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Kommunist, Moscow, #10, July 1953
Also, Pravda, July 26, pp. 3-4;
Also, Izvestia, pp. 2-3.

72

50 YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, 1903-1953

The 50th anniversary of the opening of the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (R.S.D.L.P.) on July 30, 1903, is a landmark in the life of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the life of the peoples of our land and in the history of the entire international revolutionary movement. At this Congress the foundations were laid for the militant revolutionary Marxist party of the working class, a party of a new type, fundamentally different from the reformist parties of the Second International. "Bolshevism has existed as a trend in political thought and as a political party since 1903," wrote V. I. Lenin.

The truly titanic struggle waged by the great Lenin for the establishment of a revolutionary proletarian party in Russia was crowned with success at the Second Congress. For many years, from the opening of the 90's of the past century, V. I. Lenin, speaking as a true follower of the doctrine of Marx and Engels and creatively developing Marxism in new historical conditions, conducted a merciless struggle against the open and covert enemies of Marxism, against all kinds of manifestations of opportunism in the workers' movement and for the organization and solidarity of the forces of the proletariat under the banner of revolutionary Marxism.

The Bolshevik party, created and forged by the genius of the revolution, Lenin, led our people to the triumph of the great October socialist revolution of 1917, organized the dictatorship of the proletariat, stirred the many-millioned masses of the working people of our motherland to conscious historical creation, ensured the establishment of a socialist society and is confidently leading the Soviet people forward to communism. The name of Lenin, the great founder and wise leader of the Communist Party, is indissolubly linked with the entire history of our party, with the rise and development of the first socialist state in the world, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The name of Lenin has become the banner of the working people of the entire world in the struggle for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism and for a shining future for the peoples.

By its self-sacrificing struggle for the cause of the workers and peasants, for socialism, and by its tireless work for the revolutionary transformation of society, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has earned the boundless love and trust of the entire Soviet people. The working people of the U.S.S.R. have become convinced by many years of historical experience that of all the political parties which have existed in our country only the Communist Party is a genuine party of the people, expressing the fundamental interests of the working people.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has traversed a glorious half-century path of struggle, of severe tests and world-historic triumphs. Tempered in battles under the leadership of the genius Lenin, under the pupil and continuer of Lenin's cause, the great Stalin, and under their comrades-in-arms, our Communist Party is now the leading, directing and guiding force in the Soviet society which is building communism.

The entire history of the Communist Party demonstrates the triumph of the great, all-conquering doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. The rich historical experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is an inspiring example to the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries in their consistent struggle for revolutionary change in society.

I. The Historic Significance of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.

1. The Marxist party in Russia was established at a turning point in the international workers' movement, when capitalism had entered its highest and last, imperialist phase of development and had begun to turn into a parasitic, decaying and dying capitalism, when the proletarian revolution had become an immediate, practical question. Russia at that period was a point of convergence of all the contradictions of imperialism. The interests of Russian Tsarism and Western imperialism were tightly intertwined. V. I. Lenin wrote on the eve of the Second Party Congress: "History has presented us with an immediate task, the most revolutionary of all the immediate tasks of the proletariat of any country whatsoever. Accomplishment of this task, destruction of the mightiest bulwark of not only European but also (can we say now) Asiatic reaction, would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat." This determined the nature, specific character and international significance of the great popular revolution which was welling up in Russia.

The sources of the Marxist movement in Russia go back to the 80's of the past century, when the "Emancipation of Labor" Marxist group, headed by Plekhanov, was established in 1883. But the "Emancipation of Labor" group "only theoretically founded Social-Democracy and only made the first step toward a workers' movement." The seed of the revolutionary proletarian party in Russia was Lenin's Petersburg "League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class" (1895), which was aimed at a broad combination of Marxism with the workers' movement.

The First Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., held in March, 1898, proclaimed the establishment of a Marxist party in Russia. But after the First Congress the Marxist movement in Russia remained in the stage of individual,

heterogeneous Social-Democratic circles and groups, not linked by the unity of a militant Marxist program and centralized organization. A considerable part of the Social-Democratic circles were, moreover, corroded by the rust of "economism" (opportunism which rejected political struggle by the working class and the leading role of that class).

A most important political question was decided in the period of the Second Party Congress: which path the young Russian workers' movement would take--whether, inspired by the socialist ideology, it would take the path of bold, consistent revolutionary struggle against Tsarism and capitalism, of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat--the path to which Lenin, the "Iskra-ites," the Bolsheviks summoned it--or would slip into the path of subordination to bourgeois ideology, reformism, adaptation to Tsarism and capitalism, the path onto which the Mensheviks and their predecessors, the "economists," sought to deflect the workers' movement. The victory of the ideological principles of Lenin and Lenin's Iskra at the Second Party Congress was of the utmost importance to the development of our party and the revolution, to the entire international revolutionary movement.

