the world communist movement which has really been worked out collectively.

This is all the more grievous, since precisely after Stalin's death, who was the acknowledged leader of the world communist movement, and after the betrayal of the modern revisionists in the leadership of the C.P.S.U., such a document of struggle against revisionism and for the unity of the Marxist-Leninists would have been of vital significance. Such a document would unconditionally had to have been worked out collectively in order to have been able to confront unitedly and unanimously the allround ideological attack of the Krushchovite revisionists against Marxism-Leninism in a well-founded and consequent way.

The cause for this grave and momentous deficiency lies first of all in an under-estimation of modern revisionism and its manifold ideological activity. It also lies in the over-estimation of the actual unity, that is, the degree of unity of the forces which had emerged against modern revisionism - the traditional communist parties as well as the parties and forces newly built against Krushchovite revisionism which did not succumb to its pressure.

However, the roots go much deeper. They lie in the under-estimation of Leninism's fundamental teaching that there can be no revolutionary practice without revolutionary theory.

★ The paramount role of the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and a programmatic document of the International Communist Movement based on this science of the working class as a basis for consolidating the unity in revolutionary practice was grossly under-estimated.



Although the role of revolutionary theory was often recognized in words, this verbal recognition was not made the basis of the entire activity. Indeed, not infrequently, the role of scientific revolutionary theory was polemicized against in words, too.

We must become conscious of and take note of all this when evaluating the contradictions and confusion coming to the fore ever more clearly in the world communist movement.

Currently, we three undersigning sides, both collectively as well as each one of us in his own sphere of work, are engaged in a fundamental discussion about the great problems of the world communist movement.

Among the issues being debated are the contradictory assessments within the international Marxist-Leninist movement regarding the Chinese revolution, the development of the Peoples's Republic of China, the C.P. of China and the works of Mao Tse-tung as well as the assessment of the past and present line of the Party of Labour Albania.

The clarification of these and above all of the underlying profound ideological issues has by far not yet been brought to a close in our own ranks as well as between the three undersigning sides. This will take up another prolonged period of organized, solidarist theoretical discussion and work. But, even then, right now we three undersigning sides emphasize in joint agreement about this complex of problems:

1) Nothing or nobody can or should be allowed to hold back the Marxist-Leninists of the world from conscientiously and thoroughly analysing the entire theory and practice after Stalin's death in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, in a spirit of u n c o v e r i n g and not hushing up mistakes, and from publicly uncovering the mistakes, by whoever they have been committed. Thereby, we three undersigning organizations commit ourselves to above all self-critically analyse our own theory and practice, to emphasize our own responsibility and to vigorously combat the primitive method of putting the blame on others in all its forms.

2) The present-day ideological situation is characterized by the fact that every Marxist-Leninist Party or organization has to wage a manifold ideological struggle on s e v e r a l fronts. However, precisely in the context of today's discussion, we three sides emphasize our commitment to point out to the primary task of waging an ideological battle against Krushchovite revisionism, and to ourselves wage this struggle as the primary one against all attempts to treat the struggle against Krushchovite and Brezhnev-revisionism to be "settled" or to be "secondary".

This concerns precisely also the various ideological trends and deviations from Marxism-Leninism while evaluating Mao Tse-tung. Here, undoubtedly, a struggle on many fronts is necessary, the scale of which, however, is due to the insufficient struggle that was waged against modern revisionism.

3) A comprehensive, thorough and truly scientific general evaluation of Mao Tse-tung's work has still to be accomplished for the entire world communist movement. By this we understand a truly

scientific work which, inter alia, differentiates Mao Tse-tung's work into different historical phases, evaluates his writings in the context of the respective ideological and political situation, which is above all based in a comprehensive and profound way on Marxism-Leninism and not lastly on Stalin's analysis of the Chinese revolution.

In the discussion, just beginning about Mao Tse-tung's work, he has been evaluated and propagated as a "great Marxist-Leninist" by those very parties which today assert the opposite. We three undersigning sides are of the view that in this discussion there can already be seen a multitude of partially very grave mistakes, which we in any case wish to avoid. In the international Marxist-Leninist movement in the question of evaluating Mao Tse-tung and his activity it often happens that a billboard-like general evaluation is pushed to the fore-ground and the discussion is centred above all on the individual Mao Tse-tung.

