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SECRET

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Plan for the Collection,

"The First International and the
Modern Workers' Movement (1864-1964)

23 Chapters

Total Size: 35 Printer's Sheets

<u>No</u>	<u>Chapter Title and Size</u>	<u>Prepared By</u>	<u>Due in Editorial Office</u>
1.	Traditions of the First International in the Modern World Workers' Movement. 1 1/2 printer's sheets.	IML [Institute of Marxism-Leninism] under Central Committee CPSU	June 1962
2.	Large-Scale Building of Communism in the USSR -- Implementation of the Ideas of the First International. 2 printer's sheets.	IML under Central Committee CPSU	June 1962
3.	China's Working Class -- Leading Force in the Struggle for the Building of Socialism. 2 printer's sheets.	Institute of History, Communist Party of China	June 1962

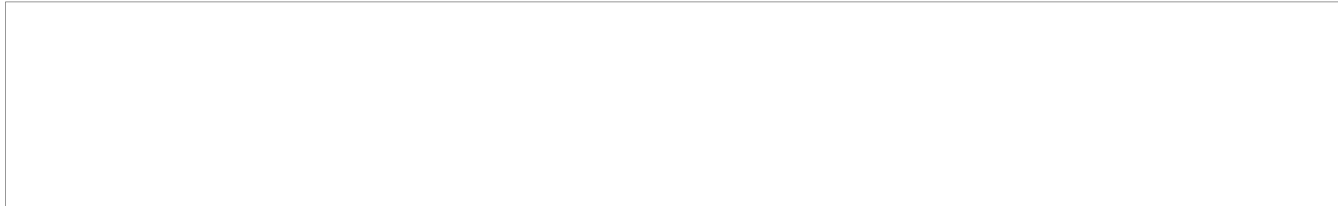
- 1 -

SECRET

<u>No</u>	<u>Chapter Title and Size</u>	<u>Prepared By</u>	<u>Due in Editorial Office</u>
4.	Advanced Outpost of Socialism in the West. 1 printer's sheet.	Institute of History, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia	June 1962
5.	Germany's Working Class in the Struggle for National Unity. 1 1/2 printer's sheets.	IML, Central Committee of SEPG	June 1962
6.	Revolutionary Traditions of the Working Class and the Building of Socialism in Poland. 1 printer's sheet.	Institute of History, PORP	June 1962
7.	Proletarian Internationalism and the Triumph of Socialism in Bulgaria. 1 printer's sheet.	Institute of History, Bulgarian Communist Party	June 1962
8.	The Rumanian Working Class on the Road to the Triumph of Socialism. 1 printer's sheet.	Institute of History, Rumanian Workers Party	June 1962

50X1-HUM

SECRET



<u>No</u>	<u>Chapter Title and Size</u>	<u>Prepared By</u>	<u>Due in Editorial Office</u>
9.	Struggle of the Hungarian Working Class for Socialism. 1 printer's sheet.	Institute of History, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party	June 1962
10.	The Albanian People are Building Socialism. 1 printer's sheet.	Institute of History, Albanian Labor Party	June 1962.

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SECRETPLAN

Essays on the History of the
International Workers' and
Communist Movement (Short
Popular Textbook)

(23 Chapters)

(34 Printer's Sheets)

Introduction

1/2 printer's sheet]

Part I.

The Rise and Development of the International Workers' and Communist
 Movement in the Period of Industrial Capitalism (To the End of the 19th
 Century)

5 printer's sheets

Chapter 1. Formation of the Industrial Proletariat

1/2 printer's sheet

Chapter 2. Rise of the Workers' Movement and Its Transition to an In-
 dependent Revolutionary Struggle Against Capitalistic Exploitation

1/2 printer's sheet

Chapter 3. Rise of the Communist Movement and the Scientific Development
 of Its Principles by K. Marx and F. Engels

2 printer's sheets

Chapter 4. The Paris Commune and Its Significance in the Development
 of the International Workers' and Communist Movement

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Chapter 5. Expansion and Triumph of Marxism In the International
Workers' Movement in the Last Quarter of the 19th Century

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1 1/2 printer's sheets

Part II

The International Workers' and Communist Movement in the Imperialist
Period (1900-November 1917)

5 printer's sheets

Chapter 6. The International Workers' Movement and the Creation of the
Revolutionary Marxist Party in Russia. The Leninist Theory of Socialist
Revolution

1 1/2 printer's sheets

Chapter 7. Influence of the Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution in Russia
(1905-1907) on The Revolutionary Movement in Countries of the West and
East

1 printer's sheet

Chapter 8. The International Workers' Movement in the Struggle Against
the Threat of an Imperialistic World War

1 printer's sheet

Chapter 9. The International Workers' Movement During World War I
(August 1914- November 1917)

1 1/2 printer's sheet

Part III

50X1-HUM

The International Workers' and Communist Movement During the First Stage of the General Crisis of Capitalism, and the Triumph of Socialism in the USSR (November 1917-September 1939)

13 printer's sheets

Chapter 10. The Influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia on the Development of the International Workers' and Communist Movement

1 printer's sheet

Chapter 11. Founding of the Second Communist International on the Platform of Revolutionary Marxism

2 printer's sheets

Chapter 12. Program and Organizational and Tactical Principles of the Communist Movement. The Communists' Struggle for Unity of Action in the Working Class in

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~~2-5~~ printer's sheets

Chapter 13. Formation of the Socialist Workers' International by the Reformists

1 printer's sheet

Chapter 14. The International Workers' and Communist Movement During the Relative Stabilization of Capitalism and the Consolidation of Socialism in the USSR (1924-1928)

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Chapter 15. Rise of the Revolutionary Workers' and National-Liberation
Movement During the World Economic Crisis (1929-1933)

1 printer's sheet

Chapter 16. The Communists' Struggle Against Threats of War and Fascism.
Their Struggle for a United Working-Class Front and a Popular anti-
fascist Front (1934-1935)

1 printer's sheet

Chapter 17. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International

1 printer's sheet

Chapter 18. The International Significance of the Triumph of Socialism
in the USSR

1/2 printer's sheet

Chapter 19. The International Workers' and Communist Movement on the
Eve of World War II (1936-1939)

1 printer's sheet

Part IV

The International Workers' and Communist Movement in the Second Stage
of the General Crisis of Capitalism. The Formation of a World Socialist
Order and the Transition from Socialism to Communism in the USSR
(1939-1960)

10 printer's sheets

- 7 -

SECRET

50X1-HUM

Chapter 20. The International Workers' and Communist Movement During
World War II (September 1939-September 1945)

3 printer's sheets

Chapter 21. Historic World Successes of the International Workers' and
Communist Movement and the Formation of the World Socialist Order
(September 1945-1949)

2 printer's sheets

Chapter 22. The International Workers' and Communist Movement in the
First Years of Competition ~~and~~ ^{and} Struggle Between the Two World Orders
(1950-1955)

2 printer's sheets

Chapter 23. The Contemporary International Workers' and Communist Move-
ment (1956-1960)

3 printer's sheets

Supplement

Conclusion

1/2 printer's sheet

Chronological Table

Bibliography

List of Illustrations

List of Contributors

Total: 34 printer's sheets

SECRET

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PROSPECTUS

Essays on the History of the International

Workers' and Communist Movement

(Short Popular Textbook)

(Jointly Prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the Institutes and Commissions on Party History of the Communist and Workers' Parties)

(Total size: 34 printer's sheets)

Introduction 1/2 printer's sheet

The historic world role of the proletariat and its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties. Laws of development of the international workers' and Communist movement. Features of the development of the workers' movement in countries of Europe, America, Asia, Africa and Australia. Historical stages in the international workers' and Communist movement.

Part I

The Rise and Development of the International Workers' and Communist Movement in the Period of Industrial Capitalism (To the End of the 19th Century)

5 printer's sheets

Chapter 1. Formation of the Industrial Proletariat

1/2 printer's sheet

The rise of capitalist industry in Europe, America, Asia and ^{50X1-HUM} Africa. Creation of the proletariat through destruction of city and rural petty producers. Economic position of the working class and its deprivation of political rights. Irreconcilability of class contradictions in the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Chapter 2. Rise of the Workers' Movement and Its Transition to an Independent Revolutionary Struggle Against Capitalist Exploitation

1/2 printer's sheet

Early forms of the proletarian struggle in England, France, Germany, the US, Russia, China, India, and other countries. Legal trade unions in England. Chartism. The utopian socialism of R. Owens, Charles Fourier, and Saint-Simon. The Lyons revolts of 1831 and 1834 in France. Revolt of the Silesian weavers in 1844. Secret societies. Establishment of international relations in the working class. The international nature of the working class liberation movement. Need for theoretical interpretation of aims, goals, and revolutionary practice in the workers' movement.

Chapter 3. Rise of the Communist Movement and The Scientific Development of Its Principles by K. Marx and F. Engels

2 printer's sheets

The rise of Marxism -- basic turning point in the workers' movement. Rise of the Communist movement -- laws of development of the working class.

K. Marx and F. Engels -- founders of scientific Communism. "The Union^{50X1-HUM} of Communists." "The Communist Party Manifesto" -- program for scientific Communism. The working class in the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848-1849. Marx on the sessions of the workers' movement during these years. The struggle of K. Marx and F. Engels to create a proletarian party and the international unity of the working class after the birth of the revolution in 1848-1849. The establishment and activities of the First International prior to the Paris Commune. The role of the First International in disseminating Marxism in the workers' movement in Europe and America. The struggle of K. Marx and F. Engels against various theories of non-proletarian socialism (Proudhonism, Bakuninism, Trade-Unionism, Lassalleism, etc.). Support of the workers' movement in the national-liberation struggle of the colonial people (The Taipei uprising in China; the Sipi uprising in India) and the struggle against slavery in the US. The world-wide historic significance of K. Marx' Das Kapital.

Chapter 4. The Paris Commune and Its Significance in the Further Development of the International Workers and Communist Movement

1/2 printer's sheet

Historical framework of the declaration of the Paris Commune. The First International and the Paris Commune. Marxist-Leninist classics on the origins, lessons and historical significance of the Paris Commune.

The London Conference of 1871. The Hague Conference of 1872. Ca50X1-HUM for suspending the activities of the First International. The importance of the First International in the history of the international workers' movement.

Chapter 5. The Expansion and Triumph of Marxism in the International Workers' Movement in the Last Quarter of the 19th Century

1 1/2 printed sheets

The rise and ^ddevelopment of working-class political parties on a Marxist basis in Germany, France, England, Austro-Hungary, Italy, and other countries. The role of prominent figures in the workers' movement (A. Bebel, Germany; G. Quelch, England; P. La Fargue, France; E. ^Debbs, US; A. LABRIOLA, Italy; and others) in the organization of the working class revolutionary struggle. Growth of the professional and cooperative ~~Movement~~. Causes of the rise of reformism in the workers' movement. The struggle of K. Marx and F. Engels against reformism. Expansion of Marxism in Russia and G. PLEKHANOV's role in this.

Formation of the Second International. F. Engels' struggle against anarchy and opportunism in the Second International. The London Congress (1895). Anarchists expelled from the Second International. Opportunism's guest (Revisionism) in parties of the Second International. E. Bernstein's addresses in Germany on a frank revision of Marxism Socio-economic causes for the spread of revisionism. The revolutionary Marxists'

SECRET

struggle against revisionism at the close of the 19th Century. T^{50X1}-HUM
role of V. I. Lenin in the spread. of revisionism in the international
workers' movement.

Part II

The International Workers' and Communist Movement in the Imperialist
Period (1900-November 1917)

5 printer's sheets

Chapter 6. The international workers' movement and the creation of the
revolutionary Marxist party in Russia. The Leninist Theory of Socialist
Revolution.

The entry of capitalism into the imperialist stage of development.
Economic and political development of countries in Europe, America, Asia,
and Africa. Increase in imperialist contradictions. The struggle to
redivide the world among imperialist monopolies, and the first imperial-
istic wars.

The struggle of two trends in the international workers' movement
at the beginning of the 20th Century and its reflection on the activity
of the Second International. (The Paris Congress, 1900; the Amsterdam
Congress, 1904). Manifestation of leftist trends in socialist parties
in the Second International ("Tesnyak;" in Bulgaria, Leftists in Germany,
and others).

- 13 -

SECRET

The center of the international revolutionary movement is transferred^{50X1-HUM} to Russia. Lenin on the tasks of the Russian proletariat and its role in the international workers' movement. Establishment of the RSDPR-Communist Party, a new type of party. Lenin and Russian Marxists develop the program, organizational and tactical principles of the Revolutionary Marxist (Communist) Party. The Lenin theory of socialist revolution in the imperialist epoch and its meaning for the further development of the international workers' and Communist movement.

Chapter 7. Influence of the Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution in Russia (1905-1907) on the Revolutionary Movement in Countries of the West and East.

1 printer's sheet

The international workers and national-liberation movement the beginning of the 20th Century.

The bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905-1907 in Russia -- the first people's revolution in the imperialist epoch. The political strike as a proletarian method of struggle. Armed Uprising. The role and significance of the soviets.

Influence of the Russian Revolution on the workers' movement in Germany, France, England, Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, the US, and other countries. The movement of solidarity with the Russian proletariat among the working class of Western countries.

SECRET

Influence of the Russian Revolution on the rise of the national liberation struggle of peoples in Iran, Turkey, China, India, and other Asian countries. Role of leading figures in the workers' and national liberation movements. (Sun Yat-sen, China; San-Katayama, Japan; Tilak, India, and others)

Chapter 8. The international Workers' Movement in the Struggle Against the Threat of an Imperialist World War

1 printer's sheet

Monopolists of capitalist and bourgeois governments prepare for an imperialistic world war. Intensification of the struggle of two trends (revolutionary and opportunistic) in the international workers' movement. Manifestation of centrism -- disguised opportunism -- in the workers' parties. The 1907 Stuttgart Congress of the Second International. Colonial policy of the opportunists (reformists). Lenin exposes colonialism and its ideology. Intensification of direct military and political preparation and the unleashing of the imperialistic world war by the ruling classes and by the parties of the principal imperialistic states. Rise of the workers' and national-liberation movement in Russia, England, Germany, Austro-Hungary, France, US, China, Turkey, and other countries. The Basel Congress (1912) and its manifesto against war. Antimilitary expressions from the working class on the eve of World War I, 1914. Bolshevism's role on the international scene. Lenin's struggle against overt and covert opportunism in the international workers' movement for the unity of the leftist groups in the Second International.

- 15 -
SECRET

Chapter 9. The International Workers' Movement During World War I 50X1-HUM
(August 1914 - November 1917)

1 1/2 printer's sheets

Causes and nature of World War I. Debacle of the Second International -- its disintegration into individual social-chauvinist parties. The conversion of opportunism into social-chauvinism. Deterioration of the economic and political situation of the working class in the belligerent countries. Leftist social-democrats in various countries struggle against social-chauvinism and war (K. Liebknecht and R. LUXEMBURG in Germany G. KIMITROV and V. KOLAROV in Bulgaria, the Tribunists in Holland, et al.). Growth of anti-war tendencies in the working class, peasantry, and broad laboring masses. Imminence of revolutionary crisis in a number of belligerent countries. Strengthening of the position of leftists and revolutionary elements in the workers' movement in various countries in Europe, America, and Asia. Lenin heads the Bolshevik struggle against social-chauvinism and centrism for international unity of the left socialists and internationalists. The conference of internationalists in the Zimmer^Nwald Union. The "Zimmer^wald Left."

Theory and tactics of the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) on problems of war, peace and revolution. The Leninist theory of imperialism. Lenin expands the theory of socialist revolution.

SECRET

Turning in world policy from war, to peace. Maneuvers of the 50X1-HUM- chauvinists and centrists. The February Bourgeois-Democratic

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Chapter 12. Program and Organizational and Tactical Principles of the Communist Movement. The Communists Struggle for Unity of Action in the Working Class

2 1/2 printer's sheets

Unity of aims and missions in the international Communist and workers' movement. The need for unity of principles in the movement.

The program and organizational and tactical principles of the Communist movement as developed by Lenin and the Comintern. Lenin's Book, Left-Wing Communism An Infantile Disorder and its historical significance. Lenin prepares basic documents for the Second Comintern Congress (Theses on National and Colonial Problems, Theses on the Agrarian Problem, Theses on Basic Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International, and Conditions for Admittance Into the Communist International). The Second Comintern Congress and its significance in the history of the Communist movement. The struggle to Strengthen the Communist Parties On the Basis of the "21 Conditions." The Third Comintern Congress. Theses of the IKKI (Executive Committee of the Communist International) on a united front. Establishment of trade-union opposition in a number of countries and the founding of the red Trade-Union International

50X1-HUM

(Profintern). The Communists struggle for unity of action of the working class and for its vital rights against attack by capitalism and fascism. Conference of the Third Internationalists. The Fourth Comintern Congress. Lenin -- Leader of the world revolutionary workers' movement and of the national-liberation and Communist movement.

Chapter 13. Formation of the Socialist Workers' International by the Reformists

1 printer's sheet

Attempts to restore the bankrupt Second International (February 1919). The Amsterdam Trade-Union Congress. Formation of the International Federation of Trade Unions (July 1919). Centrist parties attempt to penetrate the Communist movement. Founding of the Centrist International...

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Chapter 14. The International Workers' and Communist Movement During the Relative Stabilization of Capitalism and the Consolidation of Socialism in the USSR (1924-1928)

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... Struggle for vital working-class rights, for national freedom of the colonial peoples on the basis of strengthening proletarian solidarity and friendly relations among workers in all countries. Struggle against the danger of a new world war and the threat of fascism. Workers' delegations in the Soviet Union.

SECRET

The opportunist policy of rightist leaders in the social-democratic parties, the reformist trade unions and their international organizations. The Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee and the ^ffrustration of its work by rightist leaders in the trade-union and labor parties. rightist leaders in the Socialist Workers' International and the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions spread anti-Communism and ^odeepen the schism in the working class. Communists struggle against rightist social-democratic theories on "organized capitalism."

The Comintern and its sections. The Profintern and the KIM (Communist Youth International) in the struggle to fulfill the international goals of the working class. The Fifth Comintern Congress. Bolshevization (Strengthening) of Communist parties on the basis of Leninist principles in the struggle against Trotsky-ites and Zinovyevists and rightist and "leftist" ⁱdistortions of tactics for a united front. Role of Z. TELMAN, K. GOTTWALD, LENSKIY, and other prominent figures in bolshevizing the Communist parties. The Seventh Expanded Plenum of the IKKI. The Sixth Comintern Congress. The Comintern ^oprogram and its world-wide historic significance.

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Chapter 17. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International ^o

1 printer's sheet

Historic ^decisions of the Seventh Comintern Congress on the struggle ^{50X1-HUM} for a united workers' anti-fascist and popular front. The congress on ways and means for the struggle against fascism. The congress on the increased danger of a new world war and on tasks in the workers' and Communist movement in the struggle against the threat of war. The congress evaluates successes in socialist construction in the USSR. Historical ^significance of the Seventh Congress for the international workers' and Communist movement.

Chapter 18. International Significance of the Triumph of Socialism in the USSR

1/2 printer's sheet

Successful fulfillment of plans for the building of socialism in the USSR. Socialist property. Changes in the class structure of socialist society. The proletariat -- the working class. The peasantry -- a kolkhoz peasantry. The Intelligentsia. The moral-political unity of Soviet society. The preparation and adoption of a new USSR Constitution -- a constitution for a socialist society. Its basic principles on the rights and obligations of ^{equ}citizens, on equality of rights for races and nations, for men and women. International significance of the triumph of socialism in the USSR. Refutation of bourgeois, reformist and revisionist theories on the impossibility of the triumph of socialism in a single undeveloped country, on proletarian incapability to manage state and economic construction. The Soviet Constitution as a model and program for the struggle of the international workers' and communist movement.

- 20 -
SECRET

50X1-HUM

Chapter 19. The International Workers' and Communist Movement On the
Eve of World War II (1936-1939)

1 printer's sheet

The struggle of the Communist parties to fulfill the decisions of the Seventh Comintern Congress. The struggle of the Comintern and of the Communist parties against imperialistic aggression by Italy and Abyssinia. Triumph of the popular front in Spain and France. The fascist mutiny in Spain. Spanish republicans aid the international proletariat in the war against fascism. Rightist leaders of social democracy encourage German-Italian fascist aggression. The Chinese Nation's anti-Japanese war. The CCP Adopts the Program, "Resist Japan and Save the Fatherland."

Support of the international proletariat in the anti-Japanese war of the Chinese People. Munich talks with Hitlerite Germany and fascist Italy by imperialists of England and France. The working-class struggle against the Munich lies and the ~~seizure~~^{seizure} of Austria and Czechoslovakia by fascist Germany. Activity of the political workers' parties, trade unions and other mass organizations in various countries on the eve of World War II. Betrayal of working-class interests by the leadership in the socialist and social-democratic parties. Increase of Communist influence in trade unions. Strengthening of the Communist and Revolutionary Workers' Parties. Transition to an illegal status by Communist parties in a number of countries.

- 21 -

SECRET

50X1-HUM

International working-class organizations on the eve of the war (~~The~~ Communist International, the Red International of Trade Unions and ~~its~~ KIM, the Socialist Workers' International, the International Union of Trade Unions, ~~The~~ Amsterdam International). Their position on problems of the struggle against fascism and the threat of a new world war.

The CPSU -- leading section of the Comintern, organizer of the struggle against fascism and war. The 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) and its significance for the international workers' and Communist movement.

Part IV

The International Workers' and Communist Movement at the Second Stage of the General Crisis in Capitalism. The Formation of a World Socialist Order and the Transition From Socialism to Communism in the USSR (1939-1960)

10 printer's sheets

Chapter 20. The International Workers' and Communist Movement During World War II (September 1939 - September 1945)

3 printer's sheets

Causes and nature of World War II. International working-class organizations' attitude toward war: the Comintern, Socialist Workers International, International Federation of Trade Unions, and others. Attitude toward war of workers' organizations in various countries

SECRET

50X1-HUM

(Communist parties, social-democratic parties, reformist and progressive trade unions). Intensification of fascist terror against the Communist parties and workers in Germany and Italy. Bourgeois governments intensify repressions against the Communist parties in the press (France, England, US and others). Appeal against war by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy; Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France on the struggle for national liberation and restoration of France. Appeal for the creation of a national front. The working class in occupied countries struggles against fascist invasion. Perfidious attacks on the USSR by Hitlerite Germany. Beginning of the Soviet Union's Great Patriotic War. Manifestation of solidarity with the USSR on the part of the working class in various countries (Czechoslovakia, China, Rumania, England, Albania, Poland, Finland, US, Yugoslavia, Philippines, Korea, Indonesia, Burma, Malay, France, Italy, Bulgaria, Germany, and others).

The working class in various countries during the war years. Changes in the structure of the working class. Depréciation of the workers' economic position. Political disfranchisement of workers in countries occupied by fascist German and Japanese troops. The enslaved peoples struggle against the invaders. The working class heads the anti-fascist struggle.

The CPSU -- leader and organizer of the Soviet people's struggle against fascism; inspirer of the international struggle for the freedom and independence of peoples subjected to fascist and Japanese imperialist

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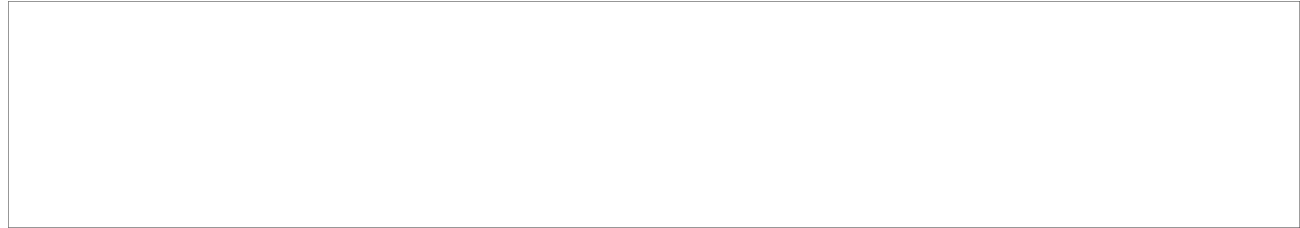
occupation. The Communist and workers' parties head the resistance ^{50X1-HUM} movement against fascist imperialist aggression and for the union of national progressive forces for the national liberation of peoples. Communist ~~Heroes~~ in the anti-fascist struggle: SEMAR, YU. FU-CHIN, SHVERMA, and others [names unclear]. Increase of authority in the Communist and workers' parties in capitalist and colonial countries. Cessation of the activities of the Communist International and the reasons therefor:

Rightist leaders in social-democratic and reformist trade unions lose influence with the masses as a result of their concurring and capitulating policy relative to fascism and imperialism.

Decline and cessation of activities of the Socialist Workers' International and of the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions. Cessation of activities of the International Industrial Secretariat and the International Labor Organization.

Creation of a premise for achieving unity in the world workers' movement. The role of Soviet Army triumphs on the fronts in strengthening the working-class struggle. The CPSU and Soviet trade unions head the struggle for working-class unity. Anglo-Soviet and Franco-Soviet trade-union committees. International Conference of Trade Unions in London (February 1945)

Prominent role of the international workers' and Communist movement in routing the fascist aggressors.



Chapter 21. Historic World Successes of the International Worker^{50X1-HUM}
Communist Movement and the Formation of a World Socialist Order (September
1945-1949)

2 printer's sheets

Results of World War II, and the working class. Defeat of aggressive forces of fascism and Japanese imperialism. Basic changes in the correlation of forces between capitalism and socialism for the benefit of socialism. The formation of a world system of socialism -- a historic triumph of the international workers' and Communist movement. The national-liberation struggle of peoples in Asia, Africa, the Near East, and Latin America. The disintegration of imperialism's colonial system and the creation of independent states in Asia and Africa. The historic world significance of the formation of the People's Republic of China. Formation of united political parties of the working class and successes in the building of socialism in countries in the socialist order (Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, GDR, CPR, KPDR, MPR, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia). Successes in the restoration and development of the national economy in the USSR Manifestation of general conformity to laws in the building of socialism. Affirmation of the universality of the conclusions of Marxism-Leninism.

The position and struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries (Europe, America, Asia, Africa). Struggle for unity of the international workers' movement on the basis of general demands of the working class (peace, democracy, improved standards of living, socialism).

SECRET

Role of the working class in the activities of international progressive organizations (World Federation of Trade Unions, International Democratic Federation of Women, Movement of the Partisans of Peace, World Peace Council, World Union of Participants in the Resistance Movement, and others).

50X1-HUM

Dissident policy of the rightist leadership in the social-democratic parties and the reformist trade unions in the international workers' movement. The revisionists in the Communist and workers' parties. Committee of International Socialist Conferences (Komisko) and its transformation into a Socialist International. International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions. International Union of Christian Trade Unions. Autonomous trade unions.

Information bureau of some Communist and workers' Parties and the Newspaper, Za Prochnyy Mir, Za Narodnuyu Demokratiyu! (For a Lasting Peace, For Peoples Democracy!). Strengthening of the solidarity of Marxist-Leninist parties and the unity of the world Communist movement. The international workers' and Communist movement struggles against the "Position of Strength" policy, the Marshall Plan and the imperialist bloc (NATO). Exposure of revisionist trends in some Communist parties (Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Others).

Chapter 22. The International Workers' and Communist Movement in the First Years of the Competition and Struggle of the Two World Orders (1950-1955)

2 printer's sheets

SECRET

Economic and political situation of the working class in the socialist^{50X1-HUM} ist, capitalist and national-independent (formerly colonial) countries of the world. Growth of the strike movement in capitalist countries. Intensification of the national-liberation struggle of peoples in colonial and semi-colonial countries. Strengthening of the moral-political unity of peoples in the socialist countries. American aggression in Korea. Powerful movement of the supporters of peace against imperialist aggression in Korea, Vietnam, Malay, Indonesia and other countries. Strengthening...

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Chapter 23. The Contemporary International Workers' and Communist Movement (1956-1960)

3 printer's sheets

Role of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the 14th FCP Congress; the 8th CCP Congress, and other party congresses in strengthening the unity of the international workers' and Communist movement. Intensifying the struggle against bourgeois ideology, modern revisionism, dogmatism, and sectarianism. Strengthening relations among fraternal Communist and workers' parties. Improving prospects for the restoration and development of unity in the world workers' movement.

Failure of imperialists' attempts to promote an extensive attack against the forces of progress: Anglo-Franco-Israeli Aggression against Egypt (1956); counterrevolutionary attacks in Poland and the CPR; the counterrevolutionary revolt in Hungary. Unanimous repudiation by revolutionary forces of the working class and peace-loving democratic forces

50X1-HUM

of reactionary attempts of imperialism and revisionism to hinder progressive development.

Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow (November 1957). Declaration of the Communist and workers' parties in 12 socialist countries -- a program of the modern Communist movement. Acknowledgement of the truth in Marxist-Leninist principles. Formulation of basic laws of socialist construction. Approval of the declaration by all Marxist-Leninist Communist and workers' Parties. The Peace Manifesto. Consolidation of forces and struggle of the Communist and workers' parties against imperialist ideology and revisionism and for purging and strengthening their ranks. Ideological defeat and isolation of the revisionist elements.

The 21st Congress of the CPSU - a congress on the development of the building of Communism in the USSR. Successes of countries in the socialist system and the crisis of the ~~Capitalist~~ Countries of 1957-1958. Significance of the 21st Congress of the CPSU for the further development of the world workers' and Communist movement. Increase in party membership and solidarity of the ranks in the Communist and workers' parties. Strengthening of fraternal bonds between the communist and workers' parties. Intensifying the struggle for the unity of the working class. The united front of Communists and socialists in local organizations of the working class. Strengthening of unity and solidarity in the workers' and national-liberation movement. Tasks of the international workers' and Communist movement under new conditions.

SECRET

Conclusion

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Result of the struggle and triumph of the international workers' and Communist movement -- the formation of a world socialist order. The transition to Communism in the USSR. Completion of the building of socialism in a number of countries. Growth of the power and solidarity of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Communist and workers' parties. Evidence of the superiority of socialism over capitalism. The international significance of the lawlike regularity of Socialist construction formulated by the Communist and workers' parties.

Supplement

1. Chronological Table
2. Literature (what to read on the history of the international workers' and Communist movement).
3. List of Illustrations.
4. List of Contributors.

List of Contributors

Introduction and Conclusion-Editorial Committee

Chapter 1 -- Higher School of the Trade Union Movement, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions

Chapter 2 -- Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Socialist Unity Party of Germany

SECRET

Chapter 3 -- Institute of Marxism-Leninism Under the Central Committee CPSU

Chapter 4 -- Committee on the History of the French Communist Party

Chapter 5 -- Institute of History, Academy of Sciences USSR

Chapter 6 -- IML Under the Central Committee CPSU (Sector of CPSU History)

Chapter 7 -- Institute of Party History, Communist Party Czechoslovakia

Chapter 8 -- Committee on History Communist Party of Great Britain

Chapter 9 -- Institute of History, Academy of Sciences, USSR

Chapter 10 -- Institute of Party History, Bulgarian Communist Party

Chapter 11 -- IML Under the Central Committee CPSU

Chapter 12 -- IML Under the Central Committee CPSU

Chapter 13 -- Committee on History, Communist Party of Austria

Chapter 14 -- Institute of History, Communist Party of China

Chapter 15 -- Gramsci Institute

Chapter 16 -- Committee on History, Communist Party of France

Chapter 17 -- IML Under the Central Committee CPSU

Chapter 18 -- Institute of History, Communist Party CP-China

Chapter 19 -- Institute of History, Polish United Workers Party

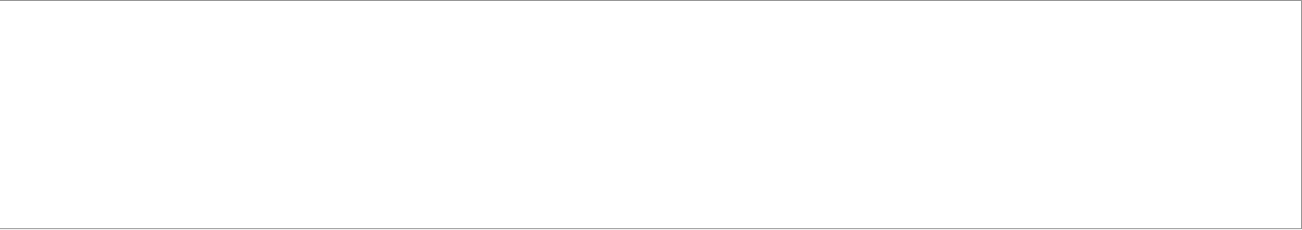
Chapter 20 -- IML Under the Central Committee CPSU

Chapter 21 -- Institute of History, Communist Party of China

Chapter 22 -- Institute of History, Socialist Workers Party of Hungary

Chapter 23 -- IML Under the Central Committee CPSU

- 30 -
SECRET

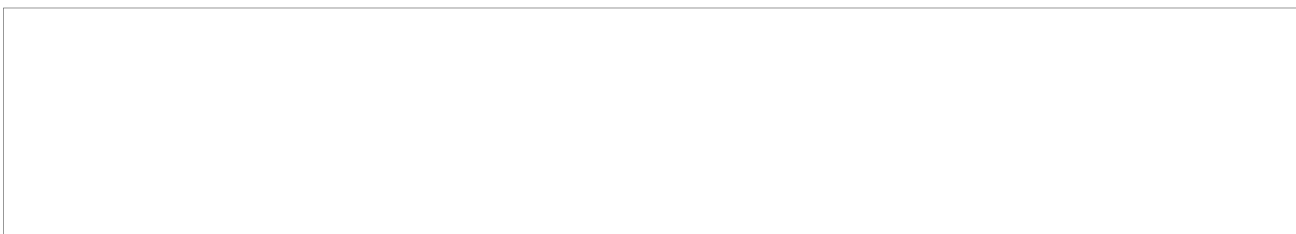


List of Photographs

50X1-HUM

1. K. Marx
2. F. Engels
3. V. I. Lenin
4. First International (Congress) -- 2
5. Second International (Congress -- 3
6. Third Communist International (Congress) - 5
7. G. V. PLEKHANOV
8. E. DEBBS
9. A. Bebel
10. K. LIEBKNECHT
11. E. TELMAN
12. P. LAFARGUE
13. J. JAURES
14. M. KASHEN
15. G. Quelch
16. T. MANN
17. SAN- KATAYAMA
18. G. KIMITROV
19. K. GOTTWALD
20. B. KUN
21. I. Sirola
22. Tilak

SECRET



List of Photographs

50X1-HUM

- 23. LENSKIY
- 24. L. REED
- 25. A. LABRIOLA
- 26. A. GRAMSHI
- 27. SUN YAT- SEN
- 28. LI TA- CHOW

Total: 35

SECRET

Problems Proposed for Discussion in the Exchange

50X1-HUM

of Experience by the Institutes During the Afternoons of the Conference

Proposals of the Institute of Party History of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party:

1. The problem of determining periods.
2. The problems of closer collaboration among the institutes.
3. The problems of methods of working with document repositories.
4. Certain problems relating to the publication of primary-source documents (document collection).
5. Problems of historical journals [Translator's Note: or surveys] and the like.

Proposals of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the German United Socialist Party:

1. Improved collaboration among the libraries and document repositories of Soviet bloc institutes (including the exchange of source materials, microfilms, photographs, and the like).
2. Exchange of experience gained in editing the works of V.I. Lenin in each of the various countries.
3. Improved collaboration and more thoroughgoing exchange of experience on editing the works of Marx and Engels.

SECRET

4. Problems of reciprocal exchange of scientific collaborators, assistants, and the like. 50X1-HUM

5. Problems encountered in working on journals [or surveys] of the institutes.

6. Problems and experience associated with the publication of documents and source materials concerning party and labor-movement history.

7. Methods of and experience in coordinating research and publications relative to problems of Party and labor-movement history.

8. Experience in developing and organizing the fields of history of the international labor movement, in conformity with the recommendations of the Berlin Conference of October 1958.

9. The first exchange of views on the outline of the projected handbook of history of the international labor movement, as presented by the Soviet comrades.

10. Certain problems concerning the preparations for the publication of a volume of documents entitled "The Influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the Countries of Central and Southeastern Europe."

11. Experience in the coordination of research dealing with the history of the party and of the labor movement.

Proposals of the Institute of Party History of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers's Party:

1. Publication of party documents.

2. Publication of historical journals [or surveys].

3. Problems of working with document repositories.

4. Current problems in the preparation of handbooks of Party history.

50X1-HUM

Discussion of the following problems has been recommended to the chiefs of delegations by the Institute of Party History of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party:

1. The outline of the projected handbook of the international labor movement, presented by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU.
2. Publication of party documents.
3. Exchange of views concerning the publishing of historical periodicals [or surveys].
4. Collaboration among the libraries and document repositories of Soviet-bloc institutes (exchange of source materials, microfilms, photographic copies, and the like).
5. Certain problems involved in the preparations for publication of a volume of documents entitled "Influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the Countries of Central and Southeast Europe."
6. The editing of the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

If time permits, the chiefs of the delegations will select other topics for discussion as well.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKER PARTIES FOR THE UNITY
OF THE WORKING CLASS

50X1-HUM

(Report on the first topic of the agenda presented by Comrade Gheorghe Vasilichi.)

The unity of the working class is a basic prerequisite for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the building of socialism and capitalism. This has been, and still is, one of the most important tasks of the international workers' movement.

The Declaration of the Congress of Communist and Worker Party Delegates in Moscow in 1957 was of historical importance and basic to the unity of the international workers' movement. This document stressed above all the need and importance of the unity of the working class in the struggle for an improvement of living conditions, for the defense and development of democratic acquisitions, and for peace and socialism.

In order to carry out the important tasks which are demanded of the Communist and worker parties, tasks which are important in the struggle for peace and democracy and for the attainment of political power, the declaration states that "it is necessary to attain not only a union of the Communist and worker parties but also a union of the entire working class."

The significant historical changes which took place after World War II, as well as the present radical changes in the relationship of forces on a world-wide scale in favor of socialism, are permitting the proletariat, led by the Marxist-Leninist party, on the basis of a single front and

50X1-HUM

SECRET

other forms of political collaboration between various parties and

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50X1-HUM

.... By carefully analyzing the laws which govern the capitalist system, Karl Marx and Fr. Engels worked out the thesis concerning the role to be played by the proletariat as the grave-digger of capitalism. They showed that in order to accomplish this mission the proletariat must organize its own independent political party and attain unity in its ranks.

In 1872, Marx wrote in the "General Statute of the International Association of Workers" that the unity of the proletariat "is indispensable to ensure the victory of the social revolution and to attain its final goal, namely the abolition of classes." (Karl Marx-Fr. Engels: Selected Works, in 2 volumes, Vol. ESPLP 1955, II-e, ed., page 400).

The establishment and activity of the First International represented an expression of the unity of the working class in Europe in its common struggle against capitalism. As founders and leaders of the First International, Marx and Engels denounced the non-proletarian spirit of various groups which even at that time influenced the working class (Proudhonism, Blanquism, anarchism, Lassellienism). Marx and Engels fought to attain the unity of the proletariat on revolutionary foundations.

Marx and Engels watched closely over the development of the worker movement and socialist parties and fought the attempts of certain leaders of these parties to skirt the basic problems on the pretext of maintaining the unity of forces of the proletariat (Critique of the Gotha program).

The establishment of the Second International affirmed the idea of the unity and of the growing strength of the proletariat on a national and international scale. Since its activity had now entered into the imperialist phase of capitalism, the opportunist and revisionist currents in the ranks of the socialist parties receded. On the pretext of conserving "at any price" the unity of the socialist parties, the elements of the "center" and even certain elements of the left ceded to opportunistic pressures which resulted in flagrant violations of the Marxist revolutionary line, and the socialist parties were seriously in danger of being transformed into docile tools of the bourgeoisie. This false method in understanding and cultivating "unity" resulted in the weakening of the socialist parties and in the failure of the Second International.

