

**THE HISTORICAL
EXPERIENCE OF THE WAR
AGAINST FASCISM**



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P E K I N G

From Marx to Mao



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TWENTY years have passed since the great war against fascism ended in victory.

The Anti-Fascist War was a gigantic struggle between the anti-fascist forces of the world, of which the main force was the socialist Soviet Union, and the three fascist powers, Germany, Italy and Japan. It was a just war and a war on a scale unprecedented in history. It ended with the triumph of the anti-fascist forces and the rout of German, Italian and Japanese fascism. First came the collapse of Italian fascism, and then German imperialism and Japanese imperialism surrendered unconditionally, on May 8 and September 2, 1945 respectively.

On the eve of final victory in the Anti-Fascist War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made the following appraisal and forecast of the world situation in accordance with fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles:

Contrary to the predictions of the Chinese and foreign reactionaries, the forces of fascist aggression will undoubtedly be overthrown and the people's democratic forces will undoubtedly triumph. The world will unquestionably take the road of progress and not the road of reaction.¹

He added, "War has educated the people and it is the people who will win the war, win the peace and win progress."²

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "On Coalition Government", *Selected Works*, Vol. III.

² *Ibid.*

The course of events fully corroborated Comrade Mao Tse-tung's scientific predictions. The victory of the Anti-Fascist War marked another great turning point in history, following on the October Revolution. It opened a new page in history.

The victorious Anti-Fascist War dealt a severe blow to international imperialism. While the Great October Revolution made the first breach in the front of world imperialism, the Victorious Anti-Fascist War destroyed a large section of it. The rise of fascism and its embarkation on world war represented the last-ditch struggles of the most reactionary forces of imperialism. The jack-booted fascist hordes overran Europe, Asia and Africa, wreaking havoc over a large part of the globe, but this did not save them from extinction. The outcome of the war was the overthrow of three imperialist powers, Germany, Italy and Japan, and the serious weakening of two others, Britain and France. By starting the world war, imperialism moved much nearer to its grave.

The victory of the Anti-Fascist War substantially consolidated and extended the great achievements of the October Socialist Revolution. The world forces of socialism expanded. Tempered in the war, the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, grew stronger. In the new historical conditions resulting from the victorious Anti-Fascist War, a number of socialist countries were born in Europe and in Asia. Together with the Soviet Union, these countries formed the powerful socialist camp, which confronted the decaying camp of imperialism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

With the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the Soviet Union, a world situation appeared

where victory for the people became a foregone conclusion; and now with the founding of the People's Republic of China and the other People's Democracies, the situation has developed and become consolidated.¹

Victory in the Anti-Fascist War ushered in a new stage in the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations. The roar of the guns awoke the oppressed peoples and nations in every corner of the world. Great revolutionary storms rose in Asia, Africa and Latin America. After World War I, imperialist rule in the colonies and semi-colonies enjoyed a period of relative stability, but there has been no such relative stability since World War II. The unceasing anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people have been shaking and destroying the foundations of imperialist rule. Imperialism has lost its stable rear area once and for all.

In summarizing the great historic significance of the victory in the Anti-Fascist War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

If the October Revolution opened up wide possibilities for the emancipation of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world and opened up realistic paths towards it, then the victory of the anti-fascist Second World War has opened up still wider possibilities for the emancipation of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world and has opened up still more realistic paths towards it.²

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Opening Speech at the Third Session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference", *Renmin Ribao*, October 24, 1951.

² Mao Tse-tung, "Revolutionary Forces of the World Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression!", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 284.

The victory of the Anti-Fascist War was a victory of socialism, the most advanced social system in history, a victory of the people in all countries who united to win freedom and liberation, and a victory for Marxism-Leninism. The history of the War gave fresh and conclusive proof that the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism are universally applicable and hold for all time and that a guiding line, policy, strategy or tactics based on these principles is invincible.

There is a whole series of important differences of principle between Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists on the question of how to assess the Anti-Fascist War and on the lessons to be drawn from it. Basing themselves on historical materialism, the Marxist-Leninists respect the facts of history, ascertain the laws inherent in them and thus draw the correct conclusions. On the other hand, in order to adulterate Marxism-Leninism, the Khrushchov revisionists, the representatives of modern revisionism, have been deliberately distorting history ever since the 20th Congress of the CPSU, obscuring facts and concocting conclusions that are extremely harmful.

IN THE FIRST PLACE, THE HISTORY OF THE ANTI-FASCIST WAR SHOWS THAT THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM HAS A TREMENDOUS VITALITY THAT CAN STAND THE SEVEREST TEST AND THAT A STATE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS INVINCIBLE.

The main contest in the Anti-Fascist War was between the Soviet Union, the only socialist state at the time, and fascist Germany, then the most powerful imperialist state. After occupying almost the whole of capitalist

Europe, the German fascists mobilized immense resources and manpower and made war on the Soviet Union. It was a severe test for the young Soviet state. It was a decisive battle between the two systems, imperialism and socialism.