We three undersigning sides think that general evaluations without a prior thorough analysis of Mao Tse-tung's work, which precisely also takes into account the various stages of development, do more harm than they are useful.

★ We three undersigning organizations oppose both those, who, without making a thorough analysis and without sound and cogent arguments, simply assert that Mao Tse-tung was never a Marxist-Leninist and the C.P. of China was never a Marxist-Leninist Party, as well as those, who, without making a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis, put forward the thesis that Mao Tse-tung never committed any serious mistakes.

★ The former cancel out with one stroke of the pen all Mao Tse-tung's merits and bring together all that is negative or supposedly negative in Mao Tse-tung's work, and approach this question in a fully unhistorical and undialectical way. The latter commit the opposite mistake by enumerating only that which is positive or supposedly positive in his works, and simply overlook that which is problematic or interpret it as it ought to be.

Both deviations have the unmarxist method of one-sidedness in common.

We three undersigning sides are of the opinion that all that in Mao Tse-tung's work which is undoubtedly Marxist-Leninist must be defended. Where serious and less serious mistakes can cogently be recognized, these must be criticized clearly and openly.

★ For this reason, we three undersigning sides plead for a step by step comprehensive and exact analysis of the merits and demerits of Mao Tse-tung's theory and practice. We c o m m i t ourselves to achieving all that is within our powers and possibilities to contribute as much as possible towards such an investigation.

All documents of the C.P. of China as well as its entire theory and practice must be studied and evaluated in the most comprehensive way. In such an analysis, the concrete historical situation and the peculiarities of China must be analysed and understood as far as possible, in order to be able to analyse the documents of

the C.P. of China in a really qualified way. Above all, however, it is necessary to measure these documents against the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism, particularly where they attempt to give answers to the general questions of the world communist movement and the world proletarian revolution, and to also criticize them whenever necessary.

To study and evaluate these documents, however, does not mean to also automatically give an evaluation of Mao Tse-tung, even if, undoubtedly, overlappings exist. It is possible that Mao Tse-tung had rejected some of these documents either partially or in toto. It is also possible that he was in complete agreement with them.

★ Because of the lack of availability of credible and cogent documents there are certain difficulties involved in being able to always give a correct answer to this important question while evaluating Mao Tse-tung. However, it must be kept in mind that all the basic documents of the C.P. of China since Stalin's death have exerted great influence in the world communist movement. Therefore, the analysis of these documents as well as the practice and propaganda of the C.P. of China in this period is certainly a fundamental task. ★

4) Precisely today, when we are ideologically facing a very difficult situation, when in part great confusion has emerged or increased in the progressive and revolutionary movement because of anti-Marxist propaganda, we three sides commit ourselves to accomplishing the hard and profound theoretical work necessary to clarify all the open questions in the international communist movement, free from all subjective emotions. In this, where there is no clarity, we shall not project any clarity towards our own Party or organizations and the masses. We shall first analyse and then draw our conclusions on the basis of this analysis in a responsible way.

In this theoretical work, which today is becoming ever more necessary and urgent, the study of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and particularly the study and deep understanding of Stalin's work is of fundamental significance in the struggle for purging the world communist movement of opportunists and for clarifying the significant open issues for the firm unity of the world communist movement.

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READ AND DISCUSS

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# General Evaluation of the Teachings and the Work of Mao Tse-tung

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## PART I



## Investigations towards the Evaluation of the Teachings and the Work of Mao Tse-tung

- \* On the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol.I, 1926-1937
- \* Mao Tse-tung's Writings from 1950-1976 and the so-called "Volume V"

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October 1984

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On the "Proposal" of the C.P. of China's "General Line of the International Communist Movement", 1963

THE REQUIREMENTS OF AN INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST GENERAL LINE

Part VI

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

Basis for Discussion

Joint Statement of the Editorial Boards of  
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