



# N.S. KHRUSHCHOV

THE REVOLUTIONARY  
WORKING-CLASS  
AND  
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

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COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

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Н. С. ХРУЩЕВ  
О РЕВОЛЮЦИОННОМ РАБОЧЕМ  
И  
КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКОМ ДВИЖЕНИИ  
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## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This volume of selected passages from reports, statements and interviews of N. S. Khrushchov which appeared in the Soviet press from 1956 to 1963 is designed to meet the growing interest abroad in major problems of the contemporary revolutionary working-class and communist movement. The collection deals with the class struggle in the capitalist countries, the role and significance of Marxist-Leninist parties (they function in nearly 90 countries and have more than 42.5 million members) in the struggle for the overthrow of imperialist rule and the triumph of socialism, the need for unity of the working class and consolidation of the world communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Much space is given to theoretical questions of the development of the revolutionary movement.

The Foreign Languages Publishing House is simultaneously putting out four more collections of selected passages on other basic problems of our time: **Imperialism—Enemy of the People, Enemy of Peace; Socialism and Communism; National Liberation Movement; To Avert War, Our Prime Task.**

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# I. THE EPOCH OF MARXISM-LENINISM'S TRIUMPH

## THE MAIN CHARACTERISTIC OF OUR DAY

An analysis of the world situation of the early sixties of the 20th century cannot but rouse a sense of deep satisfaction and legitimate pride among all members of the great communist movement. Indeed, comrades, reality has greatly surpassed the boldest and most optimistic of predictions and expectations.

In the past we used to say that history was working for socialism. What we meant was that eventually mankind would consign capitalism to the dustbin and that socialism would triumph. Today we can say that socialism is working for history, because the rise and consolidation of socialism on a world-wide scale is the basic content of the contemporary historical process.

In 1913, that is, four years before the October Revolution, V. I. Lenin, our immortal leader and teacher, wrote that since the time of the *Communist Manifesto* world history breaks down clearly into three main periods, the first being from the revolution of 1848 to the Paris Commune of 1871, the second from the Paris Commune to the Russian Revolution of 1905, and the third from the Russian Revolution of 1905 onwards. Lenin concluded his description of the three periods with these words:

“Since the appearance of Marxism, each of the three great periods of world history has brought Marxism new confirmation and new triumphs. But a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, in the coming period of history.”\*

Those were prophetic words. They have come true with amazing force and accuracy. The historical epoch so brilliantly predicted by Lenin is a qualitatively and fundamen-

\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 547.

tally new epoch in world history. None of the previous epochs can compare with it. Those were epochs when the working class was gathering strength and when its heroic struggles, while shaking the foundations of capitalism, were as yet unable to solve the main problem, that of the transfer of power to the working people. The new epoch differs from all the others because of the historic victory of socialism, ushered in by the October Revolution in 1917. Ever since, the Marxist-Leninist doctrine has been winning one resounding victory after another. Today its great impact and revolutionising role are felt not merely in separate countries and continents, but in social development throughout the world....

Now that a world socialist system exists and there is a great upsurge of anti-imperialist national liberation revolutions, we have had to determine the further course and outlook of world development. And this is impossible without a profound understanding of the essence, content and nature of the decisive tasks of the present epoch.

The question of the character of the epoch is not an abstract and purely theoretical question. Inseparably linked with it are the general strategy and tactics of world communism, and of every Communist Party.

The ideologists of imperialism, and their reformist and revisionist accomplices, go to great pains to misrepresent the character of the present epoch. This falsification has a definite purpose—to mislead the masses, to divert them from the revolutionary path, to hitch them to the imperialist bandwagon, to create the impression that capitalism is not in its death-throes, but is creeping into socialism through a sort of deliberate “evolution”. That is the notorious theory of the so-called “transformed” capitalism. The falsifiers maintain that this “transformation” is in the best interests of all classes, and that peace and harmony reign therefore in capitalist society. That is how the bourgeois ideologists, the Right-wing Social-Democrats and the revisionist renegades of communism depict the present epoch. It is no accident that the capitalist ideologists substitute far-fetched definitions, such as “people’s capitalism” and “welfare state”, for “capitalism” and “imperialism”.

It stands to reason that we must expose this ideological subversion and counter it with our scientific Marxist-Lenin-



ist description of the epoch. We must do so in order properly to assess the balance of forces and use the new opportunities offered by the present epoch for the further advancement of our great cause.

What, then, are the requirements which a Marxist-Leninist characterisation of our epoch should meet? It should give a clear idea of what class holds the key place in this epoch, and what are the basic content, trend and tasks of social development. Secondly, it should cover the entire revolutionary process from the emergence of socialism to the complete victory of communism. Thirdly, it should show the forces aligned with the working class, which holds the key place in our epoch, and the movements that are part of the general torrent against imperialism.

At a time when the socialist revolution has triumphed in many countries, when socialism has become a powerful world system, when the colonial system of imperialism is on the point of final collapse and imperialism is in a state of decline and crisis, the definition of our epoch should reflect these decisive developments.

The Statement of the Meeting\* defines the epoch in these terms:

“Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale.”

This definition of the character of the present epoch may be regarded as an example of a creative, genuinely scientific solution of an important and responsible problem. The strength of this definition lies in that it faithfully characterises the main achievements of the world liberation movement and provides the communist and working-class movement with a clear perspective for the world-wide victory of communism.

In defining the essence and character of the present epoch

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\* The reference is to the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, November 1960.—Ed.

as a whole, it is highly essential that we should be clear about the main peculiarities and distinguishing features of its current stage. With respect to its chief motive forces, the post-October period is clearly divided into two stages. The first began with the victory of the October Revolution. To use Lenin's phrase, it was the period of the emergence and development of a national dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, dictatorship of the proletariat within the national bounds of Russia alone.

Although the Soviet Union exerted a very great influence on international affairs from its very inception, it was imperialism that largely determined the course and character of international relations. But even in those early days imperialism proved incapable of crushing the Soviet Union, of preventing it from growing into a mighty industrial power that became the bulwark of progress and civilisation, a centre of attraction for all the forces fighting against imperialist oppression and fascist enslavement.

The second stage in the development of the contemporary epoch relates to the emergence of the world socialist system. This was a revolutionary process of historic significance. The October Revolution broke one of the links of the imperialist chain. After this the chain was broken frontally. We used to speak of breaking one or more links of the imperialist chain. At present there is no longer any all-embracing chain of imperialism. The dictatorship of the working class has gone beyond the confines of one country and become an international force. Imperialism has lost not only the countries where socialism has triumphed. It is rapidly losing nearly all its colonies. Naturally, as a result of these blows and losses, the general crisis of capitalism has become extremely acute and the balance of forces in the world has changed radically in favour of socialism.

The main distinguishing feature of our time lies in that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society.

[For New Victories of the World Communist Movement. Results of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, January 6, 1961. **Communism—Peace and Happiness for the Peoples**, Moscow, 1963, pp. 12-20.]

## THE PROCESS OF MANKIND'S DEVELOPMENT CANNOT BE STEMMED

There was a time when the feudal system prevailed in most countries of the world. At the time when this system was coming into being it was more progressive than the slave system. Within the feudal system there gradually arose conditions more conducive to the development of society's productive forces. The time came when feudalism outlived itself. A more progressive system, capitalism, was born within it. Capitalism buried, interred feudalism. True, feudal relations have been preserved to this day in a number of countries, but in general it can be said that feudalism as a system has been buried, interred. And the countries which were the first to "bury" that system spurred ahead in their economic development. Russia, which lingered longer in the stage of the landlord-feudal system, lagged in the development of her economy in comparison with the other Western countries.

Capitalism, however, has engendered irreconcilable contradictions, and a new, progressive social system—communism, with entirely different social relations between people than under capitalism, has arisen to take its place. We are convinced that communism will win because it provides better conditions for the development of society's productive forces, makes possible the fullest and most harmonious development of society as a whole and of every individual. Capitalism fights against communism, but the process of mankind's development cannot be stemmed. Sooner or later, communism will win throughout the world and, consequently, communism will bury capitalism.

This is how my statement should be understood. What is meant is not that someone buries someone else physically, but a change in the social system in the course of society's historical development. When we say that communism will bury capitalism, this of course does not mean at all that the Soviet people, the Communists of the Soviet Union, will inter capitalists of some countries. No, communism is winning in the Soviet Union, and many other countries are now following the road to communist development. Communism is growing out of the dedicated labour and struggle of the

peoples of the socialist countries for a new, better, the most just life, a life of creative endeavour on earth. Life, history teach us: a more progressive social system inevitably comes to replace an obsolescent system; the progressive system buries the moribund one.

This is how we regard the historical process of society's development. I have spoken of this more than once. I also spoke of this in the United States, when I visited your country. We do not impose our communist convictions by force on anyone. We believe that in America, too, mighty forces will grow—they already exist there and are gaining in strength and developing all the time: these progressive forces, which are arising within the American people themselves, will ultimately win. In place of capitalism which reigns in America today the American people themselves will establish a new social system, and that system will be communism.

It can be said that one system which is striking root buries another system which has become obsolescent. It is not that one people bury part of another—that would be a monstrous thing, that would mean war between states. The victory of one social system over another is a matter of the class struggle. It is the new class, which is developing and gaining in strength now, the working class, the people themselves, who will, in fact, rule the world, including the United States of America.

(Interview Given to the American Publisher  
G. Cowles, Moscow, 1962, Russ. ed., pp.  
16-17.)

## II. THE SHARPENING OF CLASS CONTRADICTIONS AND OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

### THE GROWTH OF CLASS CONTRASTS

Never before has actual power in the leading imperialist countries been concentrated in the hands of so small a handful of monopolists as today. The Americans themselves described Eisenhower's administration as a Big Business administration. Indeed, more than a score of its members were either millionaires themselves, or were in the employ of the biggest corporations. Of the 19 ministers in the British cabinet 12 are directly associated with the monopolies, and in Adenauer's government 12 of its 18 members are direct representatives of big concerns and stock companies. In the governments of the imperialist countries individuals change, one millionaire or his protégé replacing another, but all of them serve the interests of the monopolies.

Bourgeois ideologists speak of equality in capitalist society. But what is the equality they imply? Take the social structure in the capitalist countries. It is a monstrous pyramid of social inequality. At its apex are a handful of industrial and financial oligarchs. Like the corrupt nobility of the Roman Empire in its decline, they wallow in luxury and over-satiation. In the meantime, the hundreds of millions of people who constitute the base of this pyramid are condemned to privation and lack of rights. In the United States a handful of moneybags, one per cent of the population, controls nearly 60 per cent, and in Britain a group of no more than one per cent controls over 50 per cent, of the national wealth.

Now take the electoral system in the capitalist countries. It is being continuously refashioned and adapted to ensur-

ing to a maximum the interests of the monopolies, and to distorting the true will of the electors. The present electoral system in France is a good example. At the latest elections there, the Communist Party, which polled 3,882,204 votes, won a mere ten seats in the National Assembly. In the meantime, the reactionary U.N.R., which polled 3,603,958 votes, i.e., less than the Communists, won 188 seats. If this is not outright dictatorship of monopoly capital, then what is? If this is not mockery of the will of the people, then what is? The working people comprise the overwhelming majority of electors. But are they represented in the parliaments? Is it not a fact that there is not a single worker, not a single small farmer in the Congress of the United States, a country with more than 50 million factory and office workers and working farmers?

The monopoly bourgeoisie makes the utmost use of all levers—the press, the radio, television and all other means of indoctrination—to deceive the masses, to blunt their minds and paralyse their will. Whose will, for example, can the press controlled by millionaire Hearst reflect? It reflects just one will—the will of the monopoly tycoons.

The bourgeoisie employs the police and army more and more frequently in its struggle against the people. Think of all the blood of the people shed in the capitalist countries in the last decade! The police baton and police bullets hold an increasingly prominent place in bourgeois democracy's arsenal of "arguments".

Such is their "free world", a society with no true freedom and no democracy, a society based on social and national oppression and inequality, on the exploitation of man by man, on the flouting of human dignity and honour.

(On the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Report to the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. *The Road to Communism*, Moscow, pp. 255-57.)

The enemies of communism abroad, who are very frightened of our successes, know how the peoples loathe the word

"slavery". And so, in order to arouse a feeling of hatred against our country, at least among some people, they call us Soviet people "slaves of communism". As you see, they act crudely, but simply: they take the word "slave" and attach it to the concept of "communism". But it is not so easy now to find gullible people who would fall for this trick of the enemies of communism.

The people who are unable to distinguish between slavery and communism are growing fewer.

Slavery, if we mean the really slavish dependence of people on the powers-that-be, exists not in our country but in the capitalist countries, where the monopolists mercilessly exploit the people of labour. And it is not we Soviet people who are slaves, but the people in the capitalist countries who are slaves of capitalism. Why? Because in our country all the means of production, everything that people create by their work, is for society, for the people, while in capitalist countries the fruits of the labour of millions upon millions are appropriated by a comparatively small band of capitalists and monopolists. And one of the results is that Soviet Armenia is today flooded with electric light. Why is it that in the adjacent capitalist countries, where, as the ideologists of capitalism and imperialism say, "free people" are living, why is it that they, your neighbours, live in darkness? They are said to have "freedom" there! But what sort of freedom is it if people live in darkness?

What is freedom as understood by the bourgeoisie, by the capitalists and the monopolists? Freedom as understood by them is freedom for those who have capital, who own all the means of production, to plunder the working people ruthlessly. That is their "freedom". And we say that it is not freedom for the people of labour, for the masses, but a slavish existence. We are against a handful of exploiters having use of capital, having use of the means of production. We are resolutely opposed to a system in which the capitalists, the monopolists ruthlessly exploit those who possess only their hands, who live by their honest labour; we oppose those who squeeze all the strength out of millions of toilers to the last drop of blood

and drain the toilers' sweat for their own enrichment, to increase their capital.

(Speech at Meeting in Yerevan on the Fortieth Anniversary of Soviet Power in Armenia and of the Communist Party of Armenia, May 6, 1961. *Communism—Peace and Happiness for the Peoples*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1963, pp. 93-94.)

The entire course of social development confirms that in our days the contradictions of capitalism are becoming ever more sharper and its sores are laid bare to an ever greater degree. Look at what is happening in the United States. There are more than 7 million unemployed in that country: 5.4 million fully unemployed and 1,700,000 partly unemployed. These are official American figures. If there are any errors in these data, they are errors of understatement.

Workers of the older generation, who had to toil for the capitalists, have a definite idea of what it means to be out of a job. Some of them were unemployed themselves. They know the plight of a person out of work. He comes home to his family who are waiting for his earnings, for food, but the jobless man cannot give it to them. Unemployment is a tragedy for the working people. Over there, in America, the workers frequently buy goods and household things on the instalment plan. But a worker must work in order to pay for them. If he loses his job, the creditors will come and take away these things, dooming the family to a beggarly life.

At the very time when production is being curtailed, when there are millions of unemployed and many starving people in the country, when many aged people, adults and children go short of food, the United States is suffocating from overproduction of farm produce. The monopolists are wondering what to do with these products. It appears to ordinary people in a socialist country that if there is overproduction of food, then why not give it to the people who are unable to feed their own families.

The monopolists think differently. They will not give these products to the needy but will sooner destroy them in order to maintain high market prices. Here you have the con-



traditions of capitalism laid bare. No speeches, promises or prayers can rid capitalism of its antagonistic contradictions inherent in its very nature. Only when the capitalist system is replaced by socialism and communism will these antagonistic contradictions be removed.

(Firm and Unbreakable Friendship of the Peoples Is a Source of Our Strength, an Earnest of Future Victories of Socialism. Speech at the Meeting of Foremost Agricultural Workers of the Transcaucasian Republics, Tbilisi, February 7, 1961. **Building of Communism in the U.S.S.R. and the Development of Agriculture**, Vol. 4, Moscow, 1963, Russ. ed., pp. 454-55.)

In the bourgeois countries which call themselves the "free world" the robbing of the working people by the exploiters is a law of life. And the working people are helpless in face of the omnipotence of capital. These countries have a surplus of foodstuffs, while the unemployed starve. In the United States, for instance, there are over 7 million unemployed. The people in the so-called "free world" who live by their own labour are frequently forced to starve, are doomed to the miserable lot of the unemployed who have no money to buy the most vital necessities.

There, if a man has money, he can freely buy whatever he needs. But if he loses his job, he cannot freely find other work as this depends upon the will of the capitalists to whom the factories and plants belong. And capitalist society is indifferent to the fate of a man who has been left without means of subsistence, because the capitalist state is based on the principles of private capital.

(For Improving the Management of Agriculture. Speech at the Conference of Foremost Agricultural Workers of the Non-black Earth Zone of the R.S.F.S.R., Moscow, February 23, 1961. **Building of Communism in the U.S.S.R. and the Development of Agriculture**, Vol. 5, Russ. ed., p. 93.)

The rates of the economic development of the capitalist system are dropping, and in some countries are barely ahead of the growth of population. Economic crises are becoming

more frequent, especially in the United States. War production has become a permanent element of the economy. Militarism has swelled to enormous proportions. Fifteen to twenty per cent of the national income is spent on armaments. A substantial portion of the manpower is not being used to produce material values. The chronic underloading of the production apparatus is all the time increasing in scale. During crises underloading of productive capacities in some industries amounts to as much as 50 per cent. In many countries mass unemployment, to say nothing of agrarian over-population, has assumed the proportions of a real national calamity. According to official statistics 8-10 million out of 85 million industrial workers in the developed capitalist countries of North America and Western Europe, and in Japan and Australia are fully unemployed. This means that on the average one person in every nine is unemployed.

(On the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. **The Road to Communism**, Moscow, pp. 182-83.)

The working class in the United States actually comprises a majority of the population but it has no power in your country, no means of production, no radio stations. Who has them? The rich, the monopolists. They also control nearly all of the press. They mould public opinion through the radio, television, books, newspapers, the cinema. All the means of political, economic and moral influence are held by capitalists, by the richest monopolies. Taking advantage of the fact that the class-consciousness of a considerable part of the American workers is still not high, they persecute progressive-minded men and use every possible means to indoctrinate people, to make them vote for the candidates who pursue a policy in the interest of the selfsame monopolies. It should be said that the capitalists in the United States have thought up and are applying an artful democracy which is still misleading millions of people. But the time will come when the working class understands, becomes aware of its strength and then it will really vote as its class interests dictate. The working class will say: I am the master. I create all the wealth and it should therefore be

distributed in the interest of the whole of the people and, above all, of those who produce this wealth, in the interest of the working class, the working peasantry and intellectuals.

(Interview Given to W. R. Hearst, Head of an American Newspaper and Publishing Trust, on November 22, 1957. For a Lasting Peace and Peaceful Coexistence, Moscow, 1958, Russ. ed., p. 297.)

### CLASS BATTLES UNABATED

The increasing contradictions of imperialism confront the working class of the capitalist countries with the grave alternative of either throwing itself upon the mercy of the monopolies and continuing in a miserable plight, or fighting for its rights and its future. The workers prefer to fight, and are fighting with great tenacity.

Bourgeois prophets have announced the advent of an era of "class peace". They have claimed that the time of class struggles is a thing of the past and that Marxist theory in general is obsolete. Events have shown the utter absurdity of such prophecies. Strikes by the working people are growing in number and scale and in 1960 alone involved over 53 million people. The mass actions of the French and Italian working people, the Belgian workers' strike, the prolonged strike of American steel workers, in which more than 500,000 people took part, and the strike of British engineering workers will for ever go down in the history of the working-class movement. The Japanese proletariat, for its part, has demonstrated its militant strength on more than one occasion.

New contingents of the working class have stepped into the world arena in recent years. There are upwards of 100 million industrial, office and professional workers in Asia, Latin America and Africa, or about 40 per cent of the wage labour employed in the non-socialist world. The young working class is asserting itself more and more as a revolutionary force.