By applying Marxist theory and practice during the period of imperialism, V. I. Lenin gave particular importance to the problem of unity of the working class.

Lenin teaches us that "the working class needs unity. Unity is extremely precious and important to the working class. Disunited workers are worth nothing. United they are everything." (V. I. Lenin: Works, Vol. 19. page 515)

This unity took on special importance as the problem of the proletarian revolutions and the preparation of the proletariat for taking over power became the order of the day.

In the face of unified force with which capitalism confronted the working class, in the face of the resurgence of the "reactionary forces all along the line," and in the face of the aggressiveness of the exploit-

SECRET

ing classes, the proletariat had all the more need for a unified force and an even more solid organization.

V. I. Lenin revealed the great need to establish a new type of revolutionary-Marxist party capable of grouping in its ranks the working class. He also showed the need for a strict control of the opportunistic currents.....

50X1-HUM

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..... proletariat by the bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology, the divisive activities of the bourgeoisie, as well as the existence of a worker aristocracy in the imperialist order gave birth to various reformist and opportunist currents and groups in the ranks of the proletariat and thus weakened its forces. In this way the economic and political domination of the exploiting classes was facilitated.

With this situation in mind, Leninist teachings contain important and up-to-date directives for the realization of the unity of action of the working class by means of concluding agreements and setting up blocs together with organizations to which the proletarian masses belong.

The Leninist thesis on the unity of the working class demands as attentive and friendly an attitude as possible toward those workers who have a place in the revolutionary struggle but who do not as yet share the advanced revolutionary ideas and are bound by backward ideas. Lenin appreciated the experiments of revolutionary members of socialist parties of Western nations who showed just such an attitude toward worker members of Catholic unions and "did not spurn them with a scornful attitude regarding their religious or political prejudices; but with perseverance, tact, and patience used every action of the political and economic struggle to enlighten them and to bring them closer to the proletariat on the basis

of the common struggle. (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 8, ESPLP 1955, page 507).^{50X1-HUM}

The ententes, agreements, and common fronts for carrying out immediate actions of a local and limited nature which were undertaken by the revolutionary party of the proletariat together with the workers belonging to various groups still under the influence of other currents, constitute an important step on the way to the realization of complete unity of the working class. They also constitute a step toward the final goal of attaining political power. By carrying out such a policy, the revolutionary party of the working class maintains its political and organizational independence and never for a moment loses sight of the final goal, i. e., the attainment of political power. In their united actions, directed against the exploiters and the governmental power, the workers are acquiring rich political experience, and recognize the Marxist-Leninist party as their sole and true leader. They realize that the revolutionary struggle for the attainment of power is the only way to be freed from exploitation and oppression.

II

The experience of history has fully confirmed the truth of the doctrine expounded by Marxist-Leninist classic writers concerning the need and importance of the unity of the working class in the struggle for the attainment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the establishment of a society without exploitation.

The unity of the working class on the foundations of revolutionary principles was fully confirmed by the Great October Socialist Revolution which opened a new era in the history of humanity and brought about a radical change in the liberation struggle of the workers of all the countries

of the world.

Under the talented leadership of Lenin, the Bolshevik party undertook a gigantic political and organizational task which convinced ^{50X1-HUM} working masses of the correctness of the Leninist revolutionary line. By crushing the Mensheviks, the revolutionary socialists, and other opportunistic currents, it succeeded in winning over the majority of the working class.... [page 8 missing]

..... of France, Italy, the US, and many other countries have struggled against the interventionist activities of the ruling classes.

At the same time, revolutionary detachments from various countries (China, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania) fought beside the Red Armies for the defense of the revolution and thus contributed to the defense of the Soviet Power.

In reference to the special importance of the solidarity of the world proletariat with the Soviet Power, V. I. Lenin said, "... It is exactly this support and sympathy shown to us by the working masses -- the workers, peasants, farmers -- of the entire world, even of countries which have been most hostile to us; it is exactly this support and this sympathy which have constituted the final and most decisive reason why all attacks against us have failed." (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol.33, ESPLP, 1957, page 131).

The Great October Socialist Revolution constituted a historic victory of Marxism-Leninism over reformism and revisionism -- a victory which had great influence over the worker movements of all countries. In the light of the teachings of the proletarian revolution of Russia, the revolutionary groups of a number of countries undertook to establish

Communist parties under revolutionary conditions, under the direct influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and as a result of the long struggle against opportunism and reformism. The Third Communist International was established in March 1919 on the initiative, and under the direction, of Lenin.

"The historic importance of the Third Communist International is that it began to translate into fact the magnificent slogan of Marx, a slogan which constitutes the development of socialism and of the worker movement, a slogan which finds its expression in the thought: "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat." (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol 29, ESPLP, page 291).

The great political struggles carried out by the proletariat in numerous countries during the period of the revolutionary upsurge following the Great October Socialist Revolution revealed the importance of the unity of action of the working class in the struggle for the attainment of political power as well as the need for denouncing without pity opportunism within the worker movement, as being the main obstacle to the struggle of the proletariat for power. The rightist socio-democratic leaders who tried to prevent the ideological enlightenment of the proletariat, and who tried to put a halt to the revolutionary struggles of the masses, have openly violated the will -- clearly expressed by more advanced workers -- to establish Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties, and have split the worker movement. The split in the international worker movement was the main cause which brought about the failure of the heroic struggles of the proletariat of Europe to attain power (Hungary, Slovakia, Germany, Italy, Bulgaria) and perpetuated capitalism.

SECRET

From the time they began to be active, the Marxist-Leninist parties assumed the historic task of bringing about the unity of the working class. On the initiative of V. I. Lenin, the Third Congress of the Communist International prepared the tactics of the united front as the main form for the mobilization of the proletarian masses in the struggle against the worsening of the exploitation of the workers and for the development of future revolutionary struggles.

The Communist parties undertook activities to realize the unity of action of the working class to confront the offense unleashed by the employers, and to combat fascism and preparations for an imperialistic war. Although a number of successes were realized in the struggle for the attainment of the unity of action of the working class, they were not sufficient to prevent Hitlerism from coming to power nor to prevent fascism from taking over in several European countries. The Social-Democrats of the right who prevented the realization of the unity of the working class bear the main responsibility for the establishment of fascism in Germany and in other countries.

At the urging of the Communist parties, the working masses in many countries, acting in unity above the heads of the Social Democrat leaders of the right, put up a front against the offensive unleashed by the forces of fascism and war. In 1934, the united action of the French working class, in which the Communist party played a decisive role; the heroic struggles of the workers in Vienna against the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in Austria; the labor strikes of the Spanish proletariat which were converted into armed uprisings; and the international solidarity of the

SECRET

workers manifested on the occasion of the Leipzig trials are only a few examples of the heroic struggle carried out by the European proletariat against fascism and war on the basis of a united front. 50X1-HUM

The heroic struggles of the railroad and petroleum workers of Rumania in January-February 1933, which were led by the Communist Party of Rumania, constitute an integral part of the struggles carried out by the international worker class against fascism. By taking the defense of the vital interests of the broad masses of the people who were struck down by the crisis, by rising up against the fascist offensive in Rumania, the railroad and petroleum workers, led by the Communist Party of Rumania, carried out a united action by going above the heads of the Social-Democrat leaders of the right. The fact that the labor unions which up until then were under [page 12 missing]

. . . . between the two world wars. The heroic struggles, in January-February 1933, of the railroad and petroleum workers, led by the Communist Party of Rumania, constituted a resounding confirmation of the united front tactics.

The Communist International analyzed the struggles of the Rumanian workers and commented as follows: "The struggles of February, led by the Communist Party and by the revolutionary labor unions, which relied on the united front proved not only the tremendous authority and great influence of the party but also its bond with the broad proletarian masses.

SECRET

Through being strengthened the party cleared the way toward the ^{50X1-HUM} most important proletarian masses which it trained and led to the struggle. (Citations taken from Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej: Articles and Speeches. 4th edition; ESPLP 1955, page 618).

The heroic struggles of the railroad and petroleum workers in 1933, led by the Communist Party of Rumania, which had the support of a large international movement, barred the way for the time being to the establishment ^{of} /fascism in Rumania. They also constituted the first resolute affirmation of the antifascist struggle of the proletariat of Europe following fascism's advent to power in Germany.

By continuing with perseverance its work for the realization of the unity of action in the period of time which followed, the Communist party made numerous offers to the Social-Democrat Party to extend the united front. In a statement made to the new Executive Committee of the Social-Democrat Party on 1 November 1935, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Rumania showed that it was ready to sign an agreement, even though limited in nature, and pointed out at the same time that "the proletariat is prevented from exercising its real role because of its division into various organizations and parties. Proletarian unity, trade union unity, unity of action, and political unity, real total unity of all the proletariat, acting as one single class action, one single central professional organization, one single political party, united under the banner of the struggle of the classes

SECRET

against capitalism -- this is the best guarantee of success of the antifascist people's front in the struggle for the destruction of fascism." (Documents from the History of the Communist Party of Rumania, 1934-1937, Vol 4, page 313). 50X1-HUM

Despite actions hostile to unity, carried out by the leaders of the Social-Democrat Party which rebuffed these propositions, the Communist Party succeeded in developing united activities of the working class and realized, together with certain organizations of the Social-Democrat Party, a democratic coalition which had some success in the by-elections of 1936-1937.

The Seventh Congress of International Communism constituted a turning point in the struggle of the Communist parties for the realization of the unity of the working class. The Congress underlined that the most important task of the international worker movement was the realization of the united worker front, both as a basis for the realization of the antifascist popular front and the anti-imperialist national front. By determining as an immediate task the struggle for the realization of unity of action of the working class, the Congress stressed that the task of the Communists was to struggle for the realization of a single party of the working class on revolutionary bases.

SECRET

By underlining the responsibility which fell on the Social-Democrat leaders of the right for preventing the realization of the unity ^{50X1-HUM} action of the working class, the Congress showed the Communist parties the need for fighting the leftist and sectarian methods which made more difficult the struggle for the realization of the united front.

Keeping in mind the specific conditions of each individual country, depending on the degree of maturity of the working class, the Communist parties placed themselves at the head of the struggle in order to realize unity of action, as a basis for the concentration of all the people's forces in a broad common front against fascism and war.

In France, the heroic French Communist Party, which had rich experience in the struggle for the establishment of a united front, succeeded in making the unity of action of the proletariat the powerful frame of the antifascist people's front.

The unification of the trade union movement in March 1936 considerably increased the forces of the united working class. The increase of the number of organized workers from one million to 5 million within 9 months was quite edifying. The correctness of the political line of the popular front of the French Communist Party was once again verified by the results of the elections of April-May 1936 which resulted in the creation of a parliamentary majority of the popular front.

SECRET

In Spain, the realization of the unity of action of the working people constituted the basis for the regrouping of the antifascist^{50X1-HUM} democratic forces of the country and the establishment of the anti-fascist popular front in the beginning of 1936. The establishment of the popular front permitted the Spanish people to make an immediate and determined counter-attack on the dark forces of the Spanish reaction which were inspired and supported directly by Hitler Germany and by Fascist Italy. This unity of the working class constituted the basis for the heroic struggles of the Spanish people during the entire 32 months of war for its national independence and for the defense of democratic freedoms.

Success in establishing popular fronts was also noted in other countries such as Mexico, Chile, etc.

In China in 1937, the national, anti-imperialist front against the Japanese invaders was formed under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The rightist leaders of the Social Democratic parties sabotaged the agreements aiming at the formation of a single front, both in France and in Spain, and supported the "conciliation" policy of the large capitalist countries toward Hitler Germany and militarist Japan, thus undermining the struggle of the people against fascism and the danger of war. Their refusal to follow the "unity of action" line with the Communists was costly to the working class and the Social Democrats, and in the end they were destroyed.

Such events occurred in Italy, and especially in Germany. The absence of unity of the working class permitted aggressive fascism^{50X1-HUM} to start the Second World War. The Communist parties in the countries invaded by the Germans (Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Belgium, France, Yugoslavia, etc.) proceeded to organize the struggle of the entire people against the occupiers, for liberty and national independence.

The Great Patriotic War and the response of the heroic Soviet people to its challenge, the monolithic unity of the people around the Communist Party which was demonstrated under the harsh conditions of war, and the historic victories of the Soviet armies against the German invaders, gave a powerful impetus to the struggle of anti-fascist, patriotic forces, strengthened the confidence of the proletariat of all countries in its own forces, and spurred the struggle for the unity of action of the working class.

In drawing up the anti-Hitler, patriotic platforms, the Communist parties appealed, in the first place, to Socialist workers to cooperate in their implementation. On the initiative of the Communist parties, the Communist, Socialist, Catholic, anarchist, and trade union workers combined their forces to liberate their countries from the yoke of the fascist invaders. In the heat of the struggles conducted by the subjugated peoples, led by the proletariat, against fascism and war and for national liberation, the authority and mobilizing force of the Communist parties, (the only parties unswervingly internationalist and patriotic) increased.

In the anti-fascist struggle for national liberation, the efforts of the Communists to bring about a united front, the basis of the anti-Hitler patriotic fronts, were intensified in many countries. 50X1-HUM

In this struggle the left wing of Social Democratic parties was strengthened, and the conditions for cooperation between Communists and Socialists were established.

The historic world importance of the victory of the Soviet Union in the Second World War lay also in the fact that it resulted in a strong increase, internationally, in the aspirations to the unity of action of the working class. The historic liberating mission carried out by the Soviet Union during the Second World War established favorable conditions so that in a series of European and Asian countries the people, under the direction of the Communist parties, were able to take their fate into their own hands. The united struggle of the proletariat, directed by the Communist parties, was the decisive factor in the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, in the popular revolutions, and in the installation of peoples' democracies in these countries. It was the basis of the alliance between the working class and the laboring peasantry and the large democratic fronts formed under the direction of the proletariat. The unity of action of the working class assured its hegemony in the popular revolution.....(page 18 missing.)

The formation of single parties was a decisive factor in the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the victorious advance of the socialist revolution in the people's democracies; it also

was an important victory in the struggle of the working class of the whole world for the unity of its ranks. That signified the final and complete victory of Leninism over reformism and opportunism within the working movement of these countries and constituted a blow at international reformism, narrowing the sphere of activity of the rightist Social Democrats and enlarging and strengthening the support by the masses of the united, revolutionary, working movement for the victory of the forces of peace, democracy, and socialism.

In Romania, during the popular revolution which began with the armed insurrection of 23 August 1944, the unity of action of the working class constituted the basis of all revolutionary changes, which resulted in taking political power from the hands of the exploiting classes and installing the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the revolutionary changes of the first stage of the popular revolution and in the struggle against the exploiting classes and against the rightist Social Democrats, the unity of action of the working class was continually strengthened and developed. The result was the formation in February 1948 of the single party of the working class, the Romanian Workers' Party, the expression of the complete unity of the Romanian working class based on Marxism-Leninism.

The complete unity of the working class was preceded by the formation on 1 May 1944, during the war and the fascist military dictatorship, of the Workers' United Front, through the agreement made between the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party. The formation of the Workers' United Front, the result of prolonged efforts of the Communists and leftist Social Democrats, strengthened the combative capacity of the working class

and allowed it to carry out successfully its role as the directing force in the struggle to overthrow the fascist military dictatorship, to take Romania out of the anti-Soviet war, to make Romania turn its arms ^{against} _{50X1-HUM} Nazi Germany, and to establish a people's democracy.

Following the victory of the armed insurrection of 23 August 1944, which marked the beginning of the popular revolution in our country, on 1 September of the same year the working class of Romania took a new step toward achieving its unity. Following the formation of the Workers' United Front, the labor unions, which had been liquidated by the fascist dictatorship, were reformed on the basis of the principles of the class struggle and proletarian internationalism. The labor movement soon won the support of the majority of wage earners of businesses and institutions.

The cooperation of Communists and Social Democrats within the single labor movement, their joint struggle to support the anti-Hitler war, to satisfy the daily demands of workers, and to fight against speculation and economic sabotage, and their struggle against the employer class to carry out agrarian reform in a revolutionary manner -- all these factors constituted the basis of the consolidation of the unity of action of the working class.

The united working class, allied with the laboring peasantry, succeeded in grouping around it all social forces interested in the victory of the revolution on the basis of a democratic platform drawn up by the Romanian Communist Party and adopted also by the Social Democratic Party. In addition, the working class succeeded in forming in October 1944 the National Democratic Front (the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Laborers' Front, the Union of Hungarian Workers, the labor

SECRET

unions, and other democratic organizations) .

The supremacy of the working class, headed by the Romanian Communist Party and the profitable cooperation between the latter and the Social Democratic Party to carry out the tasks of the revolution, represented the essential factor in the installation of a people's democracy.

With the installation on 6 March 1945 of the democratic government, the working class represented the directing force. It thereby opened new perspectives for the strengthening and development of its unity, considered as a premise for the transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In October 1945, during the struggle for the consolidation of the people's democracy, the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party called upon the entire working class to fight for total unity. "The realization of the Single Workers' Party," stressed the resolution of the National Conference, "will considerably increase the political influence of the workers and will further strengthen the unity of democratic forces.

The slogan, "the Single Workers' Party" met a strong response from the ranks of the entire working class, which, at a number of meetings, demonstrated its resolve to work for this goal.

After the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party, the rightist Social Democratic elements, who, under the pressure of the masses had been forced to accept temporary cooperation within the Workers' United Front, intensified their attacks against the unity of the working class, especially during the preparation for the parliamentary elections of November 1946. The attempts of the rightist Social Democrats to break up the unity of action of the working class and that of democratic forces,

under the slogan of participation in the elections on separate lists, were denounced and thwarted. At the congress of the Social Democratic Party held in March 1946, the leftist Social Democrats, who formed the 50X1-HUM overwhelming majority of the delegates, isolated and drove from this party the principal rightist Social Democratic elements headed by Titel Petrescu, thereby strengthening the Workers' United Front.

Led by the Romanian Communist Party, the democratic forces combined in the Bloc of Democratic Parties, directed by the united working class, crushed the National Peasant Party (Maniu) and the National Liberal Party (Bratianu), which were the principal reactionary forces of the exploiting classes, and won an overwhelming majority in the new parliament. The cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats in the parliament was utilized by them to consolidate and extend the revolutionary accomplishments of the workers.

The continued strengthening of the Communist Party, the multilateral cooperation from top to bottom between the Romanian Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party in the government and parliament, in the committees of the united front, and in the labor unions, as well as the united struggle of the working class for the implementation of measures for the reconstruction and development of the national economy and for the consolidation of the people's democracy, have further increased the Communist Party's prestige and have helped to promote more quickly the political consciousness of the working-class and to mature it for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Toward the end of 1947, the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party undertook the formation of a single working-class party, based on

SECRET

a joint platform drawn up in complete agreement and in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist principles. That considerably increased the directing force of the proletariat in the revolution and helped to accelerate ^{the} rate of revolutionary changes, which led in November 1947 to the elimination from the government of the last bourgeois representatives and, finally, (on 30 December 1947, to the elimination from the government of the last bourgeois representatives and, finally,) on 30 December 1947, to the abolition of the monarchy. Romania became a popular republic and a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The constitutive congress of the Romanian Workers' Party, which was held from 21 to 23 February 1948, established the complete political and ideological unity and organization of the Romanian working class.

As Comrade Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej stated, the realization of a lasting unity of the working class and the unification of its parties in a single workers' party, on the basis of the full recognition of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the experience of the Bolshevik Party, constitute our most important victory.

III.

The great force of attraction which socialism exercised even when the USSR was the only socialist state in the world, has increased further with the formation and consolidation of the world socialist system, headed by the Soviet Union.

The tremendous successes won by the countries of the socialist camp in the building of socialism show what the popular masses are capable of accomplishing under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the unshakable

unity of the working class led by the Marxist-Leninist parties.

After the Second World War, in a whole series of Western European countries such as France, Italy, Belgium, and others, favorable conditions were established for the proletariat to seize power from the exploiting classes and to establish the power of the people. For that goal, the Communist and Socialist parties, which have the allegiance of the great majority of the working classes in the capitalist countries, should act together. Many times the Communist parties have proposed to the Socialist parties that together they should assume the responsibility of power and realize the wish clearly expressed by the working class to end the system of exploitation, which causes wars and terrible misfortune for the popular masses.

However, the rightist Social Democratic leaders of Great Britain, Austria, Belgium, France, Finland, Holland, West Germany, Italy, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, have refused to commit themselves to the policy of unity of action. During the years which followed the Second World War, the rightist Social Democratic leaders broke even more openly with Marxism, preaching a whole series of "theories" opposed to the interests of the working class -- from the theory of the so-called "third force" to "people's capitalism" to "democratic socialism" and "the welfare state," etc.

The document of the Socialist International entitled "Some Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism" openly stated "that it matters little to socialists if they find the sources of their convictions in the results of a social analysis or in religious and humanitarian principles." A Social Democrat of the extreme right -- Pollak -- presented to the Sixth Congress of the Socialist International a report regarding the present

SECRET

situation of "democratic socialism," imbued from beginning to end with anti-Marxism, offering at one and the same time a model of unreserved defense of the bourgeois system, of capitulation to bourgeois ideology,^{50X1-HUM} of inveterate anti-Communism, and of spiritual sterility.

Faithful to their devisive tactics, they preferred the policy of coalition with the reactionary bourgeois parties to the policy of unity, particularly the clerical parties (the Christian Democratic Party in Italy, the People's Party in Austria, and the Catholic Party in Holland). Certain rightist leaders of the Social Democratic parties are allied further, passing completely over to the side of the most aggressive elements among the imperialists. For example, there is Spaak, who occupies the post of secretary-general of the aggressive military bloc of NATO; Tanner, who seeks to subjugate Finland again to Western monopolists; and Guy Mollet, who has continued and supported the colonialist war in Algeria and has smoothed de Gaulle's path to personal power in the interest of strengthening the positions of monopolies. They have become anti-Communist and anti-Soviet champions and use these issues as a permanent diversion to prevent the achievement of the unity of action of the working class. The rightist leaders of the Social Democratic parties actively support "the cold war," conducted by the imperialists, and they have become the zealous supporters of the aggressive blocs of NATO and SEATO.

The outcome of the realization of the unity of the working class, on the one hand, and the policy of preventing its unity, on the other, is clearly seen in considering the fundamental difference between the situation in France during 1934-1936 when the united working class crushed attempts to install a fascist regime, or during the Second World War when the unity of

SECRET

action of the working class was at the base of the national resistance movement, as contrasted with the situation of recent years when the absence of unity of the working class facilitated the coming to power of de Gaulle. 50X1-HUM

In the struggle for the unity of the working class under present circumstances, a very important factor is the struggle not only against rightist Social Democrats who, taking anti-Communist and anti-Soviet positions, repulse any cooperation with the Communists, but also against revisionism, the main danger in the working movement. Facts demonstrate that contemporary revisionists, whose anti-Marxist ideas are expressed in their most concentrated form in the program of the Communist League of Yugoslavia, behave as dividers of the working class as a "Trojan horse" in the working movement.

Of importance is the zeal demonstrated by revisionist elements to pass themselves off as adepts and even as protagonists of the unity of the working class, while presenting as proof their rapprochement with the Social Democratic parties. However, the problem is what type of unity they wish and to what interests they are subordinating their so-called struggle for unity. However, in reality, the revisionists call for rapprochement and cooperation with the Social Democratic parties and the establishment of relations with the latter, founded on a platform whose aim is the abandonment of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, the ignoring of the fundamental interests of the working class, and the serving of the interests of the bourgeoisie. While preaching "unity" with

SECRET

the rightist leaders of the Social Democratic parties, contemporary revisionists furiously attack and slander the Communist parties and the international Communist movement. The chattering of revisionist elements regarding the so-called "sectarianism" of Communist parties aims only at concealing the abandonment by these elements of the revolutionary conceptions of the working class. 50X1-HUM

The Communist parties are making greater and greater efforts to achieve cooperation between Communist workers, Socialist workers, and workers of other political orientations in matters of common interest. True to the struggle for the unity of the working class, they make no concession to bourgeois ideology, and maintain steadfastly the positions of unity based, as Lenin taught us, on the principles of unity as a means of ensuring the victory of Socialism.

The continued ideological and organizational strengthening of the Communist and workers' parties plays a decisive role in the achievement of the unity of action of the working class, in the struggle to obtain new successes in the realization of the unity of all forces that want peace and democracy. Ignoring the interests of the international working class, the revisionists in their theoretical and practical activity, aspire to control the unity of the Communist parties of various countries and the international Communist movement. Denying the decisive role of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the struggle of the working masses, the revisionists make common front with the imperialist and reformist preachers of anti-Communism and set up obstacles to the creation of working class unity.

The Communist and workers' parties conduct an uncompromising^{50X1-HUM} struggle against the revisionists. The denunciation and exclusion of the revisionist elements of the Communist and workers' parties contributed to the strengthening of the capacity for struggle of these parties, and to obtaining new successes in their determined struggle for unity.

The unity of the international Communist movement has become even stronger in the struggle against contemporary revisionism, and international relations between the brother parties have become still closer.

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of November 1957 in Moscow was the expression of the monolithic unity of the Socialist countries, demonstrated the unshakable cohesion of the international Communist movement, and dealt a powerful blow to contemporary revisionism.

Struggling steadfastly against revisionism, the Communist parties at the same time combat manifestations of dogmatism and sectarianism. V. I. Lenin drew attention to the danger which narrow doctrinaireism, sectarianism, a presumptuous or scornful attitude toward workers who belong to other groups or movements (1) represents for the achievement of working class unity. The Declaration of the Moscow Conference states that dogmatism and sectarianism check the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application to specific conditions which are in a constant state of change and lead to the rupture of the party with the masses.

The struggle of the Communist and workers' parties against the Social Democracy of the Right, the action which aims to combat and constantly unmask revisionism, and the struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism constitute a decisive condition for the achievement of working class unity.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of the capitalist countries act to achieve unity of action on the basis of common aims of vital interest to the workers and the masses. The achievement of unity of action of all the detachments of the working class of capitalist countries, on the basis of a [next page missing] for the achievement in the interior of the country of the unity of action of the working class and of the anti-Franco front of all the forces which oppose the dictatorship of Franco, favor political amnesty, the repatriation of exiles, and a democratic government. The strikes of the preceding years and the political protest strike of June 1959 have been powerful demonstrations of these conditions.

The decisions of the 9th All-German Workers' Conference, of the meeting of 450 Social-Democratic leaders in Leipzig in March 1959, of the Regional Conference of the Social-Democrats of Cologne give evidence of the increasing possibilities for collaboration between the German Communists and Social-Democrats in the struggle against the militarist policy of the Adenauer government, for the solution of the Berlin problem, the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, and the unification of Germany.

SECRET

The Japanese Communist Party is making constant efforts to achieve unity of action. The Japanese Communist Party had common positions^{50X1-HUM} with the Japanese Socialist Party on the problems of the diplomatic relations to be established with the People's Republic of China and the defense of democratic liberties. The cooperation between the Japanese Communist Party and the Japanese Socialist Party frustrated the adoption of certain reactionary bills proposed by the Kishi government.

The unity of action of the working class has played an important role in the victory of the revolutions in Iraq and in Cuba, in the consolidation of the revolutionary conquests and the defense of the national independence of these countries.

Under the influence of the great successes obtained by the Socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, an ever-growing number of members of the Socialist parties realize the disastrous consequences of the policy practiced by their rightist leaders and understand that in the present situation, anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism will lead to national catastrophe and that only cooperation with the Communist parties can put a check on the reactionary forces and consolidate the peace.

Opinion is developing among the members of the Social-Democratic parties in favor of a basic change in the policy practiced so far by the leaders of these parties in order to achieve the union of the forces of the proletariat in the struggle against the offensive of capital and its aggressive policy.

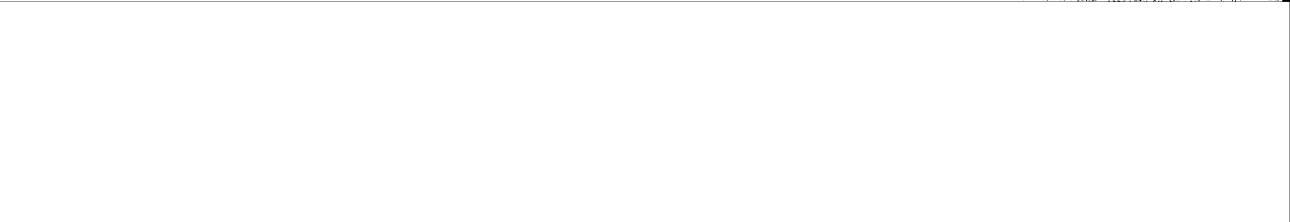
The attitude of the rightist leaders of the Social-Democratic parties, which is contrary to the opinion in favor of unity shown by the majority of the members of these parties, constitutes one of the main causes of the crises within these parties.

As pointed out by the article titled "What the International Socialist Congress Showed" which appeared in Pravda on 15 August, the abandonment of the positions of the class struggle by the Social-Democratic leaders of the right and the opposition to the desire of the proletariat to conduct a united struggle to fulfill their interests leads to their increasing disrepute among the masses, to the reduction of their influence, and to the lessening of their organizational strength.

Although in the first years following World War II the Social-Democrats controlled or participated in the governments of 22 countries, at present this number has been reduced to 8.

The number of votes obtained by the Social-Democrats in the elections is declining more and more, and in most of the Social-Democratic parties the number of members is dropping constantly [page 32 missing] Latin America have joined the international trade-union movement. The international trade-union movement has been considerably strengthened by the participation of the trade unions of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

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Since the trade=union movement is now the largest mass organiza-
tion of the proletariat, it has become one of the main arenas in
which the struggle for unity of action of the proletariat is taking
place. 50X1-HUM

The Communists and the leftist elements of various trade union organizations and of Socialist and Social-Democratic parties are the promoters of the unity of action of the trade unions of the entire world. This struggle cannot be separated from the efforts made at present to obtain understanding and close cooperation between the Communist parties and other workers' political organizations.

The imperialist forces tried desperately to destroy or at least to split the international trade union movement.

The elements hostile to the unity of action of the proletariat, the leaders of the AFL and CIO, (which were later united), the British trade union and other trade unions of Western Europe, split the international trade=union movement in December 1949 by the formation of the so-called ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions).

Despite this, the WFTU and the trade unions affiliated with the FSM succeeded in strengthening their ranks. The WFTU is making continuous efforts to draw the other trade-union organizations into the common struggle for the defense of workers' interests.

In spite of the desperate resistance of the reformist leaders, the revolutionary trade unions struggle tirelessly to achieve unity at the base between the various trade unions. In many cases the

results of this work is already evident. In France, for example, the trade unions of the CGT (Confederation Generale du Travail, General^{50X1-HUM} Confederation of Labor) succeeded in a short time in obtaining agreements between certain national trade union federations and undertook joint action with various trade unions despite the leaders of the FO (Force Ouvriere, Workers' Force) and CFTC (Confederation Francaise des Travailleurs Catholiques, [Should be Chretiens] French Confederation of Catholic [Christian] Workers).

In quite a few Western European countries, unity of action by workers belonging to different trade unions is being used against the increased capitalist exploitation, especially the consequences of the European Common Market, (reduction of the work week, discharges, attempts to hold up wages).

The workers of the reformist, Catholic, and anarchist trade unions are becoming more and more convinced in practice of the urgent necessity for a single front with the workers of the revolutionary trade unions for the purpose of repulsing the offensive of the monopolies against their standard of living and against democratic liberties. Such actions took place in Italy, Germany, France, and Japan.

The facts prove that the number of those who want a revision of the obsolete line, the anti-Communist, divisionary line which elements like Guy Mollet, Saragat, Spaak, Pollak and others defend, is increasing within the workers' movement and within the Social-Democratic movement

also. The number of those who demand that the unity of action of the working class be achieved in order to obtain their economic and political demands, and to improve international relations so that peace may be consolidated, is increasing.

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The speeches made by certain Social-Democratic leaders who assume realistic positions show that the idea is penetrating also in the Social-Democratic parties that without powerful forces like the Soviet Union, the world Socialist camp, the international Communist movement [page 35 missing] against the military bases and for the recall of the US troops, for the banning of nuclear arms.

The efforts of the Communist parties and workers of the Socialist countries (the CPSU, the United German Socialist Party, the Rumanian Workers' Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, and others), which are directed to certain Socialist parties of the capitalist countries, to call them to joint actions, especially for the purpose of preventing the unleashing of a new world war, are of great importance for achieving working-class unity of action on the international plane.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is making great efforts in this respect. In May 1959, it sent letters to a number of Socialist parties and carried on numerous exchanges of opinion with the representatives of Socialist parties on present problems, especially on problems concerning international defense. The Central Committee of the CPSU sent a special letter to the 6th Congress of the Socialist International held in July 1959 in which it proposed joint actions and stressed especially the necessity for defending the peace. But

the most stubborn anti-Communists on the administrative staff of the
congress hid this letter, showing once more that they act against the
vital interests of the working class and of the peoples of the entire
world.

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The international organizations of workers, the WFTU, the World Federation of Women, the International Union of Students, which include a large number of members united by the aspiration for peace and social progress, are carrying on productive activity in the struggle against reaction and war.

Many mass actions headed by the working class prove that there are opportunities for the achievement of working class unity in the struggle against war, and that the united working class is able to destroy all machinations of the instigators of a new war.

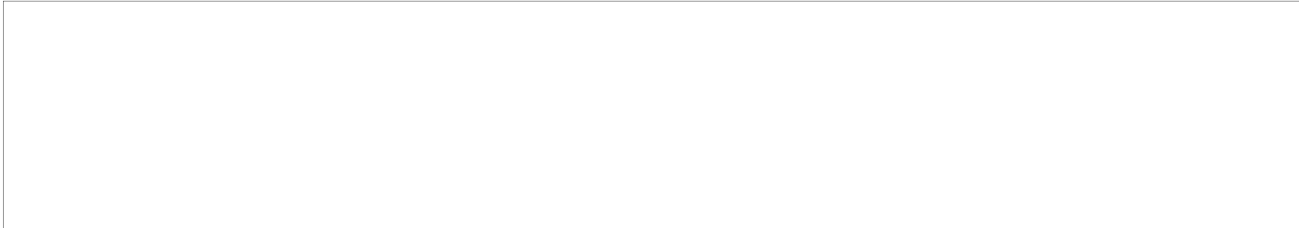
Comrades

The historic experience of the international movement has proved and is proving the enormous importance of working-class unity.

Thanks to the unity and cohesion of the working class under the leadership of a true Marxist Party, of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union established by Lenin, the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the transition to the construction of Communism in the USSR has been possible.

- 32 -

SECRET



After world war II, working class unity was the durable basis for the founding of a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in 50X1-HUM number of countries in Europe and Asia and for important successes in the construction of Socialism in this country.

The achievement of working class unity opens up a sure means of liberation from exploitation and oppression of the peoples who still bear the imperialist yoke.

But working class unity has become today an immeasurable physical force which the lovers of war-mongering intrigues dread.

The fortunes of peace and progress depend directly on the united action of the international working class.

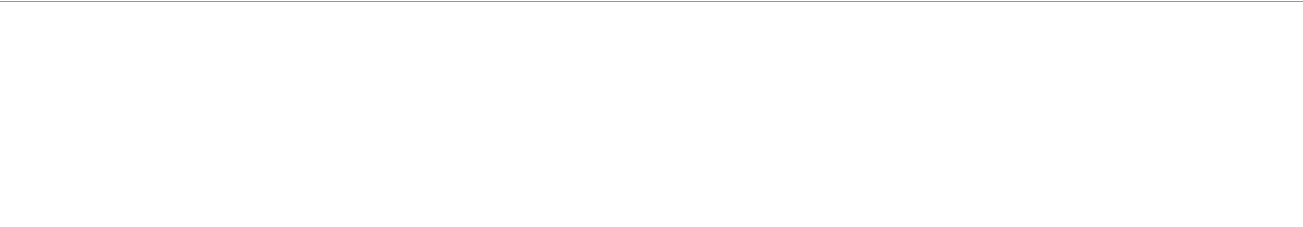
Conscious of their task and of their historic responsibility, devoted body and soul to the interests and aspirations of the people, loyal to Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the Communist and workers' parties struggle tirelessly for the achievement and strengthening of working class unity, an invincible weapon in the struggle for the bright future of humanity.

Taking all this into consideration, an important duty of honor devolves on our institutes and Marxist-Leninist historians to study and investigate the problems relating to the achievement of working-class unity. A model of the analysis of these problems is found in the manual of the history of the CPSU in which the determined struggle of Lenin and the Bolsheviks for the formation of the new type party, for the unity of the proletariat of Russia and for the unity of the international workers' movement.



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The decisions of the congress of Communist and workers' parties and the works of the leaders of these parties constitute valuable assistance for the study and generalization of the experience of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the struggle for working-class unity. A number of works, studies, and articles dedicated to various aspects of the struggle for working class unity were published in several countries.

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The study of the problem which we are considering exists also in our country. For this reason, while compiling the manual on the history of the Rumanian Workers' Party, our Institute is paying attention to the constant struggle of our party for the unity of the workers' movement, and to the many aspects of this problem. In the theoretical and political organ of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, La Lutte de Classe, in some magazines like Les Annales de l'Institut d'Histoire du Parti, Etudes, etc, articles appeared which discussed the party struggle, some methods and some results in the field of the achievement of working-class unity [approximately 7 lines illegible] of the role of the 3rd Communist International, of its contribution to the struggle for the achievement of the unity of the working class of the entire world.

It is still necessary to compile works which deal with the struggle of the Communist Parties for the formation of single Marxist-Leninist parties in Socialist countries. Works which show the close connection between the struggle of the Communist Parties for working-class unity and their determined struggle against opportunism and revisionism are still needed.

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Works generalizing the experience of the struggle of the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries for the unity of the workers' movement and taking into consideration the specific conditions in which this struggle developed would be highly useful for the study of the history of the international workers' movement. 50X1-HUM

Certainly, the field of scientific-historic studies concerning the problem which we are dealing with is much wider. For example, it includes trade-union unity, the role of unity in the struggle for the popular front, for peace, for national liberation, etc.

We are aware of the fact that this connection has affected only some aspects of the problem of working-class unity and that the discussions which will follow will help to clarify this especially important problem in a more complete and timely manner for the workers' movement.

Today, more than ever, the immortal appeal of the founders of scientific Socialism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: "Proletarians of the world, unite," which for more than a century has reverberated around the world and has lifted and led the working class to victory on ^{words} [approximately 5/illegible]

SECRET

Speech of Comrade Shirpat Armit Dange (India)

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on Item One of the Agenda

Comrades,

I have to speak without a written text; therefore you may find it difficult to follow the course of my thoughts.

What I want to tell you, first, is that we, the visitors from India, expect to benefit considerably from this conference, for we still have to learn what is required in presenting party history in a true light, or the proper way to provide the committee with a general view of our development. In other words, we feel that we can learn from you much more than we can tell you.

Second, I must admit that I am not quite clear whether to present a general survey of our party's development, to discuss one by one the questions we face at the present stage. This present stage is of course quite interesting.

You may have heard that we have had a Communist government formed in the small Indian State of Kerala, and that this government has been supported by a few independents. The state of Kerala is located in south western India and has a population of 15 million. We won the elections of April 1957 with a total of 2 million votes. The opposition party obtained 200,000 votes more, but fewer seats than we.

- 1 -

SECRET

Our majority was two seats in a parliament of 128 deputies. This meant ^{50X1-HUM} that with two members ill, or killed by the opposition, we would lose control. This interesting situation, and the events taking place in India attracted the attention of the whole world. Our victory stunned the bourgeoisie; but even more than the bourgeoisie, the Communist party itself was amazed. We did not expect to obtain a majority at the elections, notwithstanding the Declaration of the Twelve Communist Parties which said that there are many countries where parliamentary electoral procedures could bring the working class into power. A concrete example now stood before us: the Communist Party of India had won the elections in this small state with a population of 15 million in spite of its lack of notoriety and its rather poor organization. The bourgeoisie did not expect that; neither did the Communist Party. In fact our own line provided that the communist should not run independently. We felt compelled to create united fronts of the democratic forces.

