



Liu Shao-chi

# INTERNATIONALISM AND NATIONALISM

*By*

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## CONTENTS

*Page*

The Bourgeois-Nationalist Concept of the Nation ..	2
The Proletarian-Internationalist Concept of the Nation .....	8
The Present Conditions of Oppressor Nations and Oppressed Nations .....	20
The Two Great Camps in the World of Today and the Path of the National Liberation Movement	27
The Progressive Character of Bourgeois Nationalism in Given Historical Conditions and the Marxist-Leninist Attitude Toward Such Nationalism ...	42
Conclusion: Genuine Patriotism Is Intimately Connected With Internationalism .....	49
* * * * *	
The Author .....	52

# ERRATA

## *For Internationalism and Nationalism*

by Liu Shao-chi

Page 5 Line 20-23 For **movement for the unification of Italy.**  
**At the present time the bourgeoisie in the colonial and semi-colonial countries are also taking part in national revolution.** read **movement for the unification of Italy, and at the present time the bourgeoisie in the colonial and semi-colonial countries who are taking part in national revolution.**

Page 12 Line 18 For **nationalists** read **internationalists**

Page 25 Line 24-25 For **Social Democratic Parties and of the British Labour Party** read **socialist parties and labour parties**

Page 36 Line 10-21 For **Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave a similar explanation in his *New Democracy*.**

**"The choice is . . . . one's own nation."**  
read **Just as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out in his *New Democracy*, the choice is between uniting with the Soviet Union and uniting with imperialism. It must be one or the other. That is the line of demarcation between patriotism and betrayal of one's own country, between revolution and counter-revolution, between progress and retrogression for any nation. Opposing the Soviet Union will surely be serving the interest of imperialism and betraying the interest of one's own nation.**

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The resolution concerning the Communist Party of Yugoslavia adopted by the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, the U.S.S.R., France, Czechoslovakia and Italy condemned the anti-Soviet position of the Tito clique—renegades of the proletariat.

The resolution pointed out that this anti-Soviet position of the Tito clique proceeds from the nationalist programme of the bourgeoisie and is leading to a betrayal of the cause of international unity of the working people and to a nationalist position. The resolution stated: "Such a nationalist position can only lead to Yugoslavia's degeneration into an ordinary bourgeois republic, to the loss of its independence and to its transformation into a colony of the imperialist countries."

The resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Yugoslav Party also pointed out that the Tito clique, because of its betrayal of a series of the fundamental viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism, had fallen into the mire of bourgeois nationalism and bourgeois parties. At the same time, our Central Committee pointed out that by passing this resolution, the Information Bureau was "fulfilling its

obligations to the cause of preserving world peace and democracy, and of defending the people of Yugoslavia from the deception and aggression of American imperialism."

What, then, is bourgeois nationalism? What is the relation between Marxism-Leninism and the national question? Why is it that the anti-Soviet position of the Tito clique will make Yugoslavia a prey to the deception and aggression of American imperialism, and forfeit her independence, thereby transforming her into a colony of imperialism? The purpose of this article is to answer these questions. In order to clarify these questions, it will be necessary to deal with some of the basic problems of the present-day world situation.

## **1. THE BOURGEOIS-NATIONALIST CONCEPT OF THE NATION**

The national question is closely linked with the question of classes and the national struggle is linked with the class struggle. "In different periods," Comrade Stalin has stated, "different classes appear on the arena of struggle and each class has its own conception of the national question." For this reason, "the national question in different periods serves different interests, and assumes different aspects, depending upon which class poses this question and in what period."

So, in order to understand bourgeois nationalism, we must first understand the bourgeoisie as a class. The bourgeois-nationalist concept of the nation—the bourgeois approach to the nation—and its programme and policy in dealing with the national question, are based upon the class foundation of the bourgeoisie and flows from its narrow class interests.

It is common knowledge that the class interests of the bourgeoisie are built on the foundation of capitalist exploitation. It seeks profits and more profits and still more profits.

The bourgeois class itself is divided into several different strata, and each of those into several groups. In their pursuit of profits, the capitalists not only unscrupulously exploit the proletariat; even within their own class the capitalists do not scruple to swallow up their rivals in the process of cut-throat competition—the big fish swallows the little fish, the big bourgeoisie swallows the petty and middle bourgeoisie, one group squeezes out and swallows another group.

The bourgeoisie strives to possess the means of production and the market of its own country. And since its greed for profits knows no limits, the bourgeoisie strives to expand beyond its own country, to seize foreign markets, sources of raw materials and areas for capital investment, thus subjugating other nations and exploiting them. At the same time it squeezes out the bourgeoisie or rival capitalists of other countries.

The exploitation of wage labour, competition, the squeezing out, suppressing and swallowing of rivals among the capitalists themselves, the resorting to war and even world war, the utilisation of all means to secure a monopoly position in its own country and throughout the world—such is the inherent character of the profit-seeking bourgeoisie. This is the class basis of bourgeois nationalism and of all bourgeois ideologies.

Conforming to this class basis, the bourgeois-nationalist programme and policy concerning the national question are as follows:

At home, the bourgeoisie subordinates the interests of the nation as a whole to its own class interests. It places its class interests or the interests of a certain top stratum of society above the interests of the whole people. Moreover, it tries to monopolise the concept of the nation, posing as the spokesman of the nation and the defender of national interests in order to deceive the people. Abroad, at the same time, it counterposes the interests of its own nation (in essence, of its bourgeois top stratum) to the interests of other nations. The bourgeoisie strives to place its own nation above other nations and, whenever possible, to oppress and exploit other nations, completely disregarding their interests. It uses part of the loot gathered abroad to buy off certain groups of the population within its country in order to weaken and split the resistance of the people in its homeland.

The most vicious manifestations of the development of bourgeois nationalism include the enslavement of the colonial and semi-colonial countries by the imperialist powers, the First World War, the aggression of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese warlords during the Second World War, and the schemes for the enslavement of the whole world undertaken by the international imperialist camp, headed by American imperialism.

When a given nation is held in subjugation by another nation or when oppressed by the feudalism of its own country, the bourgeoisie, because of the threat to its interests by such subjugation or oppression, may join with the people under certain conditions in conducting a struggle to a certain extent against such subjugation or oppression.

Instances of this are, the American bourgeoisie in the War for Independence and in the American civil war; the French bourgeoisie at the time of the French Revolution; the Italian bourgeoisie during the movement for the unification of Italy. At the present time the bourgeoisie in the colonial and semi-colonial countries are also taking part in national revolutions. But as soon as the bourgeoisie of any nation obtains power and becomes capable of subjugating other nations, it immediately makes a volte-face and begins to oppress them. This was the case with the nationalist movements of the bourgeoisie in Great Britain, the United States, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, etc. In these

cases, the bourgeoisie, upon gaining power, changed its position, and began oppressing other nations and sacrificing the interests of those nations.

When capitalism reaches the stage of imperialism, the ruling group in the capitalist countries becomes numerically smaller and smaller. The extremely small clique of big bankers, financial magnates and autocrats on the one hand turns its own country into a financial empire, cruelly exploiting and oppressing the people, and on the other hand, it conquers other nations one by one, converting them into colonies and dependencies of a few financial empires and resorting to the most brutal means of exploitation and oppression. The more wealth the predatory bourgeoisie amasses, the greater becomes its greed and ambition to absorb and seize new wealth, and the more it intensifies its oppression of the people within its own country and steps up its aggression against other nations. Such domestic oppression and foreign aggression will be all the more carried out under the cloak of nationalism, which even arbitrarily boasts of its own nation as a "superior race" endowed with the right to dominate other nations and to suppress the "inferior races."