2. The decade preceding the Second Party Congress is marked in the history of the workers' movement of Russia by Lenin's uncompromising struggle against liberal populism (Narodnichestvo) and "legal Marxism," against primitive methods and preoccupation with study circles (kustarnichestvo i kruzhkoyshchina), against the opportunism of the "economists," who opposed the establishment of a revolutionary party of the proletariat and introduction of socialist consciousness into the spontaneous workers' movement.

The all-Russian Marxist political newspaper Iskra, organized by Lenin, played a decisive role in the struggle for a Marxist party, in the routing of the "economists," in uniting the heterogeneous Social-Democratic circles and in preparing the Second R.S.D.L.P. Congress. By Lenin's design, the newspaper became the center for uniting the Party forces, for assembling and training Party cadres, for rallying them into an all-Russian, militant, centralized proletarian party with a clear Marxist program, revolutionary tactics, united will and iron discipline. This Leninist plan for establishment of the Party was based on the pressing tasks of the revolutionary struggle and masterfully generalized the organizational experience of the Marxists. The triumph of this plan laid the foundation for the rallying of a militant, steeled Communist Party which became a model for the international revolutionary workers' movement.

The tasks of the growing workers' movement of Russia insistently required creative development of the Marxist theory and deep-rooted combination of the workers' movement with socialism. Lenin, the great continuer of

Marx' cause, worked out the ideological foundations of the Marxist party and raised high the significance of revolutionary theory. Lenin proved that only a party guided by advanced theory can perform the role of vanguard and genuine leader of the working people, and he stressed with full force the importance of combining the workers' mass movement with scientific socialism.

3. The historic significance of the Second R.S.D.L.P. Congress is that it created in Russia a genuinely Marxist party along the ideological and organizational lines advanced and worked out by Lenin's Iskra. The Congress adopted, for the first time in the history of the international workers' movement since the death of Marx and Engels, a revolutionary program in which the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat was presented as the basic task.

At the Congress Lenin and his fellow-thinkers, the consistent Iskra-ites, waged an uncompromising struggle against the opportunist elements who tried to prevent the Congress from including a most important thesis of Marxism--the thesis of the dictatorship of the proletariat--in the Party Program. Lenin fought with utmost determination and firmness for the thesis of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The inclusion by the Congress in the Party Program of a point on the dictatorship of the proletariat was a historic triumph for Lenin's adherents.

While advancing the task of fighting for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin emphasized the tremendous importance of the revolutionary struggle of the peasantry as the ally of the working class and he secured inclusion in the Party Program of revolutionary-democratic demands on the peasant question.

Lenin decisively rebuffed the Bundists and Polish Social-Democrats who objected to includingⁱⁿ the Party Program a point on the right of nations to self-determination, and he championed the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The great ideas of revolutionary struggle which Lenin upheld from the first days of his political activity triumphed at the Second Congress. Criticizing as unacceptable the draft program drawn up by Plekhanov, a draft which omitted the thesis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin emphasized that the party of the Russian proletariat must have a program "of a party of practical struggle" and not an academic textbook. Hence, pointed out Lenin, the Party "must set forth in its program in no ambiguous fashion its indictment of Russian capitalism and its declaration of war upon Russian capitalism." The Communist Party took this path, the Leninist path.

The revolutionary program of the party of the working class, adopted by the Second R.S.D.L.P. Congress, set forth both the immediate tasks of the proletariat at the stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution (the minimum program) and its fundamental tasks, aimed at the triumph of the socialist revolution (the maximum program). This program was a militant guiding document of our party right up to the Eighth Party Congress (1919).

4. A fierce struggle developed at the Second Congress around the organizational principles on which the Party was to be constructed. Lenin and his fellow-thinkers championed the basic Marxist thesis of the role of the Party as the advanced, conscious, organized detachment of the working class, armed with revolutionary theory, with knowledge of the laws of development of society and the class struggle, with experience in the revolutionary movement. Only such a highly conscious and organized, united and centralized party, possessing a single will, is capable of leading the working class to victory and successfully directing its struggle to win power.

The Mensheviks, however, were opposed to the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and hence they did not want a fighting party of social revolution. Only a reformist, organizational undefined, compromising organization of the type of the opportunist parties of the Second International suited the Mensheviks. Opportunism in program (rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat) gave rise to organizational opportunism (rejection of a centralized, disciplined, militant, revolutionary party of the proletariat).