The struggle which the working people of the capitalist countries are waging for their economic and social rights is becoming ever more acute. For today they are faced, as

a rule, not by individual employers but by powerful monopolies which, moreover, have the entire power of the state to support them. More and more often, the working people's actions assume a political character. Over 40 million people, or roughly 73 per cent of the total number of strikers, took part in political strikes in 1960. Powerful actions by the working class and the masses of the people last year brought about the fall of the governments in Japan, Italy and Belgium. The working people of France, who rallied in support of the working class, foiled an attempt by the militarists, by the ultra-reactionaries, to impose a fascist regime on that country.

The social situation that has taken shape in the major capitalist countries during the last five years has also been marked by a growing peasant movement. In France, Italy, West Germany and elsewhere, monopoly domination is ruining the peasantry, and it is participating ever more actively in the struggle against the monopolies.

(Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. *The Road to Communism*, Moscow, pp. 33-34.)

### **REVOLUTIONARY FORCES HARRY THE WORLD OF EXPLOITERS**

The working class is the most progressive class in contemporary society, the exponent and the most active fighter for the realisation of the true ideals of those who labour. The time has come when His Majesty the Working Class has grown to such an extent, gained in strength and achieved such victories that it can determine the course of the historical development in favour of peace, democracy and socialism. The powerful forces of the working class, the forces of socialism are steadily pushing out the old world of the exploiters.

Workers are already masters of their own fate on vast expanses of our planet and are building up a new life in alliance with all working people. At the same time millions of their brothers—working people in non-socialist countries

—are rising with increasing resolve to fight for their rights and their interests and are undermining the pillars of the capitalist exploiting system.

No class throughout the history of mankind has such great accomplishments as the working class has. The working class has proved able not only to destroy the old world, the world of exploitation and violence, but able also to build up a new society, the society of socialism, of prosperous, happy and free life for the masses of the people.

Look at our country. In the course of 44 years of Soviet power the workers, peasants and Soviet intelligentsia have transformed the formerly backward Russia, have turned it into a country of advanced industry and agriculture, a country of high cultural achievement, into a country marching in the vanguard of mankind's progress. The Soviet sputniks and luniks, the miraculous spaceships, the first flights to outer space in history accomplished by the heroes Yuri Gagarin and Herman Titov, reflect with particular clarity the powerful development of productive forces, science and engineering, the flourishing of the creative genius of the free Soviet people.

The working class of the Soviet Union, and later of the other socialist countries, has shown that it is a class which creates, a class which builds the most progressive socio-economic system, a class that is the vehicle of the highest culture, of real civilisation. History provides a clear answer to the question of which social class can ensure the people peace, social progress, prosperity and happiness. This can only be done by the working class, by the masses of the people who have taken power into their own hands.

(Speech at the Fifth World Congress of Trade Unions, December 9, 1961. **Communism—Peace and Happiness for the Peoples**, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1963, pp. 368-69.)

### III. THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN OUR EPOCH

#### THE FORCES OF WORLD REVOLUTION. FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The world is going through an epoch of revolution. **Socialist revolutions, anti-imperialist national liberation revolutions, people's democratic revolutions, broad peasant movements, popular struggles to overthrow fascist and other despotic regimes, and general democratic movements against national oppression—all these merge in a single world-wide revolutionary process undermining and breaking up capitalism.**

The draft Programme delineates the paths of peaceful and non-peaceful development of revolution. In this question, as in all others, our Party stands solidly on the principles collectively formulated by the world Communist movement in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

In the present epoch more **favourable international conditions** have arisen for the development of the world revolutionary movement, due mainly to the consolidation of the forces and the growth of the influence of the socialist system. The example set by socialism is exerting a powerful influence on people's minds, making them active fighters for the new system. Peoples rising in revolution can rely on support from the socialist countries in the struggle against any attempts by world reaction to export counter-revolution. In building a new society they can get help of every kind from the socialist countries.

The **internal conditions** for the transition of new countries to socialism are also more favourable in the present epoch. Among these conditions are the general weakening of capitalism, and the deepening of its contradictions;

the numerical growth and the better organisation and consolidation of the working class, and its greater influence on society; the growing number of allies of the working class, who are objectively interested in the struggle against imperialism and in the abolition of the omnipotence of monopolies; and the founding and consolidation of Communist Parties in almost all countries of the world....<sup>1</sup>

In the present epoch the tasks of the popular-democratic, the national liberation and the socialist revolutions are drawing closer and becoming more interwoven. The logic of social development has led to all these revolutions being directed primarily against one principal foe—imperialism, the monopolist bourgeoisie.

It is often asked what course the world liberation movement will follow.

It stands to reason that in the highly-developed capitalist countries the conditions for the transition to socialism have fully matured. After accomplishing their national liberation, anti-imperialist revolution, the seething underdeveloped states of Asia, Africa and Latin America will be able to effect the transition to socialism. Today practically any country, irrespective of its level of development, can enter on the road leading to socialism.

The world revolutionary process is extending ever wider, involving all the continents. There was a time when, unable to destroy the first socialist state in the world by military means, the imperialists tried through a *cordon sanitaire* to fence it off from the rest of the world. However, the revolutionary activity of the peoples of Europe and Asia has pushed apart the borders of socialism to the Elbe and to the South China seas. The imperialists have done everything possible to confine the ideas of revolution within these bounds, but neither mountains nor oceans are obstacles to the ideas of freedom. This has been vividly borne out by the victorious revolution in Cuba.

The freedom-loving Cuban people have raised the banner of the people's anti-imperialist revolution, and cleared their land of the foreign plunderers and their henchmen. Workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, and the middle strata of the urban population have rallied around the banner of the revolution. This is one of the chief sources of the

strength of the Cuban revolution, and a guarantee of its further social progress. This small, faraway island has now become an unquenchable beacon of freedom, which is lighting the way to progress for all the peoples of Latin America.

Cuba lies far from the Soviet Union, but our peoples are close. Our hearts are with you, heroes of Cuba, who are defending independence and freedom against U.S. imperialism, and who have inscribed socialist aims on your battle standards. Our people have rendered, and will continue to render assistance to the fraternal Cuban people in their sacred struggle for their just cause.

As the socialist system grows stronger, as its advantages over capitalism reveal themselves more fully and socialist and democratic forces all over the world increase, more and more countries at various levels of development will enter upon the path of revolution and join the system of socialism, as streams add their waters to a mighty river.

(On the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. *The Road to Communism*, Moscow, pp. 272-73.)

The peoples that have gained national independence have become another mighty force in the struggle for peace and social progress.

The national liberation movement is striking ever more telling blows at imperialism, helping to strengthen peace and accelerate the social progress of mankind. At present, Asia, Africa and Latin America are the most important centres of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Some forty countries have won national independence since the war. Nearly 1,500 million people have broken free from colonial slavery.

The Meeting noted with good reason that the breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national liberation movement is second in historical significance only to the rise of the socialist world system.

A splendid new chapter is opening in the history of mankind. It is easily imagined what great things these peoples will do after they completely oust the imperialists from



their countries and feel themselves masters of their own fate. This multiplies enormously the progressive forces of mankind.

Take Asia, for example, that ancient cradle of human civilisation. What incalculable strength the peoples of that continent possess! What a great role, too, the Arab peoples with their heroic traditions and all the peoples of the Middle East, those liberated or in the process of liberation from political and economic dependence upon imperialism, could play in resolving the issues now confronting mankind!

The awakening of the peoples of Africa is one of the outstanding events of our epoch. Dozens of countries in North and Central Africa have already won independence. The south of the continent is beginning to seethe. The fascist dungeons in the Union of South Africa will undoubtedly crumble to dust, and Rhodesia, Uganda and other parts of Africa will become free.

The forces of the national liberation movement are multiplying largely because one more front of active struggle against U.S. imperialism, Latin America, has come into being in recent years. Only a short time ago that vast continent was identified by a single concept—America. And that concept accorded largely with the facts, for Latin America was bound hand and foot by Yankee imperialism. Today, the Latin American peoples are showing by their struggle that the American continent is not a preserve of the U.S.A. Latin America is reminiscent of an active volcano. The eruption of the liberation struggle has wiped out dictatorial regimes in a number of Latin American countries. The thunder of the glorious Cuban revolution has reverberated throughout the world. The Cuban revolution is not only repulsing the onslaught of the imperialists; it is spreading and taking deeper root, and constitutes a new and higher stage of the national liberation struggle, one in which the people themselves come to power and become the masters of their wealth. Solidarity with revolutionary Cuba is the duty not only of the Latin American peoples, but also of the socialist countries, the entire international communist movement and the proletariat all over the world.

○ The national liberation movement is an anti-imperialist movement. Imperialism has become much weaker with the

collapse of the colonial system. Vast territories and large masses of people have ceased, or are ceasing, to serve as a reserve for it and as a source of cheap raw materials and cannon fodder. Asian, African and Latin American countries, supported by the socialist countries and the progressive forces of the world, are inflicting defeat upon the imperialist powers and coalitions with increasing frequency....

The renovation of the world along the principles of freedom, democracy and socialism, in which we are now taking part, is a great historical process wherein different revolutionary and democratic movements unite and interact, with socialist revolutions exerting the determining influence. The success of the national liberation movement, due in large measure to the victories of socialism, in turn strengthens the international positions of socialism in the struggle against imperialism. It is this truly Leninist concept of the historical processes that is the basis of the policy of the Communist Parties and socialist countries, a policy aimed at strengthening the close alliance with the peoples fighting for independence and peoples that have already won it.

Bourgeois and revisionist politicians claim that the national liberation movement develops independently of the struggle for socialism waged by the working class, independently of the support of the socialist countries, and that the colonialists themselves bestow freedom on the peoples of the former colonies. The purpose of these fabrications is to isolate the newly-independent states from the socialist camp and to try and prove that they should assume the role of a "third force" in the international arena instead of opposing imperialism. Needless to say, this is sheer humbug.

It is a historical fact that prior to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the peoples failed in their attempts to break the chains of colonialism. History proves that until socialism triumphed in at least a part of the world there could be no question of destroying colonialism.

The imperialist powers, above all the United States, are doing their utmost to hitch to their system the countries that have cast off the colonial yoke and thereby strengthen the positions of world capitalism, to infuse fresh blood into it, as bourgeois ideologists put it, and to rejuvenate and con-

solidate it. If we look the facts in the face, we have to admit that the imperialists have powerful economic levers with which to exert pressure on the newly-free countries. They still manage to enmesh some of the politically independent countries in the web of economic dependence. Now that it is no longer possible to establish outright colonial regimes, the imperialists resort to disguised forms and means of enslaving and plundering the newly-free countries. At the same time, the colonial powers back the internal reactionaries in all these countries; they try to impose on them puppet dictatorial regimes and to involve them in aggressive blocs. Although there are most sharp contradictions between the imperialist countries, they often take joint action against the national liberation movement.

But if we consider all the factors shaping the destinies of the peoples that have shaken off colonial rule, we shall see that in the final analysis the trends of social progress opposing imperialism will prevail.

However, these matters are resolved in bitter struggle within each country. The Statement of the Meeting contains important propositions on the basic issues concerning the development of the national liberation movement. It defines the tasks of the Communist Parties and their attitude to the various classes and social groups. The Statement expresses the identity of views held by the Marxist-Leninist parties, and calls for the maximum utilisation of the revolutionary possibilities of various classes and social strata and for the drawing of all allies, even if inconsistent, shaky and unstable, into the struggle against imperialism.

The Communists are revolutionaries and it would be a bad thing if they failed to see the new opportunities, to find new ways and means of reaching the set goal with the greatest certainty. Special note should be taken of the idea set forth in the Statement about the formation of national democratic states. The Statement describes the main characteristics of these states and their tasks. It should be stressed that in view of the great variety of specific conditions in those countries where the peoples, having achieved independence, are now making their own history, a variety of forms for solving the tasks of social progress is bound to emerge.

Correct application of Marxist-Leninist theory in the newly-free countries consists precisely in taking note of the peculiarities of the economic, political and cultural life of the peoples and in seeking forms for uniting all the sound forces of the nations, ensuring the leading role of the working class in the national front, in the struggle for the final eradication of the roots of imperialism and remnants of feudalism, and for paving the way for the ultimate advance to socialism.

Today, when the imperialist reactionaries are striving to foist the policy of anti-communism on the young independent states, it is most important to give a truthful explanation of the communist views and aspirations. The Communists support the general democratic measures of the national governments. At the same time, they explain to the masses that these measures are not socialist at all.

Nobody appreciates and understands the aspirations of the peoples now smashing the fetters of colonialism better than the working people of the socialist countries and the Communists of the whole world. Our world outlook and the interests of all the working people, for which we are fighting, impel us to do our best to ensure that the peoples follow the right road to progress, to the flowering of their material and spiritual forces. By our policy we must strengthen the peoples' confidence in the socialist countries.

The aid extended by the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist states to the newly-independent countries has but one aim—to help strengthen the position of these countries in the struggle against imperialism, further the development of their national economy and improve the life of their people. Noting that the working class of the developed countries is deeply interested in the advance "towards independence" of the colonial countries "as rapidly as possible", Engels wrote: "One thing alone is certain: the victorious proletariat can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing."\*

The internationalist duty of the victorious working class consists in helping the peoples of the economically under-

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\* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, p. 423.

developed countries to smash the chains of colonial slavery, and in rendering them all-round aid in their struggle against imperialism, for the right to self-determination and independent development. However, it does not follow that socialist aid exerts no influence on the prospective development of the newly-free countries.

The Soviet Union has always been, and remains, a sincere friend of the colonial peoples; it has always championed their rights, interests and aspirations to independence. We shall continue to strengthen and develop our economic and cultural co-operation with countries which have won their independence.

(For New Victories of the World Communist Movement. **Communism—Peace and Happiness for the Peoples**, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1963, pp. 52-59.)

#### DIVERSE FORMS OF TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

In connection with the radical changes in the world arena new prospects are also opening up in respect to the transition of countries and nations to socialism.

As far back as the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution Lenin wrote: "All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but not all will do so in exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own in one or another form of democracy, one or another variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, one or another rate at which socialist transformations will be effected in the various aspects of social life. There is nothing more primitive from the viewpoint of theory or more ridiculous from that of practice than to paint, 'in the name of historical materialism', this aspect of the future in a monotonous grey. The result will be nothing more than Suzdal daubing."<sup>\*</sup>

Historical experience has fully confirmed Lenin's brilliant precept. Alongside the Soviet form of reconstructing society on socialist lines, we now have the form of People's Democracy.

In Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, and the

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\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 23, p. 58.

other European People's Democracies, this form sprang up and is being utilised in conformity with the concrete historical, social and economic conditions, and peculiarities of each of these countries. It has been thoroughly tried and tested in the course of ten years and has fully proved its worth.

Much that is unique in socialist construction is being contributed by the Chinese People's Republic, whose economy prior to the victory of the revolution was exceedingly backward, semi-feudal and semi-colonial in character. Having taken over the decisive commanding positions, the people's democratic state is using them in the socialist revolution to implement a policy of peaceful reorganisation of private industry and trade and their gradual transformation into a component of socialist economy.

The leadership of the great cause of socialist reconstruction by the Communist Party of China and the Communist and Workers' Parties of the other People's Democracies, exercised in keeping with the peculiarities and specific features of each country, is creative Marxism in action.

In the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, where state power belongs to the working people, and society is based on public ownership of the means of production, specific concrete forms of economic management and organisation of the state apparatus are arising in the process of socialist construction.

It is probable that more forms of transition to socialism will appear. Moreover, the implementation of these forms need not be associated with civil war under all circumstances. Our enemies like to depict us Leninists as advocates of violence always and everywhere. True, we recognise the need for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into socialist society. It is this that distinguishes the revolutionary Marxists from the reformists, the opportunists. There is no doubt that in a number of capitalist countries the violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the sharp aggravation of class struggle connected with this are inevitable. But the forms of social revolution vary. It is not true that we regard violence and civil war as the only way to remake society.

It will be recalled that in the conditions that arose

in April 1917 Lenin granted the possibility that the Russian revolution might develop peacefully, and that in the spring of 1918, after the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin drew up his famous plan for peaceful socialist construction. It is not our fault that the Russian and international bourgeoisie organised counter-revolution, intervention, and civil war against the young Soviet state and forced the workers and peasants to take up arms. It did not come to civil war in the European People's Democracies, where the historical situation was different.

Leninism teaches us that the ruling classes will not surrender their power voluntarily. And the greater or lesser degree of intensity which the struggle may assume, the use or the non-use of violence in the transition to socialism depends on the resistance of the exploiters, on whether the exploiting class itself resorts to violence, rather than on the proletariat.

In this connection the question arises of whether it is possible to go over to socialism by using parliamentary means. No such course was open to the Russian Bolsheviks, who were the first to effect this transition. Lenin showed us another road, that of the establishment of a republic of Soviets, the only correct road in those historical conditions. Following that course we achieved a victory of history-making significance.

Since then, however, the historical situation has undergone radical changes which make possible a new approach to the question. The forces of socialism and democracy have grown immeasurably throughout the world, and capitalism has become much weaker. The mighty camp of socialism with its population of over 900 million is growing and gaining in strength. Its gigantic internal forces, its decisive advantages over capitalism, are being increasingly revealed from day to day. Socialism has become a great power of attraction for the workers, peasants, and intellectuals of all countries. The ideas of socialism are indeed coming to dominate the minds of all toiling humanity.

At the same time the present situation offers the working class in a number of capitalist countries a real opportunity to unite the overwhelming majority of the people under its leadership and to secure the transfer of the basic

means of production into the hands of the people. The right-wing bourgeois parties and their governments are suffering bankruptcy with increasing frequency. In these circumstances the working class, by rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriotic forces, and resolutely repulsing the opportunist elements who are incapable of giving up the policy of conciliation with the capitalists and landlords, is in a position to defeat the reactionary forces opposed to the popular interest, to win a stable majority in parliament, and transform the latter from an organ of bourgeois democracy into a genuine instrument of the people's will. In such an event this institution, traditional in many highly-developed capitalist countries, may become an organ of genuine democracy, democracy for the working people.

The winning of a stable parliamentary majority backed by a mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat and of all the working people could create for the working class of a number of capitalist and former colonial countries the conditions needed to secure fundamental social changes.

In the countries where capitalism is still strong and has a huge military and police apparatus at its disposal, the reactionary forces will of course inevitably offer serious resistance. There the transition to socialism will be attended by a sharp class, revolutionary struggle.

Whatever the form of transition to socialism, the decisive and indispensable factor is the political leadership of the working class headed by its vanguard. Without this there can be no transition to socialism.

It must be strongly emphasised that the more favourable conditions for the victory of socialism created in other countries are due to the fact that socialism has won in the Soviet Union and is winning in the People's Democracies. Its victory in our country would have been impossible had Lenin and the Bolshevik Party not upheld revolutionary Marxism in battle against the reformists, who broke with Marxism and took the path of opportunism.

(Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the 20th Party Congress, Moscow, 1956, pp. 42-46.)



## TWO WAYS ARE POSSIBLE—THE PEACEFUL AND NON-PEACEFUL

Recognition of the need for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into socialist society is axiomatic for us Soviet Communists, the sons of the October Revolution. The road to socialism lies through proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. As regards the forms of the transition to socialism, these, as pointed out by the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., will become more and more varied. The transition to socialism will not everywhere and in all cases be necessarily associated with armed uprising and civil war. Marxism-Leninism holds that the forms of transition to socialism may be peaceful and non-peaceful. It is in the interests of the working class, of the masses, that the revolution be carried out in a peaceful way. But if the ruling classes respond to the revolution with violence and refuse to submit to the will of the people, the proletariat is obliged to break their resistance and go to the length of a resolute civil war.