When several imperialist powers seek to plunder the weaker nations of the world, the result is an imperialist world war for the redistribution of colonies. And this crime, the most monstrous in world history, is committed by the bourgeoisie under the banner of "nationalism."

As we have shown, bourgeois-nationalists in different countries, upon gaining power, do not hesitate to pursue a policy of aggression against other nations. But under certain conditions, they will sell out their own nation, help the imperialists and rulers of other nations to oppress the people of their own country and sacrifice their own people for the sake of safeguarding their possessions and preserving their political power. Such may be the case when their own nation is suppressed by the mighty pressure of foreign imperialism or when the class interests of the bourgeoisie or of a certain upper stratum of the bourgeoisie come into sharp conflict with the basic interests of the people of its own country, or when the people rise in defence of their interests and threaten the power of the bourgeoisie, or when the bourgeoisie is intimidated or bribed by rulers of other nations or foreign imperialists.

A well-known historical instance of this kind is the case of the representative of the French bourgeoisie, Thiers, who betrayed France to Germany at the time of the Paris Commune. More recent examples are the betrayals by big bourgeois Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei of semi-colonial China; and during Hitler's invasion, the betrayals by Daladier and Petain of France, Pilsudski and Beck of Poland, Hacha of Czechoslovakia, Quisling of Norway. Furthermore, since the end of the Second World War, owing to the critical state of capitalism, the reactionaries of Great Britain, France, Italy and other European countries are

kowtowing even more readily to American imperialism and acting as its lackeys.

Only when it is to its own advantage does the bourgeoisie use the slogan of nationalism to arouse the people. But when it is against its interests, the bourgeoisie completely discards the integrity of their nation and turns traitor to their people.

Such is the bourgeois-nationalist concept of the nation and the class foundation upon which it is based. Such is the basic principle and programme of bourgeois nationalism for dealing with national questions throughout the world. This bourgeois-nationalist concept of the nation also represents the world outlook of the bourgeoisie.

## 2. THE PROLETARIAN-INTERNATIONALIST CONCEPT OF THE NATION

The proletarian-internationalist concept of the nation is diametrically opposite to the bourgeois-nationalist concept of the nation. The proletarian-internationalist approach to the national question and its basic principles for dealing with the national question throughout the world proceed from the basic interests of the masses of the given nation, and at the same time, from the common interests of the masses of the people of every nation, which are the common basic interests of all mankind. Since national aggression is

a product of the system of class exploitation, it is only natural that the proletariat, which exploits no one and fights for a social system without the exploitation of man by man, should be opposed to any oppression of one nation by another. The proletariat cannot countenance in society any system of oppression of man by man for otherwise it could not achieve its own emancipation.

For this reason, the proletariat is resolutely opposed to any kind of national oppression. It fights not only against the oppression of its own nation by any other nation, but also against its own nation oppressing another. It advocates the complete equality of all nations (large or small, strong or weak) both at home and in the family of nations, and it also advocates the voluntary association and voluntary separation of all nations. The gradual movement towards world unity can be achieved through different concrete paths such as voluntary separation (the aim of which is to smash the oppression and control of the imperialists over the vast majority of the world's nations) and voluntary association (with various nationalities uniting on a completely voluntary basis after imperialist oppression has been eliminated).

Such is the proletarian-internationalist concept of the nation and the class basis on which it is founded. Such is the basic principle and programme of proletarian internationalism for dealing with the national question throughout the world.

Guided by the foregoing principles, Communists in all the oppressed nations have always constituted the staunchest vanguard fighters leading the anti-imperialist national liberation movements of the oppressed nations. For example, we Chinese Communists are thorough proletarian internationalists and are, at the same time, revolutionary patriots and revolutionary national fighters, most staunchly opposing all imperialist aggression against the Chinese nation, defending the freedom and independence of our fatherland and opposing all traitors.

In China, it was the party of the Chinese proletariat, and not the party of the bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeoisie, that first raised a clear-cut programme for fighting against imperialism and for national independence. Our Communist Party of China has always been the leader and organiser of the anti-imperialist national united front of the Chinese people. The scale of this national united front embraces workers, peasants, intellectuals, the petty-bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and even the progressive gentry. This revolutionary national liberation movement is not in contradiction to proletarian internationalism, but is entirely consistent with it. It constitutes an extremely important integral part of the movement of proletarian internationalism, constituting its broadest direct ally. The victory of this national liberation movement is a great step forward along the path of the proletarian internationalist cause, for it

gives great aid and impetus to the socialist revolution of the proletariat throughout the world. • •

Therefore, it is clear that if the Communists in the oppressed nations fail to take concrete steps to fight against imperialist oppression and for national liberation, if they merely regard "internationalism" as *window dressing*, then they are betraying proletarian internationalism, playing into the hands of imperialism, descending to the level of the mean and contemptible Trotskyites and, as a result, becoming faithful agents of imperialism.

Furthermore, Communists will be betraying the proletariat and Communism and playing the game of the imperialists all over the world and will make themselves pawns of the imperialists, if, after their own nation has been freed from imperialist oppression, the Communists descend to a position of bourgeois nationalism, carrying out a policy of national selfishness and sacrificing the common international interests of the working people and the proletarian masses of all the nations throughout the world to the interests of the upper stratum of their own nation; or if they not only fail to oppose imperialism but on the contrary rely on imperialist aid to carry out aggression and oppression against other nations; or if they employ national conservatism and exclusive ideas to oppose proletarian internationalism, to reject the international unity of the proletariat and the working people and to oppose

the Socialist Soviet Union. The Tito clique in Yugoslavia is now taking this path.

Guided by the foregoing principles, the Communists in all oppressor nations, in all imperialist countries, have always staunchly and unconditionally opposed aggression and oppression against colonial and semi-colonial countries by the rulers of their own nations—the imperialist clique. The Communists of these countries have used every means to give unconditional aid to national liberation movements in the colonies and semi-colonies. They advocate complete independence and complete emancipation of the colonial and semi-colonial countries from the imperialist control of their own countries. As examples, we can refer to the Communists in Czarist Russia, in Great Britain, the United States, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Holland, Belgium, etc. As staunch nationalists, they resolutely oppose the imperialists of their own countries who carry out oppression and aggression against India, Malaya, the Philippines, Indonesia, Viet-Nam, China, Central and South America, Africa and other colonial and semi-colonial countries. They consistently fight for and help the oppressed nations attain independence and liberation.

The Communists take this position because they fully understand the famous saying of Marx that "no nation which oppresses others can itself be free". They understand that without such national liberation movements, which sap, weaken and undermine the

foundations of imperialist domination, it would be extremely difficult for the proletariat of the imperialist countries to achieve victory in the struggle against monopoly capital and to attain its emancipation. Hence, aid for the liberation movements of the colonial and semi-colonial countries is, at the same time, aid for the cause of the emancipation of the proletariat in the imperialist countries.