To preserve unity in the Party, Lenin taught, it must have iron proletarian discipline and firm rules of Party life, regulated by the Statutes and equally binding upon all Party members, leaders as well as rank and file. Tremendous importance attaches to the thesis advanced by Lenin at the Second Congress that the title of Party member is a lofty one, that each Party member is responsible for the Party and the Party for each member. It is the Party's task, pointed out Lenin, to "guard the firmness, self-restraint and purity of our party. We must strive to raise the title of Party member and the significance of Party membership higher, higher, higher****

The firm rules of Party life and principles of leadership which Lenin devised provided for strictest observance of the principles of democratic centralism, thorough development of the activeness of rank-and-file Party members, and collective discussion of major problems of Party life. Normal functioning of the Party organizations and of the entire Party as a whole, Lenin taught, is possible only if there is strict observance of the principle of collective leadership, guaranteeing the Party against elements of chance and one-sidedness in the decisions adopted. The Party is a living, creative, constantly developing organism.

V. I. Lenin worked out, for the first time in the history of Marxism, the doctrine of the Party as a guiding organization of the proletariat, as the basic weapon in its hands, without which it is impossible to gain the dictatorship of the proletariat and to build socialism and communism.

Lenin's struggle with the opportunist elements at the Congress over questions of program and organization created the great divide between the revolutionary part of the R.S.D.L.P.--the Bolsheviks--and the opportunist part--the Mensheviks.

The victory of Lenin's plan of genius for establishing a revolutionary Marxist party, a party of social revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat, showed that in Lenin the Russian and international proletariat have a great theoretician of Marxism, carrying on the cause and doctrine of Marx and Engels, an outstanding strategist of the revolution who foresaw the perspectives of development of the workers' movement, a mountain eagle who knew no fear in battle.

5. Lenin's uncompromising struggle at the Second Congress and in the subsequent period against the opportunists, his defense of the ideological and organizational principles of Bolshevism, possessed great international significance. Lenin's merciless exposure of the Mensheviks' ideological and organizational stand, which was hostile to Marxism, was a mighty blow against the revisionists, against those who had retreated from Marxism, against all international opportunism, and possessed tremendous importance for the development of the revolutionary movement in all countries. The Second R.S.D.L.P. Congress was a turning point in the international workers' movement.

II. The Communist Party in the Struggle for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

6. The entire course of historical events from the Second R.S.D.L.P. Congress to the triumph of the great October socialist revolution has graphically demonstrated that the Communist Party has been the only guiding revolution force in the country. The history of the three revolutions in Russia has shown that in a brief span (1903-1917) our party accomplished tremendous political work which has no equal in the world in wealth of experience, profundity of development of Marxist theory and creative application of it in the course of the revolution; it has demonstrated the great strength and vitality of the strategy and tactics of the Communist Party, the might and invincibility of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The Bolshevik political group which was formed at the Second Congress, with Lenin at its head, while formally remaining part of the united R.S.D.L.P. until 1912, followed a consistent revolutionary line which met the fundamental interests of the proletariat, the peasantry and all the peoples of Russia. The Bolsheviks waged an uncompromising battle of principle against all the varieties of opportunism in the Russian and international workers' movement.

7. It was Lenin's great achievement that in the period of development of the first Russian bourgeois democratic revolution his genius laid the foundation for the Party's Bolshevik tactics, the tactics of the working class, and worked out the political (tactical) principles of the Communist Party. He developed the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois democratic revolution and showed that in the historical situation which had grown up at that time the alliance of working class and peasantry, with the proletariat in the leading role, was vital to the victory of the revolution. Lenin gave the Russian Marxists a clear perspective of the bourgeois democratic revolution growing into a socialist revolution. He enriched Marxism with the new theory of proletarian revolution and laid the foundations of the revolutionary tactics of the Communist Party with which the proletariat, in alliance with the poorest peasants, overthrew the rule of the bourgeoisie in our country in October, 1917, and established genuine rule of the people--the rule of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, the rule of the Soviets.

The struggle between the two lines within the R.S.D.L.P.--the revolutionary Bolshevik line and the opportunist Menshevik line--which developed around ideological and organizational questions in the period of the Party's founding acquired particular acuteness in the years of the first Russian revolution (1905-1907), when questions of tactics came to the fore. The Bolsheviks adhered to the policy of developing the popular revolution and its victory, of liberating the working people from the oppression of Tsarism and the landowners and of turning the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. The Mensheviks, on the contrary, defended the hegemony of the liberal bourgeoisie in the revolution and pursued a course of calling off the revolution. They descended into the morass of compromise and turned into agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers' movement.

8. After the defeat of the first Russian revolution, the Bolsheviks were not frightened by the growing difficulties. In the dark years of the Stolypin reaction, amid the orgy of Tsarist repressions and of the Black Hundreds' terror, the party of Bolsheviks strengthened its ranks and made skillful use of both legal and illegal opportunities for increasing

its ties with the masses. While the Bolsheviks were holding a course toward preparation of a new revolution, the Mensheviks were retreating farther and farther from revolution, were running matters so as to liquidate the illegal revolutionary party of the proletariat, and had become open liquidators. A part of the Bolsheviks broke with Marxist principles and tried to prod the Party onto the path of becoming a sect isolated from the masses; in particular, they demanded recall of the workers' Deputies from the State Duma. Lenin exposed this part of the Party, the "Otzovists" ("the recall faction"), as they were then called, as "liquidators inside out."