Instead of being crushed by Hitler's war machine, the first socialist state, created by Lenin, achieved a great historic victory. Headed by Stalin, the CPSU held high the fighting banner of Leninism and led the Soviet people and the heroic Soviet army, reared in the glorious tradition of the October Revolution, in overcoming innumerable difficulties and in eventually defeating the Hitler gang which had mustered the military and economic strength of more than a dozen European countries. The Soviet people and army successfully defended their own country and opened the way for the East European peoples to liberate themselves from the enslavement of the Hitler brigands. The Soviet people proved themselves worthy of the name of a great people, and the Soviet army proved itself worthy of the name of a great army. Time will never dim their glorious exploits.

The heroic deeds of the Soviet people and army are indissolubly linked with the incomparable superiority of the Soviet socialist system and the great strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat that guaranteed victory for the Soviet people and army. Only this system and this dictatorship could have stood firm under the surprise attack of the most ferocious imperialist power and trained such an army and such a people who fought the fascist brigands resolutely until final victory. Only this system and this dictatorship could have accomplished

the industrialization of the Soviet state and the collectivization of its agriculture in so short a period and thus built up sufficient economic and military strength to defeat the Hitler thugs. As Stalin put it, "Our victory signifies, first of all, that our Soviet social system was victorious, that the Soviet social system successfully passed the test of fire in the war and proved that it is fully viable." He also said, "The war proved that the Soviet social system is a genuine people's system, which grew up from the ranks of the people and enjoys their powerful support. . . ."¹

The victory of the Soviet people and army are indissolubly linked with Stalin's leadership. In the hour of crisis for the Soviet state after the outbreak of the War, it was Stalin who shouldered the heavy responsibility of leading the Party and the state and it was he who welded together the multi-national Soviet people into a force of invincible steel for their life-and-death struggle against the fascist brigands. As supreme commander of the Soviet armed forces, Stalin directed the entire war and all its major campaigns, from its outbreak to final victory. At the critical moment when Hitler's gangster forces stood at the very gates of Moscow, it was Stalin's supremely confident and determined voice that the people of the Soviet Union and the whole world heard, saying, "Annihilate to a man all the German occupationists who penetrated our country."² And when the War en-

¹ J. V. Stalin, Speech Delivered at an Election Meeting in the Stalin Election District, Moscow, February 9, 1946.

² J. V. Stalin, "The Twenty-fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution", *The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1945, pp. 33-34.

tered the stage of counter-offensive, it was Stalin's great call that all the officers and men of the Soviet armed forces heard, saying, "The wounded beast must be pursued close on its heels and finished off in its own lair."¹ The name of Stalin inspired the Soviet people and army throughout the War. Although he made certain mistakes, Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist and proved himself a great commander. His outstanding contribution to victory in the Anti-Fascist War can never be erased.

All these conclusions have long been established and accepted by the whole world. Nonetheless, Khrushchov and his disciples brazenly distort the history of the Soviet people's war against fascism. They worked out their anti-Marxist-Leninist revisionist line at the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Khrushchov's report on the work of the Central Committee and the secret report he delivered at the Congress were typical revisionist products. A striking expression of their revisionist line was the complete negation of Stalin. They completely blackened the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat, slanderously depicted the great Soviet people as pessimistic and degenerate philistines, and vilified the heroic Soviet army as a cowardly mob.

According to Khrushchov, before the War Stalin took a "carefree attitude" towards the enemy's plans for aggression and "everything was ignored"; when the War broke out he lost heart and "relinquished leadership", thinking that "all was finished"; and during the whole course of the War he simply "planned operations on a

¹J. V. Stalin, "May Day, 1944", *The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1945, p. 125.

globe". In short, according to Khrushchov, Stalin was not a great commander but an "idiot".

While pouring endless abuse on Stalin, these falsifiers of history lauded Khrushchov to the skies. They said that during the War Khrushchov "always stood where the difficulties were greatest" and on many occasions made "more reasonable decisions" than those of the Supreme Command. Khrushchov was not only "the soul of the Stalingraders" but the leader in many "decisive battles", Lieutenant-General Khrushchov thus became Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Patriotic War.

The Khrushchov revisionists' vehement denunciation of Stalin and lavish praise of Khrushchov were very important steps for opposing Marxism-Leninism and promoting revisionism. They tried hard to belittle or obliterate Stalin's role in the Anti-Fascist War in order to destroy his prestige among the people of the Soviet Union and the world as a great Marxist-Leninist and in order to adulterate Marxism-Leninism. Actually, in smearing Stalin, they smeared the socialist system, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the CPSU itself, and thus paved the way for changing the dictatorship of the proletariat into a "state of the whole people" and the proletarian party into a "party of the entire people". They dressed up that clown Khrushchov as the "hero" of the Anti-Fascist War so as to build up his prestige and to enable Khrushchov revisionism to supplant Marxism-Leninism. But after all, gold remains gold in the furnace of history and dross remains dross. The Khrushchov revisionists have already met with failure in their attempt to tamper with history and in their strenuous efforts to negate Stalin and to oppose Marxism-Leninism, and total failure is awaiting them.