We are convinced that increasingly favourable conditions for socialist revolutions will arise with the growth of the might of the world socialist system and the better organisation of the working class in the capitalist countries. The transition to socialism in countries with developed parliamentary traditions may be effected by utilising parliament, and in other countries by utilising institutions conforming to their national traditions. It is not a question of using the bourgeois parliament as such, but of employing the parliamentary form, making it serve the people and filling it with a new content. It is thus not a matter of electoral combinations or simple skirmishes at the ballot box. Communists leave that sort of thing to the reformists. Such combinations are alien to them. For Communists the absolute condition for winning a stable majority in parliament is to unify and consolidate the revolutionary forces of the working class and of all the working people, and to launch mass revolutionary actions. To win a majority in parliament and transform it into an organ of people's power, given a powerful revolutionary move-

ment in the country, means to smash the military-bureaucratic machine of the bourgeoisie and to set up a new, proletarian people's state with a parliamentary form.

It is quite obvious that in the countries where capitalism is still strong and commands a huge military and police apparatus, the transition to socialism will be inevitably attended by sharp class struggle. Political leadership by the working class, headed by the communist vanguard, is the decisive condition no matter what the forms of transition to socialism are.

These conclusions of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U are based on the theory of Marxism-Leninism, on the practice of the fraternal Communist Parties, on the experience of the international communist movement, and take account rightly of the changed international conditions. They orient the Communist Parties to unite the working class, the majority of the people, and to master all the forms of struggle—the peaceful and non-peaceful, the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary. Lenin taught the Communists to be ready to use the various forms of struggle depending on the situation, and to educate the masses of the working people in the spirit of preparedness for decisive revolutionary action.

It stands to reason that the working class in each country, and its communist vanguard, must decide what forms and methods of struggle are to be employed in the concrete historical situation.

(For New Victories of the World Communist Movement. **Communism—Peace and Happiness for the Peoples**, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1963, pp. 62-63.)

Since the war the monopolist bourgeoisie has formed a new reactionary "Holy Alliance"—military blocs spearheaded not only against the socialist countries but also against the revolutionary working-class and the national liberation movements. It has inflated the apparatus of violence and suppression to monstrous proportions. Concurrently, it is resorting to new and refined methods of splitting the working class and corrupting the trade union movement, for

which end it makes extensive use of reactionary social-democratic and trade union leaders. It conducts a frantic anti-communist campaign, and has rallied all the enemies of the working people under this black flag. The possibility is not to be ruled out that the monopoly bourgeoisie will fall back on the most extreme and sanguinary means of retaining its domination. In these circumstances Lenin's words ring still truer today than ever before. The working class, he said, must "gain mastery of all forms or aspects of social activity without exception", and must be prepared for "a most rapid and sudden replacement of one form by another".\*

(On the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. *The Road to Communism*, Moscow, pp. 273-74.)

## GENERAL TENDENCIES AND NATIONAL PECULIARITIES

Each nation must build socialism and march towards communism with an eye on its own national, cultural and economic peculiarities. The well-known Leninist proposition on this score was reflected in the Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries in 1957. It was recorded in the decisions of the 20th Congress of our Party and confirmed by the Extraordinary 21st Congress. What is the difference between ourselves and the revisionists in interpreting this Marxist-Leninist proposition? The difference is that the revisionists lay stress on the differences in the concrete conditions existing in the various countries which are building socialism, and totally ignore the common and stable principles typical of all countries. We Marxists-Leninists single out and emphasise the stable principles common to all our countries—leadership of the masses by the working class, the core of which is the Marxist-Leninist Party, in carrying out proletarian revolution in one form or another and in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another; alliance of the working class with the bulk of the peasantry and with other sections of the working people;

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\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 31, p. 76.

abolition of capitalist ownership and establishment of public ownership of the basic means of production; gradual socialist transformation of agriculture; proletarian internationalism, etc. These laws are the foundation of foundations for all who really want to build socialism, rather than land in the morass of opportunism, as is being done by the revisionists.

(Speech at a Warsaw Meeting in Celebration of the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, July 21, 1959. *World Without Arms, World Without Wars*, Book I, Moscow, p. 516.)

The imperialists, adhering to their hoary principle of "divide and rule", seize upon all sorts of nationalist prejudices in their struggle against the socialist camp, and resort to ideological sabotage in the guise of so-called national communism. The ideologists of imperialism and their agents seek to sow the poisonous seeds of chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism in order to oppose one socialist country to the others.

Some who style themselves Communists and who have fallen for this propagandistic bait advocate socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without guidance of social life by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, without proletarian internationalism. Our opponents call this policy "liberal communism", thereby betraying their secret desire to turn the Communists into run-of-the-mill bourgeois liberals. Whither modern revisionism leads can be seen from the example of Djilas or Imre Nagy, who descended to outright betrayal of the cause of socialism and the basic national interests of their countries. The political and ideological defeat suffered by these enemies of socialism in Yugoslavia and Hungary will benefit socialism in those countries and the socialist system as a whole.

Another weapon of the present-day revisionists is the lauding of bourgeois democracy. This is an old weapon, borrowed from the opportunists of the Second International. There was a time when the renegade Kautsky and the Men-

sheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries wielded the same weapon in their bitter struggle against Lenin and the young Soviet Republic. The "wise men" in the leadership of the Right-wing Socialists, and the latter-day revisionists to boot, reason more or less along these lines: If the Communists in the countries where they are in power were to permit hostile political activity against the socialist system we would admit that they have freedom, and would praise them.

But the revisionists will never get the chance to praise the Communists for anything of the kind. We proceed from the Leninist standpoint of consolidating the socialist state, of developing socialist, not bourgeois, democracy, nor do we intend to abandon this Leninist stand.

The international experience of building a socialist state in the transition period, in particular the lesson to be learned from the struggle against the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary, shows that the working class must be able to defend its power against internal and external enemies, that a working people's state must direct socialist construction and promote socialist democracy.

Modern conditions have given rise to various forms of the socialist state. At the same time it should be stressed that without a Marxist-Leninist party a socialist state cannot exist, the working class cannot be organised as the leading force of society, the indestructible alliance of the working class and the peasantry cannot be ensured, and the tasks of socialist construction cannot be successfully carried out.

Lenin pointed out that all peoples and countries would come to socialism, but not all in the same way, for each country would lend its own distinctive features to this or that form of democracy, to this or that variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, lastly, to the rate of socialist reforms in the various aspects of social life. The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union emphasised that the experience of all the countries that are following the path of socialism fully confirmed this proposition of Lenin's.

Some people try to seize upon the Leninist propositions and the Twentieth Party Congress decisions about the variety of forms of transition to socialism and the variety of meth-

ods of socialist construction. They interpret these propositions in their own fashion, saying that since Lenin put forward, and the Twentieth Congress confirmed and elaborated the proposition about the variety of forms and methods of socialist construction, there is no need for the unity of the socialist countries. The exponents of this viewpoint assert that each country can advance to socialism in its own, special way, distinct altogether from that of the other socialist countries.

The theory of scientific socialism takes, and must take, into consideration the peculiarities of each country that determine, to some degree or other, the forms and methods of socialist construction. That is taken for granted. It would never occur to anyone who really stands on a revolutionary position that in building socialism one can ignore the social, economic and historical peculiarities of the various countries. If one is to keep to the Marxist-Leninist view one should put the emphasis not on this or that peculiarity, since each country has its peculiarities, but on what is most important, on what is common to and underlies the struggle for socialism.

Differences in the practice of socialist construction may manifest themselves, for example, in establishing this or that form of industrial management, this or that method of co-operation in agriculture, but the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and the association of the peasantry in co-operatives constitute that common element without which the socialist system cannot develop successfully. We know that the problems of industrial management in the Chinese People's Republic are tackled with due regard to the specific conditions of that country, that is, not in the same way as in the Soviet Union or, say, in Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, while there is a variety of concrete forms of management, the main thing, namely, consistent implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist construction, fully retains its validity.

Socialism has acquired such prestige among the working people, and the ideas of socialism have gripped the masses to such an extent that today the more far-sighted enemies of socialism and adherents of capitalism are willing to put up with the term "socialism", except that they insist on

using a tiny adjective and saying "national socialism" or "national communism".

Our class enemies find it hard to combat the united and firmly cemented front of the socialist countries. They hope to settle with the socialist countries singly so as to weaken the entire world system of socialism.

The enemies of socialism would like the Communists to start looking for entirely "new", artificial ways to socialism for each particular country, disregarding the vast experience of socialist construction acquired by the Soviet Union, China and other countries. They suggest advancing to socialism singly, going pell-mell, each by himself, and, moreover, along different paths. If this view were adopted, then there would probably be so many "paths" that people would lose their way as in a forest and would not know how to reach their great goal. However, these calculations are doomed to failure. The Communist and Workers' Parties have seen through the designs of the enemies of socialism and are administering them a determined rebuff; they firmly adhere to Marxist-Leninist positions and will not let anybody lead them astray. Attempts to undermine the socialist movement from within, to disrupt the socialist countries and parties and turn them against each other are one of the more refined forms of the struggle of imperialism and its agents against the world socialist system. This is one of the greatest perils, and we must fight hard against it.

The high road to socialism has already been blazed and the basic forms and methods of socialist construction tried and tested by reality, by the experience of numerous socialist countries. It is necessary to improve these forms and methods, to assimilate and generalise the vast experience accumulated, the experience of the creative endeavour of the masses, to tirelessly extend it in keeping with the conditions of each country and people, to consolidate and not shake the camp of socialism, and then socialist society will steadily develop and grow, overcoming all obstacles and difficulties.

(Report to the Jubilee Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., November 6, 1957. *Forty Years of the Great October Socialist Revolution*, Moscow, 1957, pp. 60-63.)

## THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS NECESSARY THOUGH ITS FORMS MAY DIFFER

Half a century ago our Party was the only party to put the Marxist-Leninist idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat into its programme. If we managed to survive in the bitter struggle against domestic and world reactionaries, if we managed to translate into reality mankind's age-old dream of socialism, we owe this, to a tremendous degree, to the fact that we possessed a powerful instrument for the transformation of society—a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The experience of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies has fully confirmed the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the victory of socialism is possible only if the dictatorship of the proletariat is established.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is born of the conditions created by the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In the process of its establishment, socialism has to overcome the resistance, often of a most bitter kind, of the reactionary forces of the old world. Comrades, remember the fierce resistance put up against us by the landlords and capitalists with the most active support of the forces of world reaction. One could also refer to an event of the relatively recent past—the counter-revolutionary insurrection in Hungary in 1956. It furnished added proof that to effect the transition to socialism, the working class must have a power capable of crushing the resistance of the exploiters, consolidating the victory of the revolution, preventing in time all attempts to restore the rule of the bourgeoisie, and ensuring defence against aggressive acts by international reactionaries.

It should be stressed that the proletariat resorts to force solely against the capitalists and landlords, and their abettors, and not against the labouring classes. It is this that accounts for the profoundly democratic nature of proletarian power. The bourgeois state is a dictatorship of the exploiting minority over the overwhelming majority of society, whereas the proletarian state expresses the interests of the vast majority of society. The working class leads the peasantry and the other labouring sections of society, its allies and brothers-in-arms, and helps them to take the social-



ist path of their own free will. This leadership, being a characteristic feature of proletarian power, sets it poles apart from the bourgeois state, which knows no other relations but those of domination and subjection.

Lenin taught us that the working class needs dictatorship to build a socialist society, to wipe out all exploitation of man by man. "This goal," Lenin explained, "cannot be achieved overnight. It requires a fairly long period of transition from capitalism to socialism, because reorganisation of production is a difficult thing, because it takes time to effect radical changes in all spheres of life, and because the tremendous force of habit for the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois way of economy can only be broken through a long and dogged struggle. That is why Marx speaks of the entire period of proletarian dictatorship as of a period of transition from capitalism to socialism."\* It follows, according to Marx and Lenin, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a state of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

(On the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. *The Road to Communism*, Moscow, pp. 249-50.)

Marxism-Leninism maintains that when power passes into the hands of the working class, it has to establish a dictatorship of its own to suppress the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes. The forms of working-class dictatorship may vary in different countries. If the deposed class puts up no resistance to the new that is born in the course of the historical development of society, as a result of revolution, the working class has no need to use forcible means of suppression. But if the exploiters try to turn back the wheel of history, to prevent the people from taking power, if they try to strangle the revolution, then the working class, working people in general, must in the name of their vital interests use means of suppression to maintain their social gains and to defend the vital interests of the working masses, of the entire people.

(Meeting with Leaders of American Trade Unions, September 20, 1959. *World Without Arms, World Without Wars*, Book 2, Moscow, p. 242.)

\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 29, p. 358.

Here, on the banks of the Neva, Soviet power was born. Here the dictatorship of the proletariat triumphed and took root for the first time in world history. In the years of Soviet power our country developed into a mighty socialist power, blazing the trail to a new world—the world of socialism. Today, a group of countries is already following this path. They are benefiting extensively by the accumulated experience, and concurrently contribute much of their own to socialist construction. But for all the great abundance and diversity of political forms emerging in the transition from capitalism to socialism, their substance, as Marx and Lenin had foreseen, is inevitably one—the dictatorship of the proletariat. This dictatorship alone can provide working-class political guidance to society. It alone can ensure the steady advance of productive forces, the burgeoning of real democracy for all working people and a rise of living standards for the masses.

It is only natural that contemporary revisionists concentrate their main attacks against the dictatorship of the proletariat, of which the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class is the supreme principle. They want thereby to strike at the very heart of the working-class liberation movement. With this in view, they vilify the dictatorship of the proletariat in every possible way and contrast it with democracy. To hear them, it appears that the dictatorship of the proletariat is ultra-violence, suppression of all and every freedom, oppression of the individual.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, it is true, involves a certain amount of compulsion. But who is that compulsion aimed at? It is aimed at those who have for centuries oppressed the people, who are reluctant to abandon their privilege of plundering the toiler, who advocate restoration of the old regime. Can the working people really allow these idlers to recapture the mills and factories, the best fields and forest lands, and to harness the people into the yoke of exploitation?

Suppressing the resistance of the exploiters is not the only, and not even the main, function of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the power of the working people. The dictatorship of the proletariat performs a tremendous

organisational, educational and constructive job. This facet of the function of the socialist state is particularly prominent today, when hundreds of millions of people participate actively in the building of socialism and communism. To the working people the dictatorship of the proletariat in all its stages provides genuine democracy, genuine popular rule.

The closer the people approach socialism, and then communism, the more broadly and fully the advantages of socialist democracy come to light. This is recognised not only by our friends abroad, but also by those of our enemies who are still able to look the truth squarely in the face.

Not infrequently, the revisionists mask their acts against the dictatorship of the proletariat with talk about the specific features of one country or another. Yet they do not, nor can they, cite a single example of successful socialist construction without the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is on the basis of proletarian dictatorship that all the countries of the socialist camp are making splendid progress in building the new life.

The experience of some countries, the Polish People's Republic among them, shows that in the new historical circumstances the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat are adequately performed by the state of people's democracy. The Polish United Workers' Party, its Central Committee headed by Comrade Gomulka, have firmly rebuffed the revisionist elements who demanded that people's democracy be supplanted as a form of proletarian dictatorship by so-called "pure" democracy. But what is "pure" democracy? Lenin said that "pure democracy" was a spurious phrase used by liberals to fool the workers. Behind a smoke-screen of high-sounding phrases about "pure democracy" and "democratic socialism" modern revisionists urge a return to bourgeois democracy which, as you know, is nothing but a dictatorship of the exploiting classes.

By preaching these views the revisionists want to disarm the working class ideologically, and to sow in its ranks the poisonous seeds of disbelief in its strength. It is not accidental that international imperialist reaction

is extolling the revisionists to the skies and supporting them. The Communist and Workers' parties have firmly repelled the attacks of the modern revisionists and revealed them in their true colours as traitors to the interests of the working class. The Communist and Workers' parties will carry on their uncompromising struggle for the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory and will cement the unity of their revolutionary ranks.

(Speech at the Soviet-Polish Friendship Meeting of Leningrad Working People, November 4, 1958. For Victory in the Peaceful Competition with Capitalism, Moscow, 1959, pp. 714-17.)

## REVOLUTION AND WARS

Wars arose with the division of society into classes. This means that the ground for all wars will not be completely eliminated until society is no longer divided into hostile, antagonistic classes. The victory of the working class throughout the world and the triumph of socialism will remove all the social and national causes of war and mankind will be able to rid itself of this dreadful scourge once and for all.

In the present conditions we must distinguish between the following kinds of war: world war, local war, and war of liberation or popular uprising. This is necessary in order to work out the proper tactics in regard to each.

Let us begin with the problem of **world wars**. The Communists are the most resolute opponents of world wars, as they are of wars between states in general. Only the imperialists need these wars in order to seize foreign territories and to enslave and plunder the peoples. Prior to the emergence of the world socialist camp, the working class was unable to exert any decisive influence on the decision of whether there should or should not be a world war. In those circumstances the finest representatives of the working class advanced the slogan of turning imperialist war into civil war, that is, of the working class and all working people using the situation created by the war to win power. A situation of that kind obtained during

the First World War, and was used classically by the Bolshevik Party, by Lenin.

In our time the conditions are different. The world socialist camp with its powerful economy and armed forces is exerting an ever-growing influence on the questions of war and peace. To be sure, acute contradictions and antagonisms between the imperialist countries and the urge to profit at the expense of others, the weaker countries, still exist. However, the imperialists are compelled to keep in mind the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, and are afraid to start a war between themselves. They try to minimise their differences. They have formed military blocs and have drawn many capitalist countries into them. Although these blocs are torn by internal conflicts, their members are united, as they themselves say, by their hatred of communism and, naturally, by their common imperialist nature and aspirations.

In the present circumstances it is not war between the capitalist, imperialist countries that is most likely to occur, although this possibility should not be ruled out entirely. The imperialists are preparing war chiefly against the socialist countries, and above all against the Soviet Union, the most powerful of the socialist countries. They would like to sap our might and thereby restore the one-time dominance of monopoly capital.

The task is to raise insurmountable obstacles to the unleashing of war by the imperialists. Our possibilities for blocking the warmongers are growing, and we can consequently prevent a world war. It stands to reason that we cannot as yet completely exclude the possibility of war, since imperialist countries continue to exist, but it is now much more difficult for the imperialists to start a war than was the case previously, before the powerful socialist camp came into existence. The imperialists can start a war, but they have to think of the consequences.

I have said before that the maniac Hitler, if he had had an inkling of how his sanguinary gamble would end and of his having to commit suicide, would have thought twice before starting the war against the Soviet Union. But at that time there were only two socialist countries—the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's

Republic. Yet we smashed the aggressors, and in doing so made use also of the contradictions existing between the imperialist states.

Today the situation is entirely different. At present the imperialist camp is confronted by the socialist countries, which are a mighty force. It would be wrong to underestimate the strength of the socialist camp, its influence on world developments and, consequently, on the question of war or peace. Now that there is a mighty socialist camp with powerful armed forces, the peoples can undoubtedly prevent war and thus ensure peaceful coexistence, provided they rally all their forces for active struggle against the bellicose imperialists.

Now about **local wars**. There is much talk in the imperialist camp today about local wars, and the imperialists are even making small-calibre atomic weapons for use in such wars. They have even concocted a special theory on local wars. Is this mere chance? Not at all. Some of the imperialist groups fear that a world war might end in the complete destruction of capitalism, and are laying their stakes on local wars.

There have been local wars in the past and they may break out again. But the chances of the imperialists' starting wars of even a local nature are dwindling. A small-scale imperialist war, no matter which of the imperialists starts it, may develop into a world thermonuclear, missile war. We must, therefore, fight against world wars and against local wars.

The aggression of Britain, France and Israel against Egypt is an example of a local war started by the imperialists. They wanted to strangle Egypt and thereby intimidate the other Arab countries fighting for their independence, and also to scare the rest of the peoples of Africa and Asia. When we were in London, British statesmen, Mr. Eden included, spoke to us quite frankly about their desire to settle accounts with Egypt. We told them plainly: "If you start a war, you will lose it. We shall not be neutral." When that war broke out, the United Nations formally condemned it, but this did not disturb the aggressors; they went ahead with their dirty business and thought they would soon reach their goal. The Soviet Union, and the socialist camp as a whole, came to the defence of Egypt. The stern warning which

the Soviet Government issued to Eden and Guy Mollet stopped the war. Local war, the gamble in Egypt, failed ignominiously.