Guided by the foregoing principles, therefore, after overthrowing imperialist rule in their countries and gaining power, the Communists must immediately put an end to every oppression imposed by "their" imperialists upon other nationalities, whether inside or outside of that country. For example, as soon as the October Revolution in Russia had overthrown the Czar and the bourgeois provisional government and gained power, Lenin and Stalin, for the first time in the history of mankind, immediately proclaimed the abrogation of all the unequal treaties which Czarist Russia had imposed upon China and other countries, abolished the whole system of enslavement which Russian imperialism had imposed on its colonies and semi-colonies and proclaimed the complete equality of all nationalities within the country. This is the correct application of the great principles of proletarian internationalism.

Therefore, if there are individuals in the ranks of the proletariat of oppressor nations who regard "internationalism" as *window-dressing* or who sink to the

position of bourgeois nationalism, helping the imperialists\* of their own countries to suppress the colonial, semi-colonial and backward countries, instead of extending support to the national liberation movements of the colonies and semi-colonies, they are betraying proletarian internationalism—the cause of Socialism and Communism—and become agents of imperialism. For example, the representatives of the labour aristocracy who have been bought off by imperialism—the Right-wing of the Social-Democratic parties in various countries\* and the Right-wing of the British Labour Party—belong to this type of proletarian renegade. Furthermore, if after coming into power when imperialist domination has been overthrown in their own country, the Communists do not immediately abolish imperialistic oppression against other nations and do not proclaim the complete equality of all peoples within their country; if instead they continue national oppression and pursue an aggressive policy toward other people, they too will be betraying proletarian internationalism—the cause of Socialism and Communism; it means that they regard "internationalism" as *window-dressing* and have degenerated to the position of bourgeois nationalism.

However, under certain historical conditions, oppressor nations may become oppressed nations. A case in point is when Hitler invaded and conquered France, Belgium and Holland. Then in contrast to the bourgeois national traitors, the Communists of those

countries, guided by the foregoing principles, placed themselves heroically in the very forefront of the national resistance in the fight against the fascist aggressors.

The European countries enslaved by the Marshall Plan of American imperialism may serve as another example. The reactionary bourgeoisie of these countries, at the same time, also continues to suppress the national revolutionary struggle in the colonies with the aid of American imperialism. This is what France is doing in Indo-China, Britain in Malaya and in other colonies, and the Netherlands in Indonesia. Guided by the foregoing principles, the Communists of these imperialist countries, on the one hand, must offer determined resistance to American imperialism's enslavement and aggression against their own nations; they must fight against the capitulation of their bourgeoisie to the United States and against the betrayal of their nations by the bourgeoisie and defend the independence of their nations; on the other hand, they must resolutely oppose the imperialist colonial policy of the bourgeois rulers of their own country and the oppression and exploitation of the colonial peoples by their bourgeois rulers, and they must unconditionally support the liberation movement of the colonial peoples against the imperialists of their own countries.

In such a situation, the Right-wing of the Social-Democratic parties in the European countries and of the British Labour Party continues on the one hand,

25429

15

. 19 DEC 1968

to pursue an imperialist policy toward the colonies and, on the other hand, to support the Marshall Plan which enslaves their own countries. The Communist parties relentlessly fight these renegades.

Such are the varied concrete programmes and policies which proletarian internationalism adopts on the national question in different nations and under different conditions. These programmes and policies are determined by the basic common interests of the masses of the people of the given nations as well as by the interests of the masses of the people of all nations. In other words, they proceed from the basic common interests of all mankind, and at the same time they are in full accord with the class interests of the proletariat.

Such is the concrete application of the world outlook of proletarian internationalism in different historical conditions.

Having gained a clear idea as to the bourgeois-nationalist and proletarian-internationalist concepts of the nation, we can understand that bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism represent two different classes, two antagonistic world outlooks, ideologies and slogans. Lenin said: "Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism are two irreconcilable, mutually antagonistic slogans. They conform to the two great class camps of the whole capitalist world, and manifest two different policies on

the national question (and especially two different world outlooks)."

Thus we can also understand why a sharp line must be drawn between proletarian internationalism and its position on the national question, and bourgeois nationalism. Any Communist who descends to the position of bourgeois nationalism is betraying Communism.

Thus we can also understand that, in view of the bourgeois-nationalist concept of the nation and its programmes and policies in dealing with the national question, any imperialism, whenever possible, will certainly carry out aggression and oppression against other nations and certainly will not honestly assist other nations in achieving independence and liberation. Sometimes an imperialist country may help an oppressed nation to fight against another imperialist country; however, the imperialist country does not do this for the sake of the independence and liberation of the oppressed nation—it does this, rather, to make use of the oppressed nation against its rival, to escape from its own disasters and to attempt to establish its own imperialist rule over the oppressed nation after its rival has been squeezed out.

The purpose of Hitler's plan to establish "the New Order in Europe," of the Japanese warlords' plans to establish the "Co-prosperity Sphere in Greater East Asia" and "Sino-Japanese Co-existence and Co-prosperity", of American imperialism's so-called "Mar-

shall Plan for European Recovery", "Aid for China's Economic Reconstruction", "Aid for Korean Independence", and "Aid for Philippine Independence", of Britain's "Aid for Indian and Burmese Independence", and the like—the purpose of all these is not to assist in the rehabilitation of other nations or to help the oppressed nations to fight for their independence and liberation, but to establish or preserve their own rule over other nations.

No oppressed nation can achieve real liberation and independence through the so-called aid of imperialist powers. No imperialist country can be expected to extend genuine help to the cause of real independence and liberation. Thus, we can understand that it would be extremely erroneous and harmful to harbour illusions that American imperialism would in good faith help the Chinese people to achieve real independence, peace and democracy.

Guided by the proletarian-internationalist concept of the nation, and by its programme and policy in dealing with the national question, the Communists must be the most determined, most reliable and most capable leaders of the movement for the national liberation and independence of all oppressed nations. They must be the most determined defenders of the legitimate interests of their own people and aid unconditionally the liberation movement of all oppressed nations the world over. They cannot pursue a policy of aggression against any other nation or a policy of

oppressing the national minorities within their own country.

Thus we can understand that there is not the slightest basis for such demagogic propaganda and malicious slander of the imperialists as: "Inasmuch as the Communists are internationalists, they cannot lead the movements for national liberation and independence, they cannot safeguard the interests of their nation or their fatherland"; "The Soviet Union is guilty of Red imperialism"; "The Soviet Union pursues an aggressive policy toward China, Korea, and other countries"; "The Soviet Union pursues an expansionist policy"; etc.

Only the Communists and the international proletariat, only the Soviet Union and the New Democracies led by the Communist Parties are the most reliable friends of all oppressed nations fighting for their liberation and national independence. The aid of the Soviet Union, of the international proletariat and of the Communists is the most important condition for the victory of all nations in fighting for liberation from imperialist oppression, for national independence. To harbour mistrust and unfriendliness toward the Soviet Union and the New Democracies led by the Communist Parties and to regard "the capitalist countries as less dangerous to Yugoslavia than the Soviet Union", as the Tito-ites are doing, is extremely erroneous and harmful.