IN THE SECOND PLACE, THE HISTORY OF THE ANTI-FASCIST WAR SHOWS THAT IMPERIALISM IS THE SOURCE OF WARS IN MODERN TIMES, THAT THE AGGRESSIVE NATURE OF IMPERIALISM WILL NOT CHANGE AND THAT TO DEFEND WORLD PEACE IT IS NECESSARY TO WAGE A TIT-FOR-TAT STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM.

World War II was the culmination of a series of wars of aggression which were launched and gradually extended in the 1930s by the three fascist powers, Germany, Italy and Japan. It was the result of the imperialist policies of aggression and war. These fascist countries were the three most aggressive imperialist powers. They did not scruple to launch wars of aggression to extricate themselves from their political and economic crises and to plunder more and more countries more and more ruthlessly.

At that time two diametrically opposed policies towards fascist aggression held the world stage. For a long period the British, French and U.S. imperialists and their partners followed a policy of appeasement towards German, Italian and Japanese fascism, indulging the evil-doers and conniving at their crimes. They tacitly consented to the aggression of Japanese imperialism against China. They allowed Mussolini to commit aggression against Abyssinia (Ethiopia). They encouraged the German and Italian fascists in their armed intervention in Spain. They connived at Hitler's annexation of Austria and the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia. Instead of buying peace, all this served to whet the fascists' appetite for further aggression and to bring on the world war. By their policy of appeasement the British, French and U.S. imperialists lifted a rock only to drop it on their own toes, and history meted out due punishment to them.

But the people of the world pursued another policy, that of dealing resolute counter-blows to fascist aggression. The people of the Soviet Union, China and many other countries firmly opposed the British, French and U.S. imperialist policy of appeasement, courageously shouldered the heavy responsibility of fighting fascism and eventually won not only the war but also the peace.

Summing up the experience of the Chinese people and the people of the whole world in their struggles against imperialists and all reactionaries, as well as the experience of the Anti-Fascist War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has categorically stated that the nature of imperialism will never change, that we must never cherish illusions about the imperialists but must wage a tit-for-tat struggle against them. He said that "the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, . . . they will never become Buddhas, till their doom" and that "it is impossible to persuade the imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries to show kindness of heart and turn from their evil ways. The only course is to organize forces and struggle against them".¹ Developments in the twenty years since the War have proved the correctness of this policy of struggling against imperialism and all reactionaries, as pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

In the period since the War, U.S. imperialism has taken the place of German, Italian and Japanese fascism and become the most aggressive imperialist power. U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war. It harbours the vain hope of subjugating the whole world, and it is the sworn enemy of the people of all countries.

¹Mao Tse-tung, "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, pp. 428 and 429.

It encroaches everywhere and launches wars of aggression one after another. The Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson Administrations have all been patterned from the same mould, they have all been faithful executors of the U.S. monopoly capitalist policies of aggression and war. From their own experience the people of the world have come to understand with increasing clarity that peace can never be won by begging for it from imperialism, and that, on the contrary, it can be effectively preserved only by waging resolute struggles against imperialism, and especially against U.S. imperialism. The victory of the Chinese people's revolutionary war, the victory of Korea's war of resistance against U.S. aggression, the victory of the Cuban people's revolutionary war and the victories won in anti-U.S. struggles in many other countries have all served to puncture the arrogance of the U.S. imperialist aggressors and were all effective in defending world peace. It is now plain that the only way the people of the world can smash the U.S. imperialists' plans for aggression and war and prevent another world war is to hit the U.S. aggressors hard on every front of the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Imperialism always uses the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of armed aggression and fraudulent peace, sometimes alternately, sometimes simultaneously, against the revolutionary people of any country. The people in their turn must make skilful use of revolutionary dual tactics in struggling against imperialism. The signing of the Soviet-German non-aggression treaty on the eve of the Anti-Fascist War and the conclusion of the Korean armistice agreement and of the two Geneva agreements after the War all show that so long as the basic interests

of the people are not violated, it is perfectly permissible and even necessary to conduct negotiations with the imperialists and reach certain agreements with them on appropriate occasions. However, a tit-for-tat struggle is necessary when negotiating with the imperialists. It is absolutely impossible to gain through talks what is not won on the battlefield. Even when certain agreements are reached and signed with the imperialists, they never keep their word and they may tear up the agreements at any time. Whoever pins his hopes of preventing war and safeguarding peace on negotiations with the imperialists, or goes so far as to accommodate himself to imperialism at the expense of the basic interests of the people, will come to grief in the face of reality.

The Khrushchov revisionists completely ignore this important historical lesson of the Anti-Fascist War. They eagerly preach that the nature of imperialism has changed and they have tampered with the fundamental Marxist-Leninist thesis that imperialism is the source of war in modern times. In their opinion, world wars are not a product of the imperialist system or of the predatory nature of imperialism, but are a result of momentary impulse or loss of reason on the part of certain individuals. They used to describe Eisenhower and Kennedy as "peace-loving", and now they have spoken of the Johnson Administration as being "moderate" and "sensible". In their relations with U.S. imperialism, they practise capitulationism, spread the idea of "mutual concessions", "mutual compromise", "mutual conciliation" and "mutual accommodation", and try to subordinate the revolutionary struggles of the people in various countries to their general line of "peaceful coexistence" and "Soviet-US co-operation for the settlement of world

problems". Again and again they have betrayed the interests of the revolutionary people — in the Caribbean crisis, in the matter of the Congo, the German peace treaty and West Berlin, and the partial ban on nuclear tests.