Following this line we tried to unite in a front with the Socialists in the state elections. There were generally three socialist groupings. It may be of interest to you to know that India has some 16^{1/2} or 17 socialist groups of the most varied shades. It would be quite impossible at this point to tell you what they are, or what their differences represent. We find among them the Socialist Praja Party, the Communist Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, and the

SECRET

United Socialist Front. This should be enough to illustrate how cle^{50X1-HUM} and consistently the bour³geoisie has misled the working class with regard to Marxism. We should also recall that the present platform of the Indian national bourgeoisie is socialistic, and that it stands for a classless society. This is the philosophy supporting Nehru's government, and the Five-Year Plan now being carried out in India. I doubt that any other people in the world is fortunate enough to have a national bourgeoisie striving to establish a classless society!!!

Nevertheless, you may well imagine the troubles, when we tried to form a front of democratic forces belonging to the left wing. As you know, the socialists were against us. They accused us of being the agents of Moscow, and claimed that we wanted to impose a government and a system alien to the Indian people. They said that our party was anti-national and anti-democratic, that it maintains contacts with foreign centers. This was their way of fighting proletarian internationalism. They fought entrenched in positions of bourgeois nationalism, and used the crowd-pleasing argument that the Communists would jeopardize the independence of their country, selling it to Moscow -- a foreign center. As you may see, proletarian internationalism is not to be adv^cated without a certain caution. Problems of internationalism must be inter^{twined} with problems of national defense, of independence, and of wholesome patriotism and nationalism. Actually our situation was much worse than was the situation of the Social Democrats in 1914 during the war. Well, let us not enter into the details of that

question. We saw how hard it was to raise the banner of the democratic front; as a result we were forced to fight from separate platforms, although we had campaigned for the union of leftists. This is actually the way it happened, yet we obtained the majority at the polls. Now, what are the theoretical conclusions to be drawn from such an outcome, begotten in a country which had none of the traditions of democratic parliamentarism, which was recently liberated from imperialism, which has a government striving to keep a balance between the socialistic and the imperialistic camps and has a national bourgeoisie advocating the struggle for peace, and finally a country which has chosen neutrality and tries to promote it in spite of the hesitations and the contradictions of its leaders? I really believe that this situation should be analyzed by the historical commission, as it has never been encountered before in any underdeveloped country. Nor, it seems to me, has this ever happened in a bourgeois democratic country, if we except the Republic of San Marino, where a similar situation lasted but a few days. I do not believe however that this small republic should be compared with my country, which has a population of 15 million and a stabilized form of government.

In fact the power which we gained in the Kerala elections was neither absolute nor sovereign. This is the first weakness of our Communist-led government. Not all of our states have their own armies. State government apparatuses are controlled by the Central Government. This is provided by

- 4 -

SECRET

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the federal constitution which gives some power to the states and most
of it to the central government. We remained in power for 2 years and 4
months, upon which the central government ceased supporting us. In Kerala,
forming a government is a major event. The bourgeois camp was divided on
the subject of whether or not the Communists should be allowed to remain
in power with a scant majority of two seats. Earlier, attempts were made
to murder two representatives from our side: one independent and one Com-
munist. We warned that even in this event the difference of two seats would
remain in our favor. Our warning had quite an effect on the opposition,
and it dropped its idea of murder.

The second try of the opposition consisted in attempting bribery. The
opposition knew how proud the Communists of the whole world would be, should
the bourgeois fail in their attempts to bribe or tempt a single one of our
leaders, throughout the 28 months of our period in power; they also knew
that our pride would be even greater for this having happened in a country
where bribery, corruption, coercion, etc. are current methods for transfer-
ring political allegiances from one party to another. Our party remained
firm, and proved that the bourgeoisie could not bribe us, in spite of the
fact that this was our first experience in government. This served the
bourgeoisie a good lesson. It failed to overthrow us through bribery and
murder -- its usual methods -- and had to hope that something else would
come about.

SECRET

The question of class struggle provided the pretext. Our government^{50X1-HUM} was passing measures which benefitted the working class, the peasantry and the small bourgeoisie. I have no intention of entering into the details, and taking too much of your time, yet I ought to emphasize that these measures did not appeal to the English landowners and planters holding properties in Kerala. Neither did they appeal to some people from our own bourgeoisie. There is not much industry in Kerala, and its working class is rather small. A law which we passed, gave the land to the peasants under certain conditions; a minimum wage rate was established for landless workers; we also recommended minimum wages for 18 industries and certain guiding standards for schools, and provided for definite wage standards. You ought to know that, unlike the other Indian states, Kerala has quite a large Christian population. The Indian population is predominantly^a Hindu, with a Moslem minority and a very small minority of Christians. In the south organized communities of Catholic Christians own considerable land properties. Christian churches and missions, financed from abroad, almost completely monopolize education in the state. They received 30 million rupies to subsidize their last year's activity alone. When we passed our law on education the Catholics rose against us. They joined with another group and began a campaign of agitation, which culminated with the suggestion that the Communist minister should resign or else the Indian government should remove him. In order to justify their attitude they alleged that the minister governed for the exclusive profit of the

Communists, and that Communists filled education with Marxist ideology.^{50X1-HUM} attacked religion, and took over the schools under the pretext that they were poorly operated.

They started this as a non-coercive movement and called it the "peaceful movement of law violation." It found some support from the masses, especially in towns.

The majority still remained in our side, as we managed to attract the vote of the peasants. The Moslem peasantry, in particular, voted Communist in the northern part of the state, while the Hindu peasants did likewise in the south. In these particular elections the Catholics remained neutral, in the sense that their priests did not declare it a bad act to vote for Communists. The reason for their restraint was that many Christians school-teachers were Communists. Moreover our party had a strong influence over the Christian peasants, as it had led their struggle in the past. There was also another reason: from the day of the proclamation of independence in 1948 until 1947, i.e. over a period of 10 years, the National Congress or, rather, the bourgeois landowner party of India had six governments, four of which fell as a result of an internal party strife between the Christians and the Nairi -- the two major bourgeois-landowner blocks. This was another factor which played its part in the decision of the church not to forbid voting for us. Yet, the movement against us was gaining strength. Even women took part in it. These were primarily women from planter, landowner and bourgeois families, who were joined by the wives

of small traders and other well-to-do middle class people from the 60X1-HUM. This shows the type of people which started the movement to overthrow the government of Kerala. The time is running out, and I believe that additional details on all the phases of this movement would not interest you. Yet, there is still one important point to make, and this because eventually some of our historians will have to face the problem of appraising Nehru.

The role of Nehru at the various stages of our history made many a Communist party throughout the world loose its bearings. (May I be forgiven for this expression.) In this connection we happened ourselves to have disagreed with some of our brotherly parties. There were a few instances where Communist parties examined this problem in connection with their own country rather than in connection with us, Indians. In about another five years, that is when the present stage is over, we may be in a position to formulate the right conclusions. At this stage we are still unable to express our views. This is not based upon any diplomatic calculations; we reserve our opinion primarily so as not to impede the progress of the people's movement and, second, for helping to ensure peace in the world.

In spite of the facts that our appraisal of Nehru is rather nebulous, and that we have omitted at all to elaborate on certain points, I would not call our attitude opportunism. We would have been opportunistic had gone behind certain limits. Had we considered for instance that the economic platform of the national bourgeoisie, the Five-Year Plan (what an

SECRET

appropriate name, suggesting socialism as practiced in socialistic countries), or the promotion of a classless society were grounds enough to call Nehru the standard-bearer of a trend to promote scientific socialism in India; had we accepted this as irrefutable truth, then, of course, we would have committed an error. The platform adopted by the national bourgeoisie should be viewed as an example of diversionary tactics, fitting well the peculiar conditions of an underdeveloped country, where people become increasingly conscious of the fact that economic independence and protection of the interests of the masses can be achieved only under the banner of socialism. This is where the difference lies between what we call "national socialism" of the German fascists, and the democratic, or nationalistic socialism of the Indian bourgeoisie. The stereo-typed socialistic phraseology used by German fascists had quite a different meaning. In India all this is different. One should not call our bourgeoisie fascist for having adopted a socialistic platform; on the other hand this can neither be called a genuine striving for socialism.

I have a reason for mentioning all this. I have often visited Europe on business for the World Federation of Trade Unions, and I noticed, as many of my Indian colleagues did throughout their contacts with foreign countries, that even communists and workers with advanced opinions have their thoughts confused when they pass judgments upon Nehru. I believe that today, in 1959, people reach sounder conclusions in the light of what

happened in Tibet. In his dealing with Kerala, Nehru sided against 50X1-HUM and gave us the following advice: "You are opposed now by a mass movement; we know that you were elected, but now you have lost the support you had. Why don't you resign? Run for re-election and prove that the popular support is still on your side." The suggestion to display our ~~faults~~^{faith} in democracy, and to prove our popularity was quite attractive, especially as it came from Nehru himself. Any way the Communist party rejected such tactics. Whether or not we were right is debatable. It has been said last year, at the Congress in Amritsar, that we should have run for re-election, thus abiding by the principles of bourgeois democracy and the parliamentary ~~rules~~^{rules} of our country; a whole series of ideological opinions were expressed on that subject. I have already told you that our opponents stressed our allegiance to Moscow and argued that we could not be democrats since we were promoting dictatorship. In the past ten years we were flooded by requests to state whether or not we were upholding the Indian constitution, parliamentary democracy and the principle of "non-resistance to force." I believe that the Communist party of the US is even more accustomed to this, than we are. Such an approach retained in India its full effectiveness, as even ideologies came under its impact. People, indeed, were told time after time that they owe their freedom from the British imperialism to the "nonviolent resistance" advocated by Mahatma Gandhi. Large segments of our intelligentsia and even of our peasantry, are thus influenced by

an extremely powerful argument, in spite of their being frequently forced to protect their interests by exchanging violent action with the authorities.

In this particular instance, the main drive against us bore upon the question of whether or not we respected parliamentary procedures. We finally answered in 1958, at the party congress held in Amritsar, and spoke on a subject we consistently avoided over the period of the last 30 to 40 years of our activity. Our answer consisted in a confirmation of our support of the principles of parliamentary democracy and peaceful struggle. At the beginning the nationalistic bourgeoisie argued that this was just another hypocritical Communist maneuver. Later, after we had won the elections in Kerala, they told us that "the time has come to apply these principles without restriction. They formed an opposition and proclaimed the following views: "The people are against you, therefore you must resign and call for new elections." You see how tricky they were in maneuvering against us. We rejected the idea of new elections and refused to resign. Needless to say we found ourselves forced into a position where three quarters of the police were not on the government side, almost one half of the bureaucracy was also against us. This meant that we formed a government, without having the unlimited power of the state at our disposal. This shows you the peculiarity of our positions. Policemen who took our side were armed, but had a bad reputation because in the empire days they sided

SECRET

against the nationalist movement. Now they were faithful and dedica^{50X1-HUM} supporters of the Communist government, which indeed made quite a picture. There is no need to tell you what resulted from that situation. Under these conditions we could not govern without calling upon the masses to rise. Then the question is -- why did we not call upon our labor class and our peasantry to neutralize and repel the forces which the landowners and the bourgeoisie raised against us. The answer is very simple: had we followed that course we would have promoted ideal conditions for a civil war, whereas for tactical reasons we wanted no overt civil war at that stage. This is why we did not set in motion the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. The opposition, landowners and big bourgeoisie, formed an alliance with the bourgeois of the cities, obviously creating the impression that a mass movement was spreading against Communist dictatorship. We tried to avoid fighting. In India the use of firearms implies actions against peasants and workers. It does not matter who fires the first shot. The government is the government, and the people, the people. He, who shoots at the people is evil, whatever his reasons. This logic is extremely simple. The alternative to regaining power by authorizing the police to use firearms against the people was to call the armed forces of the government of India. In that case the implication was that all governmental functions were to be transferred to the military leaders, while nominal responsibility was to remain vested in the Communist Party. A military

command, operating under the cover of the Communist Party, and led ~~50X1-HUM~~ by "progressive" elements supported to some extent by the masses, would have stamped out the trouble in a great display of action. Our position would have been catastrophic.

We were in a very special position, which required extremely clever tactics. We had to decide between using the police or the armed forces, or letting the central government move in and lead to our ultimate removal. There was no other device. All what remained for us was to choose our method of leaving. We had come to power through elections. Hence, we answered the bourgeoisie: "You will not remove us through electoral procedures. According to you, who was defeated?" In coming to power the Communist Party abided by the parliamentary rules, yet the bourgeois nationalistic government was overthrowing them.

Some of our members felt that we would gain by renouncing power and running for re-election. They thought this would establish a good precedent, whether we were re-elected or not. We rejected on the attractive prospect of setting precedents the bourgeois democracy would approve. We felt that it would be more beneficial for democracy, including its bourgeois variety, if we were overthrown by Nehru rather than if we resigned. Last month, the National Council of the Communist Party approved our line. Originally the decision was ~~known~~^{taken} by the Central Committee. However, for a question as important as this one, we assembled the National Council, composed of 110 members; they approved our line by

an overwhelming majority. As a result the government of the State ^{50X1-HUM} rala was dissolved on 31 July.

The parliament in Delhi started debate on this subject on 17 August. Speaking in the name of the Communist Party, I presented the whole problem in its true light, and reported to the country on our party's position. We attacked the central government for what we called the overthrow of the first worker-peasant government ever formed in India. About the land-owner and bourgeoisie directed uprising against the legal and democratically elected government, we said that it was approved by the Congress itself in spite of the latter's claims to foundations established upon principles of parliamentary democracy. Who was actually defeated in this case? We were certainly not. The whole country and the even the British conservative press ^were saying: "Democratic ideology was placed in jeopardy when the Communists succeeded in forcing Nehru to interfere in the conflict and to overthrow their government." Nehru should have convinced us to resign, which he actually tried, but we refused to become the victims of this jabbering of a bourgeois democrat about peace and socialism. Nehru is quite popular; he strives for the good of his country, but he is by nature a bourgeois democrat. Two years ago the petty bourgeoisie did not support us; it does now, and precisely as a result of our removal from the government the fact that we acceded to power through elections was to our advantage; it comforted many of our allies who feared that Communists

- 14 -

SECRET

50X1-HUM

would make it a rule to provoke armed revolutions. We gained excellent^{50X1-HUM} allies among the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry throughout the nation; and these allies remained on our side even after our 28 months of governing in Kerala. The circumstances which surrounded our removal reversed the feelings to our advantage throughout the nation. The intelligentsia found that our removal was a disrupting^{on} in the progress of parliamentary democracy in India. They feared that intervention and foreign rule might find there an opening to establish a military dictatorship, as this happened in many Near Eastern countries, and even in the nearby Pakistan.

Thus all these events, the government formed in Kerala, the Communist party dealing with parliamentary democracy, its strategy, the connections the party made with different classes, which led to alliances within the framework of a democratic front, were incidents which became topics or animated discussion, and which aroused considerable interest. These events have solved a series of problems which we must discuss at our party meeting next year.

I have presented this condensed survey of the Kerala situation with the feeling that no topic of greater interest can be found in the history of the Communist Party, or in the history of India itself. Let us not forget[†] what Lenin had in mind Russia, China, and India when he said: "What will become of the world when the last has joined the two others in becoming a socialist state?" This is how Lenin saw the problem. Well,

our Chinese comrades have solved their part, and according to Lenin we^{50X1-HUM} were supposed to be the next in turn. Yet, this did not happen. As strange as it might seem, our turn came while our country was still underdeveloped and had no democratic traditions. It has been said about us that our forming a Communist government was quite unexpected since previously our party has not had a single uprising on its record, and could be credited with not a single large-scale revolution planned and carried out under its guidance. Adding a drop of cynicism, I might even say that we were more frequently heard investigating our errors and deviations, than discussing insurrection. Anyway, our party has gone through an experience which lasted two years and four months, and this experience is still to be digested and analyzed.

SECRET

add that our national movement was neither inspired by nor directly related to any of the events which took place during the October Revolution. Their influence, however, was felt. Our national movement began to shape like a revolution in Punjab, during the uprising which took place there in 1919. Peasants ~~reliving~~^{turning} from war transformed the movement into a fight. India, as you know was enslaved by the British, and imperialism had a well-organized system of censorship at its disposal. You probably know that we did not see a single ~~copy~~^{copy} of Lenin's ~~works~~^{works} until 1927. Under the circumstances it was fair to expect that Marxist-Leninist ideas would originate from nothing, as Indians are well known for their ability to produce philosophical theories in a ~~vacuum~~^{vacuum}. The British were so efficient with their censorship that we had ~~no~~^{no} truthful information even about the October Revolution itself. Our first information on the Soviet Union came from English writers such as Herbert George Wells, Lansbury, Bertrand Russell, etc. After that our national movement became stagnant and progressed no more. Communist groups began forming in India in 1921. Forgive me if I mention that in 1921 I founded the first one and that I was also the author of the first book about Lenin to be published in India. Back in those days, while we were still young students, we exposed Gandhi as a man who would not lead India towards freedom and socialism, and we emphasized the significance of Lenin instead. This book which was published in April 1921 was titled Gandhi Against Lenin. It attracted the attention of the Communist International. About three fourths of

what I had written was erroneous. I was right only on one fact, I ^{knew} _{50X1-HUM} about historical materialism only from Russell's book, Road to Freedom. I spoke of surplus value and commodity price increase, that is, I assumed a slight deviation. Only one point was completely correct: Gandhi was wrong, and Lenin was right.

A second correct position in this book was that Lenin rose against capitalism and the landowners; therefore, he should have been accepted in India. It goes without saying that the publication of this book attracted attention to me from the government, the police and the nationalist press. In it they envisioned Bolshevism infiltrating into India and called on everyone to be vigilant. They said that this, of course, was the delusion of youth which had lost its head; that it posed an insignificant threat, but that at any rate, it was a poor omen. This was the first group we set up in Bombay -- the center of the militant working class where the Communist Party was established.

At the same time a second group was started in Calcutta, and so on. I am telling you here facts which you may not find in the archives. We received an invitation to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International which took place in 1922. Bombay published India's first Communist newspaper, which was called Socialist and began publication in August 1922. It interpreted socialism as I understood it and wrote you.

We received a direct invitation, and if we could have gone to Moscow at that time, I presume the party could have begun to operate, both

earlier and better. But the underground organization was in the hands of people who were not real Marxists. Part of them were former Indian terrorists who had gone to Germany and from there to the Soviet Union. They made mistakes and were not able to break through the wall of censorship by the British government. We were gripped in a vise and could find no exit from the prevailing situation. We could not obtain literature of any kind. It was very rarely that we got our hands on a newspaper which had evaded the censor. We managed to get the Communist Manifesto in 1921-1922. In 1923 we attempted to convene a conference of India Communists to unite all the groups. The government found out about this, and the leaders were arrested. The first attempt to establish a Communist party collapsed. Four of us were imprisoned for four years. Despite all this, a Communist conference took place in 1925, and the party was founded. I mention this because the question of the moment when the Communist Party of India was founded has been discussed and debated in some Soviet press articles, and one author dated it as of 1933. This date is wrong, I explained to our comrade where the error lies. Then he agreed with me that the year 1925 should be considered as the date the party was founded. It was in 1925 that the first conference of Communist was held in Kanpur, where we had wanted to hold it the first time and had been charged with "conspiracy" in the organization. It is for this reason that I have made special mention of this. Although the date does not make us either younger or older or more intelligent, I nevertheless raise this question, since I deem it quite an important circumstance.

50X1-HUM

~~SECRET~~

Before coming here, we held a meeting of the Secretariat of 50X1-HUM Communist Party of India, where there was disagreement on this. We had received the^{re} an invitation to the Communist International. Our group attempted to hold a conference. We were all ready to adopt the program, but our attempt was frustrated by the government, which arrested the principal leaders. But even in this situation our conference was held. A very weak Central Committee was elected. It is possible that some of those who were elected were not even genuine Communists. But at any rate, one of the deputies of the first secretary is participating at this conference - and a second one is the comrade who came here with me.

It was not necessary at that time to be occupied with the history of the Communist Party. The Communist Party was founded upon, and relied on, the workers' movement, especially the trade-union movement in 1928. I do not intend to expound further on this question.

I shall summarize here the eight periods in our history:

The first period, 1921-1925 -- the stage of the development of groups which emerged as the result of the national-liberation movement and the founding of the party.

The second period, 1925-1930, in which the party took its basis in the mass trade unions created by its own initiative. Out of this originated and developed the trade-union movement which served as the mainstay of the party, which occupied the ruling position in it up to

1930. This year was marked by a world crisis. The party was confronted^{50X1-HUM} with the problem of uniting the working-class role with that of the national bourgeoisie in the national-liberation movement. Complex and difficult was this problem, on which the party focused its attention from the time of its establishment to 1947, when the Indian government was formed. When we discuss the Communist International question we should touch upon this problem, especially the role of the World Congress of the Communist International and its influence upon the tactics and strategy of parties in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Both you and we have clashed on this issue. The Communist International sent some advisors to us in India, with whom we discussed party tactics in the national-liberation struggle. We have no time here to discuss this entire issue. We played a positive role in the sense that we exerted great influence on the workers' movement and especially, on the trade unions. We did not have any influence whatsoever among the peasants. The problem of the agrarian revolution was our great weakness.

Out of this we adopted our erroneous position regarding the national bourgeoisie. Although we also participated in the national-liberation movement, the tactics of the National Front was always a problem for the Indian party. The comrades will have to elaborate on this theme when they arrive at the appropriate historical division. At that time we were close to guaranteeing for ourselves a broad base and a sufficiently strong leadership of the liberation movement. But the party was crushed

again by the British government, beginning with a case well-known in ^{50X1-HUM} Communist history. The case of Mirut's conspiracy is well known to all. All the leaders in the party and in the trade unions were arrested. Many of those arrested were confined for seven years.

In the second period, 1925-1930, we advanced forward but we were compelled to step back.

The third period encompasses the years 1930-1934, when we took one step back. We had suffered from a certain isolation, and we were expelled from the trade-union movement. The trade-union movement collapsed. The Social-Democratic Party, the socialist party in the congress, was founded in India in 1934. It was inspired in part by Nehru, and incorporated some good intelligentsia elements from the middle classes, part of whom had adopted Marxism but did not agree with us on questions of tactics and national liberation.

The fourth period relates to the years 1934-1939, that is, the eve of the war. The main issues were a united front, a united trade-union movement and the creation of peasant organizations. You will probably recall that when the war began, we had had a strike against war. I am not sure of the preciseness of the fact which I am citing here, but I believe that the Communist International mentioned in its Bulletin that India would be the first country which would start a general strike against war in October 1939.

From 1939 to 1941 -- the first phase of the war -- the issue was not too complex. The national movement was against war, and we were against war. The party had gone underground, but we found some methods of operation and were able to resolve a number of the movement's organizational problems and tasks. When Hitler's troops attacked the Soviet Union in 1941, we were confronted with the problem of coordinating the struggle for national liberation with the tasks of the struggle against Fascism and for the defense of the Soviet Union. The situation, of course, was difficult. National sentiment developed and demanded open war against the British occupation. The party then pointed out that participation in necessary military efforts constituted one of the proletariat's international tasks and that therefore, we must oppose any national-liberation movement. This is just what happened in 1942 when the national congress began the struggle for liberation. It goes without saying that the national bourgeoisie then considered that Hitler would break through the front at Stalingrad, and the Japanese in Burma, and that if it should display its hostility as regards the British it would obtain participation in the government. The people thought at that time that British imperialism was in a difficult position, and that the time had come to deal it a blow. In not evaluating this position we committed a tactical blunder. As a result, the party turned out to be isolated, completely isolated, from 1942 to 1946. We were not able to discuss this problem with even one of our friends from the International. When I had the chance to be in England where

Soviet Union delegates were also present, I was given an opportunity⁴³³ to bring up this question. But we were not able to discuss it. 50X1-HUM

In 1946, after the war's end, our role became quite clear. We joined the national-liberation movement and returned to our position. But our isolation had had serious repercussions, both in the trade unions and in the peasant movement.

The seventh period, 1946-1951 -- These were the years when the British government transferred its authority. The Constitution of the Indian Republic was drawn up. The Indian Government declared that in 1951 there would be free, democratic elections throughout the country, based on electoral rights accorded to adult citizens. The party in this period was faced with resolving many questions and with eliminating some errors of a reformist and sectarian nature which had been committed sometimes in concurrence, sometimes separately. During this same period we also took part in the agrarian struggle led by the well-known, so-called "Telengan statement."

We placed first in the country among the opposition parties at the elections. The national bourgeoisie had assumed that the errors we had committed during the war and our isolation had completely put us out of action. We drew up a new party program which was then published in Pravda, which praised it as evidence of the creative assimilation of Marxism. We prided ourselves greatly on this.

SECRET

Unfortunately, we had to renounce this program two years later. There
 50X1-HUM
 is no need to describe in detail how this program was drawn up and adopted
 at the underground conference of the Communist Party in 1950-1951. It
 came as a complete surprise to the bourgeoisie in 1951 when we became the
 largest opposition group in parliament. This caused them some anxiety.

The next period is 1951-1957, when we were faced with the following
 problem; how to connect the defense of working-class interests with the
 necessity for developing the lagging economy and promoting industrializa-
 tion. Consequently, it was a question of Communist party attitude to
 the congressional government's so-called Five-Year Plan, which had been
 drawn up through Nehru's initiative. In my opinion we have successfully
 resolved these problems. We succeeded in overcoming some differences
 in the field of tactics and strategy, touching upon different deviations
 and errors, and in creating a more or less united party having a broad
 base in the trade unions and strengthening the base in the ranks of the
 peasantry, mainly among the agricultural proletariat and poor peasants.
 Relying on this basis, we emerged the victors in the 1957 elections and
 formed a government in the state of Kerala. The period from the moment
 of the formation of a government in Kerala up to 1959 when this govern-
 ment was overthrown was a new period in our work.

Thus, as a beginning, I should divide the history of our party
 into periods.

SECRET

50X1-HUM

To finish my address, I should not wish to start a discussion on our current problems and evaluate the strength of the party on the trade-union front, the peasant front, etc. or on the possibilities for converting it into a popular party. We have not yet become a popular party. Until a few years ago we were guided by a party motto of "a few elected." Our ranks numbered about 50,000. Then we obtained 6 million votes at the elections. Although 6 million voters had voted for us, we totaled 50,000 members in all. This was very bad. We are now trying to correct this situation. We now have over 200,000 members. However, we cannot consider ourselves a popular party in a population of 400 million people.

Other problems have arisen. First of all, how are we to hinder the national bourgeoisie from transferring to the side of the imperialist camp, and what should our role be in this connection? The national bourgeoisie is vacillating at present. It is accepting support both from the socialist and the imperialist camps. Are we to support it, even in this position? Its position has now significantly veered to the right, especially since the Tibetan events. Herein lies the most urgent problem regarding the national bourgeoisie.

Secondly, there is the problem of how to unite the working class. In these days, it is our party which is the strongest power in the trade union movement. The All-Indian Congress of Trade Unions, which

SECRET

is under the influence of our party, has the greatest influence among the working class. But how can we be united as an organization? You see, the workers are divided into three trade-union centers.

The third problem: how to wrest the peasantry from the bourgeois leadership? Today it is the bourgeoisie which is leading the peasantry.

Fourthly, how are we to create a united front of democratic forces? What parties will join this front? We are advocating a united front, but in the last analysis, only we remain. Can we, together with a few independents, call ourselves a front?

The fifth problem: how to create a mass party and resolve problems in educating it?

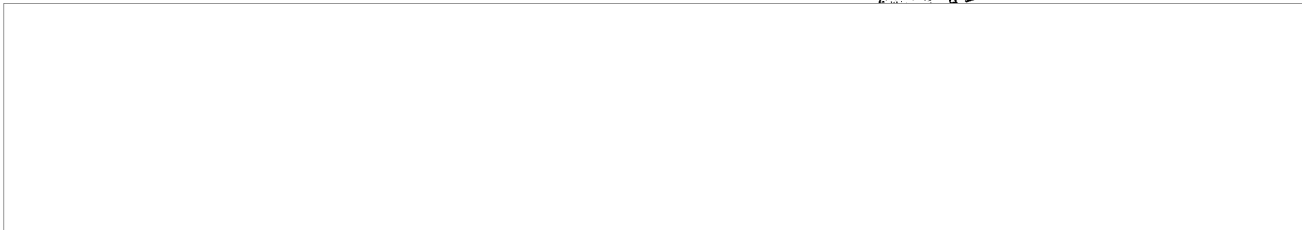
The sixth problem: how to preserve ideological purity, since in the present situation, India feels the corrupting influence of the parliamentary democracy with everything that is connected with it. For this reason, we must take stock of such a phenomenon as the Communist government of the state of Kerala. A deviation may arise, in the sense that someone will be persuaded not only to use bourgeois democracy, but to go into it with complete faith in it to replace the revolutionary proletarian concept with the concepts of bourgeois democracy, under the pretext that India is quite a special country, with special problems, with special leaders, like Nehru, and therefore, so to speak, its Marxism too must be a special brand. Such a deviation may arise. Tendencies toward this are further strengthened in that we have 13 linguistic

groups. In contradistinction to China and the Soviet Union, each 50X1-HUM linguistic group constitutes a large nationality, numbering approximately 30 to 60 million people each. None of these groups is merely a petty national minority, settled in some corner of the country. Each of them is spread out throughout the entire country. Each of these nationalities is well-developed. Each has its literature, its economy, its peculiar features.

One more problem is that of caste, the vestige of the feudal order which has not yet been completely eradicated, since bourgeois development, even in the economy, is not strong enough. This has an effect on the consolidation of the working class, as a class.

The class is divided into castes. The caste system is not only connected with religious problems. It is something bigger; it is a social organization. These two problems relate specifically to our country and should be specially considered, since in the absence of vigilance on our part, it may become the source of revisionism. This would impede the correct development of our working class and of the party.

I beg your forgiveness if I have taken up too much of your time.
I thank you.



FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF INSTITUTES FOR MARXISM-LENINISM
AND COMMISSIONS ON PARTY HISTORY UNDER THE CENTRAL COMMITTEES OF
COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES, WHICH TOOK PLACE IN BUCHAREST

50X1-HUM

25 AUGUST TO 2 SEPTEMBER 1959.

ITEM TWO OF THE AGENDA

Contents

1. "Problems of Historical Science in the Struggle Against Modern Revisionism." Speech by N. I. Shatagin (USSR)
2. Speech by Kalman Endre (Hungarian People's Republic)
3. Speech by Le Manh Trinh (Democratic Republic of Vietnam)
4. Speech by Tadeusz Daniszewski (Polish People's Republic)
5. Speech by Pavel Reiman (Czech People's Republic)
6. Speech by Sotir Manushi (Albanian People's Republic)
7. Speech by T'ien Ch'un-fang (People's Republic of China)
8. Speech by Ludwig Einicke (GDR)
9. Speech by Leo Michelson (Belgium)
10. Speech by ~~Tjoo Tik-Tjoen~~ (Indonesia)
11. Speech by Sanjajavin Avirmid (Mongolian People's Republic)
12. Speech by Petre Georgiyev (People's Republic of Bulgaria)
13. Speech ^{by} Norlund (Denmark)
14. Speech by Jakob Rosner (Austria)

SECRET

50X1-HUM

15. Speech by Nikolay Goldberger (Rumanian People's Republic)
16. Speech by N. R. Doniy (USSR)
17. Speech by J. Chambaz (France)
18. Speech by Luciano Gruppi (Italy)
19. Speech by J. Jacobs (Great Britain)
20. Concluding address by Shatagin (USSR) on Item Two of the Agenda
21. Resolution
22. Recommendations of commissions
23. Concluding address by Gheorghe Vasilichi

SECRET

TASKS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCE IN THE

50X1-HUM

STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM

Report by Comrade N. I. SHATAGIN (USSR) on item two of the agenda.

During the two years which have elapsed since our meetings at the conferences in Prague (1957) and in Berlin (1958), Marxist-Leninist historical science and Soviet historical science, as its composite part, have been principally engaged in studying the problems of Party history, -- the history of the contemporary workers' and Communist movement. These two years have been years of ^mintensive creative work for Communist historians in all countries, in studying the history of the Communist and workers' parties and the history of the international workers' and Communist movement. At the same time they have been years of uncompromising struggle against revisionism in historical science.

In the past two years, congresses of Communist and workers' parties have been held in a number of countries: the 21st Congress of the CPSU; the second session of the 8th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party; the Third Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party; the 9th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party; the 5th Congress of the Socialist United Party of Germany; the 7th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party; the 15th Congress of the French Communist Party; the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain; the 16th Congress of the U.S. Communist Party, and congresses of other fraternal parties.

- 1 -

SECRET

CONTROL

The decisions of the Congresses and the works and addresses by most prominent workers in the international Communist and workers' movement determined the course of the further development of historical science -- particularly, the scientific study of Party history and the current international workers' movement. These documents are imbued with a creative understanding of Marxism-Leninism, and represent a tremendous new contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory.

As a representative of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU, I should like to review in a simple enumeration the theoretical problems which were worked out in the decisions of the 21st Congress CPSU, and in Comrade Khrushchev's report. The most important of these are; 1.) the two phases of Communist society, and laws of the transition from socialism to Communism; 2.) Communism's material-technical base; 3.) the distribution of material goods under conditions of socialism and Communism; 4.) ways for the development of and closer relationships between kolkhoz and communal forms of property; 5.) the political organization of society during the period of the developing construction of Communism; 6.) the complete and final triumph of socialism; 7.) the development of a world socialist system, and the nations' more or less even transition from Socialism to Communism. The scientific treatment of these questions--on the basis of a generalized experience in building of Socialism and Communism in the USSR and in countries within the socialist camp -- has enriched the theory of scientific Communism.

Our party congresses delivered a shattering blow to revisionism, ^{50X1-HUM} considered a major threat in the international Communist movement. The treacherous, bourgeois essence of revisionism was exposed. Its adherents were banished from the Party and isolated. Simultaneously, great attention was everywhere focused on the struggle against dogmatism. But, as Comrade Khrushchev said, it is necessary to be on the alert, to expose and to adopt stern measures against every manifestation of revisionism and opportunism, which constitute a major threat to the Communist movement.

In our performance we Communist historians are guided by the decisions of the congresses, and by the instructions of our party leaders. We have strived and are striving to make a contribution to the struggle for purity of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the field of our work i.e., the field of historical science.

Marxist-Leninist historical science has been waging its own battle on the ideological front for the consistent fulfillment of the decisions issued by the Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1957 and by the party congresses. It has already contributed a great deal in exposing bourgeois reformist and revisionist ideologists, who falsely interpreted the basic problems of history of the international workers' and Communist movement and the history of the Communist parties.

The representatives of Marxist-Leninist historical science in the socialist and capitalist countries have been active during the past two years in the production of works devoted to the history of the international

workers' and Communist movement. They at the same time exposed the falsified and anti-historical nature of modern revisionist writings. It goes without saying that this dual problem was resolved and is being resolved in each country, in accordance with local conditions and problems.

Of tremendous importance in the struggle against modern revisionism are the works by the founders of scientific Communism. The works of K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin place a powerful weapon in our hands for the struggle against bourgeois ideology and against its infiltration, via reformism and revisionism, into the workers' movement.

In addition to the publication of classics of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union has published three collections of Lenin's works which are directed against opportunism: On Revisionism; Against Revisionism in Defense of Marxism; and On the International Workers' and Communist Movement. These collections have been widely disseminated in our country, and, to the best of our knowledge, they have been translated into other languages and republished in a number of countries.

Permit me briefly to recall what was accomplished during this time in the struggle with revisionism, in which historians - and especially Party historians - participated.

A great event in the ideological life of our Party was the publication of the book History of the Soviet Union's Communist Party, on which we reported at the previous Conference. The publication of this book is of great importance, as much for the struggle against modern revisionism

50X1-HUM

as for the wealth of experience it contains, concerning the Bolshevik Party's struggle with opportunists of all shades for over more than half a century, both in Russia and on an international scale.

Soviet publishers last year published a large number of copies of three collections of articles, devoted to the exposure of modern revisionism [and titled] Revisionism - A Grave Danger (State Publishing House of Political Literature); Against Modern Revisionism (published by Pravda); and Against Modern Revisionism (Publishing House of Foreign Literature). These collections contain articles by Soviet authors, as well as by representatives of the fraternal parties. The collections present a detailed criticism of the views of contemporary revisionists regarding 1.) the most basic problems of Marxist-Leninist theory; 2.) the history of the contemporary worldwide workers' and Communist movement; and 3.) questions on Party history.

During the past two years, the theoretical organ of the Party (the periodical Kommunist), and Soviet historical journals (Voprosy Istorii KPSS, Voprosy Istorii, Istoriya SSSR, Novaya i Noveyshaya Istoriya, Mirovaya Ekonomika i Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, and others) have published a large number of research and popular-scientific articles devoted to problems of history of our times and the exposure of the bourgeois essence of revisionism.

SECRET

It should be noted that Soviet historical science showed a ^{50X1-HUM} ~~marked~~ shift, after the 21st Party Congress, toward the study of the problems of Party history, and the history of the workers' and Communist movement during the past 40 years. This is evidenced primarily by the work plans of our country's scientific research institutes and higher educational institutions, particularly the work plan for the Institute for Marxism-Leninism under the CC-CPSU.

Among the most important works on which Soviet historians are workingⁿ, these should be noted:

The History of the CPSU -- a monographic research in 6 volumes; The History of the Comintern - a monograph in two volumes; Outline of the History of the International Workers' and Communist Movement - a popular-scientific textbook in one volume to be published jointly by the Institutes of Party History and by the Historical Commissions; The History of the Workers' and National-Liberation Movement in the 19th-20th Centuries - a textbook in three parts; History Outline of the Workers' Movement in Europe After World War II - a monograph in two volumes; Outline of the History of the Workers' Movement in the Orient After World War II - a monograph in - [two lines illegible].

A Brief History on the Communist Party in China = by Miao Chu-huang, and several other works.

In connection with the 40th anniversary of the bourgeois - democratic^{50X1-HUM} revolution of 1918 and the 40th anniversary of the founding of the German Communist Party, Historians in the German Democratic Republic published three volumes of documents on the history of the German workers' movement in recent times and a collection of documents from the first and second Congresses of the Communist International. Publication of the bulletin Internationale Arbeiterbewegung continues (supplement to Neues Deutschland). Articles against revisionists are published in magazines, primarily, in Einheit, the Party's theoretical organ. GDR historians (Comrades Walter Bartel, Leo Stern et al) have published valuable monographs on the problems of the latest history of the German workers' movement. For example we cite W. Bartel's work Leftists in the German Social Democracy in the Struggle Against Militarism and War.

In 1959 Czechoslovak historians published a large collection of articles, Against Revisionism, which comprises a critical review of Bernsteinism, Kautskyism, Austro-Marxism, and modern revisionism in a number of countries in Europe, America and Asia. A textbook on the history of the Czechoslovak Communist Party was an important landmark in the ideological life of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

Published in Warsaw in 1959 was Clement L.'s book Against Ideological Disarmament of the Party, which presents a persuasive critique on revisionism in Poland. The history of the Polish workers' movement was given detailed

SECRET

interpretation in the three-volume History of Poland, compiled by ^{50X1-HUM} ~~SOVIET~~ authors with much assistance from Polish scientists.

The 1958-1959 editions of Lupta de Classe (Class Struggle), theoretical organ of the Rumanian Workers' Party, published articles by N. Cretu on the works ^{by} Rumanian present-day historians; G. Tudor's Revisionism and the Essence of Modern Capitalism; C. Alesan's Modern Revisionism - A Major Threat in the Workers' Movement; and a whole series of other articles presenting a meaningful and well-founded critique on modern revisionism.