In the difficult conditions of the reaction only the Bolsheviks, the Leninists, remained faithful to Marxism, faithful to the principles set forth in the Party Program, and repulsed all the attacks of enemies who tried to disarm the proletariat of Russia, to crush its party and to undermine and overturn the theoretical principles of revolutionary Marxism. To Lenin belongs the great merit of having defended and developed the theoretical principles of the Party--dialectical and historical materialism, which are the theoretical foundation of communism--in this time of difficulties for the Party. Marxist-Leninist ideological tempering and correct understanding of the perspectives of the revolution helped the basic core of the Party, rallied around Lenin, to defend the Party and preserve its basic cadres.

9. The Sixth All-Russian Party Conference, held in Prague in 1912, drove the Menshevik liquidators out of the R.S.D.L.P. and thereby set the basis for finally constituting the Bolsheviks an independent party. The purging of opportunists and Menshevik liquidators from the proletarian party was of decisive importance to the further development of the Party, to strengthening the unity of its ranks and to success in achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Complete success crowned the untiring struggle, waged by Lenin and by the Bolsheviks united around the Leninist leading core, to establish a party of the new type.

10. The new and mighty revolutionary tide which was setting in (1912-1914) showed vividly that the workers were preparing for a new revolution and that it was the Communist Party, tried and tempered in the class struggle, which was leading them into new battles.

An important role in strengthening the Party ranks and enlarging the Party's ties with the masses, in training the new generation of revolutionary workers, in fighting the liquidators, Trotskyites, Otzovists and other opportunists, was played by Pravda, the legal daily newspaper of our party, founded in the spring of 1912 on the initiative of the Petersburg workers.

11. In the difficult years of the imperialist war (1914-1918) the party of the Bolsheviks proved able to cope with the tasks of the revolutionary proletarian party, faithful to the cause of socialism and proletarian internationalism. The parties of the Second International betrayed the cause of socialism and descended into the positions of social chauvinism.

Undeviatingly guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory on the questions of war, peace and revolution, the Bolsheviks waged a consistent struggle to turn the imperialist war into a civil war, to overthrow the rule of the imperialists in Russia and to win support in all countries for the struggle against the imperialist war.

V. I. Lenin's classic work "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," was a great contribution to the treasury of creative Marxism. In this work Lenin provided, for the first time in Marxist literature, a comprehensive and profound analysis of imperialism and its basic contradictions and laws, and showed that imperialism is the highest and at the same time the last stage in the development of capitalism, that "imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat."

Lenin scientifically proved that capitalism, which, right from the end of the 19th century, had been in the period of its rise, had in the epoch of imperialism turned into a dying capitalism, bearing unheard-of misfortunes and sufferings to mankind. Lenin fearlessly disclosed the incurable sores of contemporary monopoly capitalism, which were revealing themselves with great force by the time of the first world war. While at the time of the Second R.S.D.L.P. Congress, Lenin in the Party Program had handed down a severe indictment of Russian capitalism, during the first world war Lenin presented, with the greatest scientific exactitude and revolutionary ardor, an indictment of world imperialism, which was pushing mankind into the chasm of new wars of bloodshed and new economic catastrophes.

In his famous work "The Threatening Catastrophe and How to Combat It," written on the eve of October, 1917, Lenin warned:

"The war has created such a tremendous crisis, has so strained the material and moral resources of the people and has inflicted such blows upon the present organization of society that mankind is faced with the choice of perishing or entrusting its destinies to the most revolutionary class for the most swift and radical change to a higher system of production."

It was Lenin's historic service that in analyzing capitalism by the law of the uneven economic and political policies of capitalism--a law he discovered--he made a great scientific discovery: he formulated and provided scientific grounding for the inspired conclusion that it was possible to break the chain of imperialism's world front at its weakest link, that socialism could triumph first in a few or even one individual capitalist country. This was a new, complete theory of socialist revolution. It enriched and advanced Marxism; it opened up a revolutionary perspective for the proletarians of individual countries, unleashing initiative in the assault upon their own national bourgeoisie and strengthening their faith in the victory of the proletarian revolution.

For the first time in the world, the workers of Russia, headed by the party of Communists, made successful use of the weakening of world capitalism in the course of the world war of 1914-1918, overthrew Tsarism and ensured, first, the victory of the bourgeois democratic revolution; the second Russian revolution was triumphant. Smashing the resistance of the compromise parties--the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries--the Bolsheviks set their course toward turning the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

12. In the period from February to October, 1917, the Communist Party in our country accomplished the very difficult task of winning the majority in the working class, in the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, which had been established in the course of the revolution--the task of attracting to the side of the socialist revolution the millions of working people and strengthening the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry to attain victory and overthrow the imperialists' rule.