Khrushchov's successors are more cunning in their ways, they utter fine-sounding words and play various tricks; nevertheless, they cling to the revisionist line laid down at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, carry out Khrushchov's old policies and still want the revolutionary peoples to submit to what they call "Soviet-U.S. cooperation". They even want to organize a "U.N. force" in collaboration with U.S. imperialism and play the world gendarme to hold down the oppressed peoples and nations. They are colluding with the U.S. aggressors and plotting to sell out the basic interests of the people of Viet Nam and of all other countries, including the Soviet Union. The Khrushchov revisionists are out-and-out appeasers. Their line does not safeguard world peace, but aids and abets U.S. imperialism in committing unbridled aggression and unleashing war. This line is inevitably being discredited as the people throughout the world become more and more awakened.

IN THE THIRD PLACE, THE HISTORY OF THE ANTI-FASCIST WAR SHOWS THAT A PEOPLE'S WAR IS SURE OF VICTORY, THAT IT IS ENTIRELY POSSIBLE TO DEFEAT THE IMPERIALIST AGGRESSORS, THAT IMPERIALISM IS A PAPER TIGER, WHICH IS OUTWARDLY STRONG BUT ACTUALLY WEAK, AND THAT THE ATOM BOMB IS ALSO A PAPER TIGER AND IT IS PEOPLE AND NOT WEAPONS, OF WHATEVER KIND, THAT DECIDE THE OUTCOME OF WAR.

In the early period of the War, the three fascist countries, Germany, Italy and Japan, arrogantly threw their

weight around, and quite spectacularly so for a time. They set their whole war machine in motion and they had great superiority in military strength. They dominated almost the whole of capitalist Europe, occupied half of Asia and invaded Africa, treading 800 million people beneath their heels. But that was only a transitory phenomenon. It was the people and not the fascists with their military superiority who proved really powerful. The reason was that the fascists were waging an unjust war of aggression, that they were the enemies of the people of every country, including their own, and that their temporary victories were therefore built on sand and were without any solid foundation. The war that the people of the world were fighting was a just war against aggression and in defence of their motherlands. The potential strength of the people is inexhaustible. Given correct leadership in accordance with a correct line, the people will gradually grow stronger and become powerful in struggle, gradually change the balance of forces, and in the end they will defeat the fascist aggressors. The just people's war is bound to triumph; the unjust imperialist war is bound to go down in defeat.

In 1946 Comrade Mao Tse-tung advanced his celebrated thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, and he did so after summing up the experience of the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people and of the people of the world as well as the historical experience of the Anti-Fascist War. He said:

All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful! From a long-term point of view, it

is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.¹

He added:

Wasn't Hitler once considered very strong? But history proved that he was a paper tiger. So was Mussolini, so was Japanese imperialism. On the contrary, the strength of the Soviet Union and of the people in all countries who loved democracy and freedom proved much greater than had been foreseen.²

Sharply criticizing the theory that "weapons decide everything", Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that it was "a mechanical approach to the question of war and a subjective and one-sided view". He said:

Our view is opposed to this; we see not only weapons but also people. Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive. The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale.³

He declared emphatically:

The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 100.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

³ Mao Tse-tung, "On Protracted War", *Selected Works*, Vol. II.

of mass slaughter, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon.

The twenty years since the War have demonstrated the incontrovertible truth of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theses that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers and that the relationship between man and weapons must be correctly handled, theses that have stood the test of practice. Despite its possession of nuclear weapons, U.S. imperialism was unable to prevent the victory of the Chinese revolution, of Korea's war of resistance against U.S. aggression, of the Cuban revolution or of the revolutionary struggles in many other regions, and it will definitely not be able to prevent the Vietnamese people from achieving victory. The nuclear weapons of the U.S. imperialists may scare the faint-hearted but can never intimidate revolutionary people. However savagely the U.S. imperialists suppress the people's revolutionary struggles, the flames of the people's revolution can never be quenched. Is there not a most convincing proof in the surging national democratic revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America and in the fact that the people's struggle against U.S. imperialism is growing in breadth and depth in all countries?

The Khrushchov revisionists completely ignore this important historical lesson of the Anti-Fascist War. They have lost confidence in the struggle against imperialism, they have never had faith in the great strength of the people, in the ability of the people of all countries to win victory in their revolutionary struggles. They believe one hundred per cent in the theory that "weapons decide

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 100.

everything". All they see is the nuclear weapons in the hands of the U.S. imperialists, and they tremble with fear. They play up the horrors of war and preach the philosophy of survival — "What is the use of principles if one's head is chopped off?" — in order to intimidate the people and to oppose and, indeed, sabotage the people's revolutionary struggles in all countries. They have degenerated into willing propagandists for the U.S. imperialists' policy of nuclear blackmail.