In addition to the publication of documentary materials exposing the counter-revolutionary activities of Losonczy, Imre Nagy's revisionist group, Hungary published a number of articles which contain a critique on the revisionist views of Imre Nagy, Gyorgy Lukacs, et al.

Bulgarian historians have done a great deal of work in exposing the revisionists and clarifying the problems which confront the international workers movement. They published a two-volume book of documentary materials on the history of the workers' movement in Bulgaria. Magazines and newspapers ran a considerable number of articles, exposing revisionism.

Historians in Albania, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Mongolian People's Republic published a large number of magazine and newspaper articles with a critique of revisionists (Cho'e Ch'ang-ik in Korea and Tran Duc Thao in Vietnam).

SECRET

The entire international Communist press subjected to a unanimous criticism the program of the Association of Yugoslav Communists which had been adopted at the latter's 7th Congress. This program was reviewed as a document in which revisionist views were most thoroughly expounded.

Thus, the works published in the past two years by Soviet historians and all other Marxist-Leninist historians subjected to an annihilating criticism revisionist conceptions of the fundamental issues of the international workers' and Communist movement and the history of the Communist Parties.

I have pointed out to you only very little of what Marxist-Leninist historians have accomplished in the past two years in clarifying questions on the history of the international workers' and Communist movement, as well as in exposing revisionism. I hope that the representatives of the fraternal Institutes of Party History and Historical Commissions will supplement the report with interesting new data.

It should be kept in mind that there have not been - nor are there - among the modern revisionists any great historians engaged in the study of the international workers' and Communist movement. Revisionists speak and write of history most frequently in the manner of polemics with Marxist-Leninists by distorting the historical course of events in every way possible!

From the great number of problems on which the struggle against revisionism on the historical front has been - and is being - waged, it is expedient that we Party - historians submit the following questions for discussion at this Conference:

1. The role of the Communist parties in the contemporary workers' movement. 50X1-HUM

2. Special features of the workers' movement at the contemporary stage.

3. Ways of transition from capitalism to socialism.

We shall try to pause briefly on these questions in our report, without claiming to treat them in an exhaustive manner.

I. The Role of the Communist Parties in the Contemporary Workers' Movement

With the growth of the forces of democracy, socialism and Communism, the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist parties is increasing. Their bonds with the working class and with the broad popular masses are becoming stronger. The forms and methods of their work are being perfected. The intensification of the Marxist-Leninist parties' leading role is a basic condition for further successes in building socialism in countries of the socialist camp. Especially on the increase is the role of the Party during socialism's evolution to Communism. The 21st Congress of the CPSU placed special emphasis on this logical sequence of party development.

Precisely for this reason did modern revisionists fulfill the bourgeoisie's social demands and direct its main blows against the Marxist-Leninist parties, their theoretical and practical activity, their organizational principles and ideological bases.

At a time when historical experience and our present actual conditions stress with special clarity the vital need for the Communist parties, both ^{50X1-HUM} during the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and especially, during the building of a Communist society, the revisionists conduct their malicious attacks on the Marxist-Leninist parties, and demand their liquidation. The revisionists take an especially violent stand against the CPSU, the generally acknowledged leading force in the world Communist movement.

A demand for the dissolution of the party and its replacement by the so-called "association for political action" was most openly expressed by the ~~rightist-opportunist~~ revisionist group in the Communist Party of the US, headed by D. Gates (former editor of the Daily Worker.) The fundamental motive advanced by the revisionists as justification for this demand is that the Party is allegedly the product of a certain revolutionary situation. Inasmuch as such a situation does not now exist in the United States there is no need for the existence of the Party. Thus it was a frank demand for liquidation. [This demand] dealt a blow to the very existence of the proletarian party which is at variance, according to Lenin's expression, with complete disarmament of the proletariat in favor of the bourgeoisie.

This conception of revisionism, which is playing into the hands of the American imperialist bourgeoisie, was actively supported by revisionists from a number of capitalist countries in Western Europe.

Among the Western European revisionists were even some (for instance, Harich [Haarich?] in the GDR and Onofri, in Italy) who began to claim^{50X1-HUM} that the Communist parties were becoming a drag on modern social development. They aimed their main fire against Leninist teachings on the Party, which, in their opinion, was absolutely not applicable to practical functioning of the workers' movement in highly-developed countries.

The history of the entire international Communist movement graphically illustrates the great transforming power of Marxist-Leninist teachings about the proletarian party and its ideological and organizational principles. The successes of the peoples in the USSR and in countries of the peoples' democracies in building socialism and Communism serve as the best proof of the power and vitality of Marxist-Leninist teachings on the party as a leading organization of the working class in its struggle to build socialism and Communism. These successes openly refute revisionist attempts to depict the role of the Communist parties as a political weapon, suitable only for ephemeral revolutionary activities.

The destructive and anti-national views held by Gates and his followers were defeated by US Communists. William Foster appealed for a high appraisal of proletarian party achievements and for an intensive study of the parties' political experience. "The Marxist-Leninist party," he wrote, "is the best type of leading organization under any circumstances with which the working class may be faced. [It is the best organization] for periods of prosperity, under conditions of fascist terror, in the course of imperialist wars, during the time of colonial revolutions,

in the struggle for power in the capitalist countries, and in building socialism." (Kommunist, No 4, 1958, p 86)

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These words by William Foster, honorary chairman of the United States Communist Party and an outstanding worker and prominent historian of the international workers' movement, gives a good definition of the importance of the Communist parties in the struggle for the interests of the proletariat and all workers and excellently characterize their role in the contemporary workers' movement.

A special section in the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the Party concerns the organizational principles, whose basic essence is democratic centralism. The theoretical principles of party organization and party construction were already being developed by Lenin during the formation of RSDRP. However, the development of Lenin's teaching on a new type of Party did not stop here, but is continuously progressing and improving by profiting from the experience of the worldwide workers' movement and the experience in building Socialism and Communism.

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin advanced and substantiated the basic Marxist-Leninist theses stating that in its struggle for authority, the working class has no other weapon except organization. The proletarian party, according to Lenin, is the highest form of class organization for the proletariat, uniting the most advanced and class-conscious workers within its ranks. It is armed with a knowledge of the laws of social development. It is firmly allied with the broad working masses. It is welded by a

unity of will, a unity of action and a unity of discipline. The Party is being built on the principles of democratic centralism, which stands ^{50X1-HUM} for (1) the electivity of all directing organs from top to bottom, (2) their accountability to Party organizations, (3) the subordination of the minority to the majority, and (4) the decisions of higher party organs are binding for the lower party organs. These guiding principles of the party's organizational structure are dictated by objective conditions in the class struggle of the proletariat for liberation from the bourgeois yoke and for the revolutionary transformation of society.

Why do the revisionists take up arms against democratic centralism in particular? Because democratic centralism is the essence of the party's organizational structure. A blow against it would constitute a blow against the Party itself.

Under the banner of fighting against J. V. Stalin's personality cult, the revisionists especially defame the past activity of the CPSU and other Communist parties. They vilify [these parties] with slander derived from murky sources of the mercenary yellow press. By distorting the heroic history of the Communist parties, they depict the [latter's] activity over a considerable period of time as one continuous path of error and inadequacy. The revisionists are attempting ^{(1) politically} ~~one-politically~~ to rehabilitate the different types of anti-party organizations (Trotskyites, rightists, etc.) which were at one time broken up or rejected, and their ringleaders; (2) to depict the fundamental ideological struggle in our parties at

various historical stages as an innocuous struggle of opinions, as a pursuit of better paths. On the question of the role of the Communist^{50X1-HUM} Party, the revisionists have been completely exposed as direct servants of the bourgeoisie.

In the further struggle with the manifestation of revisionism, great significance will be attached to the publication of textbooks on the history of the Communist and workers' parties. As has already been mentioned, the Soviet Union has published its book, History of the Soviet Union's Communist Party.

The history of CPSU offers (1) instructive examples of uncompromising struggle with revisionism in the Russian and the international workers' movements; (2) examples of the ideological defeat, and isolation from the masses of other political parties which labeled themselves as socialistic to deceive the masses, but actually betrayed the interests of the working class to propitiate the bourgeoisie. The CPSU has preserved its militant unity. It has been able to act as the leader in the socialist revolution, to become a guiding and directing force in the Soviet state, the inspirer and organizer of the triumph of Socialism and of Communist construction in the USSR. This has been due to the ideological and organizational defeat of Trotskyites, Zinovyevites, Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists and other foes of Leninism within the Party. The fraternal Communist and workers' parties originated, developed and grew strong in the fierce struggle with revisionism of all

shades and hues. The publication of textbooks on the history of the fraternal Communist and workers' parties, the preparation of which has^{50X1-HUM} begun by all the fraternal institutes, will be a great event in the ideological life of the international working class and the Communist movement, and will contribute to exposing revisionism.

The publication of textbooks on party history will generate more intensive research for the preparation of extensive monographs, devoted to the study of individual problems from the history of the Communist parties.

The study of party activity at the present stage, is of special importance for the creation of such works.

A detailed exposition of the parties' leading role in building socialism and Communism, based on the collection of factual material, will be necessary. This will disclose the unity of theory and practice and the authentic party approach to historical problems. The 21st Congress CPSU directed the attention of Soviet party historians specifically to the solution of such problems.

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...." The entire experience of the struggle for the triumph of socialism and Communism in our country and in other socialist countries confirms the correctness of one of the most important Leninist theses: that in the process of building a Communist society, the role of the Party must

grow, and not slacken, as modern revisionists claim." (N. S. Khrushchev, report at the 21st Congress of the CPSU, p 138).

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The Soviet press has already published brochures and articles which expound the detailed theoretical conclusions made by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev. But this is merely the initial step. We are confident that historians from both the Soviet Union as well as from the parties of other countries in the socialist camp will also focus their attention on resolving this problem. It is urgently necessary that this be done, both in the interests of studying the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the Party, as well as for the struggle against revisionists who would deny the expansion of the Party's leading role during the construction of socialism and Communism.

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[Incomplete sentence.] These attempts should be properly rebuffed.

We must create a scientifically reliable history of the Communist International. We must indicate how its program, organizational and tactical principles were developed. We must reveal its interrelationship with the sections, and its role in the worldwide workers' and Communist movement. We must at the same time present a scientific study of the most important problems in the history of the Comintern, primarily its struggle against opportunism (revisionism), of "leftists" and "rightists", dogmatism and sectarianism, for unity of action by the international proletariat in the struggle against Fascism; for peace; against war; for social progress, for implementing the principles of proletarian internationalism.

We have all the conditions, and opportunities for fulfilling this task. By joint efforts, we can do it in a short time. Having created a scientific history of the Comintern, we shall deal a shattering blow at revisionist distortions of its activities.

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During the next three or four years, fortieth anniversaries will be observed for the following: the Comintern Congresses (II, III, IV) and the foundation of a number of Communist parties; France, Spain and Great Britain (1960); China, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania (1961); and Japan (1962).

The task facing Marxist-Leninist historians in this connection is to observe befittingly these prominent dates in the history of the world Communist movement by publishing monographs, popular scientific works, and collections of documents and articles.

II. Characteristics of the Workers' Movement at the Present Stage

The unprecedented tremendous growth of the workers' movement and of the workers' and Communist parties should be considered one of the most remarkable characteristics of modern history. The working class has become the ruling class in 13 countries of the world. The number of workers and employees in all the countries of the world, who have become organized in trade unions increased to 160 million people (instead of 60 million prior to World War II), of which 95 million are united in the World Federation of Trade Unions. The number of Communist Parties increased to 83 parties, their membership surpassing the 33 million mark (prior to

SECRET

the war, there were 43 parties with a membership of 4,200,000). The workers' and Communist movement became one of the decisive factors in world politics and in the socio-political life of the popular masses in the capitalist states. 50X1-HUM

The strike movement in the post-war period in the United States, France, Italy, the Latin American countries and Japan took on a persistent nature and unexpectedly broad dimensions.

During the first three quarters of 1958, the United States had 2,195 strikes, participated in by 1,020,000 workers, with a loss of more than 11 million man-days. In July 1959, 500,000 workers in the steel-smelting industry went on strike for higher wages. In connection with this strike, President Eisenhower made the following significant comment at a press conference: "You are well aware of my concern that evidently it has become a custom in our country to propagate some theories which were advanced by Marx. One of them talks about the inevitability of violent and irreconcilable war against the working man, a war between the workers and those who hire them. It seems to me that this is an anti-American theory." (Pravda, 18 July 1959, No. 199)

Argentina for one year (July 1957 to July 1958) had 1,294 strikes involving 7,383,000 people. Italy experienced 793 strikes during 5 months in 1958, involving 792,000 workers. France listed 655 strikes in the first half of 1958, the total number of participants exceeding one million. From April 1957 to September 1958, over one million persons went on strike in England, and the number of lost work-days during the strike period

reached 7.5 million. There were 449 strikes in Japan [for this same period] with 725,000 strikers.

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In the pre-war decade (1931-1940) the number of strikers in the US, England, France, Belgium, Japan, Austria and Canada amounted to 20 million in round numbers, and the number of strike days was 191,233,000 man-days. Corresponding figures for the post-war decade (1946-1955) were 7-- ,324,000 [partly legible] strikers and 630,276,000 man-days. Thus, the number of strikers and of lost days due to the strike more than tripled.

The economic crisis of 1957-1958 greatly increased the number of unemployed. According to official-i.e., obviously reduced-figures, the number of unemployed at the end of 1958 was 5 million in the US; 1,627,000 in Italy; 1,107,000 in India; 570,000 in Japan; 467,000 in England; 339,000 in West-Germany; 312,000 in Canada, etc.

The intensification of the working class' struggle for improving its situation acquired significant dimensions and graphically showed the utter insolency of revisionist theories concerning a class world, a crisis-less development of capitalism and a so-called "people's capitalism."

Only those who are blinded by their hatred of Communism and the proletariat can fail to note all this, and can speak about "the lack of perspective" and, about "apathy" in the workers' movement. This is precisely what the revisionists do in talking about regression in the workers' movement, allegedly caused in the past by Comintern activity, and in the present by the Communist Parties' line of conduct. On this issue, the revisionist falsification of the contemporary workers' movement has acquired truly remarkable dimensions. Bourgeois politicians and ideologists commend the revisionists for initiating the contemporary workers' movement and falsifying its history.

The revisionists have taken the old, worn-out bourgeois fiction about "Moscow's hand" as their armament, and are accepting their patrons' gratitude for this. In the pages of the bourgeois anti-Communist Bible Handbook on World Communism (Handbuch des Weltkommunismus, Published by Karl Albert, Munich, 1958, p 177) the Jesuit philosopher Bochensky expressed sympathy for P. Hervé, the French revisionist. Edgar Hoover, head of the American FBI, openly praised the revisionist renegades in a speech given in Charleston on 16 June 1958. Many former Communist Party members, he said, having realized the errors in Communism, gave the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Congressional Committee invaluable

SECRET

aid in the struggle against subversive activities, i.e., against Communism. Hoover's statement stressed that, in practice, the struggle against the Party leads the revisionists to open collaboration with the bourgeois government and with its intelligence organs.

It is significant that at the London "Atlantic Congress" which took place at the beginning of June 1959 in commemoration of NATO's tenth anniversary, something took place of the nature of a competition in attempts to exaggerate anti-Communist history in which many well-known reformists participated along with well-known bourgeois politicians, scientists, diplomats and journalists.

The Dutch bourgeoisie and its party exhibited a pathetic concern for Brandsen's revisionist group. They very actively supported this renegade group at the last parliamentary elections (March 1959) thinking, with its help, to deprive the Dutch Communist Party of its representation in Parliament. However, the worker-electors in Holland resolved the matter in their own way; they gave their vote to the Communist candidates and rejected the candidates from the revisionist clique.

Despite the support of the bourgeoisie and the state apparatus, the revisionists did not succeed in attracting any significant sector of the workers to their side. In our further activity in exposing the traitorous essence of revisionism, we must assist the Communist and workers' parties to overcome finally its influence on the working class.

Marxist-Leninist classic authors and their outstanding followers have traced in their works the historical natural development of ~~the~~

the workers' and Communist movement, its invincible power, and its peculiar traits, in individual countries.

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Using the works of the founders of scientific Communism and their successors' works as a basis, and drawing conclusions from the documentary and factual material, we must create fundamental works on the history of the international workers' movement and the history of the workers' movement in individual countries. Thus a shattering blow will be dealt to bourgeois and revisionist conceptions which distort the history of the proletariat and its liberation struggle.

Our most important task is that the problems of the history of the international workers' movement be resolved as a whole, as the study of a single process in the development of the working class, with all its organizations - political, trade union, cooperative, etc. We must describe the struggle of the Communist and workers' parties for the unity of working class action. We must point out the reasons for dissension in the workers' movement and the people who are responsible for it, i.e. reformists and opportunists of all shades and colors. We must completely expose the pernicious role of the leaders of the opportunists whose separatist actions have wrought incalculable calamities upon the working class in all countries.

Communist historians have begun to work on the history of the workers' movement within their own countries. We hope that they will describe in detail the proletariat's heroic past and its present struggle,

remembering Lenin's words that all countries shall attain socialism, and that this is inevitable.

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Special notice should be given to the necessity for studying the history of the workers' movement during World War II and the postwar period. Then it will become all the more clear how groundless and scientifically unfounded are the revisionist fictions on the passivity of the Communists and of the working class in general during the war years.

In studying the most important problems in the world-wide workers' and Communist movement, we must not forget the task of writing books on the most outstanding fighters for the working class cause and for the Communist cause; those stoic and dedicated revolutionaries who gave up their lives in the struggle against the enemies of the proletariat. Books must also be written about those who currently head the working class movement for the triumph of socialism and Communism.

We need collective international publications of historical works on the current problems in the history of the international workers' and Communist movement. In particular, it would be useful during 1959-1964 to prepare and publish a manual on the history of the international workers' and Communist movement during the 19th and 20th centuries, as we had agreed at the Berlin Conference last year, a draft of which we are submitting to the Conference for consideration.

It would be well to publish, through joint efforts, a collection^{50X1-HUM} of articles titled The First International and the Contemporary Workers' Movement, in observance of the First International's centennial.

In our study of the history of the contemporary workers' movement, we must wage a battle against all who distort this history and who pursue a line which is detrimental to Marxist-Leninist teachings, to working class unity and to the socialist camp.

III. Paths For the Transition From Capitalism to Socialism

One of the basic issues over which Marxists-Leninists are waging a fierce struggle against revisionism is the question of the paths for the transition from capitalism to socialism, which [issue] relates to the specific features of modern government-monopoly capitalism.

Marxists do not refute ~~the~~ certain changes in the development of capitalism over the past decades. At the same time, however, they do decisively reject the revisionists' anti-scientific assertions on (1) a basic change in the economic nature of capitalism; (2) on the modern bourgeois supraclass state; (3) on the possibility of expanding all-state planning under capitalism; and (4) on the socialist nature of bourgeois nationalization etc.

It is indisputable that the past few years have witnessed a great increase in government monopoly trends in such economically developed countries as England, France, West Germany, Canada, Italy, and others.

The government's share in the total amount of capital investment^{50X1-HUM} a number of countries fluctuates from 14 to 36 percent. This share is especially high in Austria. In the United States, the government operates atomic industry and military enterprises, a part of the railroads, large hydroelectric power stations, credit establishments etc. One fifth of the workers and employees in France are engaged in enterprises which belong to the government. All this is true. But what conclusions should be drawn from these facts? Does this increase in state monopoly trends seem unexpected to the Marxists? Not at all. Back in 1917, Lenin wrote that the epoch of imperialism is "an epoch of gigantic capitalist monopolies, an epoch when monopolistic capitalism will develop into a government-monopoly capitalism." (V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 25, page 382). Consequently, the revisionists' argument on any kind of basic new phenomena in the development of capitalism are absolutely without bases.

The revisionists consider the changes which have occurred in the capitalist economy as being basic, identical with the growth of socialism within the framework of capitalism. They attempt to distort the essence of state capitalism, by construing it as a form of development of the forces of socialism. Thus, for example, R. Ratkovich, one of the Yugoslav publicists, recently wrote that "the state is withdrawing the ownership of the means of production from the capitalist class;" "at the same time as state ownership expands, the capitalist class will disappear;" "from the time

that state property ceases to have individual owners its interests society will be defended by representatives of the general owner, i.e. those who administer the property in the owner's name -- officials and bureaucrats. This is how the revisionists depict government-monopoly capitalism. However, it is actually not so.

Engels, at the end of the last century, in exposing the frauds of bourgeois socialists, who attempted to pass off any forms of nationalization of production as socialism, wrote "But neither the transfer into the hands of joint-stock companies and trusts nor the conversion into government property takes away the features of capitalism from the productive forces. This is obvious in the case of joint-stock companies and trusts. As regards the modern state, it is nothing other than an organization which bourgeois society sets up for itself to protect the general, outward conditions of the capitalist method of production from encroachment by workers as well as by individual capitalists. The modern state, whatever its form, is purely a capitalist machine, a government of capitalists, an ideal aggregate capitalist. The more productive forces it seizes as its property, the more it becomes a genuine aggregate capitalist, and the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain hired workers, proletarians. Capitalist relations are not eliminated. On the contrary, they reach an extreme, the highest point." (K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Volume 15, page 540). Engels proved that state property under conditions of capitalism only prepares for a revolutionary upheaval, and does not by itself represent such a revolutionary upheaval.

Under the conditions of modern capitalist society, government-monopoly^{50X1-HUM} capitalism is the outcome of the further development of the process of concentrating and centralizing capital and the formation of monopolies which gradually concentrate into their hands the key positions in the country's economy. Then, by relying on their economic power, they seize the government and gain control over its apparatus for the purpose of direct interference in the country's economy, for obtaining the highest profits, and for acquiring the most advantageous positions, etc. V. I. Lenin pointed all this out in a scientific manner, with irrefutable facts, in a whole number of his works, especially in his outstanding work, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism. Capitalism's modern development offers new corroboration to the correctness of the Leninist theory on imperialism.

By revising the Leninist theory on imperialism and by ignoring indisputable facts, the revisionists -- especially the American ones -- characterize modern government as "the government of general welfare." This is how Browder attempts to describe American government in his recently published book Marx and America (Browder, E., Marx and America, New York, 1958, page 146). With this in view, he again brings out into the open the theory of America's unique character, [a theory] long since defeated and refuted by life, and vainly attempts to refute Marxist teachings on the absolute and relative impoverishment of the working class. Browder, in particular, attempts to prove that allegedly "in America the general law of capitalist accumulation is expressed rather in the high level of workers'

SECRET

wages than in impoverishment." (p 24) It is indisputable that, by vi¹⁻¹_{50X1-HUM} of historical conditions, the level of wages in the US is higher than in the majority of other countries. But Browder attempts to prove something quite different. He is trying to discover a "new economic law, by which the limitless increase in workers' wages and, consequently, the creation of a generally prosperous society are inherent in the American capitalist system."

The unemployment currently raging in the United States is one of the most graphic manifestations of the process of working class impoverishment, and at the same time refutes Browder's revisionist fabrications.

The revisionists did not advance any new creative ideas in their views regarding the question of changes in imperialism's modern economy. They are merely engaged in rephrasing modern bourgeois apologetic theories on the second industrial revolution, on a "regulated economy" etc.

In eulogizing modern capitalism, the revisionists naturally distort the Marxist theory on classes and on the class struggle; the correctness of this theory is constantly being re-affirmed. The over 40-year old course of development of the Soviet government and the international Communist movement has offered a great deal of material in corroboration of the Marxist-Leninist theory on classes.

In defending the basic position of Marxist teaching on classes and the class struggle, the Communist parties take into account that a special, specific correlation of class forces, which cannot be stipulated in advance,

may develop at different stages in different countries. This means^{50X1-HUM} in setting out from the basic positions of the teaching on classes, the Marxists must in each concrete instance reveal the specific traits and laws characteristic of a given situation in the correlation of class forces. The Declaration at the Moscow Conference, materials from the 21st Party Congress CPSU and from the congresses of the fraternal Communist parties offer examples of such a creative approach from the Marxist-Leninist position to the question of a new correlation of class forces in the capitalist countries at the present stage. The Declaration expounds on such a very important law of modern development as the acute aggravation of contradictions in the capitalist countries between large monopolistic groups of capital on the one hand, and all the remaining strata of capitalist society on the other. This [development law] creates "objective premises for the unification of the broadest population strata under the leadership of the working class and of its revolutionary parties in the struggle for peace; in defense of national independence and democratic freedoms; for the improvement of workers' living conditions; and the implementation for agrarian reforms for the overthrow of the autocracy of monopolies which betray the national interests."

In creatively developing the scientific theory of classes and the class struggle, Marxist-Leninists are currently greatly emphasizing the struggle against right-socialist and revisionist attacks on the Marxist-Leninist class doctrine. Under the pretext that the class structure of

SECRET

society has become extremely complicated under modern capitalism, reformists and revisionists are trying in every way possible to prove that the Marxist concept of "class" does not reflect reality now. They oppose various modern popular bourgeois theories to the Marxist class doctrine, as for instance, the theory of "social stratification." Adherents of this theory assert that it is the description of [class] strata rather than class analysis which presents a more accurate picture of modern bourgeois society's social structure. In place of the two classes, i.e. proletariat and bourgeoisie, which Marx and Lenin wrote about, it is emphasized that at present only a middle stratum develops which, supposedly, absorbs the other two. The most open defenders of this theory, after the bourgeois sociologists, are (1) rightist socialists like K. Crossland, the British Laborite, and (2) Austrian socialists, who stated this point of view in their recently adopted program written by Benedict Kautsky. Certain revisionists like Viatr in Poland, Lukics in Yugoslavia, and others, expound these same views, but in a more veiled form.

The revisionists are also trying to falsify the essence of the Leninist definition of classes. For Lenin, one of the most essential signs of class formation is the relationship of people to the means of production. The Yugoslav revisionist Gorichar tries to prove that the main indication of a class is its placement in social production. He defends this thesis only in order to interject another revisionist position: that the main

role in production under modern state capitalism is played not by the bourgeoisie but by the state and its bureaucratic apparatus. This means that bureaucracy, rather than the bourgeoisie, is the exploiter in present day conditions. Thus, in place of antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, he poses a contradiction between the working class and the "economic-political" bureaucracy. The class war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie which is intensifying each day in the capitalist countries, is the best refutation of all these revisionist fabrications.

Revisionist assertions that (1) capitalism is going through a second industrial revolution; (2) that the increase in government-monopoly trends and the nationalization of a number of industrial branches are equivalent to the establishment of socialism; (3) that the law of relative and absolute impoverishment, discovered by Marx, has ceased to exist; (4) that bourgeois states are converting, under the influence of all these changes, into a state of "general prosperity" -- all these are a recapitulation of the theories (refuted by experience) expounded by Strachey (cf his book Modern Capitalism) and by Benedict Kautsky (cf. Program of the Socialist Party in Austria).

At the first and especially the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism, significant changes took place in the inter-relationship between classes and within individual classes in countries throughout the world. The revisionists tried to present the case as though these changes

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do not corroborate but completely reverse the Marxist-Leninist theory ^{50X1-HUM} on classes and the class struggle. The Italian revisionist Giolitti and his followers declared that technological progress would be the moving force in history, and not class struggle, as Marxism-Leninism teaches and life itself corroborates. In this connection, another revisionist (Imre Nagy) asserted that in the atomic age the deciding role in society belongs to the intelligentsia, and not to the working class. Individual representatives of revisionism go so far as to say that they divide the bourgeoisie into two independent classes: the class of the liberal bourgeoisie and the class of the reactionary bourgeoisie. Even in this case, the revisionist pronouncements are merely a repetition of the old bourgeois theory on technocracy, which at one time was supported by such a counter-revolutionary organization as the "industrial party" in the USSR.

We are obliged to completely expose the revisionist distortions of the Marxist-Leninist theory on classes and the class struggle and to apply this theory consistently in our historical research.

In close connection with the socio-economic features of postwar capitalism and with the question of the struggle and competition of the two world systems, the Marxist-Leninists during the past 15 years have thoroughly studied and are studying the question of the roads taken by individual countries in their transition from capitalism to socialism.

In further developing the Marxist theory on socialist revolution, V. I. Lenin came to the conclusion on the possibility of breaking the

imperialist chain originally in several countries, or in one country ^{taken}_{50X1-HUM} separately. Simultaneously, the triumph of socialism in a majority of countries becomes impossible, in view of the acute aggravation in the uneven economic and political development of capitalism. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the triumph of the socialist revolution in countries of the peoples' democracies in Europe and Asia constituted a real triumph of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the socialist revolution.

In addition, the practice of the international Communist and workers' movement, the more than 40-year experience in the development of the socialist revolution, and the existence of a dictatorship of the proletariat pointed out the necessity for a further development of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the socialist revolution.

Shining examples of such a creative approach to the Marxist theory were the 20th and 21st CPSU Congresses, which offered a new contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution. The congresses took into consideration the world-wide historical changes on the international scene -- the spread of socialism beyond the boundaries of one country and its transformation into a world system. The congresses stressed, at the same time, the general nature of the main laws of development in socialist construction. In addition, the congresses noted that there is opportunity in various countries for an even greater variety of forms for the transition to socialism, including the parliamentary path.



This new approach to modern laws of development in the socialist^{50X1-HUM} revolution enriched Marxist theoretical thought. Each Communist party, in accordance with the concrete conditions of its country, began to develop the problems relating to the forms of transition to socialism, in conformity with the historical conditions in the life of their people. Communists in all countries are constantly stressing their loyalty to the basic principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution. They proceed from the fact that the concrete historical features within individual countries do not revoke the general laws of the socialist revolution but merely determine the original character and special form of their manifestation.

Revisionists in the Communist parties of various countries adopted a diametrically opposite position on this issue. In expounding on the basic changes in capitalist economy, and in exaggerating and magnifying national and historical features in the development of various countries, the revisionists are actually rejecting the general laws on the socialist revolution. They "absolutize" [make a dogma of] the peaceful transition to socialism, identifying it with the evolutionary process. For example, the American revisionist Gates asserts that the working class' struggle in the United States will have a purely evolutionary character and will lead to a certain "transformation" of capitalism into socialism. Similar positions were taken by the French revisionist Herve. In his brochure Revolution and Fetishes, he proclaimed the necessity for adapting socialism "to the demands and

changes of the times," i.e., the gradual conversion of capitalism into socialism. The Italian revisionist Giolitti also took the same position in his booklet Reform and Revolution. 50X1-HUM

Proceeding from the erroneous thesis on the basic change in the nature of modern capitalism, the revisionists examine the peaceful parliamentary path for achieving power -- which they interpret in the spirit of the old reformism -- as the sole possible path for the transition to socialism. Taking the position of the long-refuted theories of the Austro-Marxists, O. Bauer and K. Renner, they repeat after them that the forcible acquisition of power and dictatorship of the proletariat is, allegedly, applicable only to economically-backward countries with a poorly developed democracy.

Revisionist speeches against the Marxist-Leninist theory on the socialist revolution suffered a definite rebuff in the Communist parties in all countries. P. Togliatti, secretary-general of the Italian Communist Party, wrote, "We, Communists, are not adherents of violence for violence's sake. We always seek the least painful path for socialist development. We know that today, when socialism has gained so many victories in the world, the possibilities for a less painful development are much greater than they were yesterday. However, all this by no means signifies that we can exclude the possibility of violent class conflicts. Before us stands a persistent and crafty foe, who is prepared for everything and, who cannot be deceived or lulled to sleep." (P. Togliatti, The Reality of Facts and Our Actual Conditions Disprove Irresponsible Defeatism "Kommunist" No 12, 1956, p 103)

Revisionist attacks on the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution were decisively condemned by the Communist and workers' parties in all countries.

We, Communist historians, are faced with the task of studying more thoroughly than heretofore the processes taking place in the economy and class structure of the world capitalist system. This will give us an opportunity to better expose the apologists for modern imperialism, the reformists and the revisionists.

The world socialist system has already been in existence for ten years. Much historical experience has been accumulated. However, the history of the establishment and development of the world socialist system has not yet been written. The Institute for Marxism-Leninism and the Institutes and Commissions for Party History have been summoned above all to resolve this problem.

The strength of the CPSU and of the fraternal Communist and workers' parties consists above all (1) in their monolithic unity and solidarity based on the eternally vital and continuously developing Marxist-Leninist theory; (2) their dedicated service to the working class and to its true ally, the working peasantry; (3) and their selfless struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society on Communist principles.

The path of the heroic struggle for revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into a socialist one, as chosen by the Marxist-Leninist parties, was crowned (1) with the victory of the socialist revolution in

the USSR and then in the countries of the peoples' democracies; (2) ^{with} 50X1-HUM socialism's complete and final triumph in the USSR; and (3) with the formation of the world socialist system.

The social-democratic parties, which have long been traitors to Marxism, as well as the modern revisionists, who still consider themselves Communists, are luring the working class onto the reformist path, a path of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie. However, there is no more powerful teacher than life itself. Social Democrats have acquired power more than once in a number of capitalist countries. And even now, they head the government, or are a part of it, in some capitalist countries. However, the capitalist order with its machinery for class oppression and workers' suppression continues to remain inflexible in these countries. The proletariat in the capitalist countries is learning from its own experience that the most important reason for such a situation is the Social-Democratic leaders' betrayal of Marxism and the working class cause, and their opportunistic activities. In experiencing the increasing capitalist oppression and viewing socialism's successes in the USSR, and in the countries of the peoples' democracies, the working class in the bourgeois countries is ever more frequently turning away from the rightist social-democrats and from the neoteric revisionists. The working class is rallying more and more closely around the banner of its Communist parties, which summon the people to the struggle against the unlimited power of the bourgeoisie,

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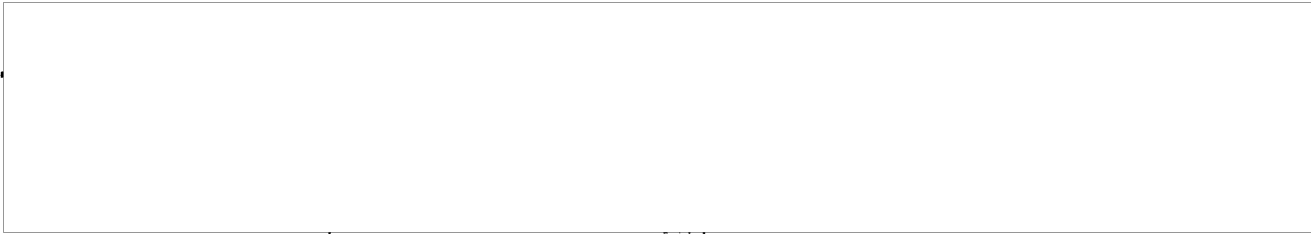
a struggle for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and for socialism.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that the history of the individual Communist parties, the history of the international workers' and Communist movement has exceptional significance in the matter of education in the revolutionary spirit, in the spirit of the proletarian internationalism of members of the Communist and workers' parties, the working class, the peasantry, and the broad strata of laborers in general. Knowledge of this history will facilitate understanding in solving the problems confronting the parties and the working class of any country at the contemporary stage.

This commits us to write works on the history of the Communist and workers' parties, and on the history of the international workers' and Communist movement. These works must describe the invincible power of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the great organizational force of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the struggle for the triumph of Socialism and Communism throughout the world. They must reveal the traitorous essence in the policy and practice of rightist Social-Democrats and neoteric revisionists.

Permit me to express my confidence that the problems which confront us will be successfully resolved, and that, by our next conference, historical-party science will be enriched by new valuable [incomplete]

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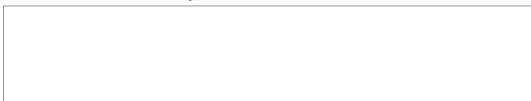
On Item Two of the Agenda

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The attack on Marxist historiography and, especially, on party historiography, played an important role in the general revisionist campaign. In Hungary, this campaign was directed against the people's democracy and against Marxist-Leninist theory. To a considerable degree it facilitated preparations for the 1956 counterrevolution.

Without substantiation the revisionists rejected the results achieved by Marxist historiography, and proclaimed a "reappraisal" of the role of the Hungarian people and the Hungarian working class. They wanted to clear the path -- by ideological means -- for restoring capitalism, veiled under the guise of "national Communism." This is the very path of which a part was demonstrated to the Hungarian people during the days of the counterrevolution.

The participants in the discussion on historical problems, which had evolved prior to the counterrevolution, of course indignantly rejected the charge of aspiring to restore the bourgeois order. Many of them even denied that such a danger existed. Under the pretext of defending and restoring "true Marxism," the revisionists attacked Marxism-Leninism. The discussions were held in a tense, almost hysterical atmosphere. Even the more moderate "critical" speeches were often pervaded by an overly emotional attitude. This in itself permitted the supposition that (1) it was a question of something which exceeded the limits of fundamental, methodical and



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organizational-political questions of historiography or personal dis^{150X1-FUM} and (2) that the majority of "critics" were -- wittingly or unwittingly -- a tool for other, broader plans.

After the counterrevolution was quelled, revisionism was gradually defeated among the historians, too. Now in Hungary there is no longer any open revisionist attack on the basic positions of Marxist-Leninist historiography.

However, it would be unjustifiable optimism to believe that all former revisionists have realized their errors, have completely sounded the depth [of these errors] so that they are ready and able to correct them. The three years which have elapsed have been too short a term for historians whose views temporarily held a certain confusion, but who were honest people, to be able to correctly interpret these questions of historiography. The revisionist slogan "Reappraisal of values" still circulates among historians. In this respect it is far from easy to clarify what it is really necessary to reappraise in our former historical judgments,

Historians in our country, who are or wish to be Marxists, have doubtlessly committed many errors. We have frequently discussed historical facts arbitrarily, unhistorically and subjectively. We are all aware that these errors emerged out of the personality cult and the dogmatism connected with it. What should be considered in this respect is that Marxist historiography began to develop in Hungary only after the country's liberation.

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Its cadres [i.e. historiographers] had to be developed and had to assimilate experience in the realm of history. Aided by instructions issued at the 20th CPSU Congress, the Party and historians dedicated to the party exposed these errors. However, the revisionists exploited and are exploiting the errors which Marxists have made in historiography as well as in other fields. Wherever they find a weak spot in our work, they begin to attack. With this as a point of departure, they try to undermine and destroy the entire structure. Often, they direct an attack against Marxism under the pretext of correcting an error, even where no error of any kind existed.

It is not always easy to separate this type of attack from the opinion of a well-intentioned historian who wishes to correct an erroneous judgment, but does not proceed scientifically, in accordance with Marxist-Leninist teaching.

We do not wish to stigmatize as a revisionist anyone who held an erroneous position at one time. But we are obligated to criticize [him?].

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... movements, aimed toward the acquisition and expansion of bourgeois freedoms -- and only these aspirations are positive, and independent of time and place. They furiously attack the Party at a time when the Party sets itself socialist goals and is converting to the application of proletarian methods. Recently one of our country's docents stated that the

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establishment of the Hungarian Soviet Republic was premature and, therefore, ^{50X1-HUM} incorrect. Such a viewpoint is certainly not new. Social-democrats have always taken this stand. What is new is that this old opportunist banality is now present^{ed} with an allegedly "Marxist-Leninist" trimming.

The revisionists see nothing positive in the policy which our Party is conducting in the second socialist period of the developing people's democracy. A very characteristic concept which considers this fact is that we returned to a "spontaneous struggle for socialist measures" after 1948-1949. (Reports on Party History, October 1956), although the 7th Congress of the Communist International had allegedly rejected these measures "forever."

Our revisionists (who generally see only a number of sectarian errors in Comintern history) often refer to the 7th World Comintern Congress, however strange this may be. This, in their opinion, is the essence of the change planned by the 7th World Comintern Congress, viz: that, in retrospect, we should not disclaim the Leninist doctrine and the practical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat; "however, in looking to the future, we must examine these [doctrine and practice] as museum exhibits, and supplant them with a certain variety of the so-called "plebeian democracy." It is quite obvious that such a viewpoint is a revisionist falsification of the decisions by ^{the} 7th World Congress of the Communist International.