That was in 1956 when the balance of forces between the socialist and imperialist countries was not what it is now. We were not as powerful then as we are today. Moreover, the rulers of Britain, France and Israel expected to profit by the difficulties that had arisen in Hungary and Poland. Spokesmen of the imperialist countries whispered to us, "You have your difficulties in Hungary and we have ours in Egypt, so don't meddle in our affairs." But we told the whisperers where to get off. We refused to shut our eyes to their knavish acts. We intervened and frustrated their aggression.

There you have an example of how a local war started by the imperialists was thwarted through the intervention of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp.

I have already said that local wars may re-occur. It is our task, therefore, always to be on the alert, to summon to action the forces of the socialist camp, the people of all countries, all peace-loving forces, in order to prevent wars of aggression. If the people of all countries are united and roused, if they fight indefatigably and combine their forces both in each country and on an international scale, wars can be prevented.

Now about **national liberation wars**. Recent examples of wars of this kind are the armed struggle waged by the people of Viet-Nam and the present war of the Algerian people, which is now in its seventh year.

These wars, which began as uprisings of colonial peoples against their oppressors, developed into guerilla wars.

There will be liberation wars as long as imperialism exists, as long as colonialism exists. Wars of this kind are revolutionary wars. Such wars are not only admissible, but inevitable, for the colonialists do not freely bestow independence on the peoples. The peoples win freedom and independence only through struggle, including armed struggle.

Why was it that the U.S. imperialists, though eager to help the French colonialists in every way, did not venture directly to intervene in the war in Viet-Nam? They did not do so because they knew that if they gave France armed

assistance, Viet-Nam would receive the same kind of assistance from China, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and that the fighting could then develop into a world war. The outcome of the war is known—North Viet-Nam won.

A similar war is being waged today in Algeria. What kind of a war is it? It is an uprising of the Arab people of Algeria against the French colonialists. It has assumed the form of a guerilla war. The U.S. and British imperialists are helping their French allies with arms. Moreover, they have allowed France, a member of NATO, to transfer troops from Europe to fight the Algerian people. The people of Algeria, too, get help from neighbouring and other countries who appreciate their love of freedom. But this is a liberation war, a war of independence waged by the people. It is a sacred war. We recognise such wars; we have helped and shall continue to help peoples fighting for their freedom.

Or take Cuba. A war was fought there too. But it, too, began as an uprising against a tyrannical regime backed by U.S. imperialism. Batista was a puppet of the United States and the United States helped him actively. However, the U.S.A. did not directly intervene with its armed forces in the Cuban war. Led by Fidel Castro, the people of Cuba won.

Can such wars recur? Yes, they can. Are uprisings of this kind likely? Yes, they are. But they are wars in the nature of popular uprisings. Can conditions in other countries reach the point where the cup of popular patience overflows and the people take up arms? Yes, they can. What is the Marxist attitude to such uprisings? It is most favourable. These uprisings cannot be identified with wars between countries, with local wars, because the insurgent people fight for the right of self-determination, for their social and independent national development; these uprisings are directed against corrupt reactionary regimes, against the colonialists. The Communists support just wars of this kind whole-heartedly and without reservations, and march in the van of the peoples fighting for liberation.

(For New Victories of the World Communist Movement. Results of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, January 6, 1961. **Communism—Peace and Happiness for the Peoples**, Moscow, 1963, Vol. 1, pp. 38-43.)



The Party created by the great Lenin led the working class, the nations of Russia to revolution, to the establishment of the power of the people. We accomplished a socialist revolution not in order to fight wars but in order to live in peace, to build a new life on earth, to build socialism, communism, so that the people could by their labour bring glory to the great motherland of the October Revolution, multiply the gains of socialism and show the whole of mankind what successes can be achieved by a people who have smashed the chains of capitalism once and for all.

Our valiant Armed Forces have a fine tradition of training their personnel in a spirit in which they would not waver in battle, in which the soldier would at any moment, if the Motherland so requires, unhesitatingly sacrifice his life for the happiness of the people, for the triumph of the great cause of socialism. But it would be a sacrifice namely for the happiness of the people, for the triumph of its great cause—the victory of socialism, communism.

But when it is said that a people who had accomplished a revolution should start a war that would be a world nuclear war, that they should start such a war so as to create a more flourishing society on the corpses of millions upon millions of victims, on the ruins of the world—that, comrades, is impossible to understand. Who would remain on this “flourishing earth” after such a war? We cannot agree with this contention.

I wonder if the authors of these assertions know that if all the nuclear warheads are detonated the earth's atmosphere will be so contaminated that nobody can tell in what condition the survivors will be and whether they will not envy the dead. Yes, yes, comrades, that is how the question stands.

To those who link the victory of socialism up with such a war we say that we can never agree with this.

On Lenin's proposal the army in Soviet Russia was disbanded when the October Revolution was accomplished in our country and the power of the Soviets was established. We introduced universal military training. We began to raise an army only when the enemy forced a war upon our young Soviet state. We needed weapons in order to defend the gains of the Revolution, the young republic of Soviets, which

was the world's first state of workers and peasants. And in order that people could handle these weapons an army had to be created. Such an army was created by the revolutionary people of Soviet Russia.

The imperialists are now pretending to be brave, but it is only bravery in words because in reality they tremble before the growing socialist world, which is steadily becoming stronger. Let them tremble, it's to our advantage.

But is war necessary for the triumph of socialism, of communism? Those who have the war itch, who consider that a world war is required for the victory of socialism, occupy such a position not because they are brave but because they do not believe in the strength of the working class, in the strength of socialism. They evidently do not believe that in conditions of peaceful coexistence, the countries where the power is in the hands of the people can defeat capitalism on the economic, scientific and cultural front, that by resting on the economic power of the socialist countries, on their armed forces, it is possible to keep the imperialists in awe and prevent them from starting a world war.

These comrades say that peace cannot be preserved because of the special features of imperialism. It is quite true that imperialism's predatory nature has not changed and that it cannot change. We have always said that, and quite rightly, too. But comrades, the policy of the imperialist countries is, after all, also determined by people. And these people have a brain box and they have brains. The direction in which their grey cells turn is quite a different matter. We are Communists and we have our way of thinking. The imperialists think in the opposite way. But the imperialists, too, if we discount the wild men from whom anything can be expected, are compelled to take stock of reality, of the changed correlation of world forces, of the growth of the forces working for peace and socialism.

If the logic of certain comrades is followed we should, in general, have nothing to do at all with the imperialists. Naturally, if everybody acted and thought in the communist way there would have been no antagonistic classes and communism would have by now triumphed everywhere. But for the time being there are two systems—a socialist and a

capitalist system—and each system has its own policy, its own line, and we cannot but take the fact of the existence of these two systems into consideration. A life and death struggle is taking place between these two systems. But we Communists want to win this struggle with the minimum of losses, and there is not the slightest doubt that we shall win. For that reason we are working for victory, for the triumph of communism, without unleashing a world nuclear war.

It may be asked why are the Russians, Ukrainians, Uzbeks and the other peoples of the Soviet Union—I shall not enumerate them all because we have over a hundred nationalities in our country—why are the Hungarians and the peoples of the other socialist countries, why are they for socialism, and why haven't the ideas of socialism, of communism as yet triumphed, say, in Britain or the U.S.A.? To this, comrades, it may be answered that every vegetable ripens in its own time. The time will come, we are positive of it, when the working class, the working people of Britain, France, the U.S.A. and the other capitalist countries will start a determined struggle for socialism. We openly speak of this—I spoke of it when I was in the U.S.A. as well—because we know that the future belongs to the working class of the whole world, to communism!

But in order to accelerate the approach of such a time we have to work, we have to demonstrate the advantages of the socialist system by deed.

Not very long ago, when in conversation with representatives of the capitalist states representatives of the Soviet Union told them that our country would most certainly overtake the U.S.A. in economic competition the capitalists scratched the back of their heads and evidently thought that this was all empty talk and that it could not be believed. But now they are singing a different tune, saying: "We already feel the breath of the overtaking Soviet Union at the back of our heads." That is, as people would say, a great difference.

When we say that socialism is better than capitalism not everybody understands this intelligently. Some people assess life only by the blessings that they get and, we can say, look upon life through their stomachs. Naturally, that

is not the way to approach life. But the blessings that people get have to be taken into consideration. We tell the capitalists: you have unemployment and we do not have unemployment. To this they reply: we have unemployment but our unemployed get more than your employed. Yes, unfortunately, that is how it was when we were only beginning to build socialism in economically backward, war-ravaged countries.

Consequently, we have to develop our economy in order to outstrip the capitalist countries economically, in the living standard of all people. But how can that be achieved? By war? No! War will only bring further sacrifice and destruction. It can only be achieved by work, by utilising the great advantages of the socialist system, which can ensure our advance along the road of socialist and communist construction. The only thing, comrades, is that these great advantages of socialism have to be ably utilised.

The time is not far distant when the socialist countries will outstrip the leading capitalist states economically as well. Soviet people will get more material blessings than the people in the capitalist countries. And as for moral and cultural blessings, the Soviet people already have more of them than the whole capitalist world.

We have now surpassed the imperialists militarily. Our enemies know that if they attack us, if they start another world war, they will themselves perish in its flames.

The socialist system has shown its advantages over the capitalist system in the rates of economic development. We must strive to turn quantity into quality, to achieve superiority over the capitalist states in per capita output, and then even the person who looks at the world through his stomach will say that communism is a good system, that it suits him, especially as the people who build communism have more on their table than he.

Isn't, comrades, the steadily growing standard of living in the socialist countries an indication of the triumph of socialism? Can anybody deny that?

Certain comrades find fault with our Party, saying that we pay too much attention to economic questions, that this is the "economism" condemned by Lenin. But that is a distortion of Lenin's teaching. The Party approached economic

problems differently at different times. Long before the October Revolution, Lenin and the Bolsheviks waged a struggle against those people whose sole aim was to get economic concessions from capitalism, to achieve an improvement of the material position, rejecting the political struggle of the working class and doing nothing to prepare it to seize power. At that time our Party combined the struggle for political rights with the struggle for an improvement of the economic position of workers and peasants, of all working people.

Lenin taught that when the working class has seized power, questions of economic development acquire decisive importance in the activity of the Party and the Government, that by our economic achievements we exert our main influence on the world revolution. Having seized power, the working class, the toiling people, ably organise production and defend their revolutionary gains. Our remarkable poet Mayakovsky put it excellently when he said: "My militia protects me!" You know, of course, that in our country the gains of socialism are protected not only by the militia.

I repeat, we believe in the triumph of the socialist system over the capitalist system in peaceful economic competition. Not to believe in the strength and possibilities of the working class, in the strength of the socialist system means to mark time, to play into the hands of the ideologists of imperialism, who are trying to prove the superiority of the capitalist system by claiming that it has its own driving forces. What are these driving forces? They are private enterprise and a thirst for enrichment.

So can Communists, workers, the working people agree that a higher level of production can only be achieved under capitalism, under the threat of starvation and unemployment, under the scourge of exploitation? No, this is slander against the working class! An unprecedentedly rapid advance of economy, science and culture takes place namely under socialism, where there is real freedom. . . .

Lenin's magnificent words about the force of socialism lying in the example that it gives the working people of the capitalist countries in creating the best conditions of life for man have been cited many times. Free labour by free men is the source of all the blessings in each socialist coun-

try. Consolidation of the strength of the socialist system is a mighty accelerator of the world revolutionary process.

The Communists and the peoples of the socialist countries are defending peace consistently and perseveringly. A world war is not required to build socialism and communism or to accelerate the world revolution. In an article headed "Strange and Monstrous", which was published back in 1918 as a criticism of Left-wing Communists, Lenin wrote: "Perhaps the authors believe that the interests of the world revolution forbid making any peace at all with imperialists?... A socialist republic surrounded by imperialist powers could not, from this point of view, conclude any economic treaties, and could not exist at all, without flying to the moon.

"Perhaps the authors believe that the interests of the world revolution demand that it should be *given a push*, and that only war can give that push—believe that peace, in any case, cannot; that peace might give the people the impression that imperialism was being 'legalised'? Such a 'theory' would be completely at variance with Marxism, which has always been opposed to 'pushing' revolutions that develop with the development of the acuteness of the class antagonisms engendering revolutions. Such a theory would be tantamount to the view that armed uprising is a form of struggle which is obligatory always and under all conditions."\*

That is how Lenin defined the basic directions of our policy in the international arena. These Leninist ideas acquire special importance in our day. In present-day conditions the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor of the development of human society, and the forces of socialism, peace and democracy are gaining increasing superiority over the forces of imperialism, reaction and aggression. There is now a real possibility of averting a world war.

For the peoples of the world this is not only a possibility but a vital necessity. Not only Communists but also the more sensible politicians of the capitalist countries cannot lose sight of the aftermaths of a modern thermonuclear world war.

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\* V. I. Lenin, *Report on Peace*, Moscow, pp. 18-19.

The better the people realise the danger of a thermonuclear war, the more active and resolute will their actions be against military adventures of imperialism and against imperialism itself as the source of war. Afraid of precisely such a turn, the most aggressive forces of American imperialism are now seeking to portray a thermonuclear war as yet another inevitable human tragedy such as have already happened in history many times. It would be inexcusable if Communists sided with the imperialists in this deceit and hid the truth from the peoples.

Communists are working for the complete abolition of capitalism on earth, for the victory of the socialist revolution. We are convinced that sooner or later all the peoples will forever put an end to this dying system. But the question of the victory of socialism in each country is decided by the people of that country, by that country's revolutionary working class and Marxist-Leninist Party, and by no other peoples or other parties, least of all by unleashing a world thermonuclear war.

From the arguments of certain people it follows that some socialist country, the Communist Party of that country would be justified in starting a war against one capitalist country or another after having inscribed on its banner that this war, which will inevitably turn into a world thermonuclear war, was begun in order to liberate the working class of that country from capitalist oppression.

Who gave such "theoreticians" the right to dispose of the destinies of the peoples of other countries? The working people, the working class of these countries will say to them: We are working and shall continue working for the triumph of socialism, but this victory must be won by ourselves in a class struggle in our countries and not through a world thermonuclear war.

Moreover, if the viewpoint of such "theoreticians" is accepted the other side of this "right" must be borne in mind. Following this logic, the imperialist states would likewise have the "right" to start a war against socialist countries with the purpose of restoring capitalist orders in these countries.

Substantiating our position on these questions, our great teacher Lenin said that we are emphatically against the

export of revolution to other countries. Similarly, we emphatically oppose the export of counter-revolution.

We believe in the growing superiority of the socialist system over capitalism. We believe in the mighty force of the international working class, the national liberation movement, of all those who come forward against oppression by imperialism and colonialism. Those who reject the possibility of the triumph of the revolutionary forces of the working class in the class struggle under conditions of peaceful coexistence do not believe in the revolutionary energy and determination of the working class, overestimate the strength of imperialism and show their fear of it.

We believe in the strength of the working class, in the strength of the peoples, in their intelligence and their striving to preserve life on earth, and we are doing our utmost to bring into the struggle against aggression and war all people who cherish peace, doing all we can to help our class brothers liberate themselves from the imperialists and colonialists, and doing everything in our power for the victory of socialism in the whole world.

(Speech at the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Meeting, July 19, 1963. *Pravda*, July 20, 1963.)

The point is that we are Communists, and all true Communists are opposed to wars of conquest. It is sometimes incorrectly asserted that Communists are interested in unleashing wars because revolutionary aims supposedly can be attained in this way. This is wrong. It is a distorted conception of Communists.

We Communists are boundlessly devoted to the ideas of Marx and Lenin, and we believe that these ideas will win, that sooner or later communism as the most progressive system will triumph everywhere. But we hold that communism must achieve victory not through wars between states, but in another way—by way of graphically demonstrating the advantages brought by the communist system, and as a result of the law-governed development of the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system, in capitalist society. We believe that all the peoples, after they become



convinced that communism is better than capitalism, will reject the bankrupt old system and give preference to the new, communist system.

As for wars of conquest, they are inherent in imperialism, in monopoly capital. It is in this way that it extended its domination in the past, and it has preserved these features to this day. That is why we, Communists, look at things realistically and say: as long as there is imperialism, there might be wars. But let the imperialist gentlemen bear in mind that the times have changed. The peoples would not forgive them the unleashing of another war of conquest and would certainly turn their arms against those who unleash it, just as we did in 1917.

We nevertheless want to believe that our opponents have enough common sense not to start a war and to take the road of peaceful competition between the two systems—the capitalist and the socialist.

This is our view on questions of war and peace. As you see, we are against wars of conquest. . . .

I should like to say a few more words about the attitude of Communists to war so that you would understand me correctly.

As I have already said, we are against aggressive wars, but we recognise the lawfulness and even the necessity of defensive and national liberation wars. What kind of wars are these? A defensive war is a war waged when a country is attacked by an aggressor, and it has to defend itself, is compelled to do so; a national liberation war is a war waged when a people oppressed by the colonialists takes up arms to win liberation.

An oppressed people has a right to do so. Moreover, it not only has this right, but sooner or later rises up to fight for its liberation. If the colonialists offer resistance, as was the case in Algeria, for instance, the peoples are compelled to rise in arms and fight.

Indeed, what other way out can the people find? The United Nations General Assembly has passed a resolution on the granting of independence to all the peoples in the colonies, but the colonialists refuse to fulfil this decision. What must the oppressed peoples do? Put up with club law and suffer silently? No, they no longer wish to tolerate slavery

and they rise up in arms against the oppressors. And they are perfectly right. Only in this way will they be able to gain freedom and independence. This is the kind of wars we regard as liberatory wars. We are in sympathy with such wars.

(Interview Given to the American Publisher G. Cowles, Moscow, 1962, pp. 4-6.)

## REVOLUTION AND PEACE

Allow me to deal with some important and urgent questions of the world communist movement. To begin with, I would like to mention the interconnection of the struggle for peace, for peaceful coexistence and the revolutionary struggle of the working class and all the working people for the triumph of socialism on earth.

The situation in our day is such that the struggle for peace has become a major element of the struggle for socialism. No problem of the revolutionary movement of the working class, of the national liberation movement can now be considered in isolation from the struggle to preserve the peace and prevent a world thermonuclear war. Here you have the important lesson in tactics for the world communist movement which follows from the recent events in the Caribbean.

The history of the working-class movement has recorded instances of the struggle for peace becoming the prime element in the struggle for socialism. That was exactly the case during the October Socialist Revolution. Lenin said: "Nothing could be more indisputable and obvious than the following truth: a government which gave Soviet power, land, workers' control and *peace* to a people worn out by three years of predatory war would be invincible. Peace is the chief thing."<sup>\*</sup>

The Bolsheviks won peace for the peoples of Russia; they ensured their withdrawal from the imperialist war and rallied the widest sections of the working people round the Soviet Government in the struggle for socialism.

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\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 27, p. 17.

It is a distinctive feature of our time that the struggle for peace has become, more than ever before, a paramount historic task not only for the working class but for all the other sections of the population. It is the knot in which the interests of all mankind intertwine. In face of the threat of a thermonuclear war, there merge in a single stream the most diverse mass movements which can be united by the common desire to deliver mankind from the disaster of war. The international working class and the socialist countries are the leading and organising force of this stream. And this has happened not because the socialist countries have simply taken up the slogan of the struggle for peace which enjoys popularity among the peoples. No, the fact is that the objective interests of the socialist countries, the interests of the world working-class movement and the national liberation movement are inseparable from the struggle to prevent a thermonuclear war.