IN THE FOURTH PLACE, THE HISTORY OF THE ANTI-FASCIST WAR SHOWS THAT, IN ORDER TO DEFEAT THE IMPERIALIST AGGRESSORS, IT IS IMPERATIVE TO RELY UPON THE UNITY OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY FORCES IN ALL COUNTRIES, WIN OVER TO OUR SIDE ALL THE FORCES THAT CAN BE WON OVER, FORM THE BROADEST POSSIBLE INTERNATIONAL UNITED FRONT, AND CONCENTRATE OUR BLOWS ON THE MAIN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD.

The victory won in the Anti-Fascist War was a victory of the broad international united front against fascism. As far back as June 23, 1941, the day after the outbreak of the Soviet-German war, Comrade Mao Tse-tung clearly pointed out:

For Communists throughout the world the task now is to mobilize the people of all countries and organize an international united front to fight fascism and defend the Soviet Union, defend China, and defend the freedom and independence of all nations. In the present period, every effort must be concentrated on combating fascist enslavement.¹

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "On the International United Front Against Fascism", *Selected Works*, Vol. III.

At that time, the German, Italian and Japanese fascists constituted the gravest menace to mankind; they started aggressive wars and formed the centre of world reaction. To oppose fascist aggression and enslavement was the common fighting task of the people of all countries. The people were the basic force combating fascism. It was because all the different peoples supported each other and fought shoulder to shoulder that the Anti-Fascist War was won.

The Soviet Union, which was the only socialist country at the time, was the main force in annihilating the German fascists and played the decisive role in defeating fascism. The Chinese people waged their revolutionary war against Japanese imperialism, for a very long time on their own, and made a most significant contribution to victory in the Anti-Fascist War. Likewise, the people of many countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceania and America made their own contribution to the Anti-Fascist War. The people of the countries occupied by German, Italian and Japanese fascism either persisted in guerrilla warfare and underground struggles at home, or organized themselves into armies abroad which later fought their way back to their own countries. In the latter period of the War, the people in some countries successfully staged armed uprisings and liberated large tracts of their territory, or sent troops to join in the pursuit of the fascist hordes and to support the people's liberation struggle in other countries after their own countries had been freed. In Germany, Italy and Japan, the masses of the people also resisted fascist rule at home in various ways, up to and including armed struggle, and supported the struggle of other peoples suffering from fascist aggression and enslavement. All these struggles con-

tributed to victory in the Anti-Fascist War and each occupies a place of honour in the history of the War. The Khrushchov revisionists, however, try at one stroke to write off the role played by the people of all other countries in the Anti-Fascist War, arrogantly declaring that the Soviet Union was "the only force smashing the German fascist machine". By this they try to promote their great-power chauvinism and demand that all countries which were helped by the Soviet army should obey their orders, submit to their control and bullying, and put up with their exploitation.

The history of the Anti-Fascist War teaches us that the imperialist countries do not form a monolithic bloc. Owing to the uneven development of capitalism, the German, Italian and Japanese fascists struck first at the spheres of influence of Britain, France and the United States. Although in the early stages of the War the British, French and U.S. imperialists first followed the appeasers' policy of conniving at aggression, and then for a time after the outbreak of the Soviet-German war followed the policy of "sitting on top of the mountain to watch the tigers fight", there were irreconcilable contradictions between them and the German, Italian and Japanese fascists. They finally joined the anti-fascist ranks for their own interests.

Obviously, it would have been impossible to win the War without the unity of all the forces that could be united against fascism and without a broad, world-wide united anti-fascist front.

Since the War U.S. imperialism has become the principal enemy of the people of the world. It is now the world's biggest monopoly capitalist power and the chief prop of every reactionary force. The armed interventions

and wars of aggression it is launching one after another in different parts of the world are a grave menace to world peace. U.S. imperialism today is taking the same path as that travelled by German, Italian and Japanese fascism over twenty years ago.

U.S. imperialism is indulging in unscrupulous military threats and war provocations against the socialist countries and brazenly suppressing the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations. This demands the formation of a close-knit militant alliance by the socialist countries and all the oppressed peoples and nations against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

At the same time, U.S. imperialism is intensifying its control over and bullying of all its allies in the political, economic and military spheres. There are irreconcilable contradictions between the United States and its allies, who, in their own interests, are likely to take action against U.S. imperialism on one issue or another sooner or later.

It is therefore the common task of the people of the whole world to unite all the forces that can be united, direct the spearhead of their struggle against U.S. imperialism and concentrate their forces on combating the main enemy.

In view of this situation, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has issued a great call for the formation of an international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. He said:

The people of the countries in the socialist camp should unite, the people of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America should unite, the people of

the continents of the world should unite, all peace-loving countries and all countries that are subject to U.S. aggression, control, interference and bullying should unite, and should form the broadest united front to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to safeguard world peace.¹

This international united front is now growing and expanding. Making enemies all over the world, U.S. imperialism is inevitably meeting with resistance everywhere. It is becoming increasingly isolated and is besieged ring on ring by the people of the world.