In the famous April Theses Lenin made a new discovery which enriched Marxist theory: he came to the conclusion that the best form of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a parliamentary democratic republic, as had previously been assumed among Marxists, but a republic of Soviets. This inspired discovery was of the greatest importance in assuring the victory of the socialist revolution in October, 1917, in (bringing about) the victory of Soviet rule in our country.

In the course of the struggle for the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country the party of the Communists alone led the masses of the working people, smashing all the attempts of the contemptible capitulators--the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and other strikebreakers of the revolution--to turn the Party from the Leninist path. The fate of capitalism in Russia was settled by the fact that the Party united into a single mighty revolutionary flood the general democratic struggle for peace, the peasant-democratic movement to wipe out the landed estates, giving the landowners' soil

to the peasants, the national liberation movement of the peoples of our country and the socialist movement of the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. As for the petty bourgeois compromise parties, all of them (Mensheviks, SRs, anarchists) exposed themselves in the course of the revolution as anti-popular parties seeking to preserve and strengthen the capitalist system.

The victory of the great October socialist revolution was a triumph of Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution. In overthrowing the rule of capitalists and landowners, overthrowing the imperialists' rule in Russia and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, our party carried out the program adopted by the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.

By conducting a triumphant socialist revolution, the Communist Party saved our country from national catastrophe, freed it from the status of a semicolonial land dependent on world imperialism, and led the Soviet people out onto the broad path of socialist changes unprecedented in the history of man.

To organize the victory of such a revolution as the great October socialist revolution it was necessary to have a party armed with advanced revolutionary theory and possessing the greatest courage and heroism, a party prepared to make any sacrifices for the people and the motherland, a party having the deepest ties with the broad masses of the working people. The mighty party of the Communists, created and molded by the great Lenin, has been just such a party.

III. The Communist Party in the Struggle to Build Socialism.

13. The great October socialist revolution opened a new era in the history of man: the era of capitalism's downfall and the triumph of socialism and communism. The victory of the Soviet revolution in Russia marked a fundamental turning point in man's fate, in world history--the turning from the old, capitalist world to the new, socialist world.

The October revolution inflicted a mortal wound upon capitalism, shock and weakened the foundations of imperialism, and lightened the international proletariat's struggle against capital. From a national force, our Communist Party turned into an international one, into the "shock brigade" of the world revolutionary and workers' movement.

With the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party, as the ruling party, faced the tasks of building and defending the world's first socialist state of workers and peasants.

14. When the heroic work of the Party and the working class on restoring the economy was approaching an end, the question of the perspectives of our country's development arose in full force.

In the period of the Second Party Congress the Bolsheviks had fought the Mensheviks for the triumph of the revolutionary life in the workers' movement; now the question arose of the fate of socialism in the U.S.S.R. The enemies of the Party and of the people--the Trotskyites, Bukharinists and bourgeois nationalists, constituting a Menshevist camp--following--took a capitulation stand. They tried to turn the Party and the country from the Leninist path onto the path of wiping out the achievements of the proletarian revolution, the path of restoring capitalism. The Communist Party, under the leadership of the Central Committee, headed by J. V. Stalin, the great continuer of V. I. Lenin's work, routed the traitors and capitulators, defended Leninism and took the firm course of building socialism in our country. In doing so, the Communist Party proceeded from the objective laws of society's economic development, the ripened requirements of development of society's material life, and the interests of the people. The Party based itself on Lenin's thesis that our country has enough of everything necessary for building a completely socialist society.

15. In the prewar five-year plans the Soviet people successfully carried out the plan drawn up by the Party for socialist industrialization of the country and collectivization of agriculture. As a result of the accomplishment of this program, our motherland made a giant stride forward and turned from a backward, agrarian country into a mighty industrial and collective farming socialist power.

Exploiting classes were completely wiped out in our country and exploitation of man by man was eliminated forever. The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, was first in history to build the new social system, socialism. The victory of socialism eliminated unemployment, brought the people a radical improvement in their material well-being, created the conditions necessary for a prosperous and cultured life for the working people. A genuine cultural revolution was accomplished in the country. Guided by the Lenin-Stalin national policy, the Communist Party liberated the peoples of Russia from age-old social and national oppression, overcame the economic and cultural backwardness of formerly oppressed peoples, united all the nations of our motherland in a single fraternal family, created the mighty multinational socialist state--the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. On the basis of the triumph of socialism there developed and grew strong such powerful motive forces of Soviet society as moral-political unity, friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., and Soviet patriotism.