Marx and Lenin worked for the prevention of wars of conquest. Within the Second International, Lenin came out firmly against militarism and the war danger, against the menace of the approaching world imperialist war. Applying the Leninist line, the Bolshevik members of the Duma voted against the war budget and opposed war, with the result that the tsarist regime condemned them to penal servitude in Siberia. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who held Marxist, internationalist views, fought against war by every means within their reach. It is also known that at the Congress of the Second International in Tokyo, the Japanese Socialist leader, shook hands in a friendly manner with G. V. Plekhanov, representative of the Russian Social-Democrats, as a demonstration of protest against the imperialist war being waged at that time between Japan and Russia.

Many historical facts indicate that Marx, Lenin and their followers fought indefatigably against predatory, unjust wars and rallied the masses of the people to this anti-war platform.

Today some men who call themselves Marxists-Leninists allege that the defence of peace and the struggle against the war danger run counter to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and hamper the development of the revolutionary move-

ment. If we are to believe these men, Lenin, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and the Russian Bolsheviks were not Marxists, since they were opposed to war. Only people who do not understand the substance of the Marxist doctrine of revolutionary struggle can say such things.

The theory of scientific socialism created by Marx and Engels maintains that capitalism inevitably will come to its doom in the course of its development as a result of the antagonistic contradictions which arise and grow acute within society.

Concentration and centralisation of capital lead to monopolies and to an increasing decay of capitalism, which prepares the conditions for the transition to a higher social system, socialism. Marx said that as capitalism develops it is creating its own grave-digger, the working class.

Life has completely demonstrated the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. According to this doctrine, the working class defeats capitalism in class struggle against the exploiters, and not by starting wars between countries.

The course of history was so shaped that the Russian proletariat achieved victory in the revolution during the First World War. After the Second World War a number of other socialist countries arose.

When a war breaks out between imperialist countries, all the internal and external contradictions of imperialism become aggravated, the machinery of the bourgeois state is shaken and a favourable situation is created for the victory of the working class, particularly in the countries defeated in the war.

It was with due regard to all these circumstances that Lenin, at the beginning of the First World War, put forward his historic thesis of turning the imperialist war into a civil war. And the Russian Bolsheviks, the working class of Russia, did it.

This, however, does not at all mean that the Bolsheviks led by Lenin unleashed a war between states to bring about the victory of the revolution. On the contrary, Lenin and the Bolsheviks did everything to stave off the war; but since they lacked the power to prevent it, they set the task of turning the imperialist war into a civil war.

That has nothing in common with what is wanted by the newly-fledged theoreticians who seek to create a "theory" to the effect that socialism's road to victory runs through war between states, through destruction, the blood and death of millions of people. Were the Communists to be guided by such a "theory", it would repel the masses instead of attracting them. This "theory" is all the more abhorrent in this nuclear-rocket age. Marxists-Leninists have always devoted a great deal of attention to the problems of war and peace, and have always examined them in their specific historical context. One must not solve problems of war and peace without taking the actual situation into account. One must have the courage to soberly face the facts as they are and to weigh with scientific precision the results of a modern war should efforts to prevent it fail. Foreign scientists and military experts estimate that the United States now has roughly 40,000 nuclear bombs and warheads. Everyone knows that the Soviet Union, too, has more than enough of this stuff. What would happen if all these nuclear weapons were brought down on mankind? Scientists estimate that the first blow alone would take a toll of 700 to 800 million lives. All the big cities would be wiped out or destroyed—not only in the two leading nuclear powers, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., but in France, Britain, Germany, Italy, China, Japan and many other countries as well. The effects of a thermonuclear war would continue to tell throughout the lifetime of many generations, causing disease and death and the worst deformities in the development of man.

I am not saying all these things to frighten anyone. I am simply citing data at the disposal of science. These data must be taken into account.

A world thermonuclear war, if started by the imperialist maniacs, no doubt would result in the inevitable downfall of the capitalist system which breeds war. But would the socialist countries and the cause of socialism throughout the world benefit from a world thermonuclear disaster? Only men who deliberately shut their eyes to the facts can think so. As for Marxists-Leninists, they cannot think of establishing a communist civilisation on the ruins of world centres of culture, on an earth devastated and contaminated

by nuclear fall-out. We hardly need to add that for many peoples the question of socialism would be obviated altogether, because they would bodily disappear from our planet.

(Speech at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, January 16, 1963. Moscow, 1963, Russ. ed., pp. 30-33.)

The most important events in the international arena during the post-war period convincingly show that mankind is moving steadily towards the victory of communism the world over.

The great forces of the century are growing and gaining in strength before our eyes. They are the growing might of the world socialist system, the ever increasing successes achieved by the national liberation movement, the development of the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries, and the building up of the movement of all progressive forces for peace and democracy, for the vital rights of the nations.

Our Soviet country—the birthplace of Lenin, the home of the Great October Revolution—is growing steadily more powerful and making its contribution to the internationalist cause of the working people of all countries.

We Communists rejoice at the growth of all the progressive, all the liberation movements of our time. We welcome with all our heart the splendid victory of the Algerian people in their struggle against French imperialism, and the victory of the French miners in their fight for better conditions of life. We rejoice at the victory of the Italian Communists during the parliamentary elections achieved in a sharp fight with the forces of reaction. We rejoice at the achievements of the working people of the United Arab Republic in the construction of the Aswan Dam. We salute the struggle of the people of Angola against the Portuguese colonialists and the heroism of the Portuguese and Spanish revolutionaries, who are fighting to the death against fascism and the almighty monopolies.

And wherever the fighters of the revolution achieve success—whether in Europe or Africa, Asia or Latin Amer-

ica—in the long run it all furthers the great cause of liberation of all mankind.

Marxists-Leninists make no secret of the fact that they are working to win all the people of the world round to socialism. We regard this as our most important task in the world arena. But how do we go about this? We work towards this goal not by starting a war, not by imposing our system upon other nations. We enhance the prestige of socialism and steadily change the balance of forces in the world by our constructive labour, by the great creative power of the emancipated peoples, by the revolutionary energy of the working people.

We take as our point of departure Lenin's teaching to the effect that after the conquest of power the problems of economic construction become a key issue facing the Communist Party and the people, that by our economic successes in the construction of socialism we exert a decisive influence on the course of world development. The faster the socialist countries develop their productive forces and the higher they raise their economic potentialities, the more surely and successfully will the working people develop their struggle against the yoke of capital.

Marxists-Leninists hold that the question of the victory of the new social system is decided in class struggle by the proletariat, the working masses, the people, in every country.

This does not mean that the socialist countries stand aloof from the class struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries for the establishment of a new social order. On the contrary, the peoples of the socialist countries exercise a tremendous and growing influence on the development of the liberation movement as a whole. By its successes achieved in the course of economic competition, the socialist system demonstrates to the whole world the great advantages of the new social order. The great creative possibilities of communism are brought home to hundreds of millions of people by the facts of everyday life, and these people are taking their decisive stand under its banner.

Under the conditions of peaceful coexistence and economic competition with capitalism in the post-war period

a radical change has taken place in the line-up of class forces in the world arena. Today it is no longer imperialism, but socialism, the revolutionary forces of our century, all the peoples fighting for their social and national liberation, who determine the main trend of world development.

The new balance of forces in the world arena has made it possible for the first time in history to deal with the now quite realistic task of averting a world nuclear war. It is the good fortune of all the world's working people, of all mankind, that at this crucial period in history, when imperialism has accumulated lethal weapons of mass destruction, there are forces in the world capable of curbing the aggressors and preventing war.

Let us take, for instance, the history of the last few years. Since the nuclear weapon was created, the imperialists more than once have attempted to use force against this or that country which had freed itself from the colonialists in order to harness it back into the yoke of colonialism. Owing to the resistance of the newly-free peoples and the support of the socialist countries, however, these aggressive forces have been hurled back.

There are great opportunities for the struggle for peace and socialism, and these opportunities are increasing daily. Today even many leaders of the western world recognise our power and declare that a certain equilibrium has been created in the world. We have no intention of challenging this statement, although it is only fair to say that the balance of forces is steadily changing in favour of socialism.

Marxists-Leninists hold that the only reasonable principle governing relations between countries with different social systems is peaceful coexistence. We have always regarded this policy, bequeathed to us by Lenin, as the general line of our foreign policy. We pursued this policy even when we were considerably weaker than the united forces of imperialism, and we are pursuing this policy now when the balance of forces is changing radically in our favour. We shall continue to fight unremittingly for the victory of the principles of peaceful coexistence.



Our Party has always considered that peaceful coexistence creates favourable conditions for the development of the class struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries, and for the steady development of the national liberation movement. The experience of the peoples' revolutionary struggle after the Second World War has proved convincingly that it was precisely under conditions of peaceful coexistence, when the socialist countries in union with all the peace-loving nations are holding in check the aggressive tendencies of the imperialists, that the liberation movement throughout the world has gained momentum. It was under conditions of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems that the glorious Cuban revolution, led by ardent champions of the people's cause, achieved victory.

It is in conditions of peaceful coexistence that the strike movement of the proletariat, its unity and organisation in the fight for its vital interests against the almighty monopolies and rampant reaction, is steadily mounting in the capitalist countries.

The working class, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties, is attacking the forces of imperialism on a wide front, and it will achieve victory!

The influence of the Communists on the labour movement is growing. Despite the harsh persecutions to which Communists are being subjected in the U.S.A., West Germany, Spain, Portugal, Greece and other countries, they are spreading their influence among the working people of the capitalist countries and working successfully towards uniting the forces of the peoples against the monopolies and reaction.

(Speech at the Cuba-U.S.S.R. Friendship Meeting, May 23, 1963. *Pravda*, May 24, 1963.)

## IV. THE MOST INFLUENTIAL FORCE OF OUR AGE

### THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT—AN OBJECTIVE NECESSITY

Imperialist ideologists, and the revisionists who take their cue from them, strive in every way to undermine the growing influence of the Communist Parties and spread the spurious tale about the communist movement being “made in Moscow” and about the Communist and Workers’ Parties being dependent upon the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. . . .

It is ridiculous to think that a political party of the working class, which often has hundreds of thousands and sometimes millions of members, could be organised in any country from outside. . . .

It was not due to some centre “planting” Communist Parties in all countries that they have come into being. No miracle of that kind is possible. The history of social development reveals that Marxist parties come into being with the emergence and growth of the working class. This means that the communist movement came into being as an objective necessity, that it was born of the living conditions of the working class in each country. There are classes in all the capitalist countries, and, consequently, there are political parties there which represent their interests. The Communist Parties are political parties of the working class and they will exist as long as there is the working class. It is just as naïve to think that the millions of people in the Communist Parties can be told from outside what they are to think today and what they are to do tomorrow.

(Control Figures for the Economic Development of the U.S.S.R. for 1959-1965. Moscow, 1960, pp. 109-10.)

## THE COMMUNIST PARTIES ARE GROWING IN NUMBERS AND STRENGTH

In summing up the historic victories of the communist movement we address our first word of gratitude to our great teachers Marx, Engels and Lenin. Their teaching has made the international communist movement all-powerful and secured its victories. As we work out our strategy and tactics for the future, we again consult with Marx, Engels and Lenin. Our loyalty to Marxism-Leninism is the guarantee of all our further victories.

The path of the communist movement is a difficult and thorny one. No other party has suffered so many trials and casualties as the Communists. Hosts of reactionaries have made a try at destroying communism. But communism emerged from all these trials stronger than ever, and has become the mightiest force of our time.

We have all seen sturdy and handsome trees whose roots go deep down into the soil. Such trees fear neither storms nor hurricanes. Though the slender tree may break under the gale, the sturdy one weathers the storm, the foliage of its crown grows denser, reaching still higher to the sun. The same applies to the communist movement. Though imperialist reaction unleashes storm after storm against it, the communist movement is unshaken; it keeps on growing and becomes more seasoned.

Forty-one years ago, when the First Congress of the Comintern took place here in Moscow, Communist Parties and Left socialist organisations from thirty countries were represented. Not counting the Communist Parties of the Republics which today are part of the U.S.S.R., there were only five Communist Parties in Europe at the time. There were no Communist Parties in Asia, Africa, Australia and Oceania. On the American continent there was only the Communist Party of Argentina. Today Communist and Workers' Parties exist in eighty-seven countries. They have more than 36 million members. Communist ideas have won the minds of millions in all corners of the globe. That is a good thing, a very good thing, comrades!

We are witnessing the birth of ever new Communist Parties. Twelve such parties have appeared and established

international contacts since the Moscow Meeting of 1957. If Marx, Engels and Lenin had been present at the November Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, how happy they would have been to see this mighty army of Communists of the whole world!

The growing membership of the Communist Parties reflects the gravitation of the masses to communism. That is one of the finest developments of our time.

The way for the communist system, for which the Marxists-Leninists are fighting, has been paved by the entire process of social development, and the time is ripe for the transition to it. Marxists-Leninists cannot but concern themselves with indicating the ways of transition to the new society, and are doing so. Many complex questions arise in this regard. The fraternal parties have lavished high praise on the contribution made by the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in elaborating the urgent problems of our day. Both the 1957 Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, and the November 1960 forum of the world communist movement devoted considerable attention to these problems and have advanced the theory and practice of the communist movement.

(For New Victories of the World Communist Movement. **Communism—Peace and Happiness for the Peoples**, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1963, pp. 60-61.)

#### UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE

We Communists attach great importance to revolutionary theory and we are achieving all our successes precisely because we are always guided by Marxist-Leninist teaching. The theory of Marxism-Leninism is our compass, our guiding star. The strength of Marxism-Leninism lies in its unbreakable bonds with life, with the processes of social development.

It is well known that socialism appeals to the working people even if they do not have a complete grasp of the theory of scientific socialism. The working people want to get rid of capitalism and of its incurable evils and vices.

They are looking for a way out of the hopelessness of capitalism, and only when a revolutionary party, armed with the scientific theory of communism, organises the workers, peasants and intelligentsia in the right way and leads them to fight for the building of a new life—only then does Marxist-Leninist theory become comprehensible and accessible to the broadest mass of the working people.

In drawing the working masses into revolutionary struggle and in concentrating their energies on the accomplishment of the concrete tasks of transforming society, a Marxist party thereby creates conditions in which the workers and peasants are able, not only to grasp with their minds, but also to learn from their own experience the correctness and vitality of the victorious teaching of Marxism-Leninism. The further development of the theoretical principles proceeds on the basis of the practice of the revolutionary struggle and socialist construction.

The working class of Russia, in alliance with the working peasantry and under the leadership of the Communist Party, which creatively applied and developed Marxist theory, took power into its own hands in October 1917, in order to refashion the economy and the entire life of the country along socialist lines.

The great Lenin, in the very first years of Soviet rule, working out the plans for the building of socialism, set the paramount task of developing heavy industry—the cornerstone for promoting the advance of all branches of the national economy. A concrete plan for our country's electrification was worked out under the guidance of Lenin, who called this plan the second programme of the Party. Doesn't this show that Lenin examined questions of the theory and practice of the building of socialism in their inseparable unity?

After the working class takes power, the socialist state has to tackle many questions of economic and cultural development. The theory of Marxism-Leninism is embodied and further developed in the course of building socialism.

In the 40 years the Soviet state has been in existence our Party has done an immense job of work, directing the creative efforts of the Soviet people towards the building of socialist society.

Take, for example, some of the questions which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has tackled recently. The Party has done a great job in reorganising the management of industry and construction, which is having a tremendous economic effect. Now it can be asked: "Is this a theoretical or a practical question?" It is a question which has both tremendous practical and tremendous theoretical significance.

Our Party has carried out a number of important measures in agriculture, which have resulted in the opening up of tremendous reserves and possibilities in our country. Agriculture in the Soviet Union is now making rapid progress. At the beginning of 1955, a six-year programme for the development of livestock farming was worked out. As a result of implementing the measures worked out by our Party on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist economic management, and of the profound understanding by the masses of the necessity for these measures, the six-year plan for the production of milk and dairy produce has been fulfilled ahead of schedule, in three years.

A year ago leading collective and state farms of the Soviet Union, supported by the Central Committee of the Party, put forward the task of catching up with, and surpassing, the United States in the per capita production of meat, milk and butter within the next few years. We are sure that this task will be successfully accomplished.

Are these practical or theoretical questions? We consider that they are first of all practical questions. But if the national economy of a socialist country is forging ahead, if social wealth is increasing every year, if the labour of the people is being better remunerated and if the well-being of the working people is improving, this means that the positions of socialism are growing stronger, that the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory are being realised. As you see, these questions are major theoretical questions.

On the initiative of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., a law was adopted recently on the further development of the collective-farm system and the reorganisation of the machine and tractor stations. Now machines are sold directly to the collective farms, and the machine and tractor stations have been reorganised into maintenance and repair

stations. The spring field work carried out on the collective farms has demonstrated that this measure has been fully justified. The tractors and other agricultural machines are being used on the collective farms, not worse, but better than in the machine and tractor stations. Now, is this only a practical question or only a theoretical one? It is a question of both the theory and practice of the building of socialism.

The May (1958—*Ed.*) Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. adopted a big programme for the development of the chemical industry of the Soviet Union. Fulfilment of this programme will ensure further technical progress in many branches of the national economy of our country and will make it possible to accomplish more quickly the task of increasing the production of consumer goods.

At first glance all these are strictly practical questions but at the same time they are also theoretical. Here we have two sides of a single whole: theory and practice. By our achievements in developing industry, farming and culture, we are demonstrating in a striking way the superiority of our theoretical thought, the strength and viability of Marxist-Leninist theory, on the basis of which socialist society is being built. By applying this theory in practice, by developing the socialist economy, by blazing new trails into the future, we affirm and develop revolutionary theory, enriching it with the experience of the millions.

Every practical question of the building of socialism is at the same time also a theoretical question, directly related to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism. The one cannot be separated from the other.

Theory without practice is sterile. Sometimes, as you know, an orchard blossoms and a man rejoices when he looks at the blossoming trees. He expects that in the autumn the orchard will yield an abundant crop of fruit and reward his labour. But blossom time passes and the man sees that after the blossoms have fallen off no ovary has been formed. So there will be no fruit, and this is a great disappointment. The man feels that his high hopes and expectations have been deceived. When the orchard blossomed and was full of fragrance, he rejoiced and expected plenty of fruit. But the orchard didn't provide him with that fruit and the

work he had put in turned out to have been in vain. The orchard which the man had cultivated didn't reward him for his efforts.

People are also just as badly disappointed in theoreticians who are fruitless. Listening to the flowery speeches and to the reasoning of certain theoretical phrase-mongers, people are sometimes enraptured and begin to believe the high-sounding phrases of such men. But then they see that in practice nothing comes of the beautiful words. The beautiful words remain empty promises, without any connection with life. And when people see that the grandiloquent phrases of such "theoreticians" are blossoms without fruit, are empty prattle, are sterile, they turn away from such "theoreticians" and from their "theories".

The revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism has great and all-conquering power precisely because it is inseparably bound up with life, with the processes of social development, and undergoes its historic test in life itself.

Practice that is not illumined by an advanced revolutionary theory is doomed to grope in the dark. Marxist-Leninist theory lights up for the working class, the working people, the ways to the solution of practical problems in building socialism and communism. But theory alone, without practice, is dead and barren. Lenin, in ridiculing people divorced from life and steeped in abstract theoretical arguments, said: "We are of the opinion that the practice of the *mass* working-class movement is in no way less important than theory and that only this practice can subject our principles to a serious *test*. 'Theory, my friend, is grey, but green is the eternal tree of life!'"\*

Theoretical propositions which seemed infallible were repeatedly put forward in the history of human society, but they did not stem from life itself and were not confirmed by practice. Such theoretical postulates soon died, without being of any benefit to mankind.

The vitality of Marxist-Leninist theory lies in that, having arisen in the course of the struggle of the working class, it develops in inseparable unity with practice, furnishing

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\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 20, pp. 495-96.



mankind with answers to the most urgent questions. The correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theoretical propositions is confirmed and proved by the practice of the struggle to build communist society. It is confirmed by the wealth of experience of our Party and all the fraternal parties of the socialist countries. It is confirmed by the experience of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries which, guided by revolutionary theory, are leading the struggle of the working class and of all working people for liberation from capitalist slavery, for the building of a socialist society.