The Khrushchov revisionists completely ignore this important historical lesson of the Anti-Fascist War. They have betrayed proletarian internationalism, and have been treating enemies as friends and vice versa. Instead of uniting with all possible forces against U.S. imperialism, they are bent on aligning themselves with U.S. imperialism against the people of the world and on realizing U.S.-Soviet world hegemony. Obstinate persisting in their schismatic line, they undermine the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement and regard the fraternal countries and Parties which adhere to Marxism-Leninism as their enemies. Despite the U.S. imperialist expansion of the war of aggression in Viet Nam and the acute need for unity against the enemy, they held the Moscow meeting in March, which was a grave step to split the international communist movement.

¹ Mao Tse-tung, *Statement Expressing the Chinese People's Firm Support for the Panamanian People's Just, Patriotic Struggle*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1964, p. 3.

The successors to Khrushchov are now talking loudly about "unity against the enemy" and "concerted action". This is nothing but a swindle. We would like to ask: Who exactly is the enemy you wish to confront? Is it U.S. imperialism or the revolutionary people of the world? What is the purpose of the concerted action you demand? Is it to combat U.S. imperialism, or to surrender to it? What is the basis of the unity you demand? Is it Marxism-Leninism, or Khrushchov revisionism?

How can you expect "concerted action" with the Marxist-Leninists and the masses of the people in all countries, who constitute over 90 per cent of the world's population, when you persist in the revisionist line laid down at the 20th and 22nd Congresses and embodied in the Programme of the CPSU, and when you persist in the line of "Soviet-U.S. co-operation for the domination of the world"? Do you want us to join you and work for revisionism and submit to your line of "Soviet-U.S. co-operation for the domination of the world"? To speak frankly, that will never happen.

In short, to assess the history of the Anti-Fascist War correctly and to draw the necessary lessons from it is not merely a matter of assessing history, it is also of profound practical significance. Here the difference between the Khrushchov revisionists and ourselves is in essence a difference over whether or not to oppose imperialism, whether or not to make revolution and whether to have genuine unity or sham unity, and, in the last analysis, it is the difference between loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and its betrayal.

The great Lenin told us that "a struggle against imperialism that is not closely linked up with the struggle

against opportunism is an idle phrase, or a fraud.¹ The post-war practice of revolutionary struggle by the people of various countries has proved that one must follow the Marxist-Leninist line if one wants to expand the forces of revolution, promote the revolutionary cause and defend world peace. If, instead, one acts in accordance with the Khrushchov revisionist line, the inevitable result is to weaken the forces of revolution, ruin the revolutionary cause and endanger world peace. We must thoroughly expose the true face of Khrushchov revisionism, eliminate its influence and carry the struggle against it through to the end in order to promote the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations, smash the U.S. imperialist plans for aggression and war and defend world peace, and in order to expand the united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Today, the whole world is faced with the grave danger or the extension of the war of aggression in Viet Nam by U.S. imperialism. The Viet Nam question is the focal point in the present world-wide struggle between the revolutionary forces of the people and the forces of counter-revolution, between the forces of peace and the forces of war. The heroic patriotic struggle of the 30 million people of Viet Nam against U.S. aggression is not only a struggle to defend and re-unify their fatherland, but also a struggle to safeguard world peace. It is the bounden international duty of all revolutionary forces and all peace-loving countries and people to support and aid the Vietnamese people in their struggle.

¹V. I. Lenin, "The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1946, Vol. I, p. 746.

More recently, U.S. imperialism has dispatched large numbers of troops to invade the Dominican Republic in its attempt to suppress the struggle of the Dominican people to overthrow the traitorous dictatorial rule in their own country. This constitutes not only a wanton interference in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic, but also an act of provocation to the people of Latin America and to the people of the whole world who have the sacred right to safeguard their own national independence and win democracy and freedom.

U.S. imperialism is still carrying on intervention and aggression in Laos, Cambodia, South Korea and Japan. In collusion with British imperialism, it has created "Malaysia" and is committing aggression against Indonesia. It is trying to put down the revolutionary movement of the people of the Congo (Leopoldville) by armed force. It is using Israel to menace the Arab countries. It is continuing its disruptive and subversive activities against Cuba. It is fostering West German militarism and attempting to grab West Berlin and subvert the German Democratic Republic. It is also perpetrating many other crimes in other countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Oceania and Europe. It is also a bounden international duty of all revolutionary forces and all peace-loving countries and people to give firm support to the struggles against U.S. imperialism waged by the people in these countries. If the U.S. aggressors are allowed to do whatever they please and the modern revisionists are allowed to conspire with them and sell out the interests of the peoples, that will only whet the appetite of the U.S. imperialists for aggression and encourage them to spread the flames of war. Conversely, if all revolutionary people and all peace-loving countries

and people unite and act in a determined struggle against U.S. imperialism, they will be able to smash its plans to extend its war of aggression.

The most pressing task facing the people of the world today is to broaden the united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, unfold an unprecedentedly powerful mass movement on a world scale, and compel the U.S. aggressors to get out of Viet Nam, out of the Dominican Republic, out of Asia, Africa and Latin America, out of Europe and Oceania, out of all the places they have invaded.

The world situation is now fundamentally different from what it was before the Anti-Fascist War.