Similar anti-Marxist and revisionist views are encountered in the brochure of a certain Hungarian historian, who points out that one could imagine socialist development even without the leadership of the Communist Party and of the working class. He even vaguely implies that some peoples can fulfill the tasks of socialist revolution even at the stage of the struggle for national liberation and for democratic transformation. (We shall not touch upon the many other revisionist views which this brochure defends: e.g. (1) that we must decline the theory of a general crisis in capitalism; (2) that it is inevitable that the class struggle will weaken during the building of socialism; (3) that a feature of the people's democracy is the participation of workers and peasants in exercising state authority, etc.)

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Thus, the socialist revolution completely disappears from view. It dissolves into national-democratic, i.e., bourgeois transformations. However, history has proved the reverse: that bourgeois-democratic transformation may also take place within the framework of socialist revolution and in connection with it.

The revisionist concept of an authoritarian "plebeian democracy" was clearly and precisely propounded more than once by the aesthete Gyorgy Lukacs. In 1947 he wrote, "The principle of a people's democracy is only beginning to be confirmed, especially in our country, as in many other countries. But even in those cases where it realizes its goals, it does not

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intend to abolish the capitalist means of production. Therefore, it cannot even attempt to create a classless society. (Literature and Democracy, Budapest, 1947, p 15) In June 1956 he expressed the thought that in the period following Lenin's death, the struggle for socialism was, allegedly, no longer the basic problem, but it was primarily, the struggle between fascism and antifascism. At present, however, the basic problem is the struggle between the forces of war and peace. (Public Review, Budapest, June-July 1956).

On the basis of a detailed analysis of Lukacs' aesthetic and philosophic views, it was proven that both these statements are not casual errors, but elements of one and the same concept. Many researchers point out that Lukacs did not go beyond general democratic problems (First, Joseph Revay in Literary Research, Budapest 1950; then, following the counterrevolution, Hans Koch in Unity, July 1957; Andreas Gedo in Party Life, Nov-Dec 1957; and Joseph Szigeti in Public Review, Nov-Dec 1957). However, his views exerted a great influence on the historians.

Revisionists who are generally inimical to the dictatorship of the proletariat, utilize the fact that our party has proclaimed as incorrect the strategic task set up by the 2d Congress of the Great Communist Party, i.e. the dictatorship of the proletariat as an immediate goal of the struggle. To be precise, it is sectarian errors, committed after 1928, which were used by them in order to reject:



the party's past history

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as a whole, or at least up to 1937. In June 1956 Lukacs propounded a theory on the permanent existence within our Party of the struggle of two lines: "the sectarian line" which he identified with the Bela Kun fraction; and "the antisectarian line", whose representatives Lukacs considers to be members of the Eugene Landler fraction, including himself. This line was then continued until the time of Imre Nagy. This entire construction, which is completely artificial and false, is contradictory to historical facts. But remnants of it are found even today.

It is true that our Party committed many "leftist" errors. But it is no less true that the Party has always had comrades who have held correct positions, or at least more correct positions. But neither the errors nor the efforts designed to correct them can be ascribed exclusively to one or the other fraction. Moreover, the Party has always had rightist opportunist views and trends, in addition to the "leftist" exaggerations and healthy revolutionary efforts. The revisionists have been silent about this: under the slogan of "anti-sectarianism," they have grouped these views into one whole with correct Marxist positions. This basically erroneous and arbitrary combination had as its aim to create "historical roots" for^o the revisionist counterrevolutionary group which had already been organized at that time. These roots would allegedly support, from a historical point of view, its [the group's] right to existence and would grant it an opportunity to intensify its influence.

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According to revisionist conceptions, sectarian errors are so much a feature of the entire history of our Party that they absolutely do not leave any place for positive results. Back in 1948, Lukacs had spoken about the "inefficacy of the underground movement." [Reference not listed] He passed over in silence all our Party successes, as well as the fact that, for all of its organizational weaknesses, our Party has always been a factor in Hungarian political life. The ruling classes have always had to consider this factor, and did consider it. This factor, by its own existence, hindered them from arbitrarily oppressing the working class.

The revisionists endeavor to depict the entire history of the Party and of the working class in the gloomiest of tones. Some even subject the "theoretical" foundations to this treatment. They maintain that party history must deal first of all, with Party errors, since it is precisely from these that the most useful conclusions may be derived for the further work of the Party.

Practically, this is expressed in the fact that several historians are seeking the cause for all the weaknesses and failures of the Party exclusively in its policy. They completely forget the terror and the difficulties connected with the underground. If the Party failed to exert any extensive influence on the peasantry, they [these historians] explain this by saying that the Party did not attach any importance to this issue. This [statement] belies the facts.

Without considering facts, some of them [these historians] present^{50X1-HUM} the Party struggle in such a way as though it were directed merely against social-democracy and not against the bourgeoisie. Behind this position lies a renunciation of Lenin's....[incomplete sentence]

Some historians are critical of the fact that up to now too much significance has been attached to the outside intervention in writing the history of the defeat of the "Hungarian Soviet Republic, and too little attention to the internal factors. However, when it is a question of the establishment of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, many ascribe this principally to external factors (the disorder resulting from the war, the note from Vicks [?]).

In the words of some historians, the development of the Hungarian People's Democratic Revolution was primarily the result of the presence of Soviet troops. As though anti-fascism, striving for freedom, and the revolutionary spirit of the laboring masses which had become a significant force in 1944, played hardly any role at all.

Together with such a scornful attitude toward the workers, is an incorrect evaluation of the people's creative forces. People create history, some of these [historians] say. Therefore, the people must bear the responsibility for fascism, war and counterrevolution. Thus, the picture is clear, even though logic is lacking. According to the revisionists, the blame for the errors and the failures falls on the Party, the working class or the people. But positive results and successes (if such are

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acknowledged at all) are a matter of external conditions, and a fortunate combination of circumstances.

Much has been said in our midst concerning the old incorrect interpretation and the new correct interpretation of the concept of "partynost'" [party spirit], However, the revisionist so-called "partynost'" actually conceals a repudiation of the Leninist concept of "partynost'." It conceals

bourgeois objectivism,

the capitulation before bourgeois and petty bourgeois concepts. The revisionists zealously and consistently strive to diminish the importance of the whole Party struggle, all the mass revolutionary movements. Just as zealously and consistently they attempt to exaggerate the importance of the role of all opposition, fluctuating groups, all adherents of the "third path," and to point out their positive traits, and if there are no such traits, they simply make them up.

One of the main characteristics of modern revisionism is its fervent sympathy with the ideas of Social-Democracy. This is fully understandable, since modern revisionism is merely a "modernized" version of the old-type social-democratic revisionism. The two have a great deal in common. In historiography, revisionism shows a basic tendency toward full "rehabilitation" of Social Democracy. It strives to conceal and deny its errors and sins, and to refute the criticism leveled against it.

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Even now there are frequent instances when historians find justification for opportunist social-democratic views or the activity of the social-democratic center, and sometimes even of rightist social-democrats.

The revisionists placed the responsibility for failure of the Party's ventures underground, for the purpose of creating a united front, exclusively on our Party policy. Thus they relieved the social-democrat leaders of all responsibility, although it was precisely the latter's anti-Communism and rejection which caused the failure of all attempts to form a united front. In fact, the tactical errors were so sharply stressed as to lead to a justification of the opportunist activity of Social Democrats.

The revisionists justified (1) the anti-party fractions which had formed outside of the Party and which had posed as Communist fractions and (2) their leaders who had brought so much harm to Hungary's workers' movement. Our revisionists display too much sympathy with bourgeois democratic, radical, liberal, "people's" and other petty-bourgeois opportunist parties and groups. Some revisionists even go so far as to deny the fascist nature of the Horthy regime, and even look with obvious favor upon its Anglophile wing. Thus, for example, one of the orators belonging to the notorious Petofi circle criticized the fact that the so-called "fluctuating policy" of the Horthy regime[incomplete].

The revisionists also concocted an independent theory, aimed to create an impression that their benevolent, non-critical attitude toward petty

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bourgeois anti-Marxist trends was not only justifiable, but was also the sole correct, scientifically founded [attitude]. The revisionist viewpoint was here too, formulated with maximum clarity by Lukacs. He proposed the slogan of "immanent criticism" (Tarsadalmi Szemle June-July 1956. A critique of this slogan is contained in the article by Herman....[incomplete]). This slogan became widespread among historians and unfortunately still circulates today. According to this slogan it would be incorrect and unhistorical to criticize other parties from a Marxist point of view. Everything must be measured by its own yardstick, he said. The activity of each party must be evaluated only from the position of its own ideology. Criticism is permissible only in that case when the Party demonstrates a contradiction to its own program. Such a viewpoint is nothing more than a repudiation of Marxist criticism, it is an ideological capitulation.

Another bourgeois-objective interpretation of the "partynost" concept is a conception, according to which the acknowledged historical reality itself is called upon, and capable, to fulfill science's task in building socialist society, according to "partynost" requirements. (Newspaper of the Historical Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1956 No 1, p 9). Consequently, "partynost" allegedly consists only in the collection by a historian of as many partial [incidental] data as possible. This conception is reflected in the thought that party documents must be published in the same way as documents concerning the Middle Ages -- by

publishing all documents -- without any selectivity. Any other approach to the publishing of documents would be, allegedly unscientific, and any selection would be arbitrary. Actually, the scientific and, at the same time political work of a historian consists in considering all the facts which may be disclosed, and after a careful analysis, selecting all that is most important, essential and characteristic from the mass of data. The bourgeois anti-Party character of objectivism also appeared (in March 1956) in the speech of a certain historian -- who had left Hungary by that time -- who insisted on a party historian's "right" to write that which contradicts party agitation and propaganda.

Passive but very widespread traits of bourgeois objectivism are (1) irresolution regarding the evaluation of facts and theoretical conclusions (2) the fear of drawing basic conclusions from these facts; and (3) disregard of modern history and escape into the distant past. Some historians adhere to the opinion that modern history does not yet lend itself to scientific treatment. The disagreement among them in this respect merely concerns the year which should be considered as the limit -- 1948, 1945 or 1919, i.e. after which a scientific evaluation of historical facts is not possible.

A characteristic feature of revisionist historiography is

nationalism.

Some of the viewpoints mentioned above bear a nationalist character, as for instance, the subordination of the proletarian revolution to the

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struggle for national liberation or its identification with this struggle; the exaggeration of the historical significance of some progressive bourgeois workers, etc.

In the period preceding counterrevolution, several historians again advanced the old imperialist theories of Hungary's "cultural superiority" and its right to hegemony in the Danube Basin. They even defended the demand to review the peace treaty and the borders with the socialist countries. Some historians were influenced by Imre Nagy's nationalistic phrase about "the universal national unity of the Hungarians." In excessively idealizing Hungarian revolution and the liberating struggle of 1848-1849, they created an ideological tool which the counterrevolution used to full advantage. The erroneous actualization of the freedom struggle was also spearheaded against the Soviet Union. However, this is understandable, because of the anti-Soviet makeup inherent in revisionist nationalism. Complete disregard of the achievements of Soviet historiography was widespread among historians. When our revisionists stubbornly emphasized the Hungarian specific national traits and the necessity for a "Hungarian path to socialism," this essentially amounted to a repudiation of the general laws of socialist transformation applicable to all countries, and, principally, to a repudiation of ^{the} Soviet Union's experience, but at the same time, it represented an unconditional acknowledgement of the "Yugoslav path."

Despite their hostile attitude to modern history, some historians adopted quite a definite stand on questions of the Hungarian counterrevolution.

They only proved by this ~~they~~ incompetence to give a Marxist evaluation to the history of our times.

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At the end of 1956, one of the prominent historians developed some theses in which he point^{ed} out the need to provide "an opportunity to develop peace on a democratic and peaceful basis in the dual struggle of progressive forces, i.e., against imperialism on the one hand, and against Stalinism, on the other." According to these theses, Hungary allegedly did not experience a counterrevolution, but a "democratic^g revolution and a national-liberation struggle against Stalinism." "The freedom struggle" created the danger of a counterrevolution, but this danger developed to a very insignificant degree. The revolution allegedly set before itself the goal "to replace state socialism, which was alien to the people and even anti-popular, and which had become bureaucratic, with a democratic form [of socialism], corresponding to conditions in Hungary."

Another no less well-known historian, in addressing a conference at the end of February 1957, said that prior to the counterrevolution, Hungary allegedly had a "bureaucratic dictatorship of the proletariat" which could not be overthrown other than by a mass movement. The fundamental error was supposedly that the government was turned over to Imre Nagy "too late." To the question of whether the October 1956 ^{event} ~~went~~ in Hungary was a national-democratic uprising or a counterrevolution, he replied that it was both.

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"Such a formulation of the question, i.e. either - or," he said, "is absolutely unnecessary here. Here contradictions join together, merge and are obliterated." Other historians -- and not only historians at that -- advised to recognize the revolutionary worker-- peasant government, viewing this merely as a "prudent realistic policy," i.e. a factual compromise. 50X1-HUM

I deem it superfluous to analyze these opinions here. In part they reflect in clear form the revisionist traits discussed above (it is true the bourgeois concepts here are not shown in an objectivist form). In part they repeat the formulas of Yugoslav revisionism, which have been often refuted by both theory and practice. In part they even exude the old traditional nationalism of the Hungarian bourgeoisie, which had not yet been completely eradicated.

Historians, who in 1956 and 1957 held to the views cited above, of course do not acknowledge them today. But their former positions seriously impeded "explanatory work" on the 'historians' front." The consequences of their errors of that time are being felt to the present day.

Honored Comrades!

I did not intend to take upon myself the task of setting up a complete catalog of revisionist sins in historiography nor to give a report on Hungarian historiography. I merely intended to point out what basic problems the revisionist attack against the Marxist-Leninist

conception of history has evoked and is partly evoking even today. 50X1-HUM
Knowledge of these problems must serve historians in the struggle against pernicious, revisionist, anti-Marxist and unscientific views. Nor is it my task today to refute revisionism, since this is a problem for all of us to work out.

I noted in the beginning of my address that the revisionist have utilized and are utilizing the errors which exist in Marxist historiography. There are many questions in our Marxist historiography which have not yet been analyzed, or have been inadequately analyzed. I shall list only a few of the most important questions: questions on a realistic interpretation of successes and failures; positive results and errors; questions on appraising the strategic and tactical line of the Comintern and of our Hungarian party; evaluation of the role of individual persons and trends, which, even though not Marxist, were nevertheless opposed to the bourgeois groups in power. I pointed out what anti-Party and false conceptions are inherent to the revisionists/precisely on these issues. We must fight against these conceptions. However, they can be eradicated only by the concrete, scientific, Marxist solution of these problems. This is what constitutes the historians' basic task in their struggle against revisionism. Conservatism, which is still strongly prevalent in some outdated, superficial and erroneous judgments and methods, must also be eliminated so that this goal may be realized.

The historians' work should be imbued with the spirit of creative Marxism. Its fundamental line, content and methods need not be elaborated

by us again. They have been set forth in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin (including their historical works) and offer us orientation even today. They are set forth in Marxist-Leninist teaching which does not require any revision.

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THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF VIETNAM AGAINST

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CONTEMPORARY REVISIONISM

Speech by Comrade Le Manh Trinh (Vietnam) on Item 2 of the Agenda.

From the time of its formation until today the Vietnamese working class and its Party have been basically united and closely welded. As a result, our Party has led the people and has won victory after victory during the past 29 years. It has led the people in their struggle to gain and hold power in North Vietnam. At the same time, it is continuing the struggle for the unification of our country.

From 1930 to 1954, all erroneous deviations were not common for the country as a whole. These deviations appeared in individual fields of activity, and in isolated places, and were short-lived.

After the establishment of peace in North Vietnam, the transition to socialism began, and the situation changed considerably. At present, two basic conflicts exist in Vietnam: (1) The conflict between the Vietnamese people, on one side, and foreign imperialism, the feudal landlord class, and the comprador bourgeoisie ruling in the South on the other side. (2) Conflicts between socialism and capitalism in the North.

between
In addition to conflicts/the population of the North and American imperialism, pro-American ruling circles, and underground counter-revolutionaries in the North, the conflict between capitalism and socialism has become more aggravated in North Vietnam. Foreign imperialists, the ruling circles of Ngo Dinh Diem, the counter-revolutionaries of the North,

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who are agents of imperialism and of Ngo Dinh Diem, and reactionary elements, all joined together to fight against the Party and its policy. At the end of 1956, when the Party was criticizing its mistakes made in the implementation of the agrarian reform and the reorganization process, when the CPSU was criticizing the personality cult, and when a counter-revolution was taking place in Hungary, these forces seized the opportunity to spread false information about the Party and socialism. In October 1956 the reactionary bourgeoisie, representing the comprador tendency in the North, subsidized some representatives of literature and art and reactionary intellectuals in order to publish the newspapers Nhan Van (Humanism), Dat Moi (New Land), and the periodical Giai Pham (Best Works), in which they attacked the Party and the state organs. At one time, the newspaper Nhan Van openly invited the masses to demonstrate against the leaders. In many articles of the newspaper Doc Lap (Independence), the right wing of the Democratic Party of Vietnam (the party of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie which is a member of the National Front of Vietnam) expressed the demands of reactionary bourgeois elements directed against the Party and the state. This activity was supported by American imperialism, French colonialism, the ruling circles of Ngo Dinh Diem, and the counter-revolutionaries in the North. Unfortunately, some cadre workers and members of the Party, together with the reactionaries of Nhan Van and Giai Pham, began to attack the Party.

What kinds of problems were raised by the reactionary bourgeoisie and the revisionists? 50X1-HUM

In the Field of Politics

The reactionary bourgeoisie and revisionists vigorously came out against the leadership of the Party by exaggerating its mistakes and shortcomings, by denying all past achievements of the revolution, of the Party, and of the agrarian reform, thereby negating the Party's leading role in the socialist revolution.

They propagandized bourgeois liberalism, demanded that either democracy be expanded first and dictatorship be strengthened later, or that only democracy be developed without strengthening dictatorship; they also demanded that a free organization of legal opposition parties be permitted.

From the fact that the Vietnamese national bourgeoisie was small and weak, they drew the incorrect conclusion that it was not necessary to carry on a class struggle against it.

In regard to class policy of the Party in rural areas, they considered that only the big landlords were reactionary, that medium landlords were neutral, and that small landlords were revolutionary, and that it would be necessary to depend both on poor hired farm workers and individual farmers. While correcting the mistakes made in the agrarian reform, they relaxed their vigilance toward landlords; they reimbursed landlords for their property with insufficient reason and poorly defended the achievements of the agrarian reform.

They promoted bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism, fought against^{50X1-HUM} proletarian internationalism, sowed distrust in the aid of the Soviet Union and of the fraternal countries of the socialist camp.

In the Field of Economy

They maintained that the country's industry was still undeveloped and therefore it would be necessary to limit state trade for a definite period and expand the free market. They demanded that industry be divided in such a way that the state would develop heavy industry, and private capitalists would take charge of light industry. They also demanded that the sphere of economy be divided between state trade and private capitalist trade, that taxes be reduced, etc.

In the Field of Culture

Under the pretense of "acknowledging Marxism-Leninism, and the leadership of the Labor Party of Vietnam," they spread reactionary views on literature and art.

They protested against the subordination of literature and art to politics and proclaimed that literature and art have a "mission of protest" against any existing regime.

They protested against the slogan "literature and art are to serve the working class, the peasantry, and the soldiers." In ^{an} effort to direct the activities of literature and art along the road of bourgeois individualism, they announced that literature and art serve the "abstract"

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man, irrespective of his class origin. They attacked the socialist literature and art of the Soviet Union, and the literature and art of the resistance period. They denied literary and artistic achievements gained under the guidance of the Party.

Under the slogan: "against dogmatism and banality" they denied the Party's leading role in literature and art and demanded that the leadership in literature and art be transferred to the writers and artists, and to the bourgeois intelligentsia.

Since 1956, simultaneously with the correction of mistakes permitted during the fulfillment of the agrarian reform and the reorganization process, our Party was conducting a decisive struggle within the Party and in the whole country against revisionism in all fields: political, economic, cultural, and ideological.

By the end of the year 1957, the economy was basically restored and the correction of mistakes permitted during the fulfillment of the agrarian reform was successfully concluded. The struggle against revisionism had achieved a great victory.

In 1958, the Labor Party of Vietnam, together with Communist and Labor Parties of other countries, carried on a struggle against the revisionist program of the Union of Yugoslav Communists. Although this struggle was not on such a large scale in Vietnam as in some fraternal countries, nevertheless it had some success. The new revolutionary coup in North Vietnam in 1958 testifies to this success, (as this was noted by the XIV Plenum of the Labor Party of Vietnam).

In mid-1958, a movement for patriotic competition and socialist labor began in enterprises and villages, among soldiers of the People's Army, as well as among the intelligentsia, and students. The successful struggle at the end of 1956 against the reactionary group of Nhan Van and Giai Pham among writers and artists, and the political study groups conducted in mid-1957, raised the spirit of patriotism, the socialist consciousness, and helped them [writers and artists] to adhere more firmly to the Marxist-Leninist point of view in literature and art. A movement began among the intelligentsia, students, literary and art workers, for an active participation in physical labor together with workers, peasants, and soldiers of the People's Army, and for political studies aiming at ideological self-re-education.

However, the Central Committee of the Labor Party of Vietnam notes that this success constitutes only the first insignificant step forward. In the next two years, it is necessary to continue the political and ideological education of the intelligentsia in general, and of writers and artists in particular. It is necessary to raise requirements and to organize the work of writers and artists so that they could gain a better understanding of the life of working people. In conjunction with this, the Central Committee of the Party and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have established a procedure for the participation of individual cadre workers in socialist labor.

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On the ideological scene, the main task of writers and artists is to struggle for the eradication of revisionism, dogmatism, sectarianism, and isolationism.

In this struggle, the Department of Propaganda and Education under the Party's Central Committee, the Department for the Study of Party History, and the Party press exposed the group's reactionary nature to cadres, party members, and the broad masses; explaining the great cause of the former Communist Party of Indo-China (now Labor Party of Vietnam) to them, and helping them to understand that the Party's achievements are basic and that the mistakes and shortcomings are transitory and not ~~general~~ general in nature. As a result, the Party has achieved unity on the basic questions; cadres and party members trust the Party policy and make efforts to carry out this policy.

In order to carry out this task and further the eradication of revisionism within the Party and in the country as a whole, we, the students of Party history, must continue a steady and systematic struggle against revisionism and take part in criticizing dogmatism. In addition, we are faced in the near future, with the task of writing the final short version of the 30-year old Party history.

Address by Comrade Tadeusz DANISZEWSKI (Polish People's Republic)

On Item Two of the Agenda

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The Struggle Against Modern Revisionism in Historiography

It is not accidental that the question of the struggle against modern revisionism in historical science appears on the agenda of the Conference of Institutes and Commissions on Party History. If this question is now one of the important themes of our Conference, it is because life itself has dictated these problems to us; because in recent years revisionism has revealed itself with special intensity in the socio-political and ideological life of many countries. Although Marxist historiography dealt it a decisive blow, the danger of the manifestations of revisionism has not ceased being real. For this reason the entire Marxist ideological front, both in the countries of the socialist camp as well as in the capitalist countries, must observe maximum vigilance in this respect. It must reason out the most correct and most effective forms and methods of a struggle with revisionism.

In the name of the Polish delegation, I should like to express, in this regard, our full solidarity with the report which was presented by Comrade SHATAGIN, deputy director of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism in Moscow. The views expressed in this report are also our views.

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The essence of revisionism is a negation of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. At its basis lies a scepticism of the proletariat's capability to gain power and build socialism. 50X1-HUM

The revisionists refer to new phenomena in the development of capitalism and in the process of building socialism, which are allegedly antithetical to the basic principles of the Marxist-Leninist world view. They appear in the role of "innovators" of Marxism and figure as representatives of creative Marxism.

For us, Leninism is synonymous with creative Marxism. It represents the application, development and intensification of basic Marxist principles in the new historical epoch. Marxist theory developed also after Lenin's death, and offered the answer to a number of new problems which life presented.

The decisions of the 20th and 21st CPSU Congresses were an example for the entire international Communist movement of how to arrive at several new theoretical conclusions under ever-changing conditions by relying on the indestructible principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Creative Marxism rejects those formulas and theses which have become outdated in line with the development of life, and in the face of new phenomena and facts, and which no longer satisfy the requirements of the class struggle. It does this in order to maintain and

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fortify the essence of Marxism; to hasten the defeat of the bourgeoisie; and to facilitate the victory of socialism and communism.

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Revisionism, however, rejects the revolutionary essence of Marxism. It is prepared to extract from Marxism only that which is acceptable to the liberal bourgeoisie.

Revisionism is a product of capitalism. As long as capitalism exists, even in a survival form, as it does in the people's democracies, and as long as remnants of capitalism are preserved in the awareness of people, there exists the need to counteract its pernicious influence and to wage an uncompromising ideological struggle against it.

However, in recognizing this obligation, we must not even for one minute forget the need to fight on two fronts -- against opportunist revisionism and against sectarian dogmatism. We are learning this through the entire experience of the international communist movement and of its leading detachment, the CPSU.

In his book, "Left Deviationism" in Communism: An Infantile Disorder, Lenin answers the question as to who were the enemies within the workers' movement that Bolshevism had to fight before it developed and grew strong and hardy.

"First and foremost, in the struggle against opportunism, which had developed by 1914 into social-chauvinism, and had completely transferred over to the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

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This was, naturally, Bolshevism's chief enemy within the workers' movement. This enemy still remains the main one on an international scale. Bolshevism has given -- and is giving -- this enemy particular^{50X1-HUM} attention. This aspect of Bolshevik activity is quite well-known now even abroad.

"Something else is to be said about another enemy of Bolshevism within the workers' movement. Too little is known abroad about how Bolshevism grew, took shape, and became steeled in the many years' struggle against "petty-bourgeois revolutionism". The latter smacks of anarchism or borrows something from it. It deviates from everything that is essential in the conditions and requirements of a consistent proletarian class struggle." (Of V. I. Lenin Works, Vol. 31, p 15.)

Revisionism, which is "likvidatorskiy" [destructive?] in its essence, and ultra-leftist dogmatism, which is seasoned with revolution-chanting phraseology, are two opposed distortions of Marxism. Revisionism deprives Marxism of its revolutionary content and in that way undermines it at its roots. Dogmatism, clutching convulsively at the letter of Marxism, deprives it of its living spirit, weakening its influential power over the working masses and the broad strata of society.

The Declaration of the Moscow Conference of representatives from the communist and workers' parties in the socialist countries, pointed out that revisionism -- in being a manifestation of the bourgeois

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ideology which is paralyzing the revolutionary energy of the working class -- is a major danger under present conditions. The Declaration also stated that dogmatism and sectarianism are (1) hampering the development of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and its creative application to concrete changing conditions; (2) they are replacing the study of a concrete situation by quotations and dogmatic assertions; (3) they are leading to a loss of contact with the masses.

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Comrade N. S. Khrushchev addressed the gala meeting in Warsaw on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of People's Poland. He recalled the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and stressed that each nation must build socialism and proceed to communism by taking into account its own national, cultural and economic characteristics. Dogmatists, who do not wish to acknowledge this, objectively create a fertile soil for revisionists and opportunists.

At the same time Comrade Khrushchev most clearly defined the difference between Marxists and revisionists in the interpretation of this Marxist-Leninist doctrine:

"The difference is that the revisionists emphasize the distinctions between the concrete conditions existing in various countries which are building socialism, completely ignoring those general firm principles which are inherent in all countries. We, Marxist-Leninists, single out and emphasize precisely those durable principles which are common to all our countries -- leadership of the laboring masses by the working class, of which the Marxist-Leninist

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party is the nucleus." [It is this leadership] which will conduct the proletarian revolution in one form or another, and will establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another." (50X1-HUM)
(Pravda, 22 July 59)

If revisionism is the major threat at the present stage, its deep foundation lies in the general political situation which has been created in recent years. Because of the brief time at my disposal, I do not have the opportunity to dwell on this problem in more detail.

The 20th CPSU Congress represents a new stage in the development of the world communist and the entire worker's movement. It is characterized (1) by the elimination of several negative phenomena of the past, known by the name of the personality cult, (2) by a change in a number of directives concerning the tactics of the Marxist-Leninist parties; (3) by the advancement of several new important basic questions, and (4) by the fraternal communist parties' creative development of ways and means for the transition to socialism under the concrete conditions of each country.

Revisionism plays on the objective and subjective difficulties entailed in the construction of a new order, and utilizes them in its anti-revolutionary aims. It thus casts doubt on all the great values of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, E.g. (1) the directing role of the Marxist Leninist party; (2) the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) proletarian internationalism -- in short, everything which en-

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compasses our thinking and our feelings.

This is why decisive and persistent battle must be waged against revisionism in all its varieties. At the same time we must not for one minute lose sight of the dangers in dogmatism, which under certain conditions may become -- and is becoming -- a main drag on the development of the Marxist-Leninist party and its ideology.

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All these phenomena have appeared in People's Poland. In fact, they are even present today, although to a far less degree.

The 8th Plenum of the CCFORP elected a new Political Bureau of the CC in October 1956, which was headed by Wladislaw Gomułka as first secretary of our party's Central Committee. The decisions of this plenum put an end to the temporary but serious political crisis in our party and our nation. This crisis was manifest in the dissatisfaction of a segment of the working class and in the incompetence of leading party organs for coordinated and consistent work, over several months.

Difficulties in Poland's socialist development have intensified as a result of (1) dogmatic resistance by a section of the party, aktiv, which delayed a consistent solution of pressing social problems and (2) of revisionist tendencies which were expressed primarily in exaggerated and unrestrained criticism of party policy. The latter were directed against the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and aided

SECRET

anti-socialist forces with their agitation work.

The new party leadership, headed by Gomulka, attempted to strengthen the people's government in Poland and to accelerate the construction of socialism by way of developing socialist democracy and ensuring the support of millions of laborers. At the same time reactionary elements of various hues attempted to divert Poland from the path of socialist construction onto a road for the restoration of capitalism.

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Revisionist activity served the cause of these reactionary tendencies. It was these revisionists who, in that difficult and complex situation, preached their noxious theories which merely imitated Marxism but in reality had nothing at all in common with it.

Under the pretext of struggling with past errors, with "Stalinism", the revisionists rejected the historical achievements of People's Poland and of the entire socialist camp. They propounded the nonsensical theory of the pauperization of the laboring masses in People's Poland, at the same time presenting their apologia for the capitalist west. They took the position of Liquidators [a pre-1917 revolutionary group] regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat and its organs. They discussed the need to build the Party anew. They mitigated the danger which threatened the country from the side of the reaction. They effaced the difference between bourgeois and socialist democracies. They disseminated scepticism on the

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very possibility of building a system based on social justice.

By adjusting to the most backward trends, nationalist prejudices^{50X1-HUM} in the main, they opposed, in a more or less disguised form, Poland against other countries in the socialist camp; against the Soviet Union which was the first to show mankind the road to socialism, and on two occasions, in a decisive manner, enabled the return of independence to the Polish people.

Articles appeared which ridiculed the entire emotional gamut peculiar to the communist movement. They stated objections to sacrifices in the name of distant aims, in the name of a socialist future. They cast doubt upon the need to accelerate the historical process. The old dictum of Edward Bernstein, revisionism's spiritual father, was rephrased: "The final aim is nothing. The movement is everything."

The camp of Polish reactionaries, both within the country and abroad, was well aware of the benefits it received from revisionist activity. A new trend of the so-called "revolutionists" appeared among emigres, together with the official trend of the so-called "liberators", i.e., those who linked their political plans with the West's imperialist aggression against People's Poland. These "evolutionists" deceived themselves with the hope that revisionism will gradually prevail over the Polish United Workers' Party; and that by applying a Trojan Horse method, so to speak, it will be possible to blast the people's government from within and prepare premises for the restoration of a more or less typical capitalism in Poland. Essentially

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such views were disseminated by the emigre journal Kul'tura (Culture) which was being published in Paris at the time.

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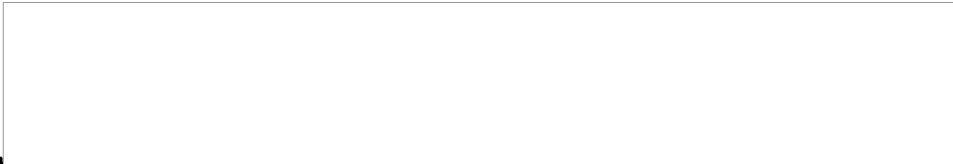
Life, however, upset these futile hopes at every turn. Each step by the Party; the decisions of the Central Committee's regular plenary sessions and the reports and speeches by Comrade Gomulka, all very clearly indicated that the Polish United Workers' Party was fully resolved (1) to paralyze the reaction's intrigues in the bud; (2) to check the onslaught of revisionist ideology which serves as a smokescreen for the reaction's offensive; and (3) ^{to} ~~the~~ expel from its ranks those people who will persistently defend their anti-Mar⁹xist views.

"The revisionist wing must be cut off from the Party," Comrade Gomulka said two years ago in his report at the Central Committee's 10th Plenum. On such Party wings, People's Poland and socialism could only fly downward into an abyss. But we do not wish this. The working class and the millions of laborers in cities and rural areas are with us in not wanting this."

As a result of a check-up in party ranks, our Party has been purged of the most inveterate and incorrigible revisionists and dogmatic elements, and has presently attained a high degree of consolidation within its ranks.

The Polish United Workers' Party did not primarily take steps of an organizational nature. It first developed a broad explanatory

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campaign on just what revisionism represents, and what consequences it will involve for the Party and for the cause of building socialism. 50X1-HUM

We are not indifferent to the revisionist views propounded in other countries. We subjected the revisionist program of the Union of Yugoslav Communists to a fundamental criticism, especially at our 3rd Party Congress in April 1959. We consider that the struggle against revisionism is above all a struggle for solidarity and unity in the international communist movement and for indissoluble unity of cooperation with socialist nations.

"We consider revisionism to be the greatest threat to the communist movement," said Gomulka at the 2d Congress, "because the main source of the strength of all the communist and workers' parties, as well as of the socialist countries, is contained in their solidarity and unity."

The activity of revisionist elements in Poland has been considerably diminished as a result of the decisive stand taken by the leadership of the Party and the Party cadres.

It would amount to our hiding our heads in the sand, if we did not see (1) the still considerably great vitality within the revisionist elements, mainly in the writers' and journalists' circles; and (2) the potential opportunity for the renaissance and activation of revisionist elements during the relaxation of ideological vigilance on the part of our Party.

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The pressure of revisionist ideology was also felt to a great degree -- especially in 1956-1957 -- in the field of the humanities, -- philosophy, political economy, as well as history. I should like to focus somewhat more attention on this last problem.

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During the period referred to, articles frequently appeared in the ^{pages} ~~paper~~ of historical journals, as well as in the press, dedicated to cultural and political problems. Under the slogan of eliminating the methodological distortions of the preceding period, these articles attempted to examine anew the basic problems of our Party's past and the basic problems of the Polish workers' movement.

One cannot say that this criticism lacked any basis. Doubtlessly, in our Marxist historiography -- I speak in this instance of Poland -- the dogmatic approach threatened, for a number of years, our scientific work, especially in the field of Poland's most recent history and the history of the Polish workers' movement. There were frequent violations of the postulate stated by Lenin in his letter to Armand Inness, that each thesis must be examined only historically, only in connection with other [theses]; and only in connection with the concrete experience of history.

Historical phenomena were not adequately studied in our country in the dynamics of their development. Complex historical processes were simplified. Frequently, there were cases of advancement -- without thorough analysis based on facts and documents -- of some previously

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established theses and axioms.

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All these and similar over-simplified aims, naturally, required serious review from the Marxist-Leninist position. Unfortunately, revisionist weeds often accompanied the healthful grains of criticism.

The ~~former~~ ^{former} [revisionist weeds] found concentrated expression in a report presented by a representative of the Institute of History, Academy of Sciences, at the all-Polish Congress of Historians held in Cracow in 1958. In this report the important achievements of Polish historical science during the past decade were presented as a mere conglomeration of errors and distortions.

The reporter examined a number of theses -- which in our opinion were absolutely correct -- from a liberal-bourgeois point of view. For instance, he said that "history, like science, must study and ascertain the laws of historical development on the basis of concrete material of historical facts"; that "it should be the historian's obligation to conscientiously evaluate historical facts from the working class' point of view, therefore from the point of view of Communism, and therefore from that of the future"; that "history, if it wishes to be a true science, must be primarily occupied with the history of the producers of material wealth, with the history of the laboring masses, and with the history of the people."

We may proudly state before the representatives of the fraternal Institutes of Party History that our Institute did not yield to the

SECRET

onslaught of revisionist trends during that difficult period. It openly and decisively took issue with the whole system of anti-Marxist views, which were contained in the report presented to the Congress. 50X1-HUM

The views expressed in the report also appeared in various publications on historical themes. Under the pretext of struggle against presentism[?], they mechanically opposed two aspects in the humanitarian disciplines, especially in history: science and ideology as elements which must, allegedly, be separated and isolated from each other. They preached the principle of accumulating historical facts without any evaluation on the part of the researcher. Analysis of the historical process, from the point of view of social progress, was examined as subjectivism and voluntarism.

We know that Marx and Lenin were outstanding scholars and geniuses in the field of science, and at the same time, prominent fighters for the idea of communism. In their works they were able to combine a genuine scientific approach with an ardent revolutionism. Back in 1895, Lenin had written in his polemic with Struve: "... materialism includes so to speak, 'partijnost'" [party spirit] which commits one directly and openly to take the point of view of a certain social group in each evaluation of events". (Cf V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 1, pp 380-381)

Polish revisionists rejected precisely this principle of "partijnost'" in historical science and in the social sciences in general, thereby presenting it as a caricature.

SECRET

The position of the Polish revisionists on this question led directly to bourgeois objectivism and to factology, which lacked any ideological basis whatsoever. It opened the road to different schools of reactionary historiography. 50X1-HUM

Revisionist views were clearly expressed on the subject of Poland's most recent history, especially the history of the Polish workers' movement. Attempts were made to revise the evaluation of our past, the evaluation of the traditions of the Polish United Workers' Party. The revisionists wanted to cancel that which has been and remains the inviolable achievement of the revolutionary workers' movement in Poland.

As is well-known, the organizational split in the Polish workers' movement occurred back in the early 1890's, i.e., earlier than in many other countries. The split into the revolutionary -- international trend was represented by the SDKPil, and the reformist-nationalist trend was represented by the PPS.

The cause of this split was veiled to a considerable degree. It was concealed under a sharp discussion over the slogan of independence. (The SKDPil opposed the proletarian party's promotion of the independence slogan). However, the nature of the split in the former Polish Kingdom was the same as in all other countries, and it reflected the general laws peculiar to the international workers' movement.

SECRET

POLISH revisionists took the point of view of the equivalence of both parties: the SKDPiL and the PPS. Both parties, they said, 50X1-HUM had their merits and both made mistakes. The SKDPiL correctly evaluated the meaning of the class moment, but underrated the nationality factor. The PPS, on the other hand, understood the significance of the national question, but underrated the significance of the class factor."

Obviously, such an assertion has nothing in common with reality and nothing in common with Marxist analysis. If the SKDPiL adopted an incorrect, non-Leninist stand on the nationality question it by no means follows that the PPS took the correct stand on this question. To the contrary, the entire experience of the Polish workers' movement shows with great clarity that the PPS (here I have in mind the official position of this party's rightist leaders) approached the national question not from the proletarian, but from the petty bourgeois positions.

How so, reply the revisionists. "After all the PPS has from the very beginning proclaimed the slogan: 'Independence and Socialism' -- a slogan which we now have realized in People's Poland."

Extremely characteristic of the revisionists is the fact that they skim the surface when reviewing some problems or other -- in the given case, the national question. They see only the formal side of the question and are incapable of noting the real class content of the phenomenon.