Communism is not an abstract philosophical concept. It has a definite content: the need to abolish the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man, to establish a social system in which all the material and spiritual values created are social property and the people who create these values dispose of them themselves at their own discretion and enjoy all the fruits of their labour, working according to their abilities and receiving according to their needs.

Communism is the radiant future, and mankind is striving for it.

(Speech at the Seventh Congress of Bulgarian Communist Party, June 3, 1958. **For Victory in the Peaceful Competition with Capitalism**, Moscow, 1959, pp. 443-48.)

## THE POWER OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST IDEAS

There are a number of factors which make the march of socialism unconquerable. To begin with, Marxism-Leninism has won the minds of hundreds of millions of people and has thus become, to use Marx's expression, a mighty material force. Furthermore, in the eyes of mankind Marxism-Leninism is today not just a theory, but also a living reality. Socialist society, being built up in vast areas of Europe and Asia, today embodies that theory. There is no force on earth strong enough now, nor can there be, to halt the constantly growing urge of vast masses of the people to see with their own eyes and, so to speak, "feel" with their own hands what socialism is like—not in books or manifestos, but in reality, in practice. There is

no force on earth now able to prevent the peoples of more and more countries from advancing to socialism. There is yet another fact of prime importance. Yesterday hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America languished under the yoke of the imperialist "civilisers", while today the picture is changing completely. The revolutionary emergence in the arena of history of a growing number of nations provides most favourable conditions for an unprecedented expansion of the sphere of influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas. The day is not distant when Marxism-Leninism will win the minds of most of the people on earth. The world developments of the forty-three years since the victory of the October Revolution furnish conclusive proof that the Leninist theory of world socialist revolution is scientifically sound and viable.

(For New Victories of the World Communist Movement. **Communism—Peace and Happiness for the Peoples**, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1963, pp. 16-17.)

Ideas inspire people in their struggle for their set aims. Therein lies their power. But when the ideas of Marxism-Leninism became, so to say, state ideas, when they acquired a material basis, they began to influence a greater number of people. A study of the theoretical propositions and the practical experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries now enables everyone to see to what great endeavours nations are aroused by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism when the masses assimilate those ideas, when the working class, the working people, proceeding from those ideas, take power into their own hands and build their own state. This is a mighty force which nothing can resist. And let the imperialist, monopolist and all kinds of colonialist gentry—for they are one and the same—know that no prayers, no incantations can reverse the march of history to make it move in the opposite direction.

(Speech at the Fifth World Congress of Trade Unions. **Communism—Peace and Happiness for the Peoples**, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1963, p. 367.)

Today the struggle between the two ideologies is quite different from what it was at the dawn of Marxism. The ideas of scientific socialism have conquered the minds of the masses and become a tremendous material force. They have become reality, and the material and technical basis of the new society is being created by the labour of peoples. The struggle has spread from the sphere of ideology alone to that of material production.

Today it is not only the foremost section of society but the peoples of our country and other socialist countries as a whole that are conducting a struggle to achieve the great ideals of communism. The Soviet Union is now storming the heavens, both literally and figuratively, and in translating the ideas of communism into reality is demonstrating the superiority of the socialist over the capitalist system.

Today socialism is not merely an idea for the sake of which the Party calls upon the working people to struggle. Socialism has become a reality. We say—look at the Soviet Union, at the socialist countries, and you will see what the working class and all working people are capable of accomplishing when they are in power and are carrying the ideas of scientific communism into practice. See what they have achieved in a brief historical period! Their successes and their example exert a powerful influence on the masses of the working people, on the peoples of the whole world.

Socialism is already today, and not somewhere in the future, giving great material and spiritual benefits to the peoples who have set out to build a new life. The example of the socialist countries is becoming more and more attractive to the working people of all countries. The ideas of communism are spreading far and wide, are taking deeper root, and are inspiring hundreds of millions of people to become the makers of their own history.

The powerful, and ever more rapid, movement towards communism is sweeping aside everything that bars the way to our cherished goal, the building of the most just society on earth. It is not a struggle of some individuals against others with the object of legalising their rule over the others; it is a struggle against oppression, slavery and exploitation, a struggle for the happiness of all. We firmly believe

that the time will come when the children and grandchildren of those who today do not understand and do not accept communism will live under communism.

(Concluding Speech at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. *The Road to Communism*, Moscow, pp. 360-61.)

### THE IDEAS OF COMMUNISM ARE WINNING THE MINDS OF MILLIONS

Just as the sun's rays disperse the darkness of night and bring light, so do the ideas of communism penetrate deeper and deeper into men's hearts and minds. And just as the sun rises daily in the East, so is communism irresistibly spreading through the world. The Soviet Union—the land of triumphant socialism—and the other socialist countries are ascending ever higher in their development.

As the sun rises to its zenith its rays penetrate everywhere. In the same way, communism, the dawn of which began in the Soviet Union, is now rising to its zenith. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are confidently advancing along the path of socialist and communist construction.

The scales will fall and the blind will see light. They will distinguish white from black. All the peoples will come to see that there is only one way for mankind's progress, only one way to a better life, and that is the way to communism.

In all countries of the world the ideas of communism are capturing men's minds more and more. And the realisation is growing that communism, far from having to be feared, should be welcomed, because it brings the working folk material and spiritual benefits, and a life of happiness and freedom. That is why the peoples see in communism their own, vital cause and are working with increasing vigour to achieve it. And those who base their policies on frightening the insufficiently informed with the bogey of communism will be bitterly disappointed when these people learn that communism is not something to be afraid of, that it is the harbinger of happiness for the whole of mankind. Communism is the dawn of a bright future for all nations.

No matter how much our enemies slander us, no matter how they try to vulgarise our teaching, we feel sure that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism will be victorious and communism will win!

(Speech at the Ninth All-German Workers Conference in Leipzig, March 7, 1959. *World Without Arms, World Without Wars*, Book 1, Moscow, p. 186.)

### THE COMMUNISTS ARE OUT TO RID HUMANITY OF THE HORRORS OF WAR

Lenin pointed out that since the First World War the issue of war and peace had become the basic question of the policy of all countries—a matter of life and death for tens of millions. Lenin's words sound even more forcefully today, when weapons of mass annihilation threaten unprecedented destruction and death to hundreds of millions of people. There is no task more pressing today than to avert such a catastrophe.

The Meeting charted ways and means of making still more effective use of the new possibilities of averting world war afforded by the emergence of the socialist camp and its increased might, by the new balance of forces in the world. The peoples trust that the Communists will use all the might of the socialist system and the enhanced strength of the international working class to rid mankind of the horrors of war.

Marx, Engels and Lenin saw the historic mission of the working class and its communist vanguard not only in abolishing oppression, exploitation, poverty, and rightlessness, but also in delivering mankind from sanguinary wars.

Lenin instilled in our Party the spirit of uncompromising struggle against imperialism, for durable peace and friendship among all nations. These principles have always been, and are, the essence of our foreign policy. Our Party remembers Lenin's words to the effect that capitalism, even while disintegrating and dying, is still capable of causing mankind great misfortunes. Our Party, always vigilantly on guard against the danger emanating from imperialism,

is educating the Soviet people accordingly and doing everything to prevent the enemy from ever taking us by surprise. We alert the peoples to the danger of war in order to heighten their vigilance and rouse them to action, to rally them to the struggle against world war.

The attitude of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to questions of war and peace is known to all. It has been stated time and again in the resolutions of its congresses and in other Party documents....

Mankind has arrived at the stage in history when it is able to solve problems that were too much for previous generations to solve. This applies also to the most burning problem of all, that of preventing world war.

The working class, which today rules in a vast section of the world and in time will rule throughout the world, cannot let the forces doomed to extinction drag hundreds of millions into the grave with them. For a world war in the present conditions would be waged with missiles and nuclear weapons, that is, it would be the most destructive war in history.

Among the H-bombs already tested there are bombs several times more powerful than all the explosives used in the Second World War and, indeed, ever since mankind exists. Scientists have estimated that the explosion of a single H-bomb in an industrial area could kill up to 1,500,000 people outright and cause the death of something like 400,000 more through subsequent radiation. Even a medium hydrogen bomb would be enough to wipe out a large city. According to British scientists, four megaton bombs, one each for London, Birmingham, Lancashire and Yorkshire, would wipe out at least 20 million people. According to data supplied to the Senate by U.S. experts, the anticipated casualties in the United States in twenty-four hours of nuclear war are estimated at 50 to 75 million people. The well-known American physicist, Linus Pauling, says that the areas likely to suffer powerful nuclear blows are inhabited by about a thousand million people and that 500 to 750 million people are likely to perish within sixty days of a nuclear blow. Nor would the peoples in the countries not directly subjected to bombing be spared incalculable suffering; in particular, many millions would die of the lethal effects of radiation.

We know that if the imperialist maniacs were to begin a world war, the peoples would wipe out capitalism. But we are resolutely opposed to war, chiefly because we are thinking of the destiny of mankind, its present and its future. We know that the first to suffer in the event of war would be the working people and their vanguard—the working class.

We remember how Lenin approached the question of the destiny of the working class. Just after the Revolution, when the first socialist country of the workers and peasants was in a ring of fire, he said, "If we save the working man, if we save the main productive force of society—the worker—we shall get everything back, but should we fail to save him, we are lost."\*

There exists in the world today not just one country of workers and peasants, but a whole system of socialist countries. It is our duty to safeguard peace and ensure the peaceful development of this grand creation of the international working class, and to protect the peoples of all countries from a new war of annihilation. The victory of socialism on a world scale, inevitable by virtue of the laws of history, is now near. Wars between countries are not needed for this victory.

A sober consideration of the inescapable consequences of a nuclear war is indispensable if we are to pursue, with due consistency, a policy of averting war and mobilising the masses for this purpose. Because the very realisation of what a nuclear war implies strengthens the resolve of the masses to fight against war. It is necessary, therefore, to warn the masses about the deadly consequences of a new world war and so arouse their righteous anger against those who are plotting this crime. The possibility of averting war is not a gift from above. Peace cannot be got by begging for it. It can be secured only by active purposeful struggle. That is why we have been waging this struggle, and will continue to do so.

The entire foreign policy of the Soviet Union is focussed on strengthening peace. We have used and shall continue to use the growing might of our country not to threaten any-

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\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 29, pp. 334-35.

one, not to induce a war fever, but to pursue a steadfast policy of combating the war danger and averting world war.

(For New Victories of the World Communist Movement. *Communism—Peace and Happiness for the Peoples*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1963, pp. 37-45.)

**THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT—  
A CONCOMITANT OF THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMUNISM,  
A SOURCE OF THE COMMUNISTS' MORAL STRENGTH**

Experience has demonstrated the soundness of the Leninist policy of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems consistently pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Our Party considers the policy of peaceful coexistence, which Lenin has willed us, to be the general line of its foreign policy. Peaceful coexistence is the highway in the relations between the socialist and capitalist countries.

Consistent implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence strengthens the positions of the world socialist system, furthers the growth of its economic might, international prestige and influence among the people, and provides good opportunities on the world scene for peaceful competition with capitalism.

And because the socialist countries pursue a correct policy, a policy of active struggle against the imperialist warmongers, the prestige of the Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries is higher than ever. It is a fact that the socialist countries today are in an extremely favourable international position. The prestige of the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries, parties which carry on their work in particularly difficult conditions, is likewise growing daily. The whole world now acknowledges that the vigorous, effective and weighty foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is winning the support of more and more millions for peace and socialism.

This active struggle for peace imparts dynamic force to the foreign policy actions of the socialist countries. In recent years the initiative in world affairs has belonged to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, while the im-



perialist countries and their governments have had to go completely on the defensive. Their prestige and international influence have never been so low.

The policy of peaceful coexistence promotes the development of the forces of progress, the forces fighting for socialism; and in the capitalist countries it facilitates the work of the Communist Parties and other progressive working-class organisations, makes it easier for the peoples to struggle against the aggressive war blocs and foreign military bases, and contributes to the successes of the national liberation movement.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is thus, so far as its social content is concerned, a form of intense economic, political and ideological struggle between the proletariat and the aggressive imperialist forces in the world arena.

The struggle against imperialism can succeed only if its aggressive actions are firmly resisted. Verbal exhortations will not halt the imperialist adventurers. There is only one way in which they can be curbed: continuous strengthening of the economic, political and military power of the socialist countries, vigorous consolidation and reinforcement of the world revolutionary movement, and mobilisation of the people for the struggle to avert war.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government will continue to do everything to increase the military might of our country, since the imperialists are continuing the arms drive.

In rebuffing the aggressive actions of imperialism, our Party and Government always display firmness and self-control. In upholding the interests of the socialist camp, we invariably strive to direct development in such a way as not to allow imperialist provocateurs to launch a new world war.

We aim to expose the aggressive nature of all the politico-military alignments of the imperialists, such as NATO, SEATO, and CENTO, and to work for their isolation and eventual dissolution. We have repeatedly declared that we are ready to follow suit and dissolve the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. All the nations of the world will gain from the dissolution of the military alignments.

This would be a real and redoubtable contribution to peace and the improvement of the international climate, and a

big achievement for the policy of peaceful coexistence. All their efforts notwithstanding, the imperialists have in recent times failed to draw a single new state into their military blocs. It is significant that all the newly-independent states have declared their intention to pursue a policy of non-participation in military blocs.

Of special importance for peace in Europe, and not only in Europe, is the struggle against the revived West-German militarism. The Soviet Union is waging this struggle together with the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries in various ways, the most important being the struggle for a peace treaty. The initiative of the socialist states in advancing a programme for the peaceful settlement of the German question, and for the solution, on this basis, of the question of West Berlin, has done much to unmask the aggressive elements in the U.S.A., the Federal Republic and other NATO countries as opponents of a *détente*. The international position of the German Democratic Republic—the outpost of socialism in Western Europe—has been strengthened.

The positions of the U.S.A., Britain and France have proved to be especially vulnerable in West Berlin. These powers still cling to the old pattern, but they cannot fail to realise that sooner or later the occupation regime in that city will end.

It is necessary to keep on bringing the aggressive-minded imperialists to their senses, and to compel them to reckon with the real situation. And should they balk, we shall take resolute measures. We shall then sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, since we are firmly resolved to conclude a peace treaty with Germany at long last, to end the occupation regime in West Berlin, and thereby remove the thorn in the heart of Europe.

Comrades, if prevention of a new war is today the question of questions, then disarmament is the most radical way to that end. The Meeting of representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties declared that the realisation of the Soviet programme for general and complete disarmament would be an act of historic importance to the future of mankind.

Our struggle for disarmament is not a tactical move. We sincerely want disarmament. In this we stand squarely on

Marxist-Leninist ground. Engels pointed out as far back as the end of the last century that disarmament, which he described as the "guarantee of peace", was possible. In our times disarmament was first advanced as a practical goal by Lenin, and the first Soviet proposals for complete—or partial disarmament if the capitalists object to complete disarmament—were made at the Genoa Conference.

The struggle for disarmament is a most important factor for the prevention of war; it is effective struggle against imperialism. In this struggle the socialist camp has most of mankind on its side.

Peace and progress are our cherished ideals. The Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association, written by Marx, contained the appeal "to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations".\*

When we call for a world without arms and without wars, we are naturally conscious that in present conditions, with two differing world social systems, there are still forces in the imperialist camp, and fairly strong forces at that, who not only refuse to support this call, but are waging a struggle against it.

The question of the struggle for communism is a class question. As for the struggle for peace, it is a cause that can unite not only the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, but also that part of the bourgeoisie which sees the real danger of a thermonuclear war.

Consequently, the slogan of the fight for peace does not contradict the slogan of the fight for communism. The two go hand in hand, for the masses see communism as a force capable of saving mankind from the horrors of a modern destructive nuclear-missile war, whereas imperialism is increasingly associated by the masses with war, as a system that engenders wars. That is why the slogan of the fight for peace is, as it were, a satellite of the slogan of the fight for communism.

As correctly pointed out in the Statement, "the peace

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\* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1958, p. 385.

movement is the broadest movement of our time, bringing together people of diverse political and religious creeds, of diverse classes of society, who are all united by the noble aim to prevent new wars and to secure enduring peace." There are people of different social strata, different political views and different religious beliefs among the peace supporters.

The fight for disarmament is an active fight against imperialism, for curtailing its war potential. The peoples must do their utmost to secure the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of wholesale annihilation. Peace will then be ensured and the peoples will have most favourable opportunities for arranging their lives in keeping with their wishes and interests.

The primary condition for progress in disarmament is the mobilisation of all sections of the people, their growing pressure on the imperialist governments.

There are two trends in evidence in the capitalist camp towards the socialist countries—one bellicose and aggressive, and the other moderately sober. Lenin pointed to the need of establishing contacts with those circles of the bourgeoisie who gravitate towards pacifism, "be it even of the palest hue".\* In the struggle for peace, he said, we should also avail ourselves of the sensible representatives of the bourgeoisie.

The soundness of these words is confirmed by current events as well. Fear for the future of capitalism prevails among the ruling classes of the imperialist camp. The more reactionary groups show growing nervousness and a tendency towards reckless acts and aggression, whereby they hope to mend their fences. At the same time, there are also groups among the ruling circles of these countries who realise the dangers that a new war holds for capitalism. Hence the two trends: one aimed at war, the other at accepting in some form the idea of peaceful coexistence.

The socialist countries take both of these trends into account in their policy. They work for negotiations and agreements with the capitalist countries on the basis of constructive proposals, and promote personal contacts between statesmen of the socialist and capitalist countries. We should

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\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 33, p. 236.

continue to use every opportunity of exposing the cold war warriors, the protagonists of the arms drive, and of showing the masses that the socialist countries are sincere in their efforts to safeguard world peace.

The peoples are becoming increasingly aware that it is the Communists who advocate that relations between countries be based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, that it is they who are the most ardent and consistent fighters for peace. We can be proud that the peoples are coming to associate more and more the notions of peace and communism.

The Communists believe that if all the progressive and peace-loving forces of our times—the socialist countries, the international working class, the national liberation movement, the newly established national states and all other countries opposed to war, and all supporters of peace wage a determined fight against the war danger, they will be able to tie the hands of the warmongers and prevent the catastrophe of another world war. The passivity which unfortunately still prevails among some sections in the bourgeois countries should be overcome, and every day fresh sections of the people should be drawn into the struggle for peace. **“The struggle against the threat of a new world war,”** the Statement of the Meeting stresses, **“must be waged now and not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall.”**

The fact that communism is the standard-bearer of peace is one of the main sources of its moral strength and its tremendous influence over the masses. It is the banner of peace that enables us to rally the masses round us. If we hold this banner high, we shall be even more successful.

The Communists consider it their sacred duty to make full use of all opportunities of this epoch to bridle the war-like forces of imperialism and prevent a new war.

The international communist and working-class movement has become so powerful and so well organised that it is now setting itself the practical task of saving mankind from the ordeal of another war. The Statement of the Meeting says:

**“The Communists regard it as their historical mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty on a world scale and rule out for all time the possibility of any kind**

of war in the life of society, but also to deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time. The Communist Parties will devote all their strength and energy to this great historic mission."

[For New Victories of the World Communist Movement. **Communism—Peace and Happiness for the Peoples**, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1963, pp. 45-52.]

### COMMUNISTS ARE THE VANGUARD FIGHTERS FOR NATIONAL FREEDOM

We were glad to welcome at the Moscow Meeting representatives from the fraternal Communist Parties of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, staunch fighters for the independence and free development of the peoples. Today there are Communist Parties in nearly fifty countries of those continents. This has extended the sphere of influence of the communist movement, making it truly world-wide.