The revolutionary forces of the people of the world are now stronger than ever before. Whereas there was then only one socialist state, the Soviet Union, there is now a socialist camp consisting of a number of socialist countries. Wide expanses of Asia, Africa and Latin America have ceased to be the rear areas of imperialism and instead have become the front lines in the struggle against imperialism. Moreover, the working class and the working people in Western Europe, North America and Oceania are experiencing a new awakening.

The Marxist-Leninist ranks are now stronger than ever before. Steeled in the struggle against modern revisionism, the international communist movement has vastly increased its fighting capacity. Long-tested Marxist-Leninist nuclei of leadership have appeared in many Communist Parties. The forces of Marxism-Leninism are developing even within those Communist Parties that are temporarily dominated by revisionism.

International imperialism has become far weaker. U.S. imperialism is having an increasingly hard time. It is

sitting on a volcano which rumbles again and again. The contradictions among the imperialists are growing sharper and their camp is in the process of disintegrating.

The true face of the Khrushchov revisionists as accomplices of the imperialists has been more and more clearly exposed. Their revisionist line is already bankrupt. Everywhere the revisionists are just a handful of people. Even these are jostling each other and parting company. So far from being able to save the lives of the imperialists, the revisionists find that their own thrones are tottering.

In the present world situation, the United States is in a much worse strategic position than was Hitler in his day. It is much more difficult for the United States to unleash a world war. At the same time, the forces defending world peace are much stronger than twenty years ago. The possibility of averting a world war has enormously increased. Through their common struggle the revolutionary people and the peace-loving countries and people can frustrate the U.S. imperialist plans for aggression and war. The people's cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism is sure to win still greater victories. If, following in Hitler's footsteps, U.S. imperialism dares to impose a world war on the people, it will inevitably come to the same ignominious end as Hitler.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out long ago:

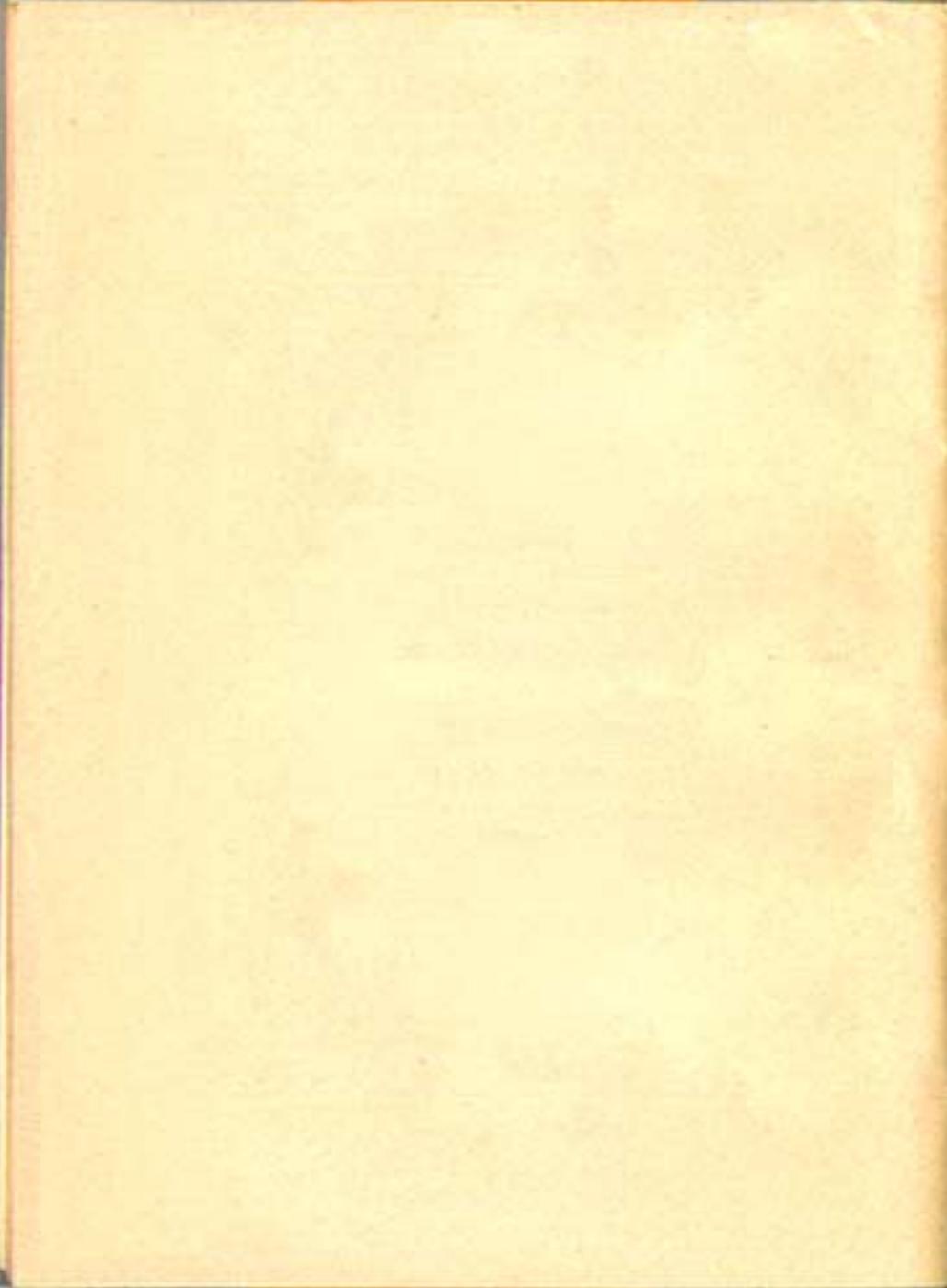
The First World War was followed by the birth of the Soviet Union with a population of 200 million. The Second World War was followed by the emergence of the socialist camp with a combined population of 900 million. If the imperialists insist on launching