To regard, as the Tito-ites do, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the foreign policies of the imperialist countries as being the same, or to confuse them, and to adopt the same attitude to the Soviet Union and the New Democracies led by the Communist Parties as is adopted toward imperialist countries—this is extremely erroneous and harmful, a result of the betrayal of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, the betrayal of proletarian internationalism and it constitutes a degeneration to the position of bourgeois nationalism.

### 3. THE PRESENT CONDITIONS OF OPPRESSOR NATIONS AND OPPRESSED NATIONS

Imperialist aggression has divided the nations of the world into two categories—oppressor and oppressed. After World War I, Lenin made an analysis of these two categories of nations as follows:

“A billion and a quarter oppressed in the colonies—countries which are being cut up alive, like Persia, Turkey, and China; and countries which have been vanquished and flung into the position of colonies. Not more than a quarter of a billion inhabit countries which have retained their old positions, but have fallen into economic dependence upon America, and all of them during the war, were in a state of military dependence, for the war affected the whole world and did not

permit a single state to remain really neutral. And finally, we have not more than a quarter of a billion inhabitants of countries in which only the upper stratum, of course, only the capitalists, benefited by the partition of the world."

This is the national question of the modern world. This is the question of the imperialists of a small number of countries (the upper stratum and the capitalists) mercilessly oppressing and plundering the colonial and semi-colonial countries the world over. This is the situation in the sphere of the national question, reflecting the sharpening of the contradictions in the capitalist world and the sharpening of the uneven development of capitalism in different countries in the epoch of imperialism. This situation, on the one hand, cannot but lead to a sharp struggle of the imperialist countries for colonies; on the other hand, to an upsurge of the worldwide national liberation movement of all the oppressed peoples fighting against imperialism and for liberation.

During the latter period of the First World War, the Russian proletariat pierced the imperialist front over one sixth of the earth's surface and carried out the great October Socialist Revolution. Thus the world was divided into two different economic systems. The First World War and the Russian October Revolution led to the general crisis of capitalism. Under the conditions of this general crisis, bourgeois nationalism became even more lop-sided, more cruel and more aggressive. Fascism in Germany, Italy, Japan and

other countries, aimed at enslaving the peoples of the world, was the product of the most decadent and most reactionary monopoly capital under conditions of the sharp contradictions in the general crisis of capitalism. During World War II, the German-Italian-Japanese fascists were defeated by the international anti-fascist forces, headed by the Soviet Union. With the help of the Soviet Union, the peoples of various Eastern European countries broke through the front of imperialism and established their New Democratic states.

The Communist Parties in all countries of the world proved to be the most heroic leaders and the strongest forces in the defence of their fatherland during the great Anti-Fascist War; therefore their prestige among the peoples was extremely high and they became unprecedentedly powerful. The national revolutionary struggles of the East are sweeping like wild fire through China, Viet-Nam, Indonesia, Burma, Malaya and other countries. Thus, the world situation after World War II underwent a new basic change signifying a new and sharper development of the general crisis of capitalism compared with that which followed the First World War. At present, American imperialism, replacing Hitler and the Japanese warlords, has mapped out even more vicious plans for dominating and enslaving the various peoples of the world and has formulated its expansionist policy on a world-wide scale. Needless to say, this is another product of the most decadent and most reactionary

monopoly capital in the period of a new accentuation of the general crisis of capitalism.

The basic situation of the nations of the world after the Second World War is roughly as follows:

On one side, there is the Socialist Soviet Union, the leader of all the peoples of the world in the struggle against imperialism and fascism. After defeating German-Italian-Japanese fascism, the Soviet Union continues to advance towards ever-greater prosperity, to struggle for the defence of world peace, democracy and the independence of all peoples. It has a population of 200 million. Next is the Mongolian People's Republic which has a population of one million and was liberated long ago. Then, there are New Democratic countries in Southeastern Europe—Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Albania and Yugoslavia—with a total population of 85 million. These countries following their liberation from German and Italian fascist slavery, are marching toward socialism under the leadership of their Communist Parties. However, in one of these countries, Yugoslavia, as a result of the betrayal of the Tito clique, the proletariat is waging a struggle against those who have betrayed them.

In addition, there is liberated Northern Korea and Eastern Germany, with a population of approximately 30 million. Besides these, there are the peoples who are still directly engaged in the struggle against foreign imperialism and against the betrayers of their

countries. These include the Liberated Areas of China which have a population of 168 million\* who have completely shaken off imperialist oppression and are carrying on New Democratic construction under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. If we add to these the already liberated parts of the population of Viet-Nam, Indonesia, Greece and other countries, then, up to the present time, over 500 million people out of the total global population of two billion people have already been liberated from imperialist oppression. These people have really attained the position of independent and free masters.

The liberated peoples already exceed one-fourth of the population of the globe. This signifies a regeneration of the world and bears testimony to the scope and level that mankind has already attained in its struggle for emancipation. Undoubtedly the number of the liberated peoples from now on will grow day by day. It will not be long before the whole of mankind will be freed from imperialist domination. No matter what setbacks the struggle may sustain, its general trend toward liberation is an inevitable and irresistible law of history.

The prospect of the complete liberation of China's 475 million population is especially clear, in view of the series of victories by the great People's Liberation Army.

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\* This article was written in November, 1948, when only a part of China was liberated.

This is one side of the situation.

On the other hand, with the defeat of German, Italian and Japanese fascism, three of the world's six greatest imperialist powers (the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan) have been smashed.

At the present time, the imperialist powers still possessing colonies (of varying sizes and number) comprise the United States, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal and others. The number of the imperialist powers has decreased. But the enslavement of the peoples of the world by one imperialist country, American imperialism, has assumed an unprecedented scale. Even such countries as Great Britain and France have been weakened as a result of the enormous losses sustained in the war, not to mention the Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal and others. It is true that reactionaries of these countries continue to use violent, sanguinary and imperialist methods to strangle the liberation movement of the colonial peoples. Nevertheless, since the bourgeoisie of these countries have sold out their own nations, and as a result of the treacherous policy of the Right-wing of the Social-Democratic Parties and of the British Labour Party, these countries have become dependent nations and protectorates under the domination of American imperialism.

Thus, besides the above-mentioned 500 million people already liberated, more than 1,300 million peo-

ple throughout the world (exclusive of the United States) find themselves directly or indirectly under the single domination of American imperialism. The reactionaries in Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and other countries have in effect turned traitor to their nations and have become junior partners of the American imperialists. The United States has a population of 140 million, who are harnessed to the chariot of eight notorious financial groups, including those of Morgan, Rockefeller, Du Pont, Mellon, etc., and their reactionary representatives amount to only a handful, only about one thousand people.

These eight major financial groups, having one thousand people, on the one hand rule the 140 million American people within their country, while on the other hand, on the basis of the American capitalist social system, they directly or indirectly enslave all the nations of the world, with the exception of the Soviet Union and other liberated nations. If we include the American people, the domination of the eight big American financial groups directly or indirectly extends to almost three-quarters of the population of the globe—that is, to more than 1,400 million people. Moreover, these groups are trying in every way to impose their system of imperialist enslavement on the Soviet Union and the other liberated areas.

This is the present-day situation with reference to the national question on a world scale.