The world-historic achievements of the Soviet people are confirmed in the U.S.S.R. Constitution, the Constitution of triumphant socialism in a developed socialist democracy. The 18th Congress of the Communist Party (1939) laid down a program for further advance by Soviet society along the road of completing the construction of socialist society and making a gradual transition from socialism to communism. The establishment of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is the result of carrying out Lenin's behests, the result of the great work of organizing and guiding on the part of the Communist Party and its wise leadership, the result of the heroic labors of the workers, peasants, intelligentsia, unanimously supporting the policy of the Party.

Our party triumphed and is triumphing through faithfulness to Leninism. It teaches our cadres and all Communists to master revolutionary theory persistently, to apply consistently the rules of Party life worked out by Lenin, the Bolshevist principles of Party leadership. In his speech of April 22, 1941, J. V. Stalin said of Lenin's greatness and of the importance of Lenin's behests:

"It was he, Lenin, who taught us to work as befits Bolsheviks, knowing no fear and halted by no difficulties."

16. The great patriotic war of the Soviet Union (the war against Hitler Germany.--Trans.) was a most serious test of the strength and viability of our social and state system. During the war the Party acted as the inspirer and organizer of the struggle of the entire people against the fascist invaders. By its organizing work, the Party directed all the efforts of Soviet people and subordinated all the powers and resources of the country toward the common goal of routing the enemy. The Party mobilized the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia to overcome difficulties self-sacrificingly; it organized a powerful labor effort, placed the national economy in the service of the front and turned the country into a single battle camp. During the war years the Communist Party became, even more than before, one with the people, and established even closer ties with the broad masses of the working people. In the days of the war's great tests the Party, overcoming the hardest difficulties and barriers to victory, demonstrated once again that it is a united, militant organization which knows no vacillations and discord within its ranks.

In routing the fascist aggressors, the Soviet peoples and the brave Soviet Army, led by the glorious Communist Party, defended the freedom and independence of their motherland and saved the peoples of Europe and Asia from the menace of fascist enslavement. As a consequence of the victory of socialism over fascism in the second world war, the forces of socialism and democracy grew and gained strength and the positions held by imperialism and reaction were weakened. Many countries of Europe and

Asia seceded from the system of capitalism and established regimes of people's democracy. The triumph of the people's revolution in China and the formation of the Chinese People's Republic were a major victory for the cause of socialism and democracy. The positions of the Soviet Union were strengthened immeasurably and the Soviet Union's prestige and influence on all international development grew greatly.

17. The Soviet people had to exert tremendous efforts in the post-war years to heal the deep wounds of the war and to eliminate its consequences. Inspired and organized by the Communist Party, the working people of our country restored the economy in an unprecedentedly short span of time and advanced all branches of Soviet economy, technology and culture.

The 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union summed up the impressive results of the Soviet people's struggle and victories and outlined a program of further progress for our country. The Congress was new and vivid evidence of the Party's inviolable monolithic nature and solidarity, the very close unity of Party and people, and the Party's unswerving determination to bring the peoples of our country to the victory of communism.

In carrying out the historic decisions of the 19th Party Congress, the Party saw to a fresh upswing in all branches of economy and culture. The tremendous successes of the socialist economy and the flourishing of culture in the U.S.S.R. were made possible by the firm alliance of the working class and the collective farm peasantry, by the growing friendship of peoples of our country and by the steady growth of the moral-political unity of the Soviet people. All this is the result of consistent application of the policy evolved by the Communist Party, relying on the creative activeness of the masses and enjoying the support of all of Soviet society.

The Soviet Union, filled with invincible might and creative forces, is successfully advancing along the path of building a communist society.

IV. The Communist Party: Organizing and Inspiring Force of Soviet Society as It Builds Communism.

18. The Communist Party is successfully filling the role of leader and organizer of the masses of the people because it constitutes a militant union of like-minded Communists, united by unity of views, unity of action and discipline. The entire work of the Communist Party is imbued with deep faith in the people, in the revolutionary energies of the working people. Our party is based on the fact that the workers and peasants,

who create all the goods and benefits of life, are the genuine makers of history, that "only he wins and holds power who believes in the people, who immerses himself in the source font of living creativity of the people" (Lenin). The strength of the Party lies in its indivisible ties with the people. The strength of the people lies in their solidarity around the Party.

The whole history of our party is Marxism-Leninism in action. Guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, by knowledge of objective economic laws, the Communist Party devised a scientifically and practically tested policy reflecting the requirements for development of society's material life and the fundamental interests of the people, and came forth as the inspirer and organizer of the masses' revolutionary energies and revolutionary creativeness. Generalizing the wealth of experience in building socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the experience of the modern international liberation movement, J. V. Stalin creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist doctrine in application to new historical conditions and enriched revolutionary theory with new theses on many questions.

19. The Communist Party is now solving most important tasks of building communism, of further strengthening the multinational socialist state and of steadily improving the material and cultural level of all Soviet people.

