

CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xxiv
INTRODUCTION: ISSUES AND METHODS, by Zbigniew Brzezinski and Alexander Dallin	xxv
 I. THE XXII CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION (CPSU)	 1
1. Nikita Khrushchev. Report of the Central Com- mittee to the XXII Congress of the CPSU, Octo- ber 17, 1961	4
2. Nikita Khrushchev. Report on the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the XXII Congress of the CPSU, October 18, 1961	33
3. Chou En-lai. Speech at the XXII CPSU Congress, October 19, 1961	45
4. Anastas Mikoyan. Speech at the XXII CPSU Congress, October 20, 1961	55
5. Mikhail Suslov. Speech at the XXII CPSU Con- gress, October 21, 1961	63
6. Petr Pospelov. Speech at the XXII CPSU Con- gress, October 26, 1961	66
7. Otto Kuusinen. Speech at the XXII CPSU Con- gress, October 26, 1961	70
8. Nikita Khrushchev. Concluding Remarks at the XXII CPSU Congress, October 27, 1961	71
 II. THE ALBANIAN CRISIS	 85
9. Declaration of the Central Committee of the Al- banian Party of Labor, October 20, 1961	85
10. Enver Hoxha. Speech Marking the Anniversary	

of the APL and the Forty-fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution, November 7, 1961	88
11. Fedor Konstantinov. "The Schismatic Anti-Marxist Activities of the Albanian Leaders." <i>Kommunist</i> , No. 17, November, 1961	132
12. <i>Note Verbale</i> Presented on November 25, 1961, Concerning the Recall of the Soviet Ambassador from Albania	145
13. <i>Note Verbale</i> Presented on November 25, 1961, Concerning the Departure of the Albanian Ambassador in the USSR	146
14. <i>Note Verbale</i> Presented on December 3, 1961, Concerning the Recall of the USSR Embassy Staff and Commercial Representation in Tirana and the Demand for the Departure of the Staff of the Albanian Embassy and the Albanian Commercial Counselor in the USSR	148
15. Note of the Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Presented to the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Tirana, December 4, 1961	150
16. Note of the Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Presented to the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Tirana, December 9, 1961	152
17. "The Fighting Banner of Communists of the Entire World." Editorial, <i>Pravda</i> , December 6, 1961	156
18. "A Year of Historic Proofs." Editorial, <i>Zeri i Popullit</i> , December 6, 1961	159
19. "Deeper and Deeper in the Mire of Anti-Marxism." Editorial, <i>Zeri i Popullit</i> , January 9, 1962	167
20. Exclusion from Warsaw Treaty Organization Protested, February 8, 1962	181
21. "Khrushchev Has Been Devoting His Time to Aggravating the Divergencies with Our Party and State Instead of Solving Them." Editorial, <i>Zeri i Popullit</i> , March 25, 1962	182

III. THE CHINESE POSITION	200
22. Message of Greetings from the Chinese People's Republic to the Soviet Union on the Anniversary of the October Revolution, November 6, 1961	200
23. Message of Greetings from the Communist Party of China to the Albanian Party of Labor on the Twentieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Albanian Party of Labor, November 7, 1961	202
24. "Wu Yu-chang's Speech at Peking Rally." <i>Peking Review</i> , November 10, 1961	204
25. Ho Tsung. "Glorious Albanian Party of Labor." <i>Peking Review</i> , November 17, 1961	208
26. "Fraternal Albania's Seventeenth Anniversary." <i>Peking Review</i> , December 1, 1961	210
27. "Holding Aloft the Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Banner of the Moscow Statement." Editorial, <i>Jen-min jih-pao</i> , December 1, 1961	212
28. Liao Cheng-chih. Speech at the Gaza Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, December 9, 1961	222
29. Liao Cheng-chih. Speech at the World Peace Council, Stockholm, December 16, 1961	224
30. Liu Ning-I. Speech at the World Peace Council, Stockholm, December 18, 1961	229
31. "A Year-End Balance Sheet of the Kennedy Administration's Policies of Aggression." Editorial, <i>Ta-kung Pao</i> , December 30, 1961	234
32. Kuo Chi-chou. "Hail the Great Victories of the National Liberation Movement." <i>Hung-ch'i</i> , January 1, 1962	237
33. "New Year's Greetings." Editorial, <i>Jen-min jih-pao</i> , January 1, 1962	243
34. Chou En-lai. Speech to the Albanian Trade Delegation, January 13, 1962	248
35. "A Great Day of Friendship." Editorial, <i>Jen-min jih-pao</i> , February 14, 1962	249