#### 4. THE TWO GREAT CAMPS IN THE WORLD OF TODAY AND THE PATH OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT •

As indicated above, the national question in the present-day world is essentially a question of the exploitation and oppression, or attempted exploitation and oppression, of the nations the world over by American imperialism as well as the struggles of all nations in the world against the oppression and exploitation by American imperialism in order to achieve national liberation or to defend national independence.

Even during the Second World War, the American imperialists had made their plans for plundering and oppressing all the nations of the world. After the war, they put the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan into operation, thus step by step bringing many countries and nations of the world under their own control and rule, preparing a network of military bases throughout the world, setting their foot in all countries and intervening in the domestic affairs of other countries. All these activities stemmed from their ambitious and aggressive plans. And their aggressive plans, just like those of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese warlords, are being carried out under the slogan of "defence against the Soviet Union, defence against Communism".

In order to put their plans for the enslavement of the whole world into operation, the American imperia-

lists have no alternative but to do all they can to mobilise the people of their own country in support of their plans and to suppress all forces among the people of their own country who oppose their plans. Thus, they have to carry out propaganda among the American people about the "theory" of the so-called "American Century" and the "theory" of the "superiority of the white race", declaring that the United States should "lead the world" and that all the nations of the world should be brought under its rule. Therefore, the American imperialists are persecuting the Communist Party of the United States, the progressive American trade unions and the progressive movement of the American people. They are establishing a fascist-like rule in the United States, for otherwise they would not be able to put their plans into effect.

In order to put their plans for world domination into operation, the American imperialists have no alternative but to do all they can to oppose all the world forces that are fighting against the realisation of such plans. Thus, they are opposing the U.S.S.R., the New Democracies of Eastern Europe, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people's liberation movement, the national liberation movements in Greece, Viet-Nam, Indonesia, Malaya, Burma and the Philippines; they are opposing the Communist Parties and the people's democratic forces of all countries. This is because all these countries and forces have formed an anti-imperialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, in determined opposition to the plans of the American

imperialists for the enslavement of the world. Therefore, when the Tito clique made known its anti-Soviet position, deserted the Communist Information Bureau and destroyed the vital forces of real progress within its own country, the American imperialists displayed uncontrolled glee. They are making preparations to start a third world war some time in the future, in an attempt to subdue all the forces of the world in opposition to them.

In order to put their plans for the enslavement of the world into operation, the American imperialists have no alternative but to search for lackeys and agents in the various countries who will carry out and support their plans. They seek out national renegades and traitors and give them their backing in suppressing the resistance movements of the peoples of these countries and in opposing the Soviet Union. American imperialists help the reactionaries of all countries and support the revival of the remnants of fascism in Germany, Japan, Italy, and other countries. The reactionary parties and groups of the bourgeoisie and the remnants of fascism in these countries have become the lackeys and agents of American imperialism and are suppressing, with American aid, the resistance movements of the peoples of their own countries and of the colonial countries and are opposing the Soviet Union and the democratic forces of the peoples of all countries.

However, precisely because of the plans of the American imperialists for the enslavement of the world,

and because of the betrayal of their nations by the reactionaries of the various European countries, the national question has become a vital issue for even a greater part of the population than after World War I. The anti-imperialist camp of the national liberation movement has become even broader, while the number of imperialist countries has dwindled and these have become more isolated. The foundations of imperialism are growing ever more unstable and its strength has been getting weaker and weaker; the oppressed people are rising on an ever-broadening scale to fight against the imperialists, bringing ever nearer the end of their domination.

The class enemies of the proletariat of the capitalist suzerain countries in Europe are at the same time national traitors and, consequently, the national enemy of these countries. To win socialism, the proletariat of the various European countries must oppose both enslavement by American imperialism and the national traitors of their own countries. The class question and the national question are thus clearly linked together. This is to the advantage of the proletariat of the various European countries. On the one hand, by uniting with still broader masses of people within their countries, they can link up the defence of their national independence with the cause of achieving socialism; and on the other hand, by uniting with broader masses of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, they can link up the national liberation movements of the colonies

and semi-colonies with their own cause of achieving socialism.

The plans of the American imperialists for the enslavement of the world, and the betrayal of their own nations by the reactionaries of the various European countries reflect the development of the general crisis of world capitalism as well as the extreme accentuation of the various contradictions of capitalism. They reflect the fact that the American and other imperialists who plan an insane and desperate struggle are sitting on a volcano of new severe crises. The American imperialists' plans for enslavement, at the same time, further accelerate the development of the general crisis of capitalism while accentuating the basic contradictions of world capitalism—the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the various imperialist countries fighting for colonies and markets, and between the imperialists and the oppressed peoples. As a result, the vast majority of the peoples of the world have no alternative but to develop their unity on a world scale in the struggle for their liberation and in this way, hasten the downfall of imperialism.

At present, the American imperialists are intensifying their activities for the enslavement of the peoples of the world; and the imperialists of Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and other countries, with American aid, are intensifying their oppression of the colonial peoples. There is an upsurge of the

people's democratic movement against American and other imperialism in the various countries; and an upsurge of the national liberation movements on the part of the colonial peoples. As a result, the national question in the world today has become unprecedentedly acute.

The world today has been divided into two mutually antagonistic camps: On the one hand, the world imperialist camp, composed of the American imperialists and their accomplices—the reactionaries of all countries of the world; on the other hand, the world anti-imperialist camp, composed of the Soviet Union and the New Democracies of Eastern Europe, and the national liberation movements in China, Southeast Asia and Greece, plus the people's democratic forces of all countries of the world. American imperialism has become the bastion of all the reactionary forces of the world; while the Soviet Union has become the bastion of all progressive forces.

These two camps include all the peoples of the world—of all countries, classes, sections of the population, parties and groups. When these two camps are in sharp conflict, people line up with one side or the other. That is, if one is not in the imperialist camp, if one is not assisting American imperialism and its accomplices to enslave the world or one's own people, then one must be in the anti-imperialist camp, assisting all oppressed peoples of the world fighting to achieve liberation, or fighting for the liberation of one's own

nation against American imperialism and its accomplices—the reactionaries in all countries. This means one is assisting the Soviet Union, the New Democracies of Eastern Europe, the people's democratic forces in the United States and other countries, the proletariat and the Communist Parties of all countries. To remain neutral or sitting on the fence is impossible. In the critical situation of the present-day world, so-called neutrality, as was pointed out long ago by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his *New Democracy*, is nothing but deception, intentional or otherwise.

It can thus be seen that in the present world situation, in order to win its liberation, every oppressed nation has no alternative but to oppose American imperialism and its accomplices within its country, to oppose the reactionaries of all countries, to unite with the Soviet Union and the New Democracies of Eastern Europe, to unite with the national liberation movements and people's democratic forces of other countries, to unite with the proletariat and the Communist Parties of all countries—that is to say, it must line up with the anti-imperialist camp and wage a stubborn struggle against American imperialism and its accomplices in other countries. No nation can win real liberation any other way.

It can thus be seen that if the Communist Parties, the proletariat, the people's democratic forces in the United States, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and other countries, especially those in the United

States, can rise up and overthrow the rule of their monopoly capitalists, abolish the imperialist domestic and foreign policies of their countries and carry out proletarian socialist domestic and national policies, then they will have completely liberated not only the peoples of their countries, but also all the oppressed nations of the world as well. It follows that the complete victory of the proletariat and the peoples of these countries, as well as every blow they deliver to the rule of the monopoly capitalists of their countries, constitutes the best and most direct help to the oppressed nations of the world. Therefore, the national liberation movements of the oppressed nations of the world must endeavour to obtain help from the proletariat and the people in the imperialist countries, and to form with them a united front in opposition to the rule of imperialism. This is because both are facing a common enemy, and the victory of one helps the other to win victory.