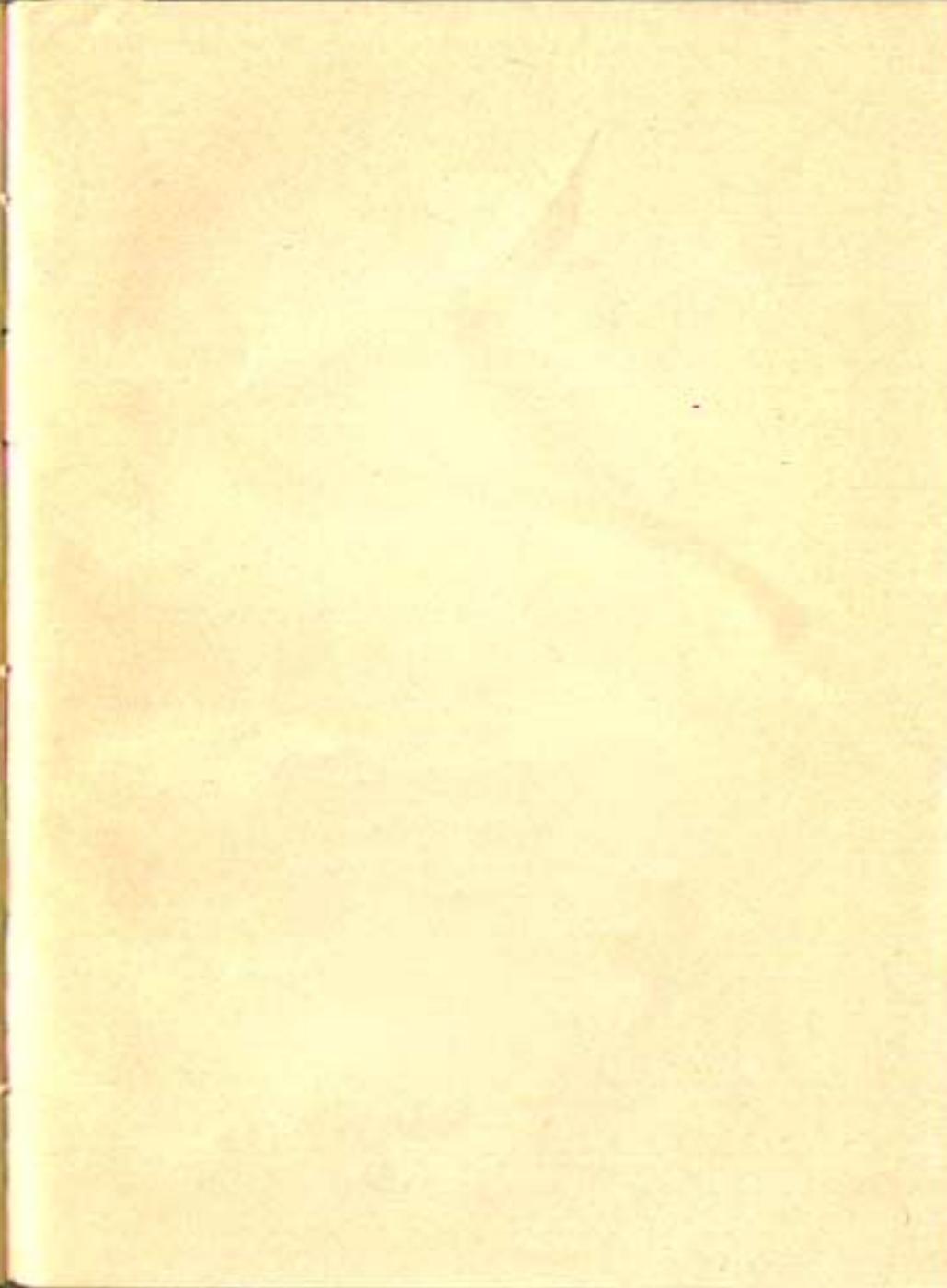
a third world war, it is certain that several hundred million more will turn to socialism, and then there will not be much room left on earth for the imperialists; it is also likely that the whole structure of imperialism will utterly collapse.¹

The just cause of the people of the world is bound to triumph! U.S. imperialism is bound to fail!

Marxism-Leninism is bound to triumph! Revisionism is bound to fail!

¹Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.





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