Speaking in 1919 at the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East, Lenin said: "... If the Russian Bolsheviks have succeeded in forcing a breach in the old imperialism, in undertaking the exceedingly difficult, but also exceedingly noble, task of blazing new paths of revolution, you, the representatives of the toiling masses of the East, have a still greater and still more novel task before you."\*

Lenin saw that task in rousing the working masses to revolutionary activity and organisation, irrespective of the level they had attained, in using communist theory in the specific conditions of their countries, and in merging with the proletarians of other countries for the common struggle.\*\*

This task had not yet been effected anywhere when Lenin first set it, and there was no book to tell how it should be carried out in practice. The Communist Parties in countries now fighting for national independence and in the newly-independent countries are in an incomparably more favourable position, for there is now a vast store of experience in applying Marxist-Leninist theory to the conditions existing

\* V. I. Lenin, *On the International Working-Class and Communist Movement*, Moscow, p. 335.

\*\* *Ibid.*, p. 338.

in countries and areas which capitalism had doomed to age-long backwardness.

This experience gained by the world communist movement is a rich treasure-house for all Communists. Obviously, only the Party operating in the country concerned can make proper use of this experience and work out the right policy.

These parties are concentrating on the main point—how best to approach their own peoples, how to convince the masses that they cannot win a better future unless they struggle against imperialism and the reactionary forces at home, and how to strengthen international solidarity with the socialist countries, with the communist vanguard of the working people of the world.

(For New Victories of the World Communist Movement. **Communism—Peace and Happiness for the Peoples**, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1963, pp. 54-55.)

After the colonialists have been expelled and the general national problems essentially solved, the peoples seek a solution to vital social problems. This applies above all to the land and peasant problem and the problem of labour's struggle against capital. Social processes arise within the national liberation movement such as inevitably engender different opinions on the further course of development of various states.

Our country, like the other socialist countries, has always supported, and will continue to support, the national liberation movement. The Soviet Union has never interfered, and has no intention of interfering, in the domestic affairs of other countries. But we feel we must state our attitude to the fact that a campaign is being conducted in some countries against progressive forces under the spurious slogans of anti-communism. Since in the United Arab Republic statements have recently been made against the ideas of communism and accusations levelled at Communists, I who am a Communist think it necessary to declare at this Congress of our Communist Party that it is wrong to accuse Communists of helping to weaken or divide the national effort in the struggle against imperialism. On the contrary, no one is more staunch and more devoted to the struggle against

colonialists than the Communists. There are no forces more steadfast in the struggle against imperialism than the forces of communism. And that is why the imperialists are spear-heading their struggle against the communist movement.

The struggle against the Communist and other progressive parties is a reactionary cause. Anti-communist policy does not unite the national forces but disunites them. Thereby it weakens the effort of a nation in defending its interests against imperialism. It is wrong to accuse Communists of acting against the national interests of the Arab peoples. It is also naïve to equate communism with Zionism. Everyone knows that Communists, those of Israel included, are fighting against Zionism.

It is unreasonable to see "communist intrigue" in everything. Problems of social development should be viewed more deeply. It is subject to objective laws which tell us that within nations there exist classes with different interests. After imperialist oppression has been abolished in a colonial country, its workers want to have shorter working hours and higher wages; its peasants want to have more land and an opportunity to enjoy the fruits of their labour; both workers and peasants want to have political rights. But the capitalists want to make more profit, and landed proprietors want to keep their land. The progressive elements want their country to make social progress. They strive to strengthen its national independence and to protect it from imperialist plots. Internal reaction, which is often instigated by the imperialists from without, resists that.

These processes, which take place in the countries that have shaken off imperialist tyranny, do not arise by the will or whim of any party. They arise because there are classes and different class interests. We who are Communists, and all progressive people in general, naturally sympathise with those who fight for social justice.

We do not deny that we and some of the leaders of the United Arab Republic have divergent views in the ideological sphere. But in the matter of fighting against imperialism, of consolidating the political and economic independence of the countries which have freed themselves from colonialism, of combating the war danger, our attitude coincides with theirs. Differences in ideological views should not impede



the development of friendly relations between our countries or our joint struggle against imperialism.

Imperialist agents travelling in the Middle East seek to put the fear of communism into certain people, hoping thereby to assure imperialist influence and to support the reactionaries. For this reason, the people there must be on guard against imperialist intrigue.

(Control Figures for the Economic Development of the U.S.S.R. for 1959-1965, Moscow, 1960, pp. 93-95.)

### FOR WORKING-CLASS UNITY

The Communist Parties have proved to be the most active and consistent fighters against the war danger and reaction. Throughout these years, as before, they have been in the very thick of the struggle to preserve peace, to uphold the vital interests of the working people, and the national independence of their countries. The Communists in the capitalist countries have endured many hardships and adversities in recent years. But the Communist Parties have withstood these trials with credit.

At the same time many other sections of society are also opposing war. The effectiveness of their activity would, naturally, be greater, if the various forces upholding peace were to overcome a certain disunity. Unity of the working class, of its trade unions, the unity of action of its political parties, the Communists, Socialists, and other workers' parties, is acquiring exceptionally great importance.

Not a few of the misfortunes harassing the world today are due to the fact that in many countries the working class has been split for many years and its different groups do not present a united front, which only plays into the hands of the reactionary forces. Yet, today, in our opinion, the prospect of changing the situation is opening up. Life has put on the agenda many questions which not only demand rapprochement and co-operation between all workers' parties but also create real possibilities for this co-operation. The most important of these questions is that of preventing a new war. If the working class comes out as a united organised force and acts with firm resolution, there will be no war.

All this places a historic responsibility upon all leaders of the labour movement. The interests of the struggle for peace make it imperative to find points of contact and on these grounds to lay the foundations for co-operation, sweeping aside mutual recriminations. Here co-operation with those circles of the socialist movement whose views on the forms of transition to socialism differ from ours is also possible and essential. Among them are not a few people who are honestly mistaken on this question, but this is no obstacle to co-operation. Today many Social-Democrats stand for active struggle against the war danger and militarism, for rapprochement with the socialist countries, for unity of the labour movement. We sincerely greet these Social-Democrats and are willing to do everything necessary to join our efforts in the struggle for the noble cause of upholding peace and the interests of the working people.

(Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the 20th Party Congress Moscow, 1956, pp. 23-24.)

Concerning the role and place of non-Communist parties, it should first of all be stressed that, in the present situation, co-operation between the Communist Party and other parties is not only possible but essential for the socialist transformation of society. Socialism today has become a world system. In every country it is gaining more and more supporters, and not only among the working class. This gives rise to the realistic prospect of forming broad alliances between the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, and other social strata, and consequently, other parties, in the struggle for socialism.

Naturally, alliances of this kind can only take place with such parties which, not in words, but in deeds, have as their purpose the building of socialist society or, as you put it, are devoted to the ideal of socialism. What is meant by being devoted to the ideal of socialism? This means to have as one's aim the creation of socialist society, that is, the transfer to the working people of control over the instruments and means of production, either by expropriation or, in individual instances, by buying them from the capitalists; to have

as one's aim the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. The party which genuinely sets itself these ideals, and is ready to fight for them, naturally can and should be an ally of the Communist Party in the socialist transformation of society. In alliance with such parties, the Communist Parties will be able to unite the forces of the working class and then, through joint efforts, achieve unification of its allies—the working peasantry, handicraftsmen, intelligentsia—around the working class. This unification is an essential condition for the conquest of power by the working class and the establishment of the socialist system, among others by peaceful, parliamentary means.

At the present time, views can be heard in the West alleging that co-operation between the Communists and other parties—first and foremost the Socialists—can only be of a temporary nature, that after they have won power “the Communists will swallow up the Socialists”. This fabrication is needed by the Right-wing leaders of the Socialist parties in certain Western countries in order to frighten the rank and file of their parties and alienate them from the idea of unity of action with the Communists. In actual fact, Communists consider it not only possible but desirable to maintain co-operation with non-Communist parties after coming to power, if these parties prove their desire for building socialism in practice.

There are numerous examples to prove that this is actually the case. For instance, the experience of many countries in the West and the East, in particular, the experience of the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and the People's Republic of China, shows that political leadership by the working class and the Communist Parties is exercised in these countries with the continued existence of parties expressing the interests of the middle strata of town and countryside. Furthermore, co-operation with these parties, when they sincerely sympathise with the ideals of socialism, is of great assistance, capable of hastening the advance to socialism.

(Replies to Questions Put by Editor of Melbourne Herald, John Waters, June 11, 1958. For Victory in the Peaceful Competition with Capitalism, Moscow, 1959, pp. 494-96.)

In the fight for peace, against war, particular importance attaches to maintaining and consolidating working-class unity and solidarity all over the world, West Germany included. The German working class has suffered not a little through the division in its ranks. This has been a real misfortune for it. The labour movement in Germany has always had so many trends and shadings that, in the Russian phrase, the devil himself would break his leg sorting them out. The German bourgeoisie has pretty cleverly exploited this lack of working-class unity for its own ends. Division in the working class helps the imperialists to manoeuvre in order to maintain their rule. And I think that none of us want to help the capitalists. We should therefore give serious thought to uniting the efforts of the working class, of the working people of all countries, in the interests of further strengthening the cause of peace and socialism. . . .

We workers, the working folk, must be clearly conscious of our class interests and close our ranks tighter. We must be able to reach understanding with our class brothers, must display maximum patience and persistence, and leave nothing undone to convince those who do not yet understand us today. In this we must show perseverance, skill and good sense.

But it is a different thing with the capitalist world. Here we must keep our eyes wide open and not slip from our class standpoint.

(Speech at the Ninth All-German Workers Conference in Leipzig. **World Without Arms, World Without Wars**, Book 1, Moscow, pp. 202-04.)

Now that there exists a powerful socialist camp, now that the working-class movement has much experience in combating reaction, and that the working class is better organised, the peoples have greater opportunities of blocking the advance of fascism. The broadest sections of the people, all democratic, genuinely national forces, can and must be rallied against fascism. In this connection, it is important completely to eliminate sectarian narrow-mindedness which may hamper the mobilisation of the masses against reac-

tion and fascism. Unity of the democratic forces, above all of the working class, is the most reliable barrier to the fascist danger.

Who obstructs working-class unity? Imperialist reaction and its henchmen in the working-class movement, such as Guy Mollet or Spaak, the anti-Communist-minded Social-Democratic leaders. We know all these ringleaders of anti-communism by name and it is not on them that we count in speaking of joint working-class action. Most of the rank and file in the Social-Democratic parties support peace and social progress, although their idea of how to win them is different from ours, from the communist idea. It is in the struggle against reaction and fascism that Communists and Social-Democrats should find a common language. It is high time for the representatives of all trends in the working-class movement to brush aside the mountebanks of anti-communism and to sit round one table to work out a mutually acceptable platform of joint working-class action in defence of their interests, in defence of peace.

**(Control Figures for the Economic Development  
of the U.S.S.R. for 1959-1965, Moscow, 1960,  
pp. 193-04)**

The experience of recent years has provided more evidence that the working people owe all their gains to joint action. Nevertheless, the split within the working class persists because of the subversive activity of Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, who are making frantic efforts to divert their parties, and the working class, from the struggle against capitalism. Right-wing socialist leaders and many trade union bosses have long since betrayed the interests of the working class and faithfully serve monopoly capital. But among the Social-Democratic rank and file, among the functionaries and even within the leadership there are many honest people who sincerely want to take part in the common struggle for working-class interests. They have lately been putting up increasing resistance to the policy of the Right-wing leaders.

That is the reason why Communists, while continuing to lay bare the ideological bankruptcy and disruptive actions of

the Right-wing Social-Democratic officials, want to co-operate with all the sound elements among the Socialists, to take joint action with them in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. This is not a temporary tactical slogan but the general policy of the communist movement, a policy prompted by the fundamental interests of the working class.

(Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. *The Road to Communism*, Moscow, pp. 35-36.)

Only the united efforts of the working class and of all working people within each country and on an international scale, only strong international ties between workers, working people in all countries, can free the toilers from capitalist slavery.

The lessons of history, those of the First World War among others, show that whenever the bourgeoisie managed to kindle national strife and chauvinism, the result for the working people was immeasurable suffering and incalculable sacrifice. The bourgeoisie, the reactionary forces of different countries united in their struggle against the revolutionary working class, against the people. Take the famous Paris Commune. Who helped executioner Thiers to suppress the Commune? He was helped by the very same German militarists against whom the French had just fought. Or take another example—the uprising that swept Hungary under the leadership of Kossuth in 1848. Although the relations between Austria-Hungary and Russia were strained at that time, the Russian Emperor lost no time in dispatching troops to help the Austrian Emperor, Franz Josef. Why did he do so? He was afraid lest the revolution that had broken out in Hungary might reach Petersburg.

There are many such examples. I should also like to mention those which are so fresh in the memory of the peoples. When the German fascists seized Poland they exterminated the progressive workers, peasants and intellectuals, but Count Potocki, the Polish magnate and nobleman, and other oppressors of the Polish people lived very well under fascism. Potocki received the nazi leaders hospitably in his palace and they, for their part, displayed

concern for him. When the Hitler invaders retreated under the blows of the Soviet Army and the Polish troops, they saw to it that Count Potocki got away himself and took along the valuables that he had amassed in robbing the Polish people. This shows the class essence of the struggle. It reveals that Count Potocki was quite content when the fascist invaders ruled Poland and annihilated the flower of the Polish people.

Or take France. When the fascists invaded that country, Marshal Pétain, who represented the interests of the big bourgeoisie, became President of France during its occupation by the Germans and collaborated zealously with the Hitlerites—the bitterest enemies of the French people. At the same time, Pétain shot progressive workers and intellectuals—the flower of the French nation.

But if the bourgeoisie unites in the struggle against the workers, if it stops at nothing in fighting the revolutionary proletariat, the working class has all the more reason to unite, because only a united working class can successfully defend its class interests. This is taught by Marx, Engels and Lenin, and by the entire experience of the working people's revolutionary struggle for emancipation.

(Speech at a Meeting of Working People of Moscow and Moscow Region on the Return of the Soviet Party and Government Delegation from Poland, July 23, 1959. *World Without Arms, World Without Wars*, Book 1, Moscow, pp. 531-32.)

The working class of the Soviet Union, all the working people of our country, constantly demonstrate their solidarity with their class brothers in the capitalist countries and follow their heroic struggle with deep sympathy. They give full support to the great efforts of the World Federation of Trade Unions to intensify the working-class struggle against the yoke of the monopolies. Class struggle, and not the reconciliation of the working class and its organizations with the exploiters—such is the great principle of the proletarian movement, the most important condition for its new victories.

As has been justly stressed at your Congress, unity of action by all contingents of the working class is of

primary importance for the success of the labour movement. Now that the forces of reaction are uniting internationally in order to stifle everything advanced and progressive, it would be an irreparable mistake for the labour movement to retire to its national quarters and to its trade unions and fail to oppose a powerful labour front to the international front of reaction.

The trade unions, as mass non-party organisations of the working class, unite the working people of different political and religious convictions. This opens up broad prospects for unity of action and business co-operation of trade unions in the struggle for the class interests of the working people. Indeed, it is clear that all those who adhere to common class positions will always find a common language with each other, a common platform, and an acceptable form for unity of action. The time has come for representatives of different trade union organisations to sit down at the same table and draw up a platform of struggle for the interests of the workers, of struggle against the war danger, for peace and for fundamental rights, national independence and social progress. The working class of all countries has the same interests and the same aim, all workers are brothers. The militant slogan "workers of all countries, unite!" indicates the true path for the realisation of the ideals of the working class.

(Speech at the Fifth World Congress of Trade Unions. **Communism—Peace and Happiness for the Peoples**, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1963, pp. 383-84.)

#### **FOR FURTHER CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM**

The Communists are fully alive to the historical responsibility they have taken upon themselves before the nations, to the significance of the great tasks which history has set before them. To fulfil our mission we must go forward, hand firmly in hand, carrying aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism.

To give more strength to the socialist countries, to the movement of the newly-free peoples, and to the efforts of



the world's progressives, the working class of all countries should rally still closer under the deathless watchword: "Workers of all countries, unite!"

We must vigorously oppose disunity among the revolutionary forces under whatever guise it may be attempted.

Non-class division by continents, colour of skin or other tokens does not unite the forces of the working class, the working people of all countries, but disunites them. Such division weakens the revolutionary forces and will help the enemies of the revolution to make short work of the popular movement. This principle appeals to the imperialists because it brings grist to their mill, helps them to give effect to their bestial law—"divide and rule".

We all know very well that the imperialists dream of undermining the unity of the communist movement, the unity among the countries of the world socialist system. The imperialists are becoming more and more aware of the fact that they will not be able to cope with the socialist countries by military means. They are beginning to realise, too, that they will not be able to win the race against us in the peaceful economic competition between the two systems. Therefore they are now placing their hopes in a split in the community of socialist countries, in the whole world communist movement.

Recently a new note can be caught in the vicious anti-communist chorus. Some Western strategists hold that with the growth of the socialist countries' forces the inner contradictions between them will increase. The imperialists, as you see, cherish the hope that with the economic growth and rising power of the socialist countries insurmountable contradictions will arise between them. Apparently, they wish to measure the world of socialism with their own yardstick.

In their hope of dividing the socialist countries the imperialists count particularly on reviving nationalist prejudices, which survive as a legacy of the old world. We must tell the enemies of socialism bluntly: "But that, too, will not get you far, gentlemen!"

Against the intrigues of the enemies of socialism the Communists are pitting a consistent internationalist policy. In the relations between the socialist countries they firmly

adhere to the principles of equal rights and respect for the national sovereignty, and carefully take into consideration the interests and peculiarities of every country. At the same time, true to the internationalist solidarity of the proletarian movement, the Communist Parties of the socialist countries pursue a policy that is based on the interests not only of their own country, but of the whole socialist system, a policy aimed at strengthening friendship, mutual aid and co-operation.

Lenin has taught us a deep understanding and consistent application of the high principles of proletarian internationalism, and irreconcilable struggle against all manifestations of nationalism.

Events show that nationalism can be a source of revisionist and dogmatic views. The Communists, therefore, wage a consistent struggle against all deviations from Marxist-Leninist theory, both against Right opportunism and against "Left" opportunism, for strengthening unity in the ranks of the communist movement and increasing its influence upon the whole course of world development.

Our common task is to ensure further unity and consolidation of the world communist and labour movement on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

(Speech at the Cuba-U.S.S.R. Friendship Meeting, May 23, 1963. *Pravda*, May 24, 1963.)

Comrades, the battle between the Communists and all popular forces, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism, on the other, is entering a new stage. In these circumstances, the unity of the socialist camp, of the entire international communist movement, acquires paramount importance. Our solidarity, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, is the main condition for the victory of the working class over imperialism. The great Lenin's behest to advance shoulder to shoulder is sacred to us. Unity of our ranks multiplies the forces of communism tenfold. Unity, unity, and again unity—this is the law of the world communist movement.

The very essence of Leninism implies that no Marxist-Leninist party can permit either in its own ranks, or in

the international communist movement, any actions liable to undermine unity and solidarity.

The common goal of the struggle of Communists throughout the world demands, as in the past, the unity of will and action of the Communist Parties of all countries. The Meeting has made a big contribution to the further consolidation of the international communist movement by declaring, fully in keeping with Lenin's teaching, that the Communist Parties will do all in their power to strengthen the unity of their ranks and of the entire international communist movement.

"The interests of the struggle for the working-class cause," the Statement says, "demand of each Communist Party and of the great army of Communists of all countries further consolidation of their ranks and ever closer unity of will and action. It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist party to work continuously for greater unity in the world communist movement.

"A resolute defence of the unity of the world communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the prevention of any actions which may undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would impair the forces of communism."