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Marx and Lenin opposed every kind of manifestation of cosmopolitanism and national nihilism, underestimates of the national question, of specific national characteristics, the national-liberation struggle, and patriotic sentiments of the broadest strata of society. However, both of them approached the national question from the class point of view. Both of them, despite the different epochs in which they were active, essentially proclaimed the very same truths, i.e.:

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a) that the national question is not something original, or detached, but represents a component part of a much broader question, -- that of bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolution.

b) that an organic bond exists between the national-liberation struggle and the struggle for social liberation;

c) that the national question must be examined and resolved from the point of view of the interests of class struggle, the struggle for social progress and for socialism. Non-observance of this principle inevitable deflects any researcher or politician to bourgeois, nationalistic positions.

The founders of scientific socialism devoted much attention to the Polish question. They were very sympathetic to the Polish people's liberation struggle. They championed the restoration of Poland's independence. However, they always posed this question concretely, as emerging not merely from Polish interests, but also from the general interests of the revolutionary movement and of international revolutionary strategy.

SECRET

Lenin particularly cautioned against the danger of transferring^{or mixing} the recognition of the correct and historically inevitable national principle into an apology for nationalism, thus dimming proletarian awareness of bourgeois ideology.

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Lenin controverted the PPS nationalist position in his article, The National Question on Our Program, which was printed in Iskra in July 1903. He pointed out that the program of Russian Social Democrats "by no means excludes the fact that the Polish proletariat set up as its slogan a free and independent Polish republic, although the probability of this being realized before socialism was extremely slight. This program requires only that a truly socialist party do not corrupt proletarian awareness; do not obscure the class struggle; do not delude the working class with bourgeois democratic phrases; and do not disrupt the unity of the proletariat's contemporary political struggle. The gist of the whole matter lies precisely in this condition, under which alone ^{we} ~~we~~ recognize self-determination. In vain does the PPS attempt to present the issue as though it were distinguished from Germany^g or Russian Social-Democrats by the fact that they deny the right to self-determination and the right to aim for a free and independent republic. It is not this, but rather oblivion of the class point of view, its being obscured by chauvinism, and violation of the unity of a given political struggle, which do not permit us to see in the PPS a genuine workers' social-democratic party." (Cf V. I. Lenin Works, Vol. 6, p. 418)

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We can in no way agree with the suggestion oft-repeated by revisionist elements that "the contribution of the PPS to the cause of independence" as they put it, should be included in the tradition of the Polish United Workers' Party. Without a doubt there is room within the treasure-house of our traditions and of our united party for all the patriotic and liberating endeavors of the Polish people, including also PPS members and workers, such as OKs~~Me~~ya [?], Baron and Montville-Miretski, who offered their lives in the struggle with tsarism.

This does not mean, however, that we shall permit dragging into the PORP traditions nationalistic Pilsudski baggage and bourgeois, pro-imperialist concepts of independence, which contradict the true interests of the Polish people's liberation struggle and trends against the Russian revolutionary movement. This is why we are decidedly opposed to the revisionist formula of "The PPS contribution to the independence cause", which everyone may interpret, at his own discretion, in a most nationalistic form.

In the name of an imagined objectivism, Polish revisionists are opposing the so-called "preferential tariff", which Marxist historiography in Poland allegedly applies to the revolutionary predecessors and to the errors they committed. We have never concealed the errors of our predecessors, we frankly exposed them -- and are exposing them -- to criticism from Marxist-Leninist positions. Misunderstanding and underestimating of the national question had a negative effect on the

SECRET

19

activities and the mobilization capacity of the Polish working class' revolutionary parties, like the "Proletariat", SKDPil and PCP parties, --
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in the early period of its existence.

However, since the 2d PCP Congress in 1923, which adopted Leninist principles on the peasant and national questions, the Communist Party related the question of independence with the victory of the proletarian revolution in Poland. The decisions of the Congress prophetically stated, "The rule of the bourgeoisie in Poland represents a mortal threat to Polish independence. Only the victory of the revolution can offer the Polish people an enduring state independence.

Under the conditions of fascist occupation, the Polish workers' Party, as the perpetuator of the best PCP traditions, headed the Polish nation's anti-Hitler struggle. It combined the cause of Poland's national and social liberation with the union with a socialist state -- the USSR -- and the leading power in the anti-Hitler coalition.

We are aware of what is behind the revisionists' demand for repudiation of the "preferential tariff" as regards our revolutionary predecessors. They wish to set up a sign of equality between both currents in the Polish workers' movement.

Our party will not permit itself to be pushed on this road, which would absolutely distort its ideological make-up.

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Intensified interest in the literary heritage of Rosa Luxemburg 50X1-HUM

is currently being noted in revisionist circles in Poland and in other countries. This is certainly not being done in order to show the modern young generation the profile of this ardent revolutionary and internationalist whom Lenin called "The Eagle of the Revolution". Rather is it being done to elicit that from Rosa Luxemburg's work which dissociated her from Lenin and Leninism, and to present this in a distorted light.

The revisionists make references to Rosa Luxemburg's unfinished work on the Russian revolution which she wrote in a Prussian prison, where she lacked the most basic sources, and which she herself, upon her release from prison, subjected to stern criticism in her numerous statements and above all, in her revolutionary activity shortly before her martyr's death. [These revisionists] present the old opportunist thesis that the October Revolution and Bolshevik strategy and tactics, which had been forged in the fire of this revolution, allegedly had only a limited, national, purely Russian significance.

In referring to this work, the revisionists attempt to defend Rosa Luxemburg's incorrect thesis, which opposes the problem of democratic freedoms and rights to the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the necessity for a struggle against its enemies. They oppose the Leninist definition of a new kind of party. Above all, they oppose the idea of a centralized proletarian party. They try to prove that distortions in the period of the personality cult allegedly emerged from the very principle of democratic centralism,

and not from the fact that this principle was violated.

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We have a right to assert that we have met these pronouncements each time with a general rebuff. The Institute of Party History has occupied a worthy place in the struggle for ideological purity of the party and for the correct interpretation of PORP revolutionary traditions.

However, it must be admitted that insofar as the matter concerns the Marxist historical front as a whole, the struggle with revisionist manifestations is not yet being conducted in an adequately systematic and consistent manner.

The antagonist folded his wings, but he did not capitulate. Openly revisionist statements now rarely appear in People's Poland. However, revisionist manifestations do show up from time to time, although in a more veiled form.

While comprehension of the erroneousness of various dogmatic-sectarian views has deeply penetrated the consciousness of our Marxist historians, we cannot say that they have, in the same degree, realized the threat from the side of revisionism, which reflects the influence of bourgeois ideology.

Even up to now we discern in several of our Marxist historians an unwillingness to polemicize against revisionist theories and views. Even up to now, some scientific workers, in their work in the field of history, assiduously avoid any kind of evaluation, any kind of attempt to establish any law of development whatsoever, and concentrate

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all their attention on collecting factual material.

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While it is typical of dogmatists that they simplify complicated historical phenomena, that they limit themselves by the most general definitions, that they do not scrutinize the particulars and do not study the various aspects of a given problem, the revisionists and the people who yield in some degree or other to their influence lose themselves in details and lose sight of the basic phenomena which, in the last analysis, play a determining role.

The Institute of Party History under the CC -- PORP, is in the first ranks of the struggle against revisionism, especially in the field of history. We are also fighting it among non-party historians. The fulfillment of this task has been facilitated by the fact that the Institute of Party history under the CC-PORP, has become a part of the Committee of Historical Sciences under the Polish Academy of Sciences, which [committee] coordinates the work of all historical institutions on Polish territory.

We take issue above all with those revisionist theories which are most harmful from the scientific and political point of view. We are not doing this from dogmatic positions, but -- which is extremely important -- from the position of creative Marxism. We are proving by our own laborious and conscientious work that the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and Marxist-Leninist methodology guarantee a high-quality scientific product. Thus we refute the revisionists' absurd assertions

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which would cast doubt upon the scientific foundations of our work and would consider it exclusively as propaganda activity, having in mind only the current requirements of the day.

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Our journal From the Field of Battle (Z pola walki) which has presented a number of important problems relative to the Polish workers' movement and to Party history, has already won great authority and respect not only among Party historians, but among non-party historians as well.

The monographic works which we have undertaken on a broad scale; the collections of documents which have been provided by the solid scientific apparatus; the outlines on the history of the Polish workers' movement; the preparat^{ory} work for a multi-volume textbook on Party history, which is a synthesis of our entire undertaking -- all these are a testimonial that we can and must -- boldly and without sectarian obstructions -- advance our knowledge on the past of the revolutionary workers' movement, and achieve new creative conclusions in this sphere.

We are fully resolved, in directing our main fire against revisionism, (1) to subject the splendid revolutionary traditions of the Polish United Workers' Party to thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis; and (2) to popularize them among the broadest strata of laborers. Thus we shall bring our humble contribution to the great cause of building socialism in Poland, and faithfully serve the ideals which inspire the entire international communist movement.

SPEECH OF COMRADE PAVEL REIMAN

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(Czechoslovakia)

On Item 2 of the Agenda

Dear Comrades,

The delegation of the Institute for the History of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia welcomes the fact that the question of the struggle against contemporary revisionism is on our agenda as an independent item. At the same time, we are expressing our full agreement with the theses advanced by Comrade Shatagin of the Soviet delegation. We consider that the Party historians can and must play an important role in the struggle against revisionism, because the struggle against revisionism always has been and will be one of the basic questions in the development of Marxist-Leninist parties. The development of a truly scientific history of the Party on the basis of the theory of Marxism-Leninism provides the greatest opportunities not only for refuting revisionist ideology in theory, but also to show what revisionism leads to in practice. The fact that the workers' class has won a historical victory in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and has begun to build a new socialist and communist society in countries where the workers' class was united around its Marxist-Leninist Party, could be seen from the whole course of development of the international workers' movement during the 50 years since the beginning

- 1 -

SECRET

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of Leninism. In countries where a more or less considerable part of the workers' class still remains under the influence of reformist parties, the leaders of which are conducting a dissentient policy against the workers' class, the bourgeoisie still rules, although the foundations of its regime are seriously undermined.

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The experience of the workers' class in Czechoslovakia also bears out the consequences of the reformist policy. If it were not for the class betrayal in 1918-1920 by the rightist leaders of the Social Democratic Party, our workers' class would have been on the path to socialism by 25 years earlier, after the end of World War I.

Our tasks in the field of historiography ^{are} ~~are~~ all the more urgent, as modern revisionists are making great efforts to distort the history of the international workers' movement and that of the Communist parties. In addition, the Yugoslav revisionists often resort to argumentation which was formerly used against the Communists by the rightist Social Democrats. We all remember very well the outcries of these old traitors of the workers' class against the so-called "orders from Moscow." And today, we read in a disgraceful book, European Communist Parties From 1919 to 1955, written in French by the Yugoslav revisionist Branko Lazich and published in Paris, that: "The Communist leaders should have understood that the main thing was not the struggle for the interests of the international workers' class and the defense of Marxism-Leninism, but a complete adherence to the USSR, from which they must receive approval for everything they do and act in

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accordance with its directives." Such crude attacks against the Comintern were heard in connection with its 40th anniversary and the 40th anniversary of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia. Tito himself took advantage of the 40th anniversary of the Union of Communists to make a speech accusing our party, the only party which fought in 1938 for the independence of the country, of being responsible for the capitulation. There is no doubt that, ideologically, modern revisionists are becoming more and more comparable to the rightist Social Democrats.

Therefore, in close connection with the struggle against modern revisionism, it is necessary also to occupy ourselves seriously with the social democratic historiography, because it is also making great efforts to falsify the history of the workers' movement, to slander the heroic struggle of Communist parties, and to justify the treacherous policy of the rightist social democratic leaders.

Historians of the Social Democratic Party in Austria are especially active in this direction. We are watching their work very carefully because the workers' class in Czechoslovakia had in the past many fighting traditions in common with the Austrian proletariat, and for a time, we had even one common party. One of the works of these historians is a pamphlet called "Way out of the Darkness," published by O. Pollak, editor-in-chief of Arbeiterzeitung. This pamphlet rather should be named "Way

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into Darkness." It is very characteristic that the name of Karl Marx, as the founder of the revolutionary socialist movement, is not even mentioned in it. All the achievements in the development of the workers' movement are attributed to Lassalle, K. Kautsky, and, of course, to the founder of reformism in the Austrian workers' movement, V. Adler. Of course, no chance is missed in the pamphlet to eulogize the policy of the Social Democratic Party and its so-called achievements. Even today, after 35 years, the Austrian Social Democrats praise the alleged successes of the Social Democratic city administration in Vienna in the 20-ies, particularly in the construction of several municipal [apartment] houses, nurseries, etc. It is well known, that these modest achievements were soon destroyed by Fascism, whose victory was facilitated by the policy of the Social Democratic Party's leadership. The construction of several municipal apartment houses is not very important now as compared with the results of the socialist construction, for instance, in Czechoslovakia. We not only have taxed capitalists, like the Social Democrats in Vienna did, we have expropriated them, i.e. we acted according to the program which was at some time in the past recognized by the Austrian Social Democrats as well. Having an economic structure similar to that of Austria, we succeeded in the course of 15 years, to triple industrial production and to eliminate unemployment. The standard of living of the Czechoslovak workers' class, which up to the War [World

- 4 -

SECRET

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War II], according to statistical data of the International Labor Bureau, ^{50X1-HUM} had occupied only the 14th place in Europe, has improved so much that today Czechoslovakia ranks among the leading countries in this respect. Since the policy of the Social Democrats as regards transition to socialism has had no results, Social Democratic historians see some progress even in the fact that the Austrian reaction still tolerates socialists in the government. In Pollack's pamphlet it is literally said that: "In the first republic, the workers did not feel that it was their state... It is changed today. Austria with its developing social democracy is the home of the working people." Thus, instead of real achievements the Austrian social democracy has given the workers only very questionable "feelings."

The attempt of another Austrian Social Democrat, Hanak, to divide this Party's history into periods, is also interesting. He divides [the history of the Party] into: its early history, its middle period, and its modern period. According to Hanak, the early history is the time when the Party was still Marxist and was conducting an active struggle. The middle period, is the time, when the Party had betrayed the workers' class, but was still using the Marxist phraseology; and the modern period, when even these phrases are superfluous. Thus, in the opinion of the present-day ideologists of the Austrian social democracy, even Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler must be included in the middle period.

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Let us take another reformist work, the book of the British Laborite Crossland, The Future of Socialism, published in 1956. Mr. Crossland raises the question whether a capitalist social regime exists in contemporary Britain. In his opinion, this is a justifiable question inasmuch as, according to some very questionable statistics given in his book, the share of the workers' class in the national income has increased during the postwar years by several percent and the share of capitalist profits has decreased somewhat. Evidently the profits of the nationalized sector of industry, which are flowing into the pockets of the bourgeoisie in some other form,⁹ are not considered by Crossland as capitalist profits. However, it follows from his conclusions that British capitalists are still receiving enormous profits. Crossland himself admits that a definite wage increase in Britain was solely the result of the postwar economic situation during which capitalists were sometimes meeting the workers' demands in order to avoid strikes. Of course, Mr. Crossland has no other evidence for his assertion that capitalism no longer exists in Britain.

The whole reformist and revisionist literature connects various developments with the term "socialism," which have nothing in common with socialism. They designate as "socialism" certain forms of state capitalism which are only a disguise ~~for~~ for more intensive capitalist exploitation. Therefore, we must definitely raise the question in our historical literature of today as to the results of the revisionist and

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social-democratic policy. After World War I, the Socialist-Democratic Party in Austria was a government party; now it has once more occupied a place in the government for the past 15 years. In Britain, the Laborite Party has formed the government for the fourth time. However, in both countries socialism failed to advance. As to Czechoslovakia, it is a well known fact that the policy of rightist Social-Democratic leaders, *after* 20-years of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, led to the shameful Munich Pact.

Why must one speak at our conference about questions which are clear to every Marxist? Because the elementary truth that only a dictatorship of the proletariat can open the way to socialism, regardless of various forms of its realization in one country or another, is being distorted today, not only by rightist leaders of Social-Democratic parties, but also by modern revisionists whose ideology is expressed in the well-known program of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia. This document states: "Socialism is becoming a practical matter for all nations. It is becoming more and more a sole world-wide process and universal system". In other words, the development of socialism takes place not only in socialist, but also in capitalist countries. It seems that this thesis would correspond to the truth only if we accept at face value what British Laborites and reformist leaders in other countries are expounding i.e. that the development of state capitalist forms in the capitalist countries constitutes the development of "socialist

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elements." Today, the Yugoslav revisionists are calling this "socialist transformation." Otherwise, they could not speak about a "sole universal process." Of course, such an interpretation is identical with the well-known theory of Bernstein on capitalism developing into socialism.

The history of the workers' movement proves not only that the policy of the rightist Social Democrats, a policy of reformism and revisionism, has not led to socialism in any country, but on the contrary, revisionism with its policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie became the cause of the most serious defeats of the workers' class. The people of our generation, who in their youth lived through the imperialist World War I, remember very well what a shock it was to the whole international workers' movement when the leaders of the Second International, after assuring the workers' class of their decision to struggle against imperialist wars, betrayed [the workers' class] in 1914^{and} took a position in defense of the imperialist "fatherland." Of course, today social-democratic historians prefer to keep silent about it. In the above-mentioned book on the history of the Social-Democratic Party in Austria, this Party's chauvinist position in 1914 is explained by "errors" made by individuals.

A study of the modern social-democratic and revisionist historiography shows that the latter had lost its capacity for understanding the real course of historical development which had led to the creation of a powerful socialist camp with a 900-million population. Full of rabid hatred toward Communism, they believe in miracles, count on a change in the

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objective course of history, and loudly proclaim the disagreements in our camp, which ~~are~~^{are} their own invention. Of course, these people do not strive to study and explain the historical development scientifically; they aim only at one thing, i.e. to maintain the cold war against the socialist camp, instigated by reactionary imperialist circles, by sophistical and pseudo-socialist argumentation. Therefore, it is not accidental that we meet among them such people as Yaksh, who openly come out with revanchist interpretations of history and who support German imperialists in their claims to the territory of eastern and south-eastern Europe. Of course, these people have lost all sense of reality.

We, Communists, despite all difficulties which our parties have overcome, despite certain errors which were permitted by us, today can definitely say that on the whole our path turned out to be correct; that our teaching, Marxism-Leninism, which is being developed by our parties on the basis of historical experience accumulated by generations of the working class, has passed the test of history. Therefore we, Communist historians, cannot confine ourselves only to exposing revisionist slander and to attacks from defensive positions. We have all the requisites for taking the offensive in the history of the workers' movement. History has already shown that the path of reformism and revisionism led to the defeat of the working class at all decisive turning-points; on the other hand, the path of Communism, despite temporary retreats or defeats, has already achieved decisive world-wide historical victories.

Therefore, our historiography must be based on these achievements of the historical process. From this point of view, we must also evaluate some of the questions raised at our conference by Comrade Daniszewski. Daniszewski expressed his misgiving that we, Communists, perhaps do not appreciate enough the past services of certain individuals who later on betrayed the working class. Such misgivings are superfluous. It is well known that the works of Plekhanov were republished in the USSR. I am not giving away a secret by saying that we in Czechoslovakia have recently republished the "Agrarian Problem" by Kautsky because we consider this book useful. However, we do not conclude from this that the recognition of the former merits of K. Kautsky is an especially important and urgent task of historical science. Wherever it is appropriate, the textbook on the history of the Party will mention the role of V. Adler and other people in accordance with the real historical development, but we shall not present them as honored [party] workers. Communists do not have to distort and embellish history; they do not have to keep silent about the weaknesses, errors and difficulties in the development of the revolutionary workers' movement. In the draft of the textbook on the history of our Party we dealt widely with all these questions.

On the other hand, it is not our business to dig up the errors of the past and to exaggerate their importance in the general course of historical development. Despite all the difficulties experienced by

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our parties, their course has been essentially correct.

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I wish to say I am pleased that Comrade Daniszewski expressed in his report his full solidarity with the theses of Comrade Shatagin's report. Let us hope that on the basis of these theses Comrade Daniszewski will revise some of the biased statements which he advanced here in the commission.

Today, when grandiose long-range plans are facing the countries of the socialist camp, where the power is in the hands of Communists, and when the 21st Congress CPSU has outlined a program for transition to Communism in the USSR, anti-Communist instigations can no longer deceive the broad masses of the working people in capitalist countries. These masses of working people had been told for a long time that the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR was leading to economic degradation and backwardness. Who believes these fairy tales now? Sometimes even the fiercest opponents of Communism from the ranks of the revisionists are obliged to give grudging recognition to the historical achievements of socialist development. For example, a well-known Communist, F. Sternberg, in his book. Marx and the Present wrote that the rates of industrial development in the USSR and in the European people's democracies excels everything that had been known before in the history of capitalism. He admits at the same time that capitalism has not abolished poverty even in Europe, and quotes certain figures on that score. However, he also claims that we are not building socialism. May Mr. Sternberg find

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consolation in his unfounded fiction that our achievements of socialist construction are allegedly the result of more intensive exploitation of the working people.

Mr. Sternberg makes serious attempts to claim that the annexation of such highly developed industrial countries, as Czechoslovakia and the GDR, to the socialist camp unavoidably leads to the lowering of living conditions in these countries and, as a result of it, to dissatisfaction among the population. However even today, only 4 years after the publication of this foolish anti-Communist treatise, living conditions in Czechoslovakia as well as in the GDR have reached such a high standard that the question of overtaking the most highly developed European capitalist countries, not only in regard to some but all the decisive indexes, is already a question of the near future.

To hope for disagreements between socialist countries is characteristic not only for people of Sternberg's type but also for the ideological arsenal of leading officials of the Union of Communists in Yugoslavia. They even attempt to substantiate this theoretically. One of the basic theses of their program declares that supposedly the "irregularity in the socialist development, its various paths and forms cause a number of internal disagreements within the socialist movement." However, it is the other way around. The law of irregular development, discovered by Lenin, is the law of declining capitalism and imperialism. This law leads to wars

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and other profound upheavals of the capitalist system. Of course, the irregularity of capitalist development creates various conditions for the victory of socialist revolution in individual countries; however, after the victory of the socialist revolution there begins a process of reducing and overcoming the historically conditioned differences in development. For the new, socialist development it is characteristic that the differences in the degree of economic development of socialist countries, are being systematically and purposefully overcome by strengthening the development of their economy by means of mutual assistance. The antagonism and disagreements caused by former ruling classes, the bourgeoisie and the landowners, are being overcome in a relatively short historical period. The countries of Europe which joined the socialist camp, after World War II, belonged to that part of our continent where national and state disagreements had fairly recently been most acute. A large part of these regions was occupied for a long time by two of the most reactionary states: Austria-Hungary and the Turkish Empire, which were known for their cruel methods of national oppression. After their collapse, southeastern and central Europe became the center of rivalry of imperialist powers. German, British, American, and French imperialists attempted, with varying success, to transform southeastern and central Europe into a sphere of their domination, and to create there, with the aid of reactionary capitalist and landowners' circles, bases for a war against the USSR. Under the protec-

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tion of imperialist powers various blocs were formed, such as, the Little Entente, anti-Soviet sanitary cordons, and axes. Czechs and Germans, Hungarians and Slovaks, Bulgarians and Rumanians were set against each other so that the imperialists and especially the most aggressive German imperialists, could better subordinate these nations. All this was in the recent past, all this was in these states where today the power is in the hands of the working class and the people are unanimously building a new socialist society. All this was only 20 years ago. The Soviet Union's victory in World War II, and the victory of the workers' class headed by Marxist-Leninist parties in the people's democracies led to the fact that all these disagreements of the past, cultivated by imperialists and bourgeois nationalists, were wiped out and the people jointly began to build a new life based on the principles of proletarian internationalism. To prevent a repetition of the recent past, it is necessary to struggle systematically against all the remainders of bourgeois nationalism, to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp, serried around the Soviet Union. Anyone who today counts on disagreements between the states of the socialist system, whether he knows it or not, plays into the hands of German and other imperialist revanchists, who are not and never will be reconciled to reality, and to the fact that these countries are definitely lost to the imperialist camp. Disagreements between socialist countries sometimes

- 14 -

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SECRET

were the results of individual errors, but these are isolated cases. 50X1-HUM
They do not in any way represent the law of historical development. On
the contrary, the law of historical development points to an even greater
rapprochement, and an even closer collaboration of countries of the
socialist camp on the way to socialism and communism.

In the struggle against all attempts to weaken the unity of socialist
countries it is especially necessary for us, historians, to give special
attention to studies of our common fighting traditions, the traditions
of proletarian internationalism. In this we, the workers of the Institute
for History of the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, see one of our
basic tasks. This year, on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the
founding of the Communist International, we evaluated at the Scientific
Conference the historical importance of the Communist International
for the international workers' movement in our country. The materials
of this conference have just been published. Together with our Hungarian
comrades, we celebrated the 40th anniversary of the heroic Hungarian
Soviet Republic and Slovak Soviet republic. Together with the comrades
in the GDR, we are working on many questions of the joint struggle of
the German and Czechoslovak proletariat in the past. Together with them
we want to work in the field of historiography on the current question
of the struggle against revanchism. We consider that the main subject
for our historiography is the work on the importance of Leninism as an
international teaching of the workers' class, and the importance of the
aid which the Soviet Union and the most experienced revolutionary party -
the CPSU-have rendered to all countries of the socialist camp during the

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liberation and which is being rendered today in the construction of socialism and Communism. We believe that in connection with the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth which will be celebrated next year [1960] and in connection with the 15th anniversary of the liberation of our countries, it is necessary to explain all these questions to the broad masses.

At the same time, we believe that in view of the increasing attempts of the bourgeois reformist and revisionist historiography to distort the history of the workers' movement, even by falsifying historical documents (as was shown by the recently published collection of documents, in the English language, of the Communist International), our work in this direction cannot be considered satisfactory. In this respect we have definitely slowed down in our efforts. Therefore, we fully support the proposals advanced in his report by Comrade Shatagin. Our historical work is necessary not only for us, for the education of members and workers of our parties. We fully understand that the results of our work may be very helpful to comrades in capitalist countries, which are daily {flooded} with slanderous anti-Communist literature.

The following remarks, which we believe to be important, touches upon questions of the cultural policy of the Party. In recent years, the attacks of revisionists resulted in turning^a certain section of the intelligentsia against our parties, especially the creative intelligentsia which, one feels, is still under the influence of bourgeois opinions.

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On the whole, these attempts failed. However, the vagueness and fluctuations which appeared among a part of the intelligentsia must force us to give proper attention to questions of the cultural policy of the Party. We have no reason to be ashamed of the results achieved by our Party during almost 40 years of its existence. Let such renegades as Lukach, Howard Fast, and others like them, shout that the party spirit (partijnost') leads to the decline of literature. No provocative statements can refute the fact that the greatest writers of the 20th century, such as Maksim Gorkiy, Mayakovskiy, Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, Andersen-Nekse, Yu. Fuchik, Ya. Gashek, S. K. Neiman, I. R. Becher, Brecht, Dreiser, and Liu Hsing, stood and fought on the Communist side. Here I cannot even name all the great representatives of literature. [It cannot be denied that] at present, Soviet literature and socialist literature in other countries are greatly superior to all the works of the decadent bourgeois literature. The development in Czechoslovakia has confirmed the force of socialist literature which is closely related to the struggle of the working class and to our Party. It is enough to say that, with a few exceptions, all the outstanding creative writers, who played an important role in the development of our literature, were members of our party or closely associated with it. Despite the difficulties of the past years, in the relations of a certain part of the creative intelligentsia toward the party, the idea of party spirit in the literature of our country has deep roots in the traditions of the past 40 years. The great traditions and the ideological influence

SECRET

of Marxism-Leninism on the intelligentsia helped the party to overcome a relatively short period the fluctuations and lack of clarity, as was demonstrated by the Congress of Socialist Culture, held not long ago. The experience of the last decades convincingly proves that the working class alone, guided by the Marxist-Leninist Party, is capable of raising culture to a higher degree of historical development and of making culture available to all people. Therefore, along with the basic economic problems of building socialism, it is necessary to pay much attention to these problems in the history of the parties. We must admit, in a spirit of self-criticism, that so far we have failed to do so in full measure.

The struggle against modern revisionism necessitates that we, the party historians, do not limit ourselves to the history of our party struggle in the past, when our countries were still capitalist. For the past 15 years we have lived and worked under new conditions and our parties have already acquired great historical experience in building socialism. But we must say, in self-criticism, that our historical work has given insufficient attention to the new history, the history of the past 15 years, which meant a great change in the history of our nations. Of course, we are endeavoring to make up for the loss of time as soon as possible. The draft of the textbook on the history of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which was already completed, brings the history up to 1954. In the next 2 months we shall try to supplement it so that the textbook would end with the 11th Party Congress, which pointed to the completion of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia.

SPEECH BY COMRADE SOTIR MANUSHI (PRA) [Albania]
on item two of the agenda

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THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE THEORY AND PRACTICE
OF REVISIONISM

The struggle of peoples for the obliteration of the brutal system of colonialism and for freedom and national independence ~~have~~^{has} achieved significant results. The colonial system of imperialism is currently in a state of complete ruin.

The peoples of the entire world are inspired and filled with enthusiasm in their struggle for freedom by the example of the workers of socialist countries who have eliminated national inequality and the oppression of one nation by another.

Imperialists and their ideologists, realizing the danger presented by the socialist method of resolving the national question to their rule over small and poorly developed peoples, slander socialist countries in every manner possible and try to set one socialist country against another and to split the unity of the international communist movement. In this mad campaign the imperialists more and more frequently use renegades of the communist and workers' movement such as Geist, Fast, Larsen, and others.

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The revisionist leaders of the Association of Communists of Yugoslavia^{50X1-HUM} render them great service, taking upon themselves the role of dissenters of the socialist camp, of the communist and workers' movement, and the national liberation movement.

In his speech at the 7th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, N. S. Khrushchev characterized modern revisionism as a type of Trojan Horse. "Revisionists," he said, "try to demoralize revolutionary parties from within, undermine unity, and introduce disorder and confusion in Marxist-Leninist ideology." The communist movement has delivered a crushing blow to revisionism, but, as N. S. Khrushchev emphasized at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "revisionism is not finished. It must be kept in mind that imperialism will try by all means possible to support and activate revisionists." Consequently, revisionism will remain the main danger in the future to international communist and workers' movements. Therefore, our problem is the struggle for its complete ideological and political defeat.

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The experience of the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies has shown in a most convincing manner that the only way to resolve the national question in the interests of peoples is to eliminate the power

of exploiters. Socialism liberates peoples and secures the growth of the material and spiritual might of liberated peoples. It is the only guarantee of equality, cooperation and mutual aid, and friendship between peoples.

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The Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world, set a great example in developing formerly backward peoples on a basis of fraternal aid from workers of those nations which were earlier ruling and more highly developed.

The brilliant victories achieved in the realms of economic, political and cultural development of the Soviet republics of Central Asia, the astounding growth of the minor peoples of the North and East of the Soviet Union are a realization of a most just solution of the national question, the socialist principle of equality of peoples.

When socialism left the limits of one state and became a world system, it created principally a new type of relationship between states, which embodies not only complete observance of sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and genuine equality of rights, but also the close fraternal mutual assistance of socialist countries in all realms of political, economic and cultural life. The most striking manifestation of proletarian internationalism is found in the close cooperation and

mutual assistance of socialist countries. The invincible unity of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, is founded precisely on this basis and is strengthened every day. 50X1-HUM

However such unity, such solidarity, of countries of the socialist camp is not liked by Yugoslav revisionists for, according to them, it violates the national sovereignty of individual countries and the socialist principle of the equality of peoples. But like itself upsets these slanderous assertions. It has proven that the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp and close cooperation between socialist countries facilitates the development of socialist economy and the raising of the level of formerly backward countries to the level of advanced countries; it enables the elimination of inequality in the stages of economic and cultural development inherited from the past.

The actual facts are the best proof that Yugoslav revisionists, who attack the character of the relationship between socialist countries in every manner possible, and who accuse the Soviet Union of "exploitation" and "hegemonism," and of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, behave toward minor states like nationalists and like the bitterest of chauvinists.

The Albanian Labor Party and the Albanian people have had a sufficiently great amount of experience concerning relations with Yugoslavia. Those who presently head the Yugoslav State permitted impudent interference in the internal affairs of our country and tried by all means to subordinate our party and our people to Yugoslavia. They tried to thrust upon the People's Republic of Albania incorrect economic agreements between both our governments, and they also incorrectly fulfilled those agreements which were correct, and robbed our economy. They sought by all means possible to take over our People's Army and to turn Albania into the seventh republic of Yugoslavia. Realizing that it was impossible to carry out their plans, they demanded agreement to the provisional transfer to our country of several Yugoslav divisions, allegedly for the purpose of defending the country from Greek threats but actually for seizing Albania as a fait accompli. However, all their attempts failed before the firm position taken by our party and our government.

After 1955, when socialist countries did everything possible to improve relations with Yugoslavia, the leaders of the Association of Communists of Yugoslavia did not stop their inimical activities against our country for a moment. They organized an unrestricted campaign against our party, and tried by pressure, blackmail and every possible means to subordinate it [the party] to the Yugoslav party. Yugoslav diplomats in

Tirana carried on intelligence activities, made attempts to recruit agents from among Albanian citizens, and to collect information about the party, army etc. After 1955 they continued to send agents and saboteurs into our country to perform acts of sabotage and terror. They continued provocations on Albanian borders. They hold more than 3,000 Albanian defectors in Yugoslavia, among whom are many fascist war criminals.

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This is how Yugoslav revisionists understand "equality" in relations between governments.

The leaders of the Association of Communists of Yugoslavia assert that they have "justly resolved the national question," that currently in Yugoslavia there "already no longer exists a national question or a question of the exploitation of peoples and national hegemony." People are not judged by their high-sounding declarations but by their deeds. Marxism-Leninism teaches that practice is the best criterion for measuring the value of theory, and practice in the solution of the national question gives a rather clear picture showing the genuine character of leaders of the Association of Communists of Yugoslavia.

As is known, a considerable Albanian national minority lives in Yugoslavia. The overwhelming majority of the population of Kasavo-Metohija and the Dukatino Valley is composed of Albanians. An Albanian minority lives in Macedonia and Montenegro.

Consequently half of the Albanian territory and half of the Albanian people are found in Yugoslavia. This territory was joined to Yugoslavia^{50X1-HUM} by a decision of the great powers in 1913.

Speaking before the House of Commons in April 1913, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, E. Grey, characterized the division of Albania with the following words: "The agreement among the powers regarding the borders of Albania was achieved after lengthy and serious diplomatic efforts. It was decided that the sea coast and Shkoder belongs to Albania; however, Peja, Prizren, Libra and after lengthy discussion, G'yakova remain beyond the boundaries of Albania.

The agreement leaves a considerable portion of territory for division between Serbia and Montenegro, as fruits of their victory (as a result of the Balkan War. S. M.)."

At that time the territory joined to Yugoslavia was populated only by Albanians. Subsequently, Serbs, Macedonians and others were brought there.

The Albanian population of Kosovo-Metohija, Macedonia and Montenegro are valiant people with high courage. Century after century, under oppression and enslavement, they have opposed denationalization, preserved

their language, customs, and, despite constant terror, did not forsake 50X1-HUM
their homes and their land, which was later covered with blood. Neither
Turkish terror, nor the brutality of Pasic could subdue them. They al-
ways struggled and sought to be united with Albania.

In the period of the national liberation struggle, the Albanian population of Kosovo-Metohija, Macedonia and Montenegro stood shoulder to shoulder with the other peoples of Yugoslavia in the struggle with the fascist invaders. This time it was certain that their dreams would be realized. This hope was clearly expressed at the first national-liberation conference of Kosovo-Metohija and the Dukatino Valley, which was held from 31 December 1943 to 2 January 1944, and in which Albanians and Serbs participated. In a resolution of the conference it was emphasized that "Kosovo-Metohija and the Dukatino Valley are regions populated mainly by Albanians which, as always in the past, now desire to be united with Albania. Therefore we believe it our duty to indicate the correct path which the Albanian populations of Kosovo-Metohija and the Dukatino Valley must tread in order to realize their hopes. Consequently, the only way to unite the population of Kosovo-Metohija and the Dukatino Valley with Albania is a joint struggle with the other peoples of Yugoslavia against the Nazi invaders and their mercenaries, for this is the only way for achieving freedom under which all peoples, consequently, also the Albanian

people, will have the opportunity to decide their own fate and to utilize
the right of self-determination, even as far as separation. The guarantee
of this is the Yugoslav National-Liberation Army and, closely connected with
it, the Albanian National-Liberation Army" (From the conference resolution).

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However, after the liberation of Yugoslavia, the leaders not only did not give the more than a million Albanian population the promised right to self-determination but instituted unprecedented terror against the Albanian population. In the fall of 1944, even before Yugoslavia had been liberated, mass executions began in the villages. More than 10,000 people were arrested in Tetova and 1,200 people were shot without a trial. Thousands of Albanians were brutally murdered in Drenitsa, Gilyana, Mitrovitsa and other towns, and the terror did not cease after the liberation. Hundred of Albanians who had been drafted were shot along the Prizren-Kukes-Tivar road. Thousands of others found death in Tivara, Goritsa and other localities. Only on the fragmentary information of eye witnesses it was revealed that in the period 1944-1948, 36,000 Albanians perished. This is how the aforementioned terror is described in a report of the Third Corps of the Albanian National-Liberation Army No. 88/2, secret, dated 7 March 1945. "In Kosovo-Metohija people were killed by the national-liberation army of Yugoslavia. It is apparent that there are

many chauvinists and provocateurs in the national liberation army of^{50X1-HUM} Yugoslavia. A considerable portion of the population of these regions is in the mountains. The population of Kosmet does not trust the Yugoslav national liberation army. The removal of the Albanian flag in cities of Kosovo-Metohija, the shooting of the Albanian delegation sent by the operational staff for negotiations, the murder of 20 men from the suburbs of G'yakova without the slightest provocation, mass executions in Drenitsa, disappearances of people without a trace at night, all of this deeply arouses the population of Kosmet against the Yugoslav National Liberation Army." (Archives of Military History, Ministry of People's Defense. Record of the Third Corps No. 4164/I).

The purpose of such terror and such reprisals is not to eliminate reactionaries, as the Yugoslav leaders claimed, but to suppress and exterminate the Albanian population in Yugoslavia.

After 1948 the terror increased even more. They began to murder and liquidate genuine Communists, the best patriots of Kosovo-Metohija and all of Yugoslavia, such as Nedzhat Agol, deputy chairman of the Macedonian Council of Ministers; Rifat Beril, Chairman of the Kosovo-Metohija popular front; Dzhelyadin Khan, director of the newspaper Rilindja (Re-birth) and others. Besides communists and other patriots, hundreds and

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thousands of peasants, understanding nothing about communism, were imprisoned, exiled and wiped out. Provocations were organized, inhabitants were taken from Kosovo-Metohija near the Albanian-Yugoslav border and shot under the pretext that they were attempting to cross the border. Those residents of Kosovo-Metohija, who miraculously survived such a pogrom and arrived in Albania badly maimed and wounded (s vnutymi kishkami), bear witness to this. Hundreds and hundreds of others were thrown in concentration camps.

It is appropriate here to emphasize that even after 1955 such terror did not cease. In the winter of 1955-1956, at the same time when socialist countries were making every effort for a normalization of relations with Yugoslavia, mass terror once again broke out in Kosovo-Metohija. Under the pretext of collecting weapons throughout Kosovo-Metohija, the Yugoslav government unfolded a savage operation under the leadership of G'yeko Paykovich, Dushan Mugoshi, and others, and with the support of Dzhavit Nimani, Mekhmet Khodzha and others. Punitive forces surrounded towns, collected the men, demanded weapons which they did not have, after which they beat them so badly that several died during and after the torture. The purpose of this operation was not the collection of weapons, for they had been collected three times, but a denationalization of the Albanians of Kosovo-Metohija, Macedonia and Montenegro.