36. "Fraternal Friendship of Great Peoples—On the Twelfth Anniversary of the Signing of the Soviet-Chinese Treaty." <i>Pravda</i> , February 14, 1962	253
37. Hsiao Shu and Ch'un-ping. "On Bernsteinian Revisionism." <i>Hung-ch'i</i> , February 10, 1962	258
38. Wu Chiang. "Our Age and Edvard Kardelj's 'Dialectics.'" <i>Hung-ch'i</i> , March 1, 1962	269
39. NCNA Press Communiqué on the National People's Congress, April 16, 1962	272
40. Li Fu, Li Ssu-wen, and Wang Fu-ju. "On Kautskyism." <i>Hung-ch'i</i> , April 25, 1962	277
41. Pien Chung-yin. "The Revolutionary Tradition of Political Parties of the Proletariat." <i>Hung-ch'i</i> , May 16, 1962	289
IV. THE EAST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES	297
<i>Czechoslovak Communist Party (CCP)</i>	298
42. Antonin Novotny. Report to the Central Committee of the CCP, November 15, 1961	298
43. Vladimir Koucky. Speech at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CCP, November 15, 1961	313
44. Viliam Siroky. Speech at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CCP, November 15-17, 1961	315
<i>Polish United Workers Party (PUWP)</i>	317
45. Wladyslaw Gomulka. Report to the Central Committee of the PUWP, November 22, 1961	318
46. Tadeusz Daniszewski. Speech at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the PUWP, November 22, 1961	333
47. "The Direction of Renewal and the March Toward Communism." Editorial, <i>Nowe Drogi</i> , December, 1961	342
48. Mieczyslaw Rakowski. "Content and Forms of Unity." <i>Nowe Drogi</i> , January, 1962	345

<i>Contents</i>	xvii
<i>Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED)</i>	350
49. Walter Ulbricht. Report to the Central Committee of the SED, November 23–26, 1961	350
<i>Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)</i>	355
50. Todor Zhivkov. Report to the Central Committee of the BCP, November 28, 1961	355
<i>Rumanian Workers Party (RWP)</i>	370
51. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. Report to the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers Party, No- vember 30–December 5, 1961	370
<i>Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (HSWP)</i>	377
52. Janos Kadar. "Lenin's Ideas Will Triumph." <i>Pravda</i> , December 26, 1961	377
 V. COMMUNIST PARTIES IN ASIAN "SOCIALIST" STATES	387
<i>Korean Workers Party (KWP)</i>	387
53. Kim Il-sung. Report to the Central Committee of the KWP, November 27, 1961	388
54. Kim Il-sung and Choi Yong Kun. Message of Greetings to Enver Hoxha, Haxhi Lleshi, and Mehmet Shehu, November 27, 1961	394
<i>Vietnamese Workers Party (VWP)</i>	395
55. Ho Chi Minh, Truong Chinh, and Pham Van Dong. Message of Greetings to Enver Hoxha, Haxhi Lleshi, and Mehmet Shehu, November 28, 1961	396
56. "Albania—A Firm Advance Post of the Socialist Camp." <i>Hoc Tap</i> , November, 1961	397
57. Communiqué of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Workers Party Concerning the XXII CPSU Congress, December 4, 1961	399
<i>Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP)</i>	402
58. Luysantserengiin Tsend. Report to the Party <i>Aktiv</i> of Ulan Bator, November 28, 1961	402
59. Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal. Report to the Central Committee of the MPRP, February 2, 1962	405