It can thus be seen that the victories of the national independence movements of the oppressed nations of the world over the imperialists of the United States, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and other countries, will deprive these countries of their colonies, undermine the foundation on which they dominate the world, greatly weaken the rule of the imperialists in their home countries, and will therefore lead to the liberation of the proletariat and the peoples of these countries from the rule of imperialism. Thus the victories gained by the national independence and

liberation movements of the oppressed nations in the colonies and semi-colonies, and every blow delivered to imperialism, constitute the best and most direct help to the proletariat and the peoples in imperialist countries. The proletariat, the Communist Parties and the people's democratic forces in all countries, especially those in imperialist countries, must give still more support to the national independence and liberation movements in colonial and semi-colonial countries, and take further steps in building up a united front with them in opposition to the rule of imperialism. This is because both are facing a common enemy, and the victory of one helps the other to win victory.

It can thus be seen that the existence and prosperity of the anti-imperialist, socialist Soviet Union, and the existence and development of the New Democracies of Eastern Europe, constitute a heavy blow to American imperialism and its lackeys—the reactionaries of other countries—and to the rule of world imperialism. All this signifies and accentuates the general crisis of world capitalism, brings ever nearer the final collapse of world capitalism, strengthens the socialist revolution of the proletariat in all countries and the camp of the national liberation movement of all oppressed nations, and brings the socialist and New Democratic revolutions in all countries ever nearer to victory.

In his letter to the Soviet Union just before his death in the spring of 1925, the great Chinese patriot,

Dr. Sun Yat-sen wrote: "This great union of free republics, bequeathed by the immortal Lenin to the oppressed nations of the world, is a real inheritance with which sufferers under imperialism will protect their freedom and free themselves from the international system based on ancient slavery, war and selfishness." This truth is as fresh as ever. This truth was borne out once again in the last world war against fascism. It will be borne out again in the future struggle for the liberation of mankind. Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave a similar explanation in his *New Democracy*:

"The choice is between uniting with the Soviet Union and uniting with imperialism. It must be one or the other. That is the line of demarcation between patriotism and the betrayal of one's own country, between revolution and counter-revolution, between progress and retrogression for any nation. Opposing the Soviet Union will surely be serving the interest of imperialism and betraying the interest of one's own nation."

All that which was said above explains one fundamental question; that is: the oppressed nations, the proletariat and the people's democratic forces in all countries must unite with each other, unite with the Soviet Union, and unite with the New Democracies of Eastern Europe before they can defeat the plans of American imperialism for the enslavement of the world, and the rule of other imperialists over their

colonies, before they can solve the national question of the world today, i.e., to liberate all oppressed nations and consequently to abolish the rule of the monopoly capitalists in their home countries, which is the cause of imperialist aggression.

That is to say: the Communists and the peoples of all countries must base themselves on proletarian internationalism, on the proletarian-internationalist concept of the nation and the proletarian-internationalist programmes and policies with regard to the question of the nation, unite with the labouring people and the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces in all countries of the world and unite with the Soviet Union and the New Democracies of Eastern Europe, in a common struggle through mutual assistance and mutual support in order to liberate all oppressed nations and solve the national question of the world today.

That is to say: if one follows the bourgeois-nationalist concept of the nation, and adopts its programmes and policies with regard to the national question, opposes the Soviet Union instead of uniting with it, opposes the New Democracies of Eastern Europe instead of uniting with them, opposes the Communists, the proletariat and the people's democratic forces in all countries instead of uniting with them, opposes the national liberation movements in colonial and semi-colonial countries instead of uniting with them, does the same as the Tito clique is doing in Yugoslavia, then one will of course unite with the American

and other imperialists, will of course line up with the imperialist camp, will of course unite with the reactionary forces in all countries, will of course fail to achieve national liberation, will never accomplish anything in the cause of socialism, will of course make one's own nation prey to the deception and aggression of American and other imperialism, with the result that one's own nation will lose its independence and turn into a colony of the imperialists. Therefore, just as the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has said: The resolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties in pointing out this dangerous future to the whole world and the people of Yugoslavia so that the people of Yugoslavia may become vigilant and correct the mistakes of the Tito clique, "is fulfilling its obligations to the cause of preserving world peace and democracy, and of defending the people of Yugoslavia from the deception and aggression of American imperialism."

That is to say: in directing the national liberation movements and proletarian socialist movements of the world today, the Communists and the peoples of all countries must base themselves on proletarian internationalism and not oppose proletarian internationalism, must discard bourgeois nationalism and not base themselves on bourgeois nationalism, and must closely link together the national democratic revolution of the oppressed nations and the socialist revolution of the proletariat, before these two kinds of revolution can both win victory, before we can liberate every nation

of the world, and before we can solve all national questions of the world today. Otherwise, not only will we be unable to win any socialist victory, we will also not be able to win real victory in any national liberation movement.

That is to say: The national question of the present-day world must be viewed in connection with the question of world revolution as a whole, in connection with history as a whole and the world as a whole; it should not be viewed in isolation and from a narrow viewpoint, or from any unrealistic and abstract viewpoint. Just as Lenin and Stalin have said: the national question must not be appraised in isolation, but must be appraised on a world-wide scale.

After World War I and the success of the Russian October Revolution, in accordance with the new historical conditions of the whole world, the national question had to be appraised from the viewpoint of proletarian socialist revolution in opposition to international imperialism. It could no longer be appraised from the viewpoint of the bourgeois revolutions of the old world prior to the inception of the new era. Before World War I and the Russian October Revolution, the national question constituted a part of the world bourgeois democratic revolution. Since then, the national question has become a part of the world proletarian socialist revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's comprehensive elaboration, in his *New Democracy*, on Stalin's theories

concerning this question, and his own theories set forth in this book analysing in detail the transition of the Chinese revolution from the period of old democracy to New Democracy, are absolutely correct. Only by directing the national liberation movements on the basis of these correct theories can we liberate all the oppressed nations in the world and solve the world's national question today. In China the Communists stand at the forefront of all those struggling against American imperialist aggression, against Kuo-mintang reactionary rule, and against the oppression of feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. Not only the Communists, but also all democratic parties, people's organisations and non-party democratic elements—so long as they are really opposing imperialism, the Kuomintang reactionary rule, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, and are not merely paying lip service to revolution while actually attempting to sabotage revolution—should bear the above principles in mind and work for their realisation, and should neither think nor act otherwise. If they think or act otherwise, they are heading up a blind alley and will be left behind by the revolutionary army.

There is not the slightest doubt that to regard the national question as separate from the class question, or to regard the national struggle as separate from the class struggle, is absolutely wrong and harmful and constitutes a form of deception adopted by landlord and bourgeois reactionaries. Inasmuch as reactionary bourgeois nationalism and modern imperialist aggres-

sion are policies brought about by the development of the capitalist system of exploitation, which has as its final outcome the fanatical attempts of American imperialism to achieve world domination, the counter-revolutionary policies of American imperialism for the enslavement of the world have, with unprecedented clarity, joined together the socialist revolutionary movements of the proletariat in the capitalist suzerain countries and the national liberation movements of the oppressed nations. These policies also point out with unprecedented clarity that to uproot imperialist aggression, the rule of the monopoly capitalists in capitalist suzerain countries must be overthrown.