The terror and brutality in Kosovo-Metohija gives a clear picture^{50X1-HUM} of how the national question is solved in Yugoslavia and what political rights and freedoms are enjoyed by the Albanians of Kosovo-Metohija, Macedonia and Montenegro.

There are numerous methods and examples of denationalization undertaken by Yugoslav revisionists. The administrative division itself of the Albanian population evidences the denationalization aims. In spite of the fact that they live in one general territory, they, administratively, belong to three republics - Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro, and the Albanians of Yablanitskiy Kray were transferred to the Serbian Republic, where they are not considered an Albanian national minority. In connection with this it must be emphasized that if the Albanian population is so divided, Montenegro which in 1958 had all told 469,000 inhabitants, is one of six republic composing Yugoslavia.

After the liberation of Yugoslavia, a census of the population was conducted there three times and each time fewer Albanians were counted. According to the March 1953 census, it seems as if 754,000 Albanians live in Yugoslavia (Statistical calendar FNRYu for 1959). However, if one looks at history, it appears that according to the census conducted by Turkey in 1908-1909 there were 777,200 Albanians in Kosovo-Metohija, Macedonia and Montenegro. Considering that during this period the population of Yugoslavia grew yearly on an average of 14 per 1,000, it follows

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that in 1953 there should have been about 1,400,000 Albanians in Yugoslavia. How then is such a decrease in the Albanian population explained? Above we presented a number of facts about atrocities among the Albanian population of Kosovo-Metohija, Macedonia and Montenegro, with the purpose of annihilating the Albanian population. Moreover, Yugoslav revisionists sought by all means possible to eliminate the Albanian nationality, registering most of them as Turks, Macedonians and others. Yugoslav revisionists seek to register Albanians of the Mohammedan religion as Turks, Orthodox Albanians as Macedonians, and Catholics are either registered as Italians or moved from Kosovo-Metohija. In such a manner, 100,000 Albanians in Macedonia and tens of thousands in Kosovo-Metohija were registered as Turks. In Macedonia all Albanians of the Orthodox religion were registered as Macedonians. Inhabitants of Zadar and Dzar who speak in an old Albanian dialect of the Skodranskiy Rayon were labeled "Albanians" and registered as Italians.

In 1952 a decree of the Yugoslav government was published concerning the acknowledgement of the Turkish national minority in Kosovo-Metohija with all political and cultural rights. There is no such minority in Kosovo-Metohija. Actually, Turkish diplomats have never confirmed the fact that there is such a Turkish minority in Kosovo-Metohija. The presence of such a Turkish minority is confirmed by no kind of historical documentation.

Kosovo-Metohija is a region with great agricultural wealth and has great possibilities for swift industrial development. But what have Yugoslav revisionists done for the development of this region, though they maintain that the national question has been solved by them better than in any other country? Up to the present not one significant measure has been taken there. The industrial base of Kosovo-Metohija is composed of old industrial enterprises in Trepça and Aynvanliya and coal-mining enterprises in Galesha and Lip'yana, which have existed since the time of the Karadjordjevici. New industrial enterprises which have arisen during the time of the "people's rule," or are continuing to be formed even now, for example, a spinning factory in Prishtina, a superphosphate plant in Mitrovitsa, a thermoelectric station in Oboshich, a box factory in Lip'yana, or some other small shop, play a very insignificant role in the industrial development of this district. The Yugoslav government has planned absolutely nothing for the future in connection with the industrialization of the Kosovo-Metohija ^{region.} ~~Oblast.~~ 50X1-HUM

The peasantry is living even worse than in old Yugoslavia. The so-called land reform of the "people's rule" in Kosovo-Metohija was carried out at the expense of the Albanian peasants. Their land was taken and given to Serbian and Montenegrin kulaks. The breaking up of agricultural

cooperatives in 1949, the lack of tractors and the concentration of the means of production in the hands of kulaks and finally, the heavy tax burden, result in the fact that peasants of the fertile Kosovo-Metohija plains cannot provide themselves even with a crust of dry bread. As a result of all this they are forced to emigrate. 50X1-HUM

In the village of Verkhniy Zlaty, Gil'yana Rayon, 65 Kosovo-Metohija families were forced to move in the course of several days, and in their place Serbian families were brought in. Plots of land were taken from Albanians and they were given nothing in exchange for their land. Reduced to poverty, they were forced to work for kulaks. Even more characteristic was the case of the peasant Mustafa Khasani from Yunik, Gil'yana. They took his land and house on the pretext that his father had emigrated to Albania in the time of old Yugoslavia.

According to Yugoslav statistical data, in the period of 1954-1958 the average wage of a citizen of Prishtina rose 13 percent. But in the same period prices rose considerably more than this: the price of meat, 160%; vegetable oil, 130%; milk, almost 200%; butter, 150%; women's shoes, 120%. These figures speak of the lowering of the real wages of workers and employees of the cities of Kosovo-Metohija region and about the lowering of the purchasing power and standard of living of the working masses.

[REDACTED]

Unemployment in Kosovo-Metohija is becoming a chronic phenomenon. [REDACTED]

A correspondent of the Hsinhua (New China News) Agency in Yugoslavia, 50X1-HUM having visited the autonomous oblast of Kosovo-Metohija the latter part of March 1959, wrote: "Crowds of unemployed, as they call them here "crowds of people seeking work," loaf from morning until evening up and down the city streets. Such a situation forced many Albanians to roam the Yugoslav cities in search of work or take such jobs as loading-unloading work, shining shoes etc."

In February of this year the American newspaper New York Times published an article of its Belgrade correspondent, Rosenhill [A. M. Rosenthal?] under the heading: "Albanians are the Keys to Life in Belgrade." In it he wrote: "Albanians who are known as a national minority in Yugoslavia, are found on almost every street of Belgrade in winter. They clean the city from ice and fill the centers of the battery heaters with coal. The Albanians do jobs which no one else wants to do." The fact that even a correspondent of a large bourgeois newspaper of New York was struck by the heavy labor performed by Kosovo-Metohija residents in the Yugoslav capital once again bears witness to the fact that the situation of Albanians in Yugoslavia is deplorable.

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Under the influence of the just criticism of our party, directed against Yugoslav revisionists, they are trying to take a number of urgent measures in order to extricate several republics from a condition of economic backwardness. But even their desire to extricate from a position of economic backwardness the regions which were lagging in this respect, is based not on concrete measures, but on general phraseology, on an explanation of "some basic questions," as they say. The newspaper Rilindija dated 11 July 1959, speaking of a plenary session of the Administrative Council of the Regional Chamber of Agriculture writes:

"This time it is possible to say that the data cited in materials presented to the present session in connection with the plan for development of agriculture during 1959/60 did not have such significance as the fact that the present session clarified several basic questions from the point of view of future development of agricultural production in the autonomous oblast of Kosovo-Metohija." But what were these "basic questions" which will help the future development of agriculture, the newspaper fails to mention. This is a favorite procedure of Yugoslav revisionists. In "principle" and in words they promise much, but in reality the economic situation of the autonomous oblast of Kosovo-Metohija remains the same.

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The anti-Marxist, chauvinist policy of Yugoslav revisionists is clearly evident also in the realm of education. In the 1951-1952

academic year there were 623 primary schools in Kosovo-Metohija, with 81,488 students; 80 seven-year schools and 7 secondary schools; while in 1958, according to an article in the newspaper Rilindija of 19 October 1958, which uses high-sounding phrases in speaking about the "progress" of Kosovo-Metohija, there were only 263 primary Albanian schools and 149 mixed schools, i.e. Serbian. But the educational situation among the Albanians of Montenegro is even worse, as there are not even any primary schools [giving instruction] in the Albanian language, with rare exceptions. Secondary schools in Kosovo-Metohija were closed under the pretext that "Albanian students, studying in the Serbian language, will have the opportunity to study in a university," and primary schools in Montenegro were closed under the pretext that in such a manner "Albanian children will have the possibility to study in Serbian secondary schools."

In this connection, Rami Butsoy, a former student of Peyskaya secondary school relates a significant and disturbing incident: "We were in class," he says. "The physics and chemistry instructor, Fetakh T'yafder Basha, came in and announced that today he would not teach the lesson in Albanian as these subjects will be taught in Serbian. We protested. Tears appeared in the eyes of the instructor." The instructor was fired and imprisoned and eight students were dismissed from school

for 6 years as being guilty of chauvinism. This was the end of the secondary Albanian schools.

In the remaining Albanian primary schools they not only do not study Albanian history, but they falsify it in every way possible, particularly the history of the national-liberation struggle of the Albanian people. Since 1957, the subject of Albanian history is taught in schools only a total of six hours a year. Folklore with national content is forbidden. The folklore group of Prishtina and the Institute of Albanian Studies in this city have been abolished.

Leaders of the Yugoslav State are exerting every effort to deprive Albanians of the opportunity of studying in their native language. In the regions of Kosovo-Metohija, Montenegro and Macedonia, Turkish schools have been opened with new teachers from among barbers, butchers, leaders of the Moslem Sect, and other backward people. The radio has begun to broadcast programs in the Turkish language, and Turkish music; and conferences, meetings and theatrical performances are conducted in the Turkish language. It has come to the point where children of one family attend different schools, one goes to a Turkish School and another to an Albanian one.

Under the pretext that the Albanian language is crude and backward, that it does not nourish an individual, and that the Serbian language^{50X1-HUM} nourishes, Yugoslav revisionists try by all possible means to force the Albanians of Kosovo-Metohija, Macedonia and Montenegro to attend Serbian schools and speak Serbian.

In old Yugoslavia the Great Serbs [Pan-Serbs] repeated over and over to the Albanians: "Speak the language of God," i.e. Serbian. Now the revisionists tell them: "Speak the state language," i.e. again Serbian. Life for an Albanian who does not wish to speak the "godly" or "state" language is very difficult.

Yugoslav revisionists, and also traitors of the Kosovo-Metohija people, pompously reiterate that the people of Kosovo-Metohija are "free," that "the power is in their hands" etc. But what power can there be, when a region, where the overwhelming majority of the population is Albanian, has 13 deputies representing this region in the Council of Nationalities of the Serbian Assembly, including 7 Serbs and only 6 Albanians? In rayon councils only 51% of the members are Albanians and in the workers' councils only 40%. In Prishtina, the center of the "autonomous province" only 10-20% of the employees are Albanians. There is no room for Albanians in the remaining key posts such as UDB and others.

All of these facts are the best indication of the tragedy of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia, of the "freedom," "equality" and those "rights which are given them by the leadership of the Association of Communists of Yugoslavia."

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Our party always maintains a correct, international position in regard to the question of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia. In the course of the national-liberation struggle and after it, our party conducted a great deal of work for the purpose of fraternization, particularly of the Kosovo-Metohija population, and in general of all Albanians with the people of Yugoslavia. The party fought against manifestations of distrust, hostility, and national hatred, resulting from the chauvinistic policy of the anti-popular regime of old Yugoslavia, stirred up and led by Serbian and Albanian reactionaries.

The aforementioned historical situation and chauvinistic policy of some functionaries of the Yugoslav Communist Party, who designated the people of Kosovo-Metohija as reactionaries and would not work with them, harmed the national-liberation struggle in Albanian regions. Our party fulfilled its obligation with honor, having headed the national-liberation struggle in these regions and sent two divisions of the Albanian National-Liberation Army into Yugoslavia. These divisions liberated not only

SECRET

Kosovo-Metohija, but aided in the liberation of other districts in Montenegro, Bosnia, Hercegovina, and Sandzhak also. Our partisans and our party never expressed any territorial claims, but worked to draw the population of Kosovo-Metohija closer to the people of Yugoslavia, and having fulfilled their mission of liberation, they returned to Albania.

However, our party can not indifferently regard what is happening to the Albanian population in Yugoslavia, without raising its voice and demanding the protection and the observance of the rights of our brothers. This is our right. This our duty. This is a matter of principle, ~~signi-~~
~~ficance~~, a great question of humaneness. Our party, as an international party, at the same time raises its voice in defense of the finest sons of the Yugoslav people, who are subjected to the brutal torture of Titoists only because they desire to remain true to Marxism-Leninism, the interests of the people, and friendship towards the Soviet Union. The monstrous atrocities of Titoists are numerous, but it is sufficient to mention in this regard that only since 1948 (after the resolution of the Informbyuro) and up to 1952, more than 30,000 communists were imprisoned or interned in concentration camps, including 5,000 officers; and 200,000 communists were expelled from the party, i.e. almost half the membership of the party. More than 12,000 officers were dismissed from the army,

etc. Hundred of communists were shot or died as a result of terrible torture. Among their ranks were the well-known names of many old communists, participants in the October Revolution, the Spanish War, leaders of the national-liberation struggle and others.

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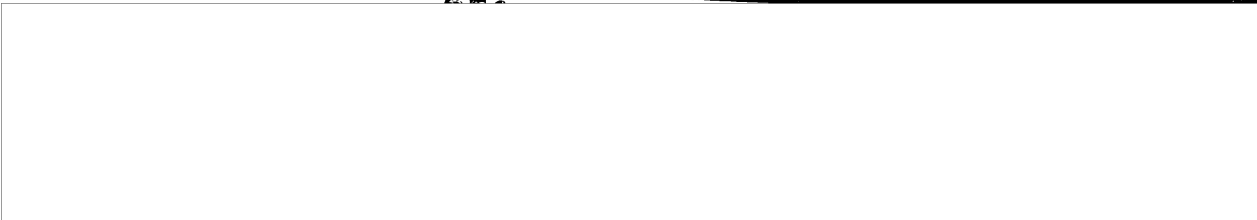
The Marxist-Leninist Party cannot remain indifferent when confronted with such crimes. During the entire history of the Communist movement, the Communist Party has always and will always raise its voice in defense of its communist comrades.

As is known, after World War II the Yugoslav leaders agitated for the unification of Trieste and all districts of Julian Venetia with Yugoslavia. They were so blinded with fervor that they asserted that the Soviet Union was conducting machinations with the imperialists concerning the Yugoslav lands and therefore, they said, [the Soviet Union] did not give proper support to the Yugoslav demands. Tito himself spoke in Ljubljana in the latter part of May 1945, and said on this subject: "They said that this was a just struggle and we regarded it thus, but we demand that everyone should be master over what belongs to him. We do not want to keep accounts for others. We do not want to be used as money for exchange [a pawn]. We do not want to interfere in any political sphere of influence." Such a statement of Tito's was addressed not only

to the imperialist states but also to the Soviet Union. It does not distinguish the Soviet Union in any way from imperialist states.

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Still later, in 1946, the Yugoslav revisionists accused the leaders of the Italian Communist Party, and even Comrade Togliatti personally, of being "a collaborator of the Italian bourgeois government and fascist and reactionary elements." The great furor raised by the Yugoslav government and the Yugoslav press regarding several thousand Slovenes living in Austria is also well known. Then, naturally, the question arises: Why do the Yugoslav leaders have the right to fight for their minorities and we are denied that right and are labelled "chauvinists," or "Pan-Albanians," when we raise our voice against denationalization and extermination measures in regard to more than one million of our brothers? Who do they occupy a hostile position in regard to our country? Such a position is explained by the fact that they judge everything from their own standpoint; fearing that our government might raise the question about the unification of half of the Albanian population, residing in Yugoslavia, with Albania, they have tried in every way possible, for the past 15 years after the liberation, to swallow the other half of the Albanians, i.e. all of Albania. This was the aim inherent in the idea of a Balkan Confederation. It was to begin with the occupation of Albania, as it was a small country with incompetent cadres, etc.



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All of this speaks for the fact that the Yugoslav revisionist leaders are not only ideological but also political enemies. They conduct not only an ideological struggle for the revision of Marxist-Leninist ideology, but they use all the resources of state authority, having become the best tool in the hands of American imperialism for undermining the socialist states and the Communist Party from within and for thwarting the national-liberation movement of colonial and dependent peoples.

Therefore it is necessary to carry on a concrete struggle against them, necessary to expose their theory and activities at each step, and necessary to unmask them completely in order to show their real face.

Our party will continue to carry on an unflinching, consistent struggle against modern revisionism, especially against Yugoslav revisionism. In this struggle our historical science is destined to play an important role.

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PROBLEMS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM

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Speech By Comrade T' IEN CH' UN-FANG (China)

On Item 2 of the Agenda

One hundred and eleven years have passed since the appearance of a systematic and scientific Socialism-Marxism proclaimed by Marx and Engels in the "Communist Manifesto." In the past one hundred years, Marxism has continuously and steadily developed in the struggle against all non-proletarian ideas and views.

Lenin pointed out that during the first half-century of its existence, Marxism fought against all kinds of basically hostile ideas and conquered them. In the second half-century of its existence, Marxism began fighting against revisionism. During that time, anti-Marxist ideas could no longer attack Marxism from their own positions and were obliged to shroud themselves with the toga of Marxism in order to "correct" Marxism from within. The fact that the ideological enemies of Marxism could not help imitating the Marxists in the struggle against it [Marxism] proves the contrary. It demonstrated the degree of power Marxism had attained.

After every important victory of Marxism, revisionism would start an attack against it. Bernstein's revisionism appeared in the nineties of the 19th century, when Marxism had gained a victory over all hostile ideas and had become the principal ideological trend in the workers movement, and when the problems of a proletarian revolution and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat had become a matter of urgency.

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Bernstein's revisionism rejected the proletarian revolution and called^{50X1-HUM} upon the proletariat to refrain from seizing power and from establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat; in its place, it proposed reformism within the framework of the bourgeois regime.

Forty years ago, when the Great Socialist October Revolution won a victory in Russia, and when the Russian workers and peasants under the leadership of the Bolsheviks established the dictatorship of the proletariat and created the first socialist state in the world, the leaders of the Second International, Kautsky and Company, again raised the sword of revisionism and, under the pretense of defending Marxism, began their shameless attack against the Bolsheviks and Soviet Russia in order to undermine the authority of the Bolshevik Party and socialist state in the eyes of the world-wide working class, and in order to prevent workers of all countries from following the path of the October Revolution.

After the end of World War II, more than ten socialist countries appeared in Europe and Asia which formed a world socialist system together with the Soviet Union, At a time when they were being welded together more closely and were becoming stronger every day, modern revisionism developed. Its concentrated expression was the revisionist program of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia, which was adopted in the spring of 1958. The modern revisionists, just as their predecessors, attempt to slander the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, declaring it

"obsolete" and as having lost its importance in the social development. Revisionism strives with all its force to undermine the faith of the working class and of other working people in socialism. It negates the historical necessity of establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat during the period "from capitalism to socialism" and it negates the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

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Our era is the era of transition from capitalism to socialism. Our world is divided into two camps: socialist and capitalist. The struggle between the Marxist line and the revisionist line exactly reflects the intensified struggle between the new, growing forces of society and these which are withering away, the struggle between the imperialist and the socialist worlds. Therefore, the existence of capitalism is a social and class source for the development of revisionism. "To solve the question of 'who' will be the winner," capitalism or socialism, much time is needed. The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism and capitulation before the pressure of imperialism is its external source." (Declaration of the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers Parties of Socialist Countries, which took place in Moscow, 14-16 November 1957)

It is obvious to all that the appearance of revisionism was due to many causes which do not have anything in common with the causes put forward by some revisionists, who claim that modern revisionism was the result of the Communists' "contentiousness" and the socialist camp's "pressure."

The Marxist theory is a living science; just like any other science it cannot stand still, it cannot stagnate and fail to advance. The history of the past hundred years or so proves that the Marxist theory has developed steadily and improved constantly in the struggle against all forms of opportunism, reformism, and revisionism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung says, "Marxism can develop only in a struggle. So it was in the past, so it is now, and certainly so it will be in the future. The correct [idea] always develops in the struggle against the wrong one. That which is true, good and beautiful always exists in contrast with and develops in the struggle against untruth, evil, and ugliness. When all of mankind discards the wrong ideas and accepts the definite truth, then the new truth will again struggle against new, erroneous opinions. Such a struggle will never stop. This is the principle of the development of truth and, of course, the principle of the development of Marxism." ("Regarding the Correct Solution of Conflicts Among the People").

Both revisionism and dogmatism greatly harm the workers' and the Communist movement. However, under present conditions revisionism is the principal danger. Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his speech "Regarding the Correct Solution of Conflicts Among the People," delivered in February 1957, pointed out that "Revisionism, or rightist opportunism, is a bourgeois ideological movement and is much more dangerous than dogmatism." The revisionists, i.e. rightist opportunists, speak in favor of Marxism and also attack "dogmatism." However, what they are attacking constitutes the most basic theses of Marxism."

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The Congress of the Union of Yugoslav Communists in the spring of 1958 adopted the revisionist program from beginning to end. This program declares all basic principles of the revolutionary theory of Marxism as "dogmatism" and the leaders of the Union of Yugoslav Communists declare themselves as the "irreconcilable enemies of dogmatism." This program confirms that the speech of Conrade Mao Tse-tung can be applied not only to the situation in China, but also to the international situation.

The Declaration of the Conference of the Communist and workers' parties of Socialist countries states that "revisionism and dogmatism in the worker's and Communist movement, both in the past and in the present, have an international character;" it underlines the "necessity of a decisive victory over revisionism and dogmatism in the ranks of the Communist and workers' parties," and recognizes that "under present conditions revisionism, or rightist opportunism, is the main danger."

The Chinese Communists were decidedly against the Yugoslav revisionist program as soon as it was made known and announced that "it was the sacred duty of the [Chinese Communist] Party to the international workers' class to join the fraternal parties of all countries in destroying modern revisionism politically and theoretically, defending Marxism-Leninism, and defending the unity of the international Communist movement on the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism." ("Resolution of the First Session of the 8th All-China Congress of the CCP on Conferences of the Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow"). The

newspaper Jen-min Jih-pao, organ of the Central Committee, Chinese Communist Party, and the theoretical bi-weekly periodical of the CC, Hung-ch'i, as well as other periodical publications, published a number of articles analyzing and refuting the absurd ideas contained in the Yugoslav revisionist program. For wide circles of cadre workers (Communists and non-Communists) and for the masses, these documents were good in explaining the theory of Marxism-Leninism; they facilitated their understanding of the essence of modern revisionism, and increased their political vigilance.

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Nearly all articles published in Chinese periodicals indicated, in referring to historical experience, that the revisionist point of view which had found its expression in the program of the Union of Yugoslav Communists was a re-edition, in the 1950's, of the "Bernsteinism" of the late 19th century. It was a new form of Bernsteinism under new conditions. The "neo-Bernsteinists" of Yugoslavia, copying the entire complex of the old Bernstein methods, repeat in a changed form the old theoretical conceptions in the field of politics, economy, and philosophy which were proposed by Bernsteinists more than 50 years ago. Only in connection with other historical conditions, the formulation of certain problems by the neo-Bernsteinists bears the mark of modern times.

The Chinese Communists indicate that the "Program of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia" betrays the Marxist-Leninist principles in a number of basic questions, opposes the Declaration of the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries, and is contrary to the Peace Manifesto of the Conference of Representatives of 64 Communist and Workers' Parties. The Peace Manifesto was also signed by the representative of the Union of Yugoslav Communists. The specific features of the Yugoslav modern revisionism are as follows:

With regard to method, it substitutes sophistry for materialistic d.50X1-HUMics and confuses truth with untruth; in politics, it substitutes the Marxist-Leninist state theory with the reactionary supraclass state theory and it denies that the workers' class should bring about the proletarian revolution and replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat; in political economy, it defends the monopolistic capital and slurs over the fundamental difference between capitalism and socialism. The Yugoslav revisionists changed the Marxist-Leninist theory on ~~to~~ the class struggle, revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat. They propagandize ^g anti-Leninist theory, according to which the leading role of the Communist Party in socialist revolution and socialist development must be abolished. They attack the Communist and workers' parties of socialist countries and cast aspersions upon the Communist parties of capitalist countries, stating that the latter have ceased to be a moving force in the social development of their countries. Thus, they are striving to undermine and to disorganize the Communist parties which are the leading forces in the world liberation movement.

At present, the international Communist movement is growing and consolidating and the general crisis of capitalism is being aggravated day by day. The National Liberation movement is expanding and the colonial system is gradually drawing nearer to its downfall. The right-wing socialists' reformism, which previously was used by imperialism for disorganizing the working masses, has become less and less effective.

Imperialism now urgently needs a force which could help it to under- 50X1-HUM
mine, ideologically and politically, the solidarity of the socialist
camp and of the international Communist movement, as well as forces
conducting the national liberation struggle. Such forces
could help to paralyze the revolutionary will of the working class
and of other working people in the capitalist world. At a time like
this the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia proposed a new integral re-
visionist program. It is tantamount to presenting a gift to imperialism,
especially to US imperialism, like "a gift of coal on a frosty day."

The modern Yugoslav revisionists were fostered by US imperialism.
Judging from data, published in American and Yugoslav press, US "economic
aid" to Yugoslavia for the period since 1945 has reached 2.9 billion US
dollars. One does not have to remind that this US aid is the "reward" which
US imperialism gave Yugoslavia for its "good work" for the benefit of interna-
tional reactionaries. Not without reason, Lenin said that: "...objectively,
opportunists represent a part of the petty bourgeoisie and of certain strata
of the workers class, they were bribed with the money from imperialist
super-profits and were turned into watch-dogs of capitalism and wreckers
of the workers movement..." (Lenin's Works 4th edition, volume 23,
page 99).

The Declaration of the Conference of Representatives of Communist
and Workers' parties of socialist countries says that "the entire experi-
ence of the international Communist movement teaches that a determined

fight by Communist and workers' parties for the Marxist-Leninist unity
in their ranks, and the banning of fractions and groups which undermine
this unity, is the necessary guarantee for a successful solution of
problems of the socialist revolution and for building Socialism and
Communism." 50X1-HUM

On this basis, the Chinese Communists are carrying on an uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism in order to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to defend the unity of World Communism on the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism.

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The victory of the Chinese revolution is a victory won because of the combination of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the specific practice in China. In the first period of its struggle, the Communist Party of China permitted right-wing opportunist and "left-wing" opportunist mistakes which greatly harmed the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people. The Conference of the CC of the Party in Tsu-nieh in January 1935 took a grave view of the "leftist"-opportunist mistakes within the Party, and upheld the method of correlating Marxism-Leninism with the specific practice of the Chinese revolution. Since that time, the CC of the Party has established the correct line of leadership proposed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Within the Party, constant attention has been given to the struggle against the "leftist" and the rightist opportunism, thereby assuring a victory for the Chinese revolution.

Since 1935, due to the fact that the Chinese Communist Party main-^{50X1-HUM} tained close contact with the masses, that the Party had a Marxist-Leninist ideological unity under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and that serious attention was given to the struggle on two fronts within the Party, dogmatism and revisionism have not had any influence in the Party; the latter displayed great vigilance concerning the "leftist" and the rightist opportunism which tried to cause it much harm.

However, China was a country where the petty bourgeoisie constituted a majority. The influence of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie inevitably caused more or less serious revisionist or dogmatic mistakes within the Party.

Judging from the experience of the Communist Party of China, dogmatism and revisionism have different class bases and they differ in nature. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism must not be violated. Their violation leads to mistakes. To understand Marxism-Leninism from a metaphysical point of view and to believe that it is standing still and not advancing, that is dogmatism; the violation of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, that is revisionism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung indicated also that in condemning dogmatism, we must at the same time pay attention to the censure of revisionism.

Revisionists "criticize materialism and dialectics or they distort them. They criticize the democratic dictatorship of the people and the leadership of the Communist Party, or they attempt to weaken them. After the socialist revolution in our country had won a basic victory, there remained in our society a group of people who entertain vain dreams of restoring the capitalist regime. They struggle against the working class in all fields [of life], including the field of ideology. In this struggle, the revisionists are their best assistants" ("Regarding the Question of the Correct Solution of Conflicts Amongst the People").

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Although China on the whole had completed the socialist revolution in the field of ownership of means of production, there were still remainders of the overthrown classes of landlords, compradors, and bourgeoisie, and the re-education of the petty bourgeoisie had just begun. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the field of ideology continues. In this ideological struggle revisionist ideas will play a definite role, therefore, it is necessary to carry on an irreconcilable struggle against them.

The movement for improving the [working] style of the Party, which began in May 1957, spread very quickly and developed into a national movement. The bourgeois rightist elements, under the pretense of helping to improve the [working] style, used this movement for a shameless attack on the Party. Therefore, the Party, ^{which} headed the people of the whole country, conducted ^{an} energetic struggle against the rightist elements. Thus, after the completion of the socialist revolution in

the field of ownership of means of production, a socialist revolution was conducted on the ideological front. In this struggle, Marxism-Leninism gained one more victory. The experience of this struggle shows that besides the final completion of the socialist revolution on the economic front, it is necessary to conduct a consecutive socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Only after having achieved a full victory of the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts and after having strengthened the material base in the process of economic development, it is possible to strengthen the socialist regime and to achieve a full victory of the socialist revolution.

During the period of the [working] style improvement, the bourgeois rightist elements noisily attacked the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist course. They demanded that the Communist Party leave the scene and that the bourgeois parties "come to power by turns." They criticized Marxism-Leninism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and they demanded the restoration of capitalism. Within the Party, some elements appeared which demanded bourgeois democracy and "freedom." These are also the rightist elements which voiced their criticism, within the Party, of the Party leadership, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of the socialist course.

In the political field, the bourgeois elements were making excuses for the bourgeoisie, saying that the exploitation by the Chinese capitalists

was an "exploitation without the consciousness of exploitation," and that
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after the reorganization of private enterprises, by branches of industry,
into combined state-private enterprises, the Chinese bourgeoisie no
longer had a dual character and had become a "red" bourgeoisie. There-
fore, they insisted on forming a "red bourgeoisie" political party, on
sharing the power with it, and on establishing a bourgeois "democratic
administration," under which the political party of the proletariat would
exist parallel with the "red bourgeoisie" party. In this way, the right-
ists attempted to reverse China to the course of capitalist development.
The other variety of rightist elements, in criticizing the leadership of
the Communist Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, insisted on
the formation of a "political planning institute" and the introduction
of parliamentarism of the bourgeois type.

In the field of science and culture, the rightists worked out an
anti-socialist, so-called "scientific program." They demanded the
renaissance of bourgeois social sciences to replace the Marxist-Leninist
social sciences. They said that Communists were ignoramuses, that they
could not guide science, culture, and education, and demanded that
"professors should administer the schools," and the administrations of
science, culture, and education be guided and headed by the bourgeois
intelligentsia. Thus, in criticizing the interference of the Party in the
affairs of culture and education, the rightists tried to achieve the domina-
tion of capitalist ideology in this sphere in our country.

Reactionary bourgeois intellectuals proposed a number of reactionary revisionist concepts in the field of philosophy, economy, and history, and brought up rehashes of absurd theories of bourgeois scientists in Europe and America. They began laying the ideological ground work for the restoration of capitalism in China. In literature and art, too, some persons came out with revisionist statements, and under the pretext of fighting dogmatism, they attacked the principles of Marxism. They demanded, first of all, the "revelation of the dark sides of life" from the bourgeois point of view, they attacked socialist realism and criticized the leadership of the Party in literature and art.

An ideological struggle against reactionary ideas and revisionist views of the bourgeois rightist elements developed throughout the country. During this struggle, facts were revealed which refuted the corrupt theories of the rightists and clarified the truth. This struggle was conducted in all areas of the country by parties, educational institutions, public organizations, by fields of science, and individual professions, with the help of meetings and discussions, the publication of "Ta-tse-pao" (a special form of wall newspaper), and also through periodicals and brochures. In the course of the struggle, all anti-Party and anti-socialist attacks were refuted with the help of theoretical statements and facts, and the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism were defended.

Due to the successful development of the struggle against the rightist elements and the movement for the improvement of the [working] style, as well as due to the correct implementation of the general Party

line, which is expressed in the formula: "straining every nerve, and forging ahead to build up socialism in accordance with the principle 'bigger, quicker, better, and more economical,'" a big leap was made in socialist development, and a new social organization, i.e. a large-scale people's commune combining industry, agriculture, trade, education, and military affairs, appeared in the rural areas. The people's commune has shown enormous advantages in the organization and growth of production, as compared with [the system of] cooperatives.

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On the basis of the particular situation in China, the Party proposed the course "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools compete," with a view to ensuring a rapid development of economy and culture, allowing art to develop freely, ⁱⁿ various forms and genres, and in the field of science, allowing various schools to compete freely. However, reactionary rightist elements of the bourgeoisie, taking advantage of the opportunity to express their opinions fully and broadly, developed an attack on the Party and socialism. The rightist bourgeois elements broadly and fully expressed their opinions, imitating any one of the hundred socialist "flowers." However, in reality, they were and are a poisonous weed, and every poisonous weed should be torn out with the root. Victory in the struggle against rightist elements is a victory in eliminating anti-socialist poisonous weeds.

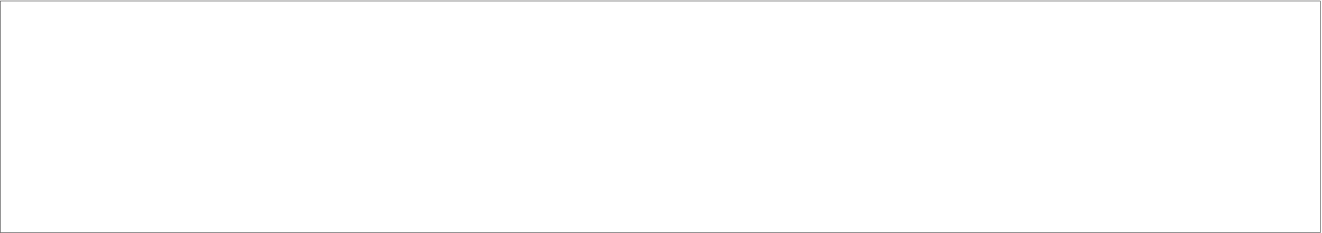
After the socialist revolution has won a victory on the ideological front, the Party consistently continues to carry out the "bloom and contend" course, so that free development and free competition may stimulate

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the flourishing of socialist culture in our country, train and develop the ranks of intellectuals loyal to the workers' class, who would be "red" and qualified at the same time. This is specifically mentioned in the Declaration of the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries (1957), i.e. in that part which summarizes the general principles in building up socialism, including "the conduct of a socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture and the creation of a large intelligentsia loyal to the workers' class, the working people, and the cause of socialism."

The history of the Chinese Revolution's victory, especially the history of recent years, when the socialist revolution won a victory on the ideological front, after the victory on the economic front had been achieved, convincingly proves the correctness of the [Party] line which correlates the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practical facts of the Chinese Revolution. To protect this correct line, it is necessary to carry out an irreconcilable struggle against the rightist opportunism-revisionism and against the "leftist" opportunism-dogmatism. In such a struggle Marxism-Leninism grows stronger and develops with each day.

The problems of historical science consist in the study and determination of the laws of development of Marxism-Leninism; in the study and analysis of practical experience in correlating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution and development in various countries; in the analysis of the historical experience gained


in the struggle conducted by Marxism-Leninism against hostile ideas, especially against revisionist ideas and views; and also in revealing the essence of modern revisionism, its historical, social, and class sources, with the help of such historical experience, and conducting an irreconcilable struggle against it. 50X1-HUM

In the struggle against modern revisionism, it is the sacred duty of each of us, communists, to interpret and propagandize Marxism-Leninism more extensively, to preserve its purity, and to find creative application for it in every country, in accordance with that country's specific conditions.

The Tasks of Historiography in the GDR In the Struggle With Modern

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Revisionism

Address by Comrade Ludwig EINICKE on item two of the agenda.

A country sundered; the existence of two states with opposing social systems - these are what characterize the situation in Germany. While the state authority in the GDR belongs to the workers and peasants, and the roots of war have been removed for all time, the rule of German imperialists and militarists in West Germany is posing a major threat to peace in Europe. The construction of socialism in the GDR is being effected under conditions of constant pressure from German imperialists and militarists and their accomplices - the West German, and especially the West Berlin, revisionists. The 5th Congress of SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) drew the following conclusion in analyzing this situation: "Our party bears a special responsibility in the struggle against the infiltration of bourgeois and revisionist theories since the two social orders in Germany are waging a battle across open boundaries; the boundary between socialism and capitalism passes through the very heart of Germany." (Protocol of the 5th Congress, SED, Berlin 1959, vol 2, p 1331)

The resolution of the SED's 5th Congress pointed out that the struggle for the peaceful solution of the national problem -- for the reunification of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis -- is closely linked with socialist development and socialist transformation

- 1 -

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in the GDR. Both issues are indissolubly interdependent.

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"Socialist transformations in the GDR are creating conditions for a successful peace-loving policy. To the degree that socialist development and a rise in the standard of living will prove GDR superiority over the West German military - clerical state structure, the influence of peace-loving democratic forces in West Germany will be all the more strengthened. To that extent will it move toward the long-range aim ^{of} effecting a confederation between the two German states, and thus the unification of Germany. (Walther Ulbricht ^{cit} Road to Ensuring Peace and Raising the People's Material and Cultural Standard of Living."

Report to the 4th Plenum CC, Berlin 1959, p 49)

In 1955, the Politburo of the CC-SED pointed out to GDR historians - in its decree on "Improvement of Scientific Research and Historiographical Work in the German Democratic Republic" - that historiography's chief task is to expose the fatal role being played by German reactionaries and German imperialism and militarism. Marxist historians can thus aid our people to profit from the lessons which evolved out of their history; to strengthen their will in the struggle against the aggressive policy of West German imperialism and militarism, and their resolution to defend the socialist victories of worker-peasant rule in the GDR. These historians can thus show our people the need for a planned construction of socialism, based on Marxism-Leninism.

SED leadership and Comrade Walther Ulbricht, First Secretary of the CC, personally have repeatedly given instructions to GDR historians

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mobilizing them for the struggle with German imperialism and militarism^{60X1-HUM} - mortal foe of our people and all other peoples. They pose before historiography the task of frustrating imperialism's ideological maneuvers. They label bourgeois ideology and its variant-revisionism - as a major threat.

However, GDR historians up to now have not paid sufficient attention to these fundamental instructions on the national question. For this reason the various historical works which have been published up to the present lack a directive for resolving our basic national problem.

Active adherents of NATO -- the ideology of imperialism and militarism -- currently occupy a prevalent position in West German historiography. In their "historical research" they knowingly support the antinational and military policy of the Adenauer government. The reactionary historian, Theodor Schilder, unwittingly exposes the role of West German historiography as the ideology of imperialist expansion, when he says, "For us Europeans, national government in its various forms is not only a subject of historical satisfaction, but an appeal to our political will and to our political imagination which cannot deviate from the historical prototype." (General View of German History. Textbook, p. 534 in Historical Journal, March 1959, p. 437)

Rightist social-democrat leaders, like Fritz Erler and others, also belong to the number of spokesmen who favor NATO policy, the so-called integration of Europe.

Comrade Walther Ulbricht, SED Secretary, noted at the 5th Congress that imperialists and militarists are waging a struggle against our

worker-peasant government and against the construction of socialism in the GDR. They are doing this not only through espionage, sabotage and subversive activity and through revanchist and war-mongering propaganda, "but ^{50X1-HUM} through the refined methods of revisionism." (Protocol 5th Congress, SED, Berlin, 1959 Vol. 1, p 153). Their goal is to undermine the Socialist Unity Party of Germany from within; to isolate it from the CPSU and the other fraternal parties; to dissuade our people from building socialism and thus to offer direct support to imperialism and to its aggressive plans. Walther Ulbricht said, in this connection "The method of ideological subversion is currently the imperialists' main method for combating the construction of socialism." (Protocol, 5th Congress, SED, Berlin, 1959, Vol 1, pp 199-200).