VI. THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN THE WEST	408
<i>Italian Communist Party (PCI)</i>	408
60. Palmiro Togliatti. Report to the Central Committee of the PCI, November 10, 1961	408
61. The Debate in the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the PCI on the XXII CPSU Congress, November 11, 1961	421
62. Italian Communist Party Communiqué on the XXII CPSU Congress, November 27, 1961	451
63. "The XXII CPSU Congress on the Elimination of the Consequences of the Personality Cult." Editorial, <i>Pravda</i> , November 21, 1961	468
64. Luigi Longo. Statement at the Central Committee Debate, December 21-22, 1961	474
65. Palmiro Togliatti. Speech in Florence, January 21, 1962	475
<i>French Communist Party (PCF)</i>	476
66. Maurice Thorez. Speech at the Salle de la Mutualité, November 7, 1961	476
67. Waldeck Rochet. Report to the Central Committee of the PCF, November 26, 1961	478
68. Maurice Thorez. Statement to the Central Committee of the PCF, November 27, 1961	487
69. Saverio Tutino. "Statement of Thorez at the Central Committee of the PCF on the Problems Raised by the XXII Congress." <i>L'Unità</i> , December 1, 1961	495
70. Palmiro Togliatti. Statement. <i>L'Unità</i> , December 2, 1961	496
71. Jacques Duclos. "Problems of Unity in the International Communist and Workers Movement." <i>L'Humanité</i> , December 9, 1961	498
<i>World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)</i>	501
72. Agostino Novella. Proposed Amendments to the Draft Program of the WFTU Submitted at the Fifth Congress of the WFTU in Moscow, December, 1961	503

<i>Contents</i>	xix
<i>Other Parties</i>	504
<i>Belgian Communist Party (PCB)</i>	505
73. Jean Blume. Article in <i>Le Drapeau Rouge</i> , December 7, 1961	506
74. Jean Terfve. "On Divergences of Outlook among Communist Parties." <i>Le Drapeau Rouge</i> , January 5-17, 1962	508
75. Statement by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Belgium, February 22, 1962	519
<i>Austrian Communist Party (KPÖ)</i>	526
76. Franz Muhri. Report to the Central Committee of the KPÖ, December 28-29, 1961	527
77. Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria, February 8-9, 1962	529
<i>Swiss Communist Party</i>	530
<i>Scandinavian Communist Parties</i>	531
78. Preben Henriksen. Report to the Central Committee of the Danish Communist Party, December 20, 1961	532
<i>Greek and Cypriot Communist Parties</i>	535
<i>Israeli Communist Party</i>	535
<i>Communist Party of the United States</i>	536
<i>Communist Party of Great Britain</i>	536
<i>Communist Party of Canada</i>	537
.	
VII. COMMUNIST PARTIES OF ASIA, THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST, AND LATIN AMERICA	539
<i>Communist Party of India (CPI)</i>	539
79. Ajoy Ghosh. "Comments on the XXII CPSU Congress." <i>New Age</i> , December 10, 1961	540
80. Editorial Commemorating the Anniversary of Stalin's Birth. <i>Swadhinata</i> , December 21, 1961	547
<i>Indonesian Communist Party (PKI)</i>	549
81. Dipa Aidit. Statement on the XXII CPSU Congress, November 23, 1961	550
82. Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the PKI on the Work of the PKI Dele-	

gation to the XXII CPSU Congress, December 15, 1961	558
83. "J. V. Stalin—Ivory with Flaws, but Ivory." Editorial, <i>Harian Rakjat</i> , December 21, 1961	563
84. Dipa Aidit. Interview in Djakarta. <i>Harian Rakjat</i> , March 6, 1962	565
<i>Japanese Communist Party (JCP)</i>	567
85. "Struggle Against Two Foes for the Consolidation of the International Communist Movement." Editorial, <i>Akahata</i> , December 29, 1961	568
86. "Answering the Opposition's Charges." Editorial, <i>Akahata</i> , January 29, 1962	571
<i>Malayan Communist Party</i>	573
87. Telegram of Greetings from the Central Committee of the Malayan Communist Party to the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor, November 8, 1961	573
<i>Thai Communist Party</i>	574
88. Telegram of Greetings from the Central Committee of the Thai Communist Party to the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor, November 8, 1961	574
<i>Burmese Communist Party</i>	575
89. Telegram of Greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma to the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor, November 8, 1961	575
<i>Ceylonese Communist Party</i>	576
<i>Australian Communist Party</i>	576
<i>Near Eastern and North African Communist Parties</i>	577
<i>Latin American Communist Parties</i>	579
90. Resolution of the Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party, December 28, 1961	582
VIII. THE YUGOSLAV RESPONSE	584
91. Josip Broz Tito. Speech at Skoplje, November 13, 1961	584