The ultimate goal of the struggle of mankind for liberation will be socialism and Communism. According to the famous saying of Molotov: "In the age we live in, all roads lead to Communism." The peoples of all nations will reach this destination along their own paths of concrete struggle. For oppressed nations, the struggle for national liberation is the path which must be travelled. Only when the system of the exploitation of man by man has been replaced by socialism, as in the Soviet Union, can aggression be completely eliminated. The Socialist Soviet Union has abolished all forms of class exploitation. In the Soviet Union, there are unlimited prospects for the development of her social productive forces. She does not allow others to wage aggression against her. Nor does she want to wage aggression against others, since there is absolutely no necessity for her to do so.

Thus she has become a bulwark in the fight against the imperialist aggression, she has become the most reliable and the best friend of the oppressed nations of the world. After socialism has been gradually carried out in all countries, the word "aggression" will be a strange archaic word existing only in man's mind.

This is the only road leading to the ultimate liberation of the whole of mankind as well as the ultimate liberation of all nations of the world.

#### **5. THE PROGRESSIVE CHARACTER OF BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM IN GIVEN HISTORICAL CONDITIONS AND THE MARXIST-LENINIST ATTITUDE TOWARD SUCH NATIONALISM**

Marxism-Leninism considers all questions in their historical settings. Marxist-Leninists view bourgeois nationalism under the given historical conditions. Drawing a distinction between its different objective roles, they decide what different attitudes the proletariat should take toward it.

In the early period of capitalism, the national movement led by the bourgeoisie had as its objective the struggle against oppression by other nations and the creation of a national state. This national movement was historically progressive, and the proletariat supported it.

In the present period, such bourgeois nationalism still exists in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

This variety of nationalism also has a certain objective progressive historical significance.

The bourgeoisie of Europe, the United States and Japan has established the imperialist system of colonial and semi-colonial oppression in many backward countries. In such colonial and semi-colonial countries as China, India, Korea, Indonesia, the Philippines, Viet-Nam, Burma, Egypt, etc., bourgeois nationalism inevitably developed. This was because the national bourgeoisie in these countries has interests antagonistic in the first place to those of imperialism, and in the second place to those of the domestic backward feudal forces. Moreover, these feudal forces unite with imperialism in restricting and hampering the development of the national bourgeoisie. Therefore, the national bourgeoisie in these countries is revolutionary in a certain historical period and to a certain degree. Bourgeois nationalism in these countries has a decidedly progressive significance when the bourgeoisie mobilise the masses in the struggle against imperialism and the feudal forces. As Lenin pointed out (in a speech delivered at the Second Congress of the Eastern Peoples), nationalism of this type "has historical justification". Therefore the proletariat, with the aim of overthrowing the rule of imperialism and the feudal forces, should collaborate with this bourgeois nationalism which plays a definitely anti-imperialist and anti-feudal role provided, as Lenin said, that these allies do not hinder us in educating and organising the peasantry and the broad masses of the

exploited people in a revolutionary spirit. The clearest example of this type of collaboration was that which existed between us Chinese Communists and Sun Yat-sen.

Sun Yat-sen's nationalism was a form of bourgeois nationalism. The Three People's Principles of Sun Yat-sen, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out in his *New Democracy*, had undergone great changes in the two historical periods before and after the Russian October Socialist Revolution. In the former period, it came under the category of old democracy, that is, it remained within the scope of bourgeois democratic revolution of the old world and was a part of the bourgeois and capitalist world revolution. In the latter period, however, it belonged to New Democracy, that is, it pertained to the scope of new bourgeois democratic revolution and was a part of the proletarian Socialist world revolution.

Sun Yat-sen's nationalism in the old democratic era had a dual character. His opposition to the current rulers of China, the Manchu Dynasty, had a progressive character. Yet the Greater Han-ism he advocated had a reactionary character. After the October Revolution, when China entered the New Democratic era, he received help from the U.S.S.R. and from us Chinese Communists. He then revised his nationalism characterised by Greater Han-ism and turned toward revolutionary nationalism, characterised by his active opposition to imperialist aggression and his adoption

of the three policies of alliance with the Soviet Union, alliance with the Chinese Communist Party and support for the workers and peasants.<sup>6</sup> He also advocated that "the Chinese nation should strive to liberate itself" and that "there should be equality for all nationalities within the country" (Declaration of the First Congress of the Kuomintang). Thus he turned toward New Democracy and we Communists therefore adopted the policy of collaborating with him. This collaboration was absolutely correct and necessary for national liberation and was in accord with the interests of the proletariat at the time, even though it was an unreliable, temporary and unstable alliance which was later undermined by the shameless betrayers of Dr. Sun's cause.

Although Sun Yat-sen's world outlook at the time was still of a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois character, and although his nationalism was still a form of bourgeois nationalism preserving some reactionary features (for instance, his concepts of so-called "common blood" "state and nation" and "Greater Asianism" etc.), nevertheless he stood for the doctrine of a national revolution which called for "arousing the people and uniting in a common struggle with all nations in the world who treat us as equals." He also put into effect the three great policies of alliance with the U.S.S.R., alliance with the Chinese Communist Party and support for the workers and peasants. This was an excellent illustration of the progressive character of revolutionary bourgeois nationalism in colonial and

semi-colonial countries during the new era of world Socialist revolution. It was of enormous revolutionary significance.

However, shortly after Sun Yat-sen's death, the brazen betrayers of his cause—the representatives of the big bourgeoisie, such as Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wei and other reactionary leaders of the Kuomintang—began to turn Sun Yat-sen's doctrine of national revolution toward the opposite and extremely counter-revolutionary direction. They swung from the anti-imperialist struggle to capitulation to imperialism, from alliance with the Soviet Union to struggling against it, from unity with the Chinese Communist Party to attacks on the Party, from supporting the workers and peasants to slaughtering them. Moreover, they used the conservative and reactionary features of Sun Yat-sen's nationalism as their anti-national banner. It therefore became necessary for the Communist Party, in order to defend the interests of the nation, to adopt a firm policy of opposition to the Kuomintang reactionaries, who were headed by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei.

Of course, the Communists in other colonial and semi-colonial countries such as India, Burma, Siam, the Philippines, Indonesia, Indo-China, South Korea, etc., must for the sake of their national interests similarly adopt a firm and irreconcilable policy against national betrayal by the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie, especially the big bourgeoisie, which has already sur-

rendered to imperialism. If this were not done, it would be a grave mistake.

On the other hand, the Communists in these countries should enter into an anti-imperialist alliance with that section of the national bourgeoisie which is still opposing imperialism and which does not oppose the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses of the people. Should the Communists fail to do so in earnest, should they to the contrary, oppose or reject such an alliance, it would also constitute a grave mistake. Such an alliance must be established in all sincerity even if it should be of an unreliable, temporary and unstable nature.