We have everything necessary for building a complete communist society. Our country's natural resources are inexhaustible. We have a mighty socialist industry and thoroughly developed heavy industry, keystone of the socialist economy. U.S.S.R. light and food industry is capable of meeting the growing demands of the working people of town and countryside. Our state farms and collective farms, equipped with modern, advanced machinery, have the possibility of rapidly raising the yields of all crops and the meat and dairy yields of communal livestock.

However, some urgent economic problems are still not solved, there are still lagging enterprises and even some lagging branches of industry, and some collective farms and entire agricultural districts are in a neglected state. It is the duty of Party, Soviet, trade union and Communist League of Youth organizations to mobilize and organize the creative forces of the Soviet people for the struggle to improve the national economy, to utilize existing industrial and agricultural reserves and possibilities for successful performance of the tasks set by the 19th Party Congress.

20. The Communist Party is untiringly concerned with meeting the growing material and cultural requirements of the working people. Concern for the welfare of Soviet man and for the flourishing of the whole Soviet people is a law of our party.

The achievements attained in development of the socialist economy have led to major improvement in the material and cultural level of the Soviet people. This finds reflection in constant growth of the national income, systematic lowering of prices of mass consumption goods and the rising real wages of workers and employees and income of peasants. Year by year the Soviet state is increasing the allocations for housing construction, public health services and public education. But all this does not mean that one can rest on the achievements. Therefore the Party is exerting more and more efforts to develop the construction of housing, schools and hospitals and to improve the organization of all this.

The Party's constant concern for the development of science, literature and the arts has ensured the flourishing of Soviet culture, national in form and socialist in content. The Communist Party holds that it will continue to be one of its primary duties to see to constant increase in the material well-being and cultural level of the working people of our country.

21. In the sphere of foreign policy the Party's chief concern is to ensure the peaceful labor of the Soviet people, to preserve peace and to prevent a new war. The Communist Party's stand is that the peace policy is the only correct policy, reflecting the vital interests of the Soviet people and of all other peace-loving peoples.

Our party bases its whole foreign policy on Lenin's injunction on the possibility of prolonged co-existence and peaceful competition of the two systems, the socialist and the capitalist. After the rout of the interventionists' chief forces, Lenin pointed out: "***We have won for ourselves conditions under which we can exist alongside the capitalist powers, which are now obliged to enter into trade relations with us*** We have not merely a breathing space, we have a new stage in which we have essentially won our international existence within the network of capitalist states."

Even at that time Lenin spoke of the economic interest of many bourgeois countries in trade with Soviet Russia: "The bourgeois countries have to trade with Russia: they know that without some form of economic mutual relations the collapse will go farther, (just) as it has proceeded up to now; despite all their most splendid victories, despite all the endless boasting with which they fill the newspapers and news dispatches of the whole world, their economy is still sagging****"

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been and is guided undeviatingly by these theses of Lenin.

We stand for prolonged co-existence and peaceful competition of the two systems because we are firmly convinced of the advantages of the socialist economic system, the socialist structure, because we have firm confidence in our internal forces and in the steadily growing forces of the entire camp of peace, democracy and socialism.

At the same time, one cannot ignore the fact that in the camp of imperialism, corroded by contradictions, instability is mounting in the economy as well as in the policy of the ruling circles, reaching (the point of) fear of peace, fear of peaceful competition of the two systems and loss of confidence in the further stability of the capitalist system. Witness some of the statements of prominent European and American economists, who admit the rapid and steady growth of the economy of the socialist and democratic camp and at the same time the sharpening of contradictions, the deepening of economic difficulties, in the capitalist camp. These circumstances cause sharp activation of the reactionary imperialist forces, intensification of all kinds of provocations, adventures and acts of sabotage by the imperialists against the socialist and democratic camp. All this makes still more necessary the utmost concern for seeing to due defense of our Soviet motherland.

At the same time, the Party regards as its sacred duty the further strengthening of the mighty camp of peace, democracy and socialism, further strengthening of the friendship and solidarity of the Soviet people with the great Chinese people, with the working people of all the people's democracies.

22. Our party is the only party in the country. It holds the undivided guiding role in Soviet society. The leadership of the Communist Party is the decisive condition for the stability and firmness of the Soviet system and for all the achievements of our people. At the same time, it should be remembered that the monopoly position of our party, particularly in the conditions of capitalist encirclement, demands high revolutionary vigilance against the intrigues of the class enemy.

As Lenin repeatedly warned, careerists of various kinds attach themselves to the ruling party. It cannot be forgotten, likewise, that enemies of the people, bourgeois degenerates, agents of international imperialism, skillfully disguising themselves as Communists, have tried and will try to penetrate the Party ranks for subversive enemy activity. Hence further increase in the revolutionary vigilance of the Communists and of all the working people is an important task of the Party organizations' political-education work.