<i>Contents</i>	xxi
92. Srečko Frajndlih. "The Root Is the Same—Stalinism." <i>Zagreb Vjesnik</i> , November 27, 1961	587
93. Zvonimir Kristl. "The Disturbed Balance." <i>Zagreb Vjesnik</i> , December 24, 1961	590
94. Zvonimir Kristl. "Struggle for Primacy." <i>Zagreb Vjesnik</i> , January 20, 1962	595
95. Punisa Perovic. "Discussion on 'Polycentrism.'" <i>Review of International Affairs</i> , April 20, 1962	598
IX. THE RESTATEMENT OF THE SOVIET POSITION	605
96. Yuri Andropov. "The XXII CPSU Congress and the Development of the World Socialist System." <i>Pravda</i> , December 2, 1961	605
97. Aleksei Rumiantsev. "Our Common Ideological Weapon." <i>World Marxist Review</i> , January, 1962	616
98. Nikolai Inozemtsev. "Peaceful Coexistence Is the Major Question of Our Time." <i>Pravda</i> , January 17, 1962	627
99. Petr Pospelov. "V. I. Lenin and the Prague Conference." <i>Pravda</i> , January 18, 1962	631
100. Nikita Khrushchev. "The Present Stage of Communist Construction and the Party's Task in Improving the Management of Agriculture." Report at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CPSU, March 5, 1962	633
101. Anastas Mikoyan. Speech in Erevan, March 14, 1962	638
102. Yuri Arbatov. "Leninism and the Revolutionary Force of Socialist Example." <i>World Marxist Review</i> , April, 1962	639
X. FROM CALM TO CRISIS (APRIL, 1962—APRIL, 1963)	650
<i>Cuba</i>	656
<i>The Sino-Indian Conflict</i>	659
<i>The Party Congresses</i>	660
103. Statement of the Delegation of the Communist	

Party of China at the XII Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, December 8, 1962	664
<i>Tito and Hoxha</i>	667
<i>Explication and Escalation</i>	669
104. Nikita Khrushchev. Report to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, December 12, 1962	670
105. "Workers of All Countries, Unite to Oppose Our Common Enemy!" Editorial, <i>Jen-min jih-pao</i> , December 15, 1962	695
106. "The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us." Editorial, <i>Jen-min jih-pao</i> , December 31, 1962	706
107. "Strengthen the Unity of the Communist Movement for the Triumph of Peace and Socialism." Editorial, <i>Pravda</i> , January 7, 1963	729
108. Nikita Khrushchev. Speech at the VI Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, January 16, 1963	746
109. "Let Us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement." Editorial, <i>Jen-min jih-pao</i> , January 27, 1963	762
110. "For Marxist-Leninist Unity of the Communist Movement, for Solidarity of the Countries of Socialism." Editorial, <i>Pravda</i> , February 10, 1963	768
111. "Whence the Differences?" Editorial, <i>Jen-min jih-pao</i> , February 27, 1963	782
112. "More on the Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us." <i>Hung-ch'i</i> , March 4, 1963	794
113. "A Comment on the Statement of the Communist Party of the USA." Editorial, <i>Jen-min jih-pao</i> , March 8, 1963	808
114. Letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, February 21, 1963	814
115. Letter from the Central Committee of the Com-	

Contents

xxiii

munist Party of China to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, March 9, 1963	820
APPENDIX	829
116. Maurice Thorez. Speech at the Conference of Eighty-one Communist and Workers Parties, Mos- cow, November, 1960	830
117. Luigi Longo. First Speech on Behalf of the Italian Communist Party Delegation to the Con- ference of Eighty-one Communist and Workers Parties, Moscow, November, 1960	845
118. Maurice Thorez. Declaration at the Conference of Eighty-one Communist and Workers Parties, Moscow, November, 1960	861
119. Luigi Longo. Second Speech on Behalf of the Italian Communist Party Delegation to the Con- ference of Eighty-one Communist and Workers Parties, Moscow, November, 1960	863
120. Letter from the PCI Delegation to N. S. Khru- shchev and to the CPSU Delegation to the Con- ference of Eighty-one Communist and Workers Parties, November, 1960	864