It should be noted that at the Meeting the delegation of the C.P.S.U. expressed its point of view concerning the formula that the Soviet Union stands at the head of the socialist camp and the C.P.S.U. at the head of the communist movement. Our delegation declared that we regarded this formula above all as a high appreciation of what our Party, founded by Lenin, has done, and expressed its heartfelt gratitude to all the fraternal parties. Our Party, reared by Lenin, has always seen its prime duty in fulfilling its internationalist obligations to the working class of the world. The delegation assured the Meeting that the C.P.S.U. would continue to hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism and would spare no effort in carrying out its internationalist duties.

Yet the C.P.S.U. delegation suggested that the formula should not be included in the Statement or any other document of the communist movement.

As for the principles of relations between the fraternal parties, the C.P.S.U. expressed its views very definitely on this matter at its Twenty-First Congress. We declared to the whole world from the rostrum of the Congress that in the communist movement, and in the socialist camp, there has always been, and is, complete equality and solidarity of all the Communist and Workers' Parties and socialist countries. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union does not in fact direct other parties. There are no "superior" and "subordinate" parties in the communist movement. All the Communist Parties are equal and independent, all bear responsibility for the state of the communist movement, for its victories and setbacks. Every Communist and Workers' Party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the entire international working-class and communist movement.

The role of the Soviet Union does not lie in its leading the other socialist countries, but in its being the first to have blazed the trail to socialism, in its being the most powerful country of the world socialist system, in having accumulated extensive positive experience in the building of socialism, and in being the first to embark on the full-scale building of communism. It is stressed in the Statement that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognised vanguard of the world communist movement, being its most experienced and steeled contingent.

At the present time, when there is a large group of socialist countries each facing its own specific tasks, when there are eighty-seven Communist and Workers' Parties, each with its own tasks, it is impossible to lead all the socialist countries and Communist Parties from any single centre. It is both impossible and unnecessary. Seasoned Marxist-Leninist cadres capable of leading their parties and their countries have grown up in the Communist Parties.

Furthermore, it is well known that the C.P.S.U. does not in fact issue directives to other parties. Being called "the

head" spells no advantages to our Party or the other parties. Quite the reverse. It only creates difficulties.

As evident from the Statement, the fraternal parties agreed with the arguments brought forward by our delegation. The question may arise: Will our international solidarity be weakened by the fact that this proposition is not written down in the Statement? No, it will not. At present there are no rules regulating relations between parties, but we have a common Marxist-Leninist ideology, and loyalty to this ideology is the main condition of our solidarity and unity. It is essential that we guide ourselves consistently by the directions of Marx, Engels and Lenin, that we perseveringly put into effect the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The international solidarity of the communist movement will then constantly increase....

Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties exchanged opinions on questions concerning the current international situation, and discussed the pressing problems of the communist and working-class movement, or, as comrades put it figuratively at the Meeting, "we synchronised our watches". Indeed, the socialist countries and the Communist Parties need to synchronise watches. Whenever someone's watch is fast or slow, it is adjusted, so as to show the right time. The communist movement, too, needs to synchronise its watch, so that our mighty army marches in step and advances with confident stride towards communism. Putting it figuratively, Marxism-Leninism and the jointly prepared documents of international communist meetings are our timepiece.

Now that all the Communist and Workers' Parties have adopted unanimous decisions at the Meeting, each Party will strictly and undeviatingly abide by these decisions in everything it does.

Comrades, the importance of the Meeting lies in the fact that its participants now feel even better, stronger and more confident, and have an even broader view of the great epic struggle of all the Communist and Workers' Parties. All this furthers the unity of the international communist movement. At the international forum each fraternal party gained added confidence in the victory of our common cause, and this is of tremendous importance

for the consolidation of the entire international communist movement.

The unity of every Communist Party, the unity of all the Communist Parties, is what makes up the integral world communist movement which is to achieve our common goal, the victory of communism throughout the world. The main thing required of all the Communist and Workers' Parties today is perseveringly to strengthen with the greatest of energy the unity and cohesion of their ranks. The unity of the ranks of the communist movement is especially important in present conditions. This is due to the historic tasks the communist movement is called upon to perform.

On behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union our delegation assured the participants in the Meeting that, for our part, we would do our best to strengthen further our close fraternal bonds with all the Communist Parties. Our Party will do everything to make the socialist camp and the world communist front still stronger.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is firmly determined to strengthen unity and friendship with all the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, with the Marxist-Leninist parties of all the world. In this connection I want to emphasise our continuous effort to strengthen bonds of fraternal friendship with the Communist Party of China, with the great Chinese people. In its relations with the Communist Party of China our Party always proceeds from the premise that the friendship of our two great peoples, the unity of our two Parties, the biggest parties in the international communist movement, are of exceptional importance in the struggle for the triumph of our common cause. Our Party has always exerted, and will continue to exert, every effort to strengthen this great friendship. We have a common goal with People's China, with the Chinese Communists, as with the Communists of all countries—to safeguard peace and to build communism; common interests—the happiness and well-being of the working people; and a firm common basis of principle—Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will do their utmost further to strengthen the

unity of our Parties and our peoples, so as not only to disappoint our enemies but to jolt them even more strongly with our unity, to attain the realisation of our great goal, the triumph of communism.

Comrades, we live in a magnificent time! Communism has become the invincible force of our epoch. The further successes of communism depend to a tremendous extent on our will, our unity, our foresight and determination. By their struggle, by their work, the Communists, the working class will achieve the great aims of communism on earth.

Men of the future, the Communists of the coming generations will envy us, they will keep going back in their thoughts to our times, when the lines of the Party anthem ring out with special force:

*We'll change forthwith the old conditions,  
Let those who labour hold the reins.*

(For New Victories in the World Communist Movement, January 6, 1961. Communism—Peace and Happiness for the Peoples, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1963. pp. 68-75.)

Solid unity of the world communist movement is a most important condition for our success in the struggle for peace and socialism throughout the world. Every Communist should be fully aware of the great importance of the international unity of the revolutionary forces, of the solidarity of all the contingents of our movement.

Our unity is based on a common ideology—Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proletarian internationalism. The main thing uniting us are the common class interests of the proletariat in all countries, of all working people, the correct, Marxist-Leninist understanding of the international tasks of the working class, deep faith in the justice of our great cause and in the inevitable victory of socialism on a world scale.

Our duty is to unite all revolutionary forces, to steel and ideologically equip the communist movement. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union follows the common, agreed line of the world communist movement. It has adhered, and will adhere, to the platform elaborated by the

representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties at their meetings in 1957 and 1960.

It is true that there may arise differences of opinion on certain problems, including rather important ones, between Communists of different countries. The Marxist-Leninist doctrine has become practice for one-third of mankind. Over 1,000 million people are building a new life, achieving splendid results in socialist construction.

The countries of the world socialist system are at different stages of building new society. Nor is their experience in developing relations with the outside world identical in every respect. These circumstances give rise to different approaches to certain problems. While this is not exactly a pleasant fact, it has to be taken into account because it is a reality.

Differences may and do arise in life, but we must not forget that the differences arising between Communist and Workers' Parties are no more than fleeting episodes, whereas the relations between the peoples of the socialist countries are even now being shaped for centuries to come. This is why the relations between fraternal parties, especially between socialist countries—relations based on a common social and economic system and aimed at building communism—can and should be determined by the main thing which unites us. Everything else is, in the final analysis, of secondary importance by comparison.

That is the reason why we must not give vent to feeling when differences arise. We must be patient, must look at the root of the matter, so to say, must be able to see the main thing. As far as the fraternal parties are concerned, especially the parties of the socialist countries, the main thing is the common cause for which they are fighting, that is, the construction of socialism and communism.

While the Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist countries are fighting against capital inside their own countries, doing so through the unification of the working class and all working people and, by their struggle, paving the way for the victory of labour over capital, the practical contribution of the Communist Parties in the socialist countries to the development of Marxism-Leninism is to demonstrate in practice the advantages brought



to the people by socialism, created on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, and successfully to build socialist society. The successful construction of socialism in each of the socialist countries is strengthening the entire world socialist system opposing the imperialist countries.

The working class of the world can see from the example of the socialist countries the successes which the working people can achieve after overthrowing the exploiters and establishing the rule of labour in their countries. Our successful progress in the construction of socialism and communism is bringing nearer, is hastening the final victory of the international working class over the exploiters.

We must see and appraise all this properly, and must not be subjective when we differ on particular issues.

Even if we disagree on certain ideological questions, possibly including rather important ones, we must try to ensure that these questions are properly understood. In so doing we must not go to extremes, must not take a subjective stand in appraising the general situation in a particular country. We must not, for example, assess the political system of this or that socialist country only by the erroneous views of leaders, views that have prevailed for a while. It is objective and not subjective factors that should be taken as the principal indications. And this implies, first of all, the question of who owns the means of production, who holds power and on what lines the state is developing.

If we disagreed on certain questions and quarrelled, and then said at once that the socialist country whose leaders differed with us on something was not socialist, we would be showing subjectivism pure and simple. It would be as in the case of the church: when a person ceases to keep religious vows and perform religious rites he is excommunicated and anathematised. It does not benefit us to proceed like churchmen and engage in "excommunication" from socialism.

To give an example, we differ with Yugoslavia on certain ideological issues. But this in itself does not warrant the claim that that country is not socialist. We cannot claim such a thing because the objective indications, the system existing there, are socialist. The means of production and state power in Yugoslavia, which its peoples won by heroic struggle, are held by the working people. There are no land-

lords, bankers or capitalists there. The peoples of Yugoslavia are engaged in building socialism and communism. That being so, what grounds are there for "excommunicating" Yugoslavia from socialism and expelling it from the ranks of the socialist countries?

There are serious differences between the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour and ourselves. Must we therefore declare, for subjective reasons, that Albania is not a socialist country? It would be an incorrect, a subjective approach. Although the Albanian leaders show incomprehension of a number of highly important issues and we are combating that, we consider that Albania is a socialist country and that its people have displayed genuine heroism in the struggle for the victory of socialism.

When we Communists were advancing to power we promised the working class and all working people that we would establish a system such as would for ever abolish the supremacy of one nation over another and bring about truly close relations and unity between nations. Lenin wrote: "The workers counter the old world—a world of national oppression, national squabbles or national aloofness—with the new world of unity of the working people of all nations, in which there is no room for any privilege, not the slightest oppression of man by man."<sup>\*</sup>

It will depend on our effort, on the proper understanding by the Communist Parties and their leaders of their great responsibility to the nations, how successfully we carry out Lenin's behests concerning the unity and solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries.

As it happens, we are erecting the edifice of socialist society, not on a site cleared for the purpose, but on ground defiled and littered by the exploiters. No problem could be more complicated than that of relations between nations. The centuries and millenniums of rule by the exploiter classes have engendered so much distrust, so much discord, hatred and intolerance, so much bitterness and so many grievances in this field, that it will take truly titanic efforts to unravel—step by step, patiently and perseveringly—the intricate tangles of relations between nations and

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\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 19, p. 72.

thus contribute to bringing the nations together in a single, fraternal family.

You know of the tremendous achievements of the socialist countries in this respect, particularly in recent years, following the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. On the initiative of the Soviet Union errors that had existed in the relations between socialist countries in Stalin's time were removed by our Party.

Stalin committed grave errors in the national question not only in our own country, but in our relations with the People's Democracies. Our Party, like other Marxist-Leninist parties, severely criticised the cult of Stalin's person and rectified the errors he had committed. As a result, the political atmosphere inside the socialist community has become purer, and problems affecting the interests of the socialist countries are solved through exchanges of views, in the spirit of democracy and proletarian internationalism. The relations between the socialist countries—economic, political and cultural—have become stronger and are developing on the principles of equality, mutual advantage and mutual assistance.

We have always firmly adhered to the common, agreed line of the world communist movement. As far as the fundamental issues of the struggle for peace and socialism are concerned, we have never made, nor will ever make, any concessions. We have fought and will continue to fight against every deviation from Marxism-Leninism—against Right and Left opportunism alike, against revisionism as much as against dogmatism and sectarianism. We are convinced that only by this struggle can we truly strengthen our ranks, ensure a creative approach to the solution of the cardinal problems of the day and achieve further successes in the communist movement.

But our entire struggle is directed towards further strengthening the unity of the communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, towards increasing its influence all over the world. We are waging this struggle from a truly Leninist standpoint, being prompted by the desire to extend the front of those fighting against imperialism.

Everyone knows how much patience and self-control our Party showed in its relations with the leaders of the Alba-

nian Party of Labour. Despite the fact that they adopted a frankly hostile attitude towards the C.P.S.U. from the outset, when our differences became manifest, we repeatedly took the initiative in proposing talks to settle the disputed issues. But the Albanian leaders rejected all our proposals. They departed more and more from Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, drifting towards a rupture with the world communist movement.

But even today we are prepared to repeat what we said in the Report of the C.C. C.P.S.U. to the Twenty-Second Congress of the Party: if the Albanian leaders cherish the interests of their people and the cause of socialist construction in Albania, and if they want friendship with the C.P.S.U., with all the fraternal parties, they must recant their erroneous views and revert to the path of unity and close co-operation in the fraternal family that is the socialist community, to the path of unity with the entire world communist movement.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union follows Lenin's behests. While taking an uncompromising stand on the fundamental issues of the theory and tactics of the communist movement, we have done, and will do, all we can to persuade the erring or those who have lost their bearings and do not see clearly enough the tasks facing us in our struggle under present conditions.

The unity of world communism on the basis of Marxism-Leninism is the most sacred principle of our Party, and we will spare no effort to strengthen it.

In the relations between Communist Parties, it is essential to show tolerance, not to be subjective in appraising this or that development, not to give comfort to our class enemies by arguing with each other. To our mind it is necessary in appraising any development to proceed from the main thing: the attitude of the Communist Party concerned towards the problems of the struggle for the victory of the working class, of socialism. In discussions, particular discretion should be shown by the parties of those countries whose peoples are already building socialism, are building communism. It is our common duty not to scatter our forces in the face of the imperialist camp but, on the contrary, vigorously strengthen them all along the

line—economically, militarily, ideologically and politically.

Practice has shown that occasionally we have different opinions on questions related to the internal development of a country. In this respect, our relations have been shaping out more or less correctly in recent years, and there has been tolerance and moderation, so to speak, as regards lecturing, let alone interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. In foreign policy matters, in matters concerning the international working-class and communist movement, we also occasionally approach events and understand them differently. Here there may be a certain difference of opinion, of course, as well as discussions intended to elaborate a correct, agreed policy. But it is particularly essential to show restraint and patience.

(Speech at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Russ. ed., pp. 39-44.)

The socialist cause cannot be successfully advanced without relentlessly combating opportunism in the working-class and communist movement, without combating revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism.

All of you know very well that three years ago the communist movement was furiously assailed by the revisionists. In some countries it was a matter of life and death for the revolutionary working-class parties. For example, the revisionist Gates group was active in the Communist Party of the United States, and the Larsen group conducted disruptive work in the Communist Party of Denmark. The revisionists were a grave menace also to some other fraternal parties. We can now say with deep satisfaction that the revisionist evil has been exposed, and the parties have been cleared of it. The Communist Parties have emerged from the struggle against the revisionists stronger and more steeled and experienced. The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of contemporary revisionism.

The struggle against revisionism, against any deviation from Leninism, is as vital as it ever was. It is a struggle for strengthening the socialist camp and for the consistent application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin pointed out with his innate foresight that the struggle against the evil of nationalism, against the most

deep-rooted nationalistic petty-bourgeois prejudices "becomes the more necessary, the more the task of transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national one (i.e., existing in one country and incapable of determining world politics) into an international one (i.e., a dictatorship of the proletariat covering at least several advanced countries and capable of exercising a decisive influence upon the whole of world politics) becomes a pressing question of the day".\*

The struggle against revisionism in all its varieties is to this day an important task of the Communist Parties. As long as the bourgeois system exists there will be fertile soil for the revisionist ideology. That is why we must always keep our powder dry and conduct an uncompromising struggle against revisionism, which is trying to emasculate Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary substance, to embellish contemporary capitalism, undermine the unity of the communist movement and confine the Communist Parties to their national quarters.

The communist movement faces yet another danger—dogmatism and sectarianism. At present, when all forces must be united to fight imperialism, prevent war and end the omnipotence of the monopolies, dogmatism and sectarianism can do great harm to our cause. Leninism is uncompromising towards dogmatism. Lenin wrote: "It is essential to realise the incontestable truth that a Marxist must take cognisance of actual events, of the precise facts of *reality*, and must not cling to a theory of yesterday, which, like all theories, at best only outlines the main and general, and only *approximates* to an inclusive grasp of the complexities of life."\*\*

Dogmatism nourishes sectarian bigotry, which impedes the rallying of the working class and of all progressive forces round the Communist Parties. Dogmatism and sectarianism conflict irreconcilably with the creative development of revolutionary theory and its creative application. They lead to the isolation of Communists from the masses. They doom Communists to passive waiting

\* V. I. Lenin, *The National Liberation Movement in the East*, Moscow, 1957, pp. 253-54.

\*\* V. I. Lenin, *Marx-Engels-Marxism*, Moscow, p. 400.

or to reckless ultra-leftism in the revolutionary struggle, and prevent them from utilising all available opportunities for furthering the victory of the working class and of all the democratic forces.

The Statement stresses that the Communist Parties will continue to wage a resolute struggle on two fronts—against revisionism, which is still the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism. Unless a consistent struggle is waged against them, dogmatism and sectarianism may also become the main danger at some stage in the development of parties.

The internationalist duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties is to hold aloft the banner of creative Marxism-Leninism as the decisive condition of all our future victories.

(For New Victories of the World Communist Movement, January 6, 1961. **Communism—Peace and Happiness for the Peoples**, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1963, pp. 65-67.)

#### **UNITY—THE PLEDGE OF INVINCIBILITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE COMMUNIST PARTIES**

We have always held the view, and still do so, that none must retire to their national "quarters" and withdraw into their own shells. We think that the might of the socialist camp must be reinforced in all ways and that the unity of the international communist movement must be further cemented in accordance with the principles adopted by all the fraternal parties in the Moscow Declaration. Concern for the unity and strength of our ranks is the supreme international duty of each Communist and Workers' Party. **Success in the national cause of the working class is inconceivable without the international solidarity of all its contingents.**

We are united by the great common purpose of liberating toiling humanity, of fighting for universal peace. We have one common concern—the concern for the welfare of the peoples, for their prosperity and security, for their happy future, which can only be achieved through socialism. We are united by the great theory of Marxism-Leninism and by the struggle to put it into practice. We shall always preserve the purity of Marxist-Leninist ideology, shall fight against opportunists, against revisionists of all

shades, and shall always be loyal to the working class. It is in this that we see our internationalist duty to the world communist and working-class movement.

(Control Figures for the Economic Development of the U.S.S.R. for 1959-1965, Moscow, 1960, p. 112.)

The Communist Parties are called upon to unite the peoples in the struggle for peace and socialism. That is why the Communist Parties strive for close bonds with each other and for unity of action. At the same time every party is absolutely independent politically and organisationally and expresses the interests of its own working class and working people, the national interests of its country. The international and national interests of the working class, as of all working people, do not contradict each other, but on the contrary, blend harmoniously together. The Communist Parties have always regarded the strengthening of international proletarian solidarity as their sacred duty, and have always fought resolutely against any attempts to weaken the unity of the international working-class movement.

(Replies to Questions by Trybuna Ludu, March 10, 1958. For Victory in the Peaceful Competition with Capitalism, Moscow, 1959 p. 149.)

In the relations between fraternal parties it is necessary to place to the foreground the questions which unite us, which strengthen unity. We, for our part, did, and are doing, everything to have the questions which arise between parties solved in the spirit of comradeship, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism. Every party must make its contribution to welding together the communist and working-class movement, to strengthening the unity of the socialist countries, must approach these questions with awareness of the responsibility of every party for the cohesion and unity of the entire international communist and working-class movement.

(Speech over the Radio and Television on the Visit of the Soviet Party and Government Delegation to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, May 25, 1962. Pravda, May 26, 1962.)