23. The entire half-century history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has shown the great importance of the principles of Party leadership and the rules of Party life worked out by Lenin. The Party teaches (us) to apply these laws of Party construction undeviatingly, to observe strictly the supreme principle of Party leadership--collective leadership--and the requirements of the Party Statutes. It is necessary to eradicate from the Party's propaganda work incorrect, un-Marxist treatment of the question of the role of the individual personality in history, a treatment taking the form of propaganda, alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, of the idealistic theory of the cult of the individual leader. The cult of the individual leader contradicts the principle of collective leadership, leads to belittling the role of the Party and of its guiding center and to reducing the creative activeness of the Party masses and of the Soviet people, and has nothing in common with Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the great importance of the leading role played by guiding bodies and the persons in command. The Party bases itself on the fact that only the collective experience and collective wisdom of the Central Committee, resting on the scientific foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory and the broad initiative of the command personnel ensures correct leadership of the Party and country, firm unity and solidarity of the Party ranks and success in building communism in our country.

A powerful means of developing inner Party democracy and improving collective leadership in the struggle against shortcomings and unhealthy phenomena is self-criticism and, particularly, criticism from below. By boldly developing criticism and self-criticism, the Party develops the creative activeness of the Communists and all working people, directs their efforts toward overcoming existing shortcomings and difficulties, and secures a general advance on all sectors of communist construction.

24. A subject of the Party's particular concern is the Marxist-Leninist training of the Communists. Constant growth in the ideological level of Party members and candidates for membership is a decisive condition for enhancing their vanguard role in all spheres of life, for developing the activeness of the Party masses.

In our party's propaganda work it is necessary now more than ever to eliminate a pedantic, dogmatic approach to study of Marxist-Leninist theory. Proceeding from the fact that the Marxist-Leninist theory is not a dogma but a guide to action, the Party demands that the Communists understand the creative nature of Marxism-Leninism, that they learn not isolated formulations and quotations, but the genuine essence of the all-conquering, world-transforming revolutionary theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. The entire history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union teaches us (the importance of) this.

To ignore these propositions, to be neglectful of Marxist-Leninist theory inevitably leads to a narrow, purely business approach, to losing the long view in work. Inability to relate current practical tasks to the fundamental political tasks of the Party, in its struggle for the triumph of communism, unavoidably leads bookworms and narrowly practical persons of this kind to fail in their practical work also.

25. In the circumstances of the gradual transition from socialism to communism, communist education of the working people acquires tremendous importance. It must not be forgotten that the traces of capitalism in people's minds have been far from outlived in our society. We are likewise not insured against the penetration among us of alien views, ideas and attitudes from the capitalist encirclement and from people infected by bourgeois survivals, including survivals of nationalism. The Communist Party sets itself the task of considerably improving the entire work of political education among the masses, of training the Communists and the whole people in faith in the invincibility of the great cause of communism, in unbounded devotion to the Party and the socialist motherland.

The Party regards as its sacred duty the training of the working people in Soviet patriotism and in inviolable friendship of peoples of the U.S.S.R., in proletarian internationalism and the establishment of fraternal ties with the working people of all lands. It is necessary to wage determined battle against manifestations of bourgeois nationalism, against depraved bourgeois ideology.

26. In the sphere of domestic policy the Party considers it one of the most important tasks to continue to manifest untiring concern for maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing requirements of Soviet people. On the foundation of the growth of the national economy, the living standard of the toilers of socialist society will rise steadily and their material and cultural demands will be met more and more bountifully and variegatedly.

In the sphere of foreign policy the Party will continue consistently to pursue the policy of preserving and strengthening peace, the policy of cooperation with all countries and development of business relations with them on the principles of observance of mutual interests. Only stable, prolonged peace among peoples creates the necessary conditions for further uninterrupted development of the socialist economy, for providing a happy and abundant life for the working people of our country.

27. Our Soviet state, the granite foundations of which were laid by the great Lenin, is a mighty weapon in the struggle to establish communism. The Communist Party sets itself the task of further strengthening the multinational Soviet state, strengthening the alliance of working class and peasantry, strengthening friendship of peoples, and thoroughly intensifying

active defense of our motherland against the aggressive acts of its enemies. To strengthen the Soviet state is the patriotic duty and at the same time the sacred internationalist obligation of the working people of our country.

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In close unity with the people, our party is confidently advancing to new victories. The recent July plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union demonstrated with new force the indestructible unity of our Communist Party, its militant preparedness to carry out the tasks facing it in domestic and foreign policy.

Under the banner of Leninism, under the leadership of the Communist Party--forward to the triumph of communism!

--Propaganda and Agitation Department of the C.C., C.P.S.U.

--Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute Under the C.C., C.P.S.U.