The experience of the revolution in other countries as well as in China fully confirms the correctness of the scientific Marxist-Leninist conclusion that the national question is closely linked with the class question and the national struggle with the class struggle. An historical analysis of class relations reveals why in certain periods, one country is oppressed by another and becomes a colony or semi-colony of imperialism; why national traitors may appear in such a country, not only from the ranks of the feudal classes, but also from the ranks of the bourgeoisie—for instance, from the ranks of the compradore, bureaucratic bourgeoisie in China. Such an analysis also reveals under what conditions, and under the leadership of which class, national liberation can be achieved.

An historical analysis of the class relations also reveals that although such outstanding national

revolutionists as Sun Yat-sen sprang from China's petty-bourgeoisie or national bourgeoisie, yet this bourgeoisie, generally speaking, views the national question solely in the light of its own narrow class interests and changes its position solely in accordance with its own class interests. In the same way, only the class interests of the proletariat are really in full accord with the fundamental interests of the people of a given country, with the common interests of all nations the world over and with the interests of all mankind. When the proletariat of an oppressed nation, as in the case of China, enters the arena of struggle and becomes the leader of the national liberation struggle against imperialism and the saviour of the whole nation, then every genuinely patriotic class, party, group or individual inevitably forms an alliance with the Communist Party, as did Sun Yat-sen, (and thus becomes linked with the policies of alliance with the Soviet Union and support for the workers and peasants). On the other hand those persons or groups—like Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei—who oppose the Communist Party (an opposition linked with opposition to the Soviet Union and to the interests of the workers and peasants), inevitably become servile lackeys of imperialism and the most vile, contemptible national traitors who sell out their own country.

An historical analysis of class relations further discloses that under the new conditions, in the new period of accentuated international and internal struggle, as a result of threats combined with all kinds of

tempting offers and enticements held out by the imperialists, and owing to the developing class struggle within the country, there may appear within the revolutionary ranks such people as Chen Tu-hsiu, Chang Kuo-tao in China and Tito in Yugoslavia. These people capitulate to reactionary bourgeois nationalism, betray the common interests of the toilers of all countries and place the liberation of their own people in serious jeopardy. They are the spokesmen of bourgeois nationalism inside the ranks of the proletariat. They cynically desert the cause of national liberation in mid-path, and they divert their country down the road leading to its transformation into an imperialist colony. The Communist Parties of all countries and each individual Communist must be alert to this danger.

## 6. CONCLUSION: GENUINE PATRIOTISM IS INTIMATELY CONNECTED WITH INTERNATIONALISM

The above represents the point of view and principles of Marxists-Leninists—of Communists—on the national question. These are the point of view and principles of proletarian internationalism, closely connected with patriotism.

It is clear that the genuine patriotism of the masses of the people in all countries is not in contradiction to proletarian internationalism, but is, rather, intimately connected with it. During the period of the Anti-Japanese War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote: "For us,

patriotism is intimately connected with internationalism. Our slogan is—Fight against aggression, in defence of our Fatherland." "Patriotism is the application of internationalism in the national-revolutionary war." Needless to say, these remarks fully accord with our present patriotic revolutionary war.

Lenin evaluated patriotism as one of the most profound manifestations of the sentiments of countries in the process of consolidation after having been split up in the course of many centuries or even millenniums.

Genuine patriotism means fervent love of one's own fatherland, and its people, language, culture, literature and best traditions, behind which lie thousands of years and generations of historical development. This kind of patriotism has no connection whatsoever with self-centered, selfish and anti-foreign bourgeois nationalism, nor with such national prejudices as narrow-minded exclusivism, isolationism, sectarianism and provincialism, which reflect the sentiments of the small peasant and the backward patriarchal system.

Genuine patriotism respects the equality of other nationalities and at the same time cherishes the hope of realising the best ideals of mankind in one's own country while defending the unity of the peoples of all countries. On the other hand, reactionary bourgeois nationalism fans mutual hatred and hostility between nations, while the national prejudices of the old backward patriarchal system isolate their own nationals from the rest of the world, causing them to sink within the

narrow confines of their own stagnating outlook. We must resolutely reject both of these positions.

The foregoing has presented a brief explanation of proletarian internationalism as opposed to bourgeois nationalism. At present, both inside and outside of our Party, considerable misunderstanding and confusion exist in regard to proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism. Moreover, the fascist elements are carrying on extremely reactionary and demagogic propaganda regarding this question. It would be extremely harmful to the Chinese people's present liberation movement if these misunderstandings and confusions were not cleared up, and if fascist propaganda were not exposed. This article has been written in the hope that it will help to clear up these misunderstandings and confusions as well as to expose the fascist propaganda.

## THE AUTHOR

Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, is one of the leaders of the contemporary revolutionary movement and the trade union movement in China.

Liu Shao-chi was born in 1900 in Ninghsiang County, Hunan Province. In 1920, he joined the Socialist Youth League of China (the predecessor of the Communist Party of China), which was founded in the same year. In 1921, the Communist Party of China was established and Liu Shao-chi joined the Party in the same year. In the spring of 1922, he was appointed to the Secretariat of the China Labour Organisation, the forerunner of the All-China Federation of Labour.

From that time on to the defeat of the first great revolution in 1927 Liu Shao-chi led the revolutionary trade union movement in China.

After the defeat of the great revolution in 1927 Liu Shao-chi went underground and continued to direct the trade union movement. In the autumn of 1932, he

went to the revolutionary base in Kiangsi and took charge of the workers' movement in the Red Areas.

From 1936 to 1942, Liu Shao-chi served successively as secretary of the North Bureau, Central Plains Bureau and Central China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Since 1932, Liu Shao-chi has been a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. From 1943 onwards, he has been a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Council.

When the People's Republic of China was inaugurated on October 1, 1949, Liu Shao-chi became Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government.

In addition to *Internationalism and Nationalism*, other works by Liu Shao-chi include *On the Party*, *On Inner-Party Struggle*, *How to Be a Good Communist?* and other important writings.

## ERRATA

To the last sentence of the quotation from Lenin on Page 20—"And finally we have not more than a quarter of a billion inhabitants of countries in which only the upper stratum, of course, only the capitalists, benefited by the partition of the world."—should be added the following:

"The total is 1,750,000,000 people, constituting the entire population of the world." (report delivered in 1920 at the Second Congress of the Communist International on the international situation and the main tasks of the Communist International)

## PUBLICATIONS ON CHINA

	STANDARD EDITION	POPULAR EDITION
On People's Democratic Dictatorship (By Mao Tse-tung) ..	US\$0.15	US\$0.10
On The Party (By Liu Shao-chi)	0.50	0.30
China's Youth March Forward .	0.30	0.20
The Chinese People's Liberation Army .....	0.30	0.20
The Common Program And Other Documents Of The First Plenary Session Of The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference .....	0.15	0.10
The Trade Union Law .....	0.10	0.05
The Agrarian Reform Law ....	0.15	0.10
The Marriage Law .....	0.10	0.05
The First Year Of Victory .....	0.30	0.20
Culture And Education In New China .....	0.30	0.20

### IN PREPARATION

	Page
On Inner-Party Struggle (By Liu Shao-chi) ....	80
How To Be A Good Communist? (by Liu Shao-chi)	80
China's Stand On The Korean Question .....	105
China Accuses .....	100
China's Railways .....	35

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