Out of the situation briefly outlined here there emerges a need, primarily for GDR Marxist historians, for constant and consistent struggle against the revisionist heresies of some social-democrat "theoreticians" and rightist leaders in the SPD [Social Democrat Party of Germany]. The endeavors of these forces aid the preservation of the capitalist social structure in West Germany. They are a firm component of imperialist policy, of imperialist incitement to revenge. Their aim is to undermine the German Democratic Republic. The special situation in Germany, and primarily the existence in West Berlin of a center for military propaganda and a lair for foreign agents, facilitate the infiltration of corrupting revisionist and revanchist aspirations. Hostile and unstable forces in the GDR make use of this circumstance and attempt to hinder and stem the tide of socialist transformation in the GDR. I shall discuss this in detail below.

Under the purposeful leadership of the Communist and workers' parties, and relying upon the might and the consistent, peaceloving policy of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist camp, the activity and the influence of peaceloving forces throughout the world are increasing, even including West Germany. Confronted by the threat of German militarism, the ranks of West Germany's working class are beginning a process of reinterpretation. This class is becoming more deeply aware of its responsibility. Other circles of working people as well as serious thinkers and patriotically-inclined bourgeois elements, are beginning to wage a more resolute struggle against militarism in West Germany. Of great importance in this respect is the existence of the German Democratic Republic as the governmental foundation for peaceloving forces in Germany. 50X1-HUM

The great successes in the matter of building socialism on the basis of Marxism-Leninism are increasing the self-confidence and strength of the working class and of all patriots throughout Germany.

The Adenauer regime, in attempting to continue the anti-pacifist policy of rearmament, atomic armament and of the cold war, has become more and more isolated. The proposed SPD plan for resolving the German question is also an expression of mass opposition to military preparations.

The German people must inevitably make their choice; either together with Adenauer, Strauss and Brentano toward a new national catastrophe, or on the path shown by the Communist Party of Germany and

the SED. "This new path constitutes a renunciation of military propa-
ganda and of war preparations, of revanchist policy and of the seizure
of foreign territories. This path [leads to] the reunification of
Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis and its conversion into a
great economic, scientific and cultural power; free and independent
from a national point of view." (Walther Ulbricht, Road to Ensuring
Peace and Raising the People's Material and Cultural Standard of Living".
Report of the 4th Plenum, CC-SED, Berlin, 1959, p 4). Our party
explains to the German people that the lessons of German history point
out only this path, and that this is the sole path to a happy future.
GDR historians are vested with the great duty of aiding the working
people to master these lessons. This is an important contribution to
the cause of a peaceful solution of the German question.

Social-democratic ideologists, who propose a "third path" and
who make use of the program of the Union of Yugoslav Communists, have
made their appearance in this very difficult and decisive situation.
It is a question of an imaginary "third path" to socialism, and also
of a "third path" to Germany's reunification. It would, of course,
be wrong to put on one slate the revisionist speeches of some Yugoslav
party leaders and the revisionist trends and ideology of rightist
social-democrat leaders, and compare them with a Bernstein-type of
revisionism. Naturally all similar manifestations have identical class
roots. Contemporary West German revisionists sometimes appear quite
openly as anti-Marxists. They slander, falsify and distort Marxist

teachings. But in West Germany one may note a tendency to use the tremendous prestige of Marx and Engels' teachings for their own [the revisionists'] actually anti-Marxist aims.

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Rightist social-democrat leaders speak of the "third path" in solving the national question so as to counteract the example of the GDR, which achieved enormous success on the Marxist-Leninist path; this success is the most convincing argument for the residents of West Germany. Rightist leaders of the SPD maintain that they stand between two fronts. Such a position of rightist SPD leaders, which greatly harms the development of the West German situation, corresponds to the well-known Yugoslav revisionist conceptions of the "position between two fronts."

The "theories" of the so-called "third path" to socialism lie at the basis of the empty chatter about a "third path" for the unification of Germany.

Karlo Schmidt, member of the SPD presidium, strongly recommends that Social-Democrat-workers get rid of progressive ideas to which many of them still adhere and "toss them out as worthless ballast," meaning by this outmoded Marxist ideas on tradition. In the journal New Society, published by right Social-Democrat leaders, the Marxist ideas of many Social Democrats, which [ideas] correspond to the course of social development, are described as a "strange loyalty to forms and ideas which have become obsolete." (Dr. Ilse Elsner, "Is the SPD

Boring?", New Society, Bielefeld, No. 2, 1959, pp 136 ff.). However, the stubborn efforts of bourgeois forces in the SPD to cause this party's open break with Marxism run into serious difficulties. Despite the existence of revisionism over many decades, despite the 12-year existence of fascist dictatorship and the years of Adenauer's rule, despite the ban of the German Communist Party, which is undeviating in propagandizing and implementing Marxism -- the prestige of Karl Marx in West Germany is still high among rank-and-file Social Democrats. The bourgeoisie and its revisionist and reformist accomplices will never succeed in destroying Marxism. Capitalist exploitation and the constant threat of war under imperialism are forcing the people again and again to seek a way out from economic slavery and from the constant fear of war. Only Marxism-Leninism - the sole scientific concept can show them such a path.

The draft of the SPD basic program propagandizes so-called "democratic socialism" as the aim of social democracy. (Draft of the SPD Basic Program, adopted at the Party Congress in Stuttgart, published in Vorwärts, Bonn, 2 May 1958). Willy Eichler, one of the most prominent rightist leaders, writes, "In its aims and purposes, democratic socialism is poised between the capitalist and the communist worlds. Its political aim is a society without class privileges, under which numerous social forces will be able to collaborate on the basis of democratic principles." (Willy Eichler, Thoughts on the SPD Basic Program, New Society, No 4, 1958, pp 256-257).

The position of rightist SPD leaders, who allegedly stand between the class fronts, turns out to be an old bourgeois-democratic

JANUARY

parliamentary masquerade, a so-called ~~policy of~~ harmony between the
 classes and subordination of the interests of the working class and
 of the broad popular masses to the interests of finance capital. 50X1-HUM
 And such a "theory" ^{is} advanced at a time when clerical-military reac- 50X1-HUM
 tionaries are shamelessly and more and more crudely violating the so-
 called "democratic rules of the game."

The SPD's basic program describes the transition from capitalism
 to "democratic socialism" as ^a drifting "transformation" of capitalism.
 The following phrase, taken from the draft, of the program of the
 Union of Yugoslav Communists, indicates how closely the views of
 Yugoslav revisionists ~~re~~ resemble these rightist socialist views: "To
 the extent that individual economic functions are being increasingly
 transferred from private capital to the state, and the rights of
 private capital are also being limited by other means -- to that extent
 is the pressure of new socialist elements in the economy, being exerted
 more fully on the capitalist means of production." (Fedoseyev, Pomelov,
 Cheprakov, on the Draft for the Program of the Union of Yugoslav Com-
 munist, Kommunist, No 6, 1958).

Dr. Deist, the SPD economist-"theoretician" who set the tone at
 the Stuttgart Congress of the SPD, declared that state capitalist owner-
 ship of the means of production under the conditions of bourgeois
 rule - which they labeled "public ownership"-- represents a component
 part of "a united and free socialist economic policy."

Such revisionist false teachings establish a bond between rightist
 Social-Democratic leaders and the social-democratic reformism of the

Weimar Republic, which has long ago been censured by history. As far
back as the Magdeburg Congress of the SPD in 1929, the well-known
Social-Democrat leader Dittmann substantiated the Social-Democratic
party's approval of the military policy of German imperialism, with
the following words:

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"Modern capitalism is already being penetrated, from an economic
and political point of view, by many socialist elements which are con-
stantly growing and gradually pushing back capitalism..." (Protocol
of the Social-Democratic Congress in Magdeburg, Berlin, 1929, p. 109).
From this he drew the following conclusion, "we are not living under
pure capitalism, but under conditions of an already beginning - from
the economic, political and social point of view -- period of transi-
tion to socialism." (Protocol of the Social-Democratic Congress in
Magdeburg, Berlin, 1929, p. 109).

However, historical development, particularly in Germany, emphasizes
that capitalism may be eliminated only by way of revolutionary up-
heaval under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. In accord-
ance with the teachings of Marx and Engels, the proletariat must
establish a socialist state government by way of revolution, and trans-
fer its means of production - one after the other - to public ownership.
Only in the hands of a socialist state -- under the dictatorship of
the proletariat -- do the means of production lose their capitalist
traits and cease to serve the exploitation of man by man - but instead
serve the maximum satisfaction of the workers' needs i.e., the needs
of all socialist society.

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Attempting to evade the fundamental question of power in its basic program, the SPD raises the demand for state control over the monopolies.^{50X1-HUM} However, West German practices refute the "theory" of state control over monopolies. Not only does the Bonn government not control monopolies. On the contrary, it is controlled by them. It is in the hands of finance capital's most aggressive and grasping groups and completely under their control.

Representatives of the monopolies are not only seated in the Bundestag, but in all the most important government institutions. In analyzing imperialism back in 1916 Lenin wrote, "The banks' 'personal union' with industry is being supplemented by the 'personal union' of either type of companies with the government. (Vol. 22, p. 209).

Despite the entire experience of the history of the German and the international workers' movement, Yugoslav revisionist views on this question, too, coincide with the views of rightist leaders in the SPD. In accordance with the program of the Union of Yugoslav Communists, the modern capitalist state is allegedly "tending toward an increasing restriction^{of} the role of private capital as well as the role of the working class." Out of this emerges a need for "worker participation in the administration of nationalized industry" and "the participation and control by workers, laborers and consumers in the organs of economic administration." The increase of "socialist elements" in capitalist economy and the transformation of capitalism into socialism supposedly depends solely on this. (Results of the 7th Congress, Union of Yugoslav

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Communists. Einheit (Unity), No 5, 1958, pp 616-617).

At the same time contemporary revisionists maintain that for highly - developed countries, it cannot be a question of paths to socialism as indicated by Marxism-Leninism.

The path of "democratic socialism" is the only possible one. However, historical facts are daily reaffirming the correctness of Marxist-Leninist principles for all countries. In the German Democratic Republic the workers and other laborers are building socialism in a country which "in the course of its capitalist development, has achieved a high degree of industrialization and state monopolistic capitalism, [a country] which has an extensive economic apparatus, a powerful working class with high technical qualifications, and broad middle strata." (Decree of 28th Plenum, CC-SED, Berlin, 1958, p 111).

At the same time the entire experience of the German as well as of the international workers' movement proves that nothing has been undertaken to implement socialism in all those capitalist countries which are headed by Social-Democratic parties. The working class has not approached socialism by even one step along the so-called "third path".

The Social-Democratic party itself was forced to admit in the draft of its program that "a national-economic system under which only a few acquire big lucre and amass great fortunes" does not fulfill the requirements of social justice." (Vorwärts, Bonn, 2 May 1958). Despite this, Dr. Deist, the rightist leader of the SPD, is demanding a so-called

"liberal system of national economy." What Dr. Deist understands by this he himself stated at the Stuttgart Congress of the SPD: "The Party...of which a significant part...is aiming to acquire private economic property for hired workers, cannot propose as a main demand and basic point in its economic and socio-political program, the elimination of private ownership of the means of production." (Vorwärts, Bonn, 23 May 1958).

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According to the will of its rightist leaders the SPD, "in rejecting Marxism," must openly refrain from infringing in any way on the capitalist ownership of the means of production. In view of the historical necessity of ^{wresting} ~~converting~~ the power from the hands of monopolistic and militaristic aggressive forces in Germany, such an attack against the demands of the working class by rightist SPD leaders again turns into a support of anti-popular circles.

Profuse talk about so-called "free socialism" in no way hinders rightist SPD leaders from demanding that the West German clerical-militarist government supply its exploitative system with all the means at the government's disposal. They even incorporate this demand into their program draft. The rightist SPD leaders are thereby revealing the absolutely bourgeois and anti-Marxist nature of their conception of government.

The attitudes of rightist SPD leaders and the draft of their basic program are being less sympathetically viewed by organized West German workers, members of the SPD. This is confirmed by the following facts:

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The draft of the basic program was submitted for discussion by SPD members at this party's Stuttgart Congress in May 1958. During the discussion, Hermann Schuster, chairman of the Tubingen organization of the SPD, said that the basic program "must not be a document to appease our political antagonists." (Vorwärts, 27 March 1959). Thus the local Social-Democratic organization was obliged "to submit an entirely new draft for review." The first part of the program must contain an analysis of existing social relations and must be titled, "The Class Struggle at the Present Stage". The second part must pose the problem of overthrowing class rule, and the third - to show the way toward attaining this end. The program must be anti-capitalistic and socialistic. One Munich Social-Democrat (Heinz Frenzel from Munich, Vorwärts, Bonn, 27 March 1959) pointed out that a scientific analysis of war was lacking. He requested that such an analysis be developed on a Marxist basis. Many Social-Democrat workers expect a socialist program from the SPD. They want to combat the Adenauer regime, and are demanding a fight against the clerical-militarist order and against a policy from the position of strength.

The fact that Marxism continues to influence the younger SPD members is obvious from attitudes adopted by the Socialist Union of West German Students, the youth organization "Falken" [The Falcons], and young trade-union members.

It is known that the Socialist Union of West German Students in particular has spoken out determinedly against the anti-Communism of

rightist leaders in the Social-Democratic party. The struggle be^{50X1-HUM} waged by rightist SPD leaders confirms that the ideas of Marx and Engels continue to live in West Germany, too, in defiance of the terror and of every effort to slander and distort these ideas.

In answer to similar views by rank-and-file Social-Democrats, the SPD's vice president, Waldemar von Knöringen, demanded "a clear dissociation from communist ideology and from a communist form of totalitarian rule. In political practice - he writes - this is not only expressed in a criticism of the outmoded forms of capitalism and in a criticism of the threatening possibility of restoring the past in the Federal Republic. It is primarily expressed in the struggle with the imperialist policy of strength, conducted by Communism, and with its methods of oppression." (Vorwärts, Bonn, 10 July, 1959).

It is evident from von Knöringen's statements that the so-called struggle of rightist SPD leaders on two fronts, and their sham position between the two fronts amounts, in political practice, to their waging -- in concert with imperialists -- a very one-sided struggle on the anti-communist front.

Increasingly vociferous is the demand among SPD members and adherents for a more determined struggle against militarism. They think that even a divided Germany must reply with a determined "No!" to the bourgeois reactions' third attempt to build its system on military force based on atomic weapons. The rightist party leadership opposes revisionist arguments to the increasing opposition of the Social-Democratic workers.

From their revisionist theory of government, and from their t^{50X1-HUM} on "Social Democracy" as the ideal form of government, they come to recognize and advocate militarism. In denying the imperialist nature of the Bonn government, the rightist SPD leaders also deny the threat of militarism. However, history teaches us that militarism has always been a decisive weapon of German predatory imperialism and that it is aggressive and reactionary in its external as well as internal manifestations. Everything possible is now being done in West Germany to subordinate the entire public life to militarization, to armament, and to political, material and ideological preparation for war.

Fritz Erler, the first Social Democratic leader, disguises his positive attitude toward militarism with the usual anti-Soviet verbiage. He stands, so to speak, for the armament of West German militarists, "so that our people will not at some time find themselves defenseless against Soviet influence." (Fritz Erler, "Thoughts on the Policy and Internal Structure of Social Democracy," New Society, No 1, 1959, p 4).

On the other hand, rightist SPD leaders want to make us believe that the aberrations of West German militarism could be eliminated, that it could be democratized, and that it may be given a defensive character and be converted into an "Institute standing above the parties."

But historical experience teaches that there is only one possibility as regards German imperialism: to control it and to ruthlessly eradicate it.

As I have already pointed out, the policy and the revisionist "theory" of rightist SPD leaders are aimed primarily to bring confusion into the

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ranks of the West German workers and to disarm them. All their efforts^{50X1-HUM} are directed at weakening the German Democratic Republic. The tremendous response evoked by the social-democratic plan for solving the German question and the preparedness of a large segment of SPD members to fight against militarism and to conduct negotiations with the SED, have frightened the rightist Social-Democratic leaders. They now proceeded to work out a new program whose purpose is to discard the plan for solving the German question. However, this plan was an expression (1) of the further development of the will of the social-democratic masses, and (2) of the fact that rightist leaders are in no position now to impose their will upon the party masses. For this reason even rightist leaders have recently begun to admit the relaxation of world tensions. They wish to create the impression that they have a new concept, and that they can propose a third course for the reunification of Germany. In reality, however, they are ignoring the threat posed by German imperialism. They are striving to dam the stream which is sweeping away the obstacles raised by the cold war.

Striving for the realization of the ~~aim~~ of rightist SPD leaders
Erich Nohara, a specialist in subversive speeches in the ranks of the
Social-Democrat leaders, set forth the entire plan for the subversive
work which must be accomplished by revisionists in the GDR and in the other
socialist countries. (Erich Nohara, "Revisionism and Its Policy Regarding
the East", New Society No 4, 1958, p 290). He proceeds from the point
that revisionist subversive activity can offer the most complete results
"only under conditions of a relaxation of tensions."

It is precisely this policy for the relaxation of tensions - writes
Nohara - which must be used by the revisionists, whom he calls "the left
liberal wing." The revisionists' so-called "realistic program" must
represent an evolutionary reconsideration of everything essential, "for
the purpose" "of eliminating the representatives and the political
liquidation" of the socialist order.

The facts which I have set forth up to now permit examining several
problems which confront Marxist historians in the GDR. These problems
are the result of the trends of West German cold war politicians and
ideologists. We have already briefly described these trends.

An important task confronts GDR Marxist historians in the struggle
against revisionist attacks on the socialist camp, and especially on
the functions of the socialist state, as the most important tool of the
working class in establishing a socialist society. There were some
representatives of revisionist ideas in the GDR who were under the influence of

Socialist-Democratic Yugoslav revisionists. These representatives interpreted the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress in the sense that the policy of relaxing world tensions implies a slackening of the class struggle. For this reason they were in favor of abolishing the functions of a socialist government, especially its security organs. Their policy of "open door" and "laissez-faire" corresponded to the revisionist policy of "assuagement" and "liberalization". Serious revisionist deviations became apparent among some scientific workers who were engaged in the field of juridical and government sciences. They understood neither the role of the working class nor the role of the broad popular masses as active assistants of socialist state organs.

Conceptions of a similar type appeared, especially in works on the history of law, in which socialist law was evolved from bourgeois law. The class nature of government and of law was concealed. The role of the revolutionary popular masses, as the creators of socialist law, was falsified in some works, which, after the fashion of revisionists, also cited distorted quotations from classical Marxist-Leninist works.

Similar occurrences were noted just when imperialist forces in West Germany were strengthening their attack at our republic, and at a time when state organs everywhere had to fulfill their duty as organs of working class authority. These champions and propagandists of revisionist ideas understood neither the threat^{of} militant German imperialism nor the significance of the further strengthening and consolidation of national-democratic power in the GDR. Some former leading activists in the SED sought a new "non-conflicting" course to crush the clerical-militarist order

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in West Germany. As a result, their position was in contradiction to our party policy.

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The policy of relaxing tensions and the efforts of our party to create new relations with West German Social-Democrats were understood by some persons to be a renunciation of Marxism-Leninism. The circle of people who had spoken out in favor of such revisionist theories began to express its views by demanding "independence" for each separate country of the people's democracies. The people who spoke so volubly about "independence" and about "original national paths" propounded ideas which coincided almost word for word with the views of revisionists in other lands. Revisionist concepts were expressed in repudiation of the Marxist-Leninist Theory of the state; in underrating the leading role of the working class revolutionary party; in demanding the rejection of planned economy; in distorting Marxist-Leninist policy on working class union with the laboring peasantry; in rejecting the enduring collaboration between Marxist-Leninist parties in people's democracies headed by the Soviet Union.

The former leader of the Institute of Agrarian Economy under the GDR's Academy of Agricultural Sciences advocated a reconsideration of the SED agrarian program. He considered that the planned development of agriculture and the systematic expansion of socialist agriculture should be dropped, and recommended the abolishment of machine-tractor stations. Intervention in the development of agriculture should be limited only to some price control on agricultural products; to the establishment of taxes; and to the application of a credit system. A preferential development of individual peasant farms was demanded. Gratification of such demands would result in

SECRET

a return to a capitalist economy, and the Kulaks [rich peasants] would once again be the basic economic power in the rural areas. It is significant that the basic points of such counterrevolutionary ideas coincide with the declarations of West German rightist Social-Democratic leaders on the agrarian problem.

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The rise of these and similar revisionist ideas is explained by the fact that those who disseminate them have too little connection with the construction of socialism, and have not yet overcome the influence of bourgeois ideology. They were frightened by the difficulties being met in the struggle to strengthen the power of the workers and peasants, since they did not yet understand the problems involved in the transition to socialism and the contradictions existing during this period. These people oversimplified the problem of the reunification of Germany, and sought an "easier" path to reunification. This is why they fell - and are falling - into the trap set by some West German socialist politicians.

The Central Committee of the SED waged a consistent and undeviating battle against the revisionist ideas briefly set forth here. Thus it succeeded in suppressing the subversive endeavors of the revisionists. The mass of party members repudiated revisionist ideas and always sided firmly with the central committee, headed by Walther Ulbricht.

I should like to note the great aid which Comrade Walter Ulbricht, first secretary of the CC-SED, rendered to GDR historians by his numerous scientific works in the field of history. His recent works first of all substantiated the logical development in the defeat of German imperialism and militarism in World Wars I and II. Proceeding from historical experience,

and analysis of current interrelations among world powers, Comrade Ulbricht shows how hopeless and foolhardy are the current plans of the West German war-mongers. For us historians the works of Comrade Walther Ulbricht^{50X1-HUM} are an instructive example for interpreting the most essential problems of a nation by historiographic methods.

GDR historiography has been commissioned to point out the pernicious role of revisionism and anti-Communism more substantially and comprehensively through historical examples and on the basis of historical experience. Thus it will give the workers a better chance to recognize revisionism in all its present forms and manifestations. The history of the German workers' movement shows how revisionism may be overcome. But the history of the German workers' movement also offers many examples which confirm the fact that the policy of a third path had incurred many defeats upon the working class and upon all peace-loving powers. As a result of these false teachings, not all the possibilities for overthrowing imperialist power were utilized.

During World War I and the November Revolution of 1918, the contradiction between those striving for the expansion of the financial oligarchy and its militaristic system, on the one hand - and the peace-loving democratic forces of the people, on the other hand, was aggravated to the extreme. For the first time history demanded a solution of the basic question of the German nation, namely - the elimination of imperialism and the creation of a peace-loving democratic and socialist Germany. It was within this framework that the SPD leadership concluded a union with the German bourgeoisies' most reactionary militaristic powers and subscribed to the orders of the

imperialistic powers in the Entente. This leadership deceived the laboring masses with the pseudo-theory concerning the peaceful path to socialism, and extolled formal bourgeois democracy as a socialist state. It did ^{50X1-HUM} not infringe upon the bourgeoisie's economic power, but at the same time it speedily restored the former militaristic organs of oppression.

The result of this policy is well-known. It led to a new strengthening of imperialist bourgeois power and incurred innumerable sacrifices on the part of the workers who paid with their blood and with their property. This policy of the so-called middle path has not even led to the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

The CC-SED issued the following instructions in its theses on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the November Revolution in Germany in 1918. "The development and the aftermath of the November Revolution and the experience of the entire international workers' movement prove that a gradual 'peaceful development' of capitalism into socialism is impossible; that there never was nor can there be a so-called 'third path' between the rule of the imperialists and that of the working class. All attempts to instil such revisionist theories into the minds of the working class and the broad popular masses are solely designed to aid in maintaining the exploiters' system," to conceal the exploiting class nature of the bourgeois state; and to subordinate the working class and all workers to capital" (Einheit, No 10, 1958, p 1398). During the interim between 1929 and 1933, when German

capitalism experienced a profound crisis, the leadership of the Social-Democratic party adhered to the "third path" as a "policy of the least evil." The Social-Democrat leaders advocated the election of the inveterate militarist, Hindenburg, as president of the Reich. This policy was completed by Hitler's rise to power. Hindenburg appointed him chancellor. It was a policy of capitulation before the reactionaries, a policy of struggle against the united front of the working class.

The so-called "third path", which had been proclaimed by the Social-Democratic party during the Weimar Republic led the working class to a great defeat and the entire German nation to the brink of disaster.

Many former German Social-Democrats, who have now joined the SED, correctly evaluated that dangerous and erroneous path. They unanimously voted for the correct path - the path of socialism; the path demonstrated by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Otto Buchwitz, an aging comrade, and at one time a prominent SPD activist, states his conclusions concerning the "third path" which he and many other former Social Democrats have drawn on the basis of their own historical experience: "At one time I, too, sought a "third path" to our goal: socialism in the Weimar Republic. I almost lost my life after 1933 because of this search. I have come to see reason since then, and am now proceeding along the path which we have been following since then."

Working-class unity on a revolutionary basis was restored in the Soviet-occupied zone after 1945. Here, therefore, it became possible, under SED leadership, to solve such basic problems, as the elimination

of imperialism and militarism. The bourgeois-democratic revolution was subsequently brought to a conclusion. A truly peace-loving state was ~~50X1-HUM~~ted, which is in the process of socialist transformation. This ^{was} and is -- possible only because the SED consistently conducts a policy based on Marxism-Leninism. The SPD leadership in West Germany has prevented the attainment of working class unity. Its rightist leaders have deceived the workers with the motto: "The motto of the day is - Socialism in all its forms!" (Cf Dr. Schumacher, Hannoversche Presse, 9 June 1946)

They maintained that capitalism was eliminated simultaneously with Nazi-ism. (Willy Eichler, Thoughts on the SPD's Basic Program in Neue Gesellschaft [New Society] No 4, 1958, pp 256-257). While they were spreading the deceiving illusion of "democratic socialism," however, German monopolistic capital, aided by the imperialist occupation forces, restored its [former] position. The forces of imperialism continued to grow and threaten the interests both of the German people and of the other European Nations.

Marxist historians and workers in the GDR's higher and secondary schools must increasingly concentrate their efforts on research work concerning the heroic struggle against imperialism and war by the German people, under the leadership of the working class and of its party. They must illustrate, with concrete historical examples, the danger which revisionism represents for the working class. But this presupposes an awareness and a deep conviction that there can be no ideological coexistence between Marxist historiography and West German imperialist historiography.

In the interests of a misunderstood national consent, some GDR historians^{50X1-HUM} relegated to second place, or else completely ignored, one of our most important problems: The relentless struggle against the falsification of history by the imperialists. Similar revisionist trends also appeared in some reports which were published (1) in Historical Journal, in connection with the historians' meeting in Ulm in 1956 (Historical Journal, No 1, 1957, p 124, and esp. pp 131-134) (2) in Willy Belcher's documentary collection titled Krupp and the Hohenzollerns (Berlin 1956) and (3) and-most clearly - in an article by Comrade Professor Kuchinsky on "Party Spirit and Objective History and Historiography" (Historical Journal, No 5, 1956, pp 873-888)

Some of the publications which have been cited made attempts to find a general basis for Marxist and bourgeois historiography in the basic questions concerning objectivity and party spirit. In this way they either completely lost sight of or else repudiated the fact that objectivity in scientific historiography is based exclusively on materialistic theory and method. The politburo of the CC-SED stressed the importance of historical materialism in its 1955 "decision for improving historical research and historiographical doctrine in the GDR." It stated herein: "Our historiography can fulfill its national task only when it will be based upon a single scientific epistemology of social development; and on historical materialism, as developed by the great sons of our nation, Marx and Engels; and when it will creatively apply this to the study and interpretation of all the problems and events in the history of our people."

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In rejecting historical materialism, West German historians were obliged to resort to an unscientific interpretation of history, i.e., to falsify it. The draft of the basic program which was adopted at the SPD's Stuttgart Congress, particularly rejects the possibility of understanding the laws of development of human society. It maintains that history is "a matter for statesmen."

Such an attitude against historical materialism serves no other purpose than to negate the popular masses' creative role and to divert the working class from its struggle with the imperialist and militarist system which reigns in West Germany. It would follow from the position of such an idealistic historiography, that according to the will of the rightist Social-Democrat leaders a so-called class harmony within the Bonn government itself should be attained and even more, precisely through this government, in which capitalist - monopolists, private industrialists, the middle classes, the rich peasants and the poorest of peasants and workers would all collaborate on the basis of equal rights."

Actually, however - as Friedrich Engels teaches - "every historical struggle - whether it be conducted in the political, religious, philosophical, or any other kind of ideological sphere - is in actuality merely the more or less clearly expressed struggle of the social classes. (Karl Marx, Louis Bonaparte's 18th of Brumaire [October]" preface by F. Engels, Berlin, 1953, p 9). Revisionism, however, rejects the inevitability of class struggle. It attempts, by way of falsification, to convert class contradictions into class harmony. For this reason, revisionist historiography is not even conditioned

50X1-HUM

to understand the social forces which determine man's actions in the historical process. Its aim is the ideological disarmament of the working class, so as to render the latter incapable of proving itself as a class and as the creator of history. 50X1-HUM

Considering these circumstances, the impotence of revisionist historiography becomes understandable. Social-democrat Richard Frey writes, "One of the weak points in socialist theory emanates from the fact that socialist participation in scientific research is very limited. It is not without reason that not one of the leading Social-Democrats has written one theoretical book or published one major work since 1945," (Richard Frey "Problems in Program and Theory", New Society, Bielefeld, 1956, No 3, p 218)

Irreconcilability with bourgeois ideology, which is attempting to sneak into our working class ranks, and a strict party spirit are essential features of the proletarian class struggle. This principle was by-passed in some GDR publications on history of the local workers' movement and in some monographs of individual enterprises. Non-observance of or inadequate knowledge of historical materialism, and especially of Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the role of the working class and of the party, contributed in some instances to the fact that the workers were not recognized and depicted as a revolutionary social force pushing forward, but rather as a passive, suffering mass. Evidence of the working class' high degree of socialist awareness is the fact that the workers in a majority of cases immediately recognized similar distortions of the creative role of the popular masses, and decisively repudiated them.

Founded on the powerful base of dialectical and historical materialism, Marxist-Leninist historiography was able to prove the law of development in the fall and decline of imperialism and the victory of socialism. On the basis of an authentic scientific study of history which does not conceal social conflicts, but rather exposes them, and takes a stand in defense of progress, historiography proves that the German Democratic Republic is the sole legal German state. It is precisely for this reason that the popular masses in the GDR, headed by the working class and its party, "have eradicated German militarism and imperialism, and thus have created the basis for the German nation's peaceful and happy future." (Walter Ulbricht "The Inevitability of the Defeat of German Militarism in two World Wars, and the lessons deriving therefrom" Einheit, No 3, 1959, p 365)

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For a further improvement in the theoretical level of GDR historiography, and in order to make it possible to fight even more actively against the infiltration of revisionist ideas, Marxist historians should intensify their study of dialectical and historical materialism, and learn to apply it in their works better than heretofore.

In conclusion, it may be stated: Scientific methods are needed especially to expose the reactionary and aggressive role which German imperialism and militarism play in history. Research is needed to interpret the revolutionary struggle of the German working class and of its Marxist avant-garde for the only possible solution to the basic national problem - to wrest authority from the hands of the militarists and the monopolists, enemies of the people. Thus opportunities will be created for putting an end to distortion of our

history by West German imperialist and revisionist historiography. In the struggle against revisionism in historiography and in all the other spheres of public life, the SED has realized its directing role by guiding Marxist^{50X1-HUM} historians so as to coordinate the offensive on revisionist concepts with the creative application of Marxist-Leninism and the analysis and interpretation of basic national problems. The correctness of such a line was most clearly manifested in discussions in connection with the 40th anniversary of the November 1918 Revolution in Germany and the establishment of the CPG. The party contrasted the extensive propaganda of the working class revolutionary traditions and the critical evaluation of the lessons derived from German history with (1) the distortions applied by the revisionists, (2) the falsified role of the party, of the popular masses, and of the state, and (3) with the confusion of views or the inability of some historians to apply dialectical and historical materialism to concrete historical events and occurrences. The workers' mass initiative in honor of the 40th anniversary of the November Revolution and of the establishment of the CPG, the dozens of brochures and the thousands of meetings in the GDR in which millions of people participated - these were a most efficacious support in attempts to paralyze the workers' masses in their struggle with the revisionist falsification of history; to divide the working class and to leave it to the mercy of the imperialists. The bond of our Marxist historians with the popular masses and with the SED was strengthened in the struggle with modern revisionism. There was a sharpened awareness of the indissoluble bond which exists between Marxist historiography and revolutionary policy; between theory and practice.

This experience and the ideological successes achieved under party leadership are very meaningful for resolving the problems confronting us.

One of the main tasks for GDR Marxist historians is to do research^{50X1-HUM} in and to interpret the nature of modern revisionism in West Germany. Out of this arises a need to point out to the working class and to all workers in West Germany the danger which is concealed in the special characteristics of modern West German revisionism.

The contribution of historians in the German Democratic Republic to the solution of the basic national problem consists primarily of proving scientifically (1) that the most important task of German history in the last century was - and is - the struggle to eliminate German militarism and to ensure peace; and (2) that the working class and its revolutionary party have always been the sole consistent champion for a democratic solution of the basic national problem. In view of West German chauvinism and unbridled anti-communism, in view of psychological warfare, both covertly revisionist and crudely overt, against our workers' and peasants' state, the dissemination of historical truth concerning the period of Hitler's fascism and the postwar period is a task of primary importance. Marxist historians in our republic have given this problem a great deal of attention, and, thanks to aid by Soviet historians, have achieved definite successes. The basic task for German Marxist historians is (1) a more intense study of World War II history (this study has found clear expression in the Scientific

Conference of the German-Soviet Commission of historians and in the conference now in preparation, as well as in a number of leading publications); and (2) exposure of the deceit and danger in imperialist militant historiography. We party historians are commissioned with the special task of revealing (1) the CPG's struggle with fascism and (2) the significance of the antifascist resistance movement in Germany and in every country which had been ^{en}slaved by fascism. In thus revealing (1) the creative, historical role of the popular masses in the struggle with Hitler's dictatorship and with the imperialist war, as well as (2) the CPG role as the sole directing and organizing force of anti-fascist resistance in German, we shall most effectively repudiate imperialist historiography and imperialism's revisionist lackeys.

Of great significance for the defeat of revisionism is the Marxist-Leninist study and interpretation of German history after 1945. The works of GDR historians should allocate a good deal of space to a study of the establishment and development of the first German workers' - peasants' state and to its historical role in the history of Germany and in international relations. It is this direct relationship between our study of modern history and our struggle for the purpose of defeating West German militarism which requires that we focus considerably more attention on this field of historiography in the future. The Institute of Marxism-Leninism is publishing

a series of works devoted to our party's development since 1945, on the occasion of the German Democratic Republic's 10th anniversary. Thus it is ^{50X1-HUM} quantitatively and qualitatively fortifying that sector of modern history and rendering more support than before to our party's struggle by documentary materials, research, great numbers of brochures and articles, and is discrediting the imperialist and revisionist falsifiers of history in the eyes of the popular masses. This intensified study and interpretation of modern history is giving GDR Marxist-Leninist historians the opportunity to play a more active role in and, mainly to exert their influence upon, the further development of other social sciences. Because of this, Marxist-Leninist historiography will be better able than heretofore to realize its mission in historical education.

In our struggle with imperialist and revisionist historiography which is setting the style in West Germany, we must solve the important and complex problem of strengthening collaboration with all progressive West German patriot-historians. Purpose: to curb the militarists and to conclude the democratic peace treaty. Germany's entire populace has the opportunity to verify the correctness and truth of Marxism-Leninism in social reality. This is due to the existence of the German Democratic Republic in which Marxism-Leninism is the ruling class' world view and the basis of its policy; and in which all reformist and revisionist activities are rejected and repudiated without compromise of any kind. The German Marxist-historians' theoretical struggle against imperialist and revisionist

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distortions of history in West Germany is supported, fortified and confirmed by the successful economic, political, and cultural development of the German Democratic Republic and of its socialist construction. 50X1-HUM

Marxist historians in Germany, which is the fatherland of Marx and Engels, are especially obliged to defend the purity of scientific socialism and to promote its creative development within the spirit of the 20th and 21st CPSU congresses and of the 5th SED Congress. On such a basis will the German Democratic Republic's historiography even better fulfill its goals in the future and become our party's military scientific weapon in resolving the vital questions of the German nation.

SPEECH OF COMRADE LEO MICHELSEN OF BELGIUM

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Dear Comrades:

I shall comment simultaneously on both items of the agenda. My lack of basic data and the fact that I have not participated in the previous discussions explain this. Moreover, this procedure makes it possible to speed up the discussion to a certain extent.

The other speeches and the ideas that have been presented in them also permit me to reduce the items to be discussed to a strict minimum. I shall therefore discuss only four items.

I.

The first item on the agenda deals with the struggle of the Communist and workers' parties for the unity of the working class.

In approaching this problem, there is the tendency, at least in Western Europe, to consider it only from the viewpoint of a struggle for unity between Communists and Socialists, neglecting the fact that the working class is influenced not only by the Communists and the Social Democrats, but also by other political groupings that claim to represent the working class.

Thus, the role of the Christian Democratic movement in several countries of Western Europe is by no means to be disregarded.

When I think of the Christian Democrats, I do not do so from the point of view used in [crossed out: Italy and in the GDR] some countries, (regarding

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them as a political party including not only a workers' organization, but also purely reactionary groups, which actually control the party. Rat^{50X1-HUM} I think of the Belgian point of view, namely, that they are Catholic organizations consisting solely of workers, that is, trade unions, friendly associations, youth organizations, and the like.

Taking Belgium as an example, one notes, when assessing the importance of the Christian-Democratic movement, that the Christian unions have as many members as the unions with Socialist inclinations, which include Communists in their membership. One notes that the Catholic youth organizations, including the Catholic Working Youth, are far stronger than the Communist and Socialist youth organizations, and that they are very active. Indeed, the influence that these Catholic unions actually exert is much inferior to their numerical strength. Thus, in the elections to the factory committees and to the health and safety committees, the Socialist and Communist candidates, -- the candidates of Socialist headquarters -- still come out mostly in the lead. But at the same time, in these same elections the Christian unions made appreciable gains, while the Socialists suffered definite losses, though there was an increase even in the number of Communist candidates elected.

The Christian unions were established at the close of the last century, as a combat force to fight the Socialist unions already in existence. The very name that they gave themselves clearly reflected that this was so; they called themselves Anti-Socialist Unions. At their inception they were company

organizations of seabs and strikebreakers. However, the leaders very soon realized that this anti-labor character could not be maintained for long. In fact, the influence of the socialist unions increased, and even at ^{50X1-HUM} ~~CLUBS~~ became violent, despite all their efforts. The bourgeoisie began to realize the necessity of checking this growing influence, of changing its policy: instead of remaining merely anti-Socialist, they had to try to create a "positive" trade-unionism, Christian [Translator's Note: i.e. Catholic?] in inspiration, which would, by obtaining certain advantages [for the worker], create the illusion of striving to improve the living conditions of the workers, more effectively even than the socialist unions.

This development has been favored by three factors:

(1) The increased rate of industrialization in the country, particularly in the Flemish provinces, has created a working class in the cities, chiefly of peasant origin, which is strongly influenced by religion and the clergy. In order not to lose this new working class, the leading clergy were forced by circumstances to give Christian unionism a new form and a new orientation. As the membership of these unions increased, the more urgent it became to emphasize this orientation.

(2) As it developed, a number of workers began to take Christian unionism seriously. That had a favorable influence on this type of union.

(3) At the same time, the idea of class struggle gave way in the socialist unions to the boldest reformism, and the most shameful compromises were made. All this fostered demagoguery in Catholic unionism.

At present, Christian unionism is a unionism of the masses, composed of workers. At the will of its leaders, it follows a policy of dividing and causing dissension in the trade-union movement. Fundamentally, it supports the reactionary policy of vested capital; but, because of its worker composition, it is caught in the trap of its own demagogy and its own excess of promises. The workers force it to adopt the proper attitude in certain matters of worker demands.

The reactionary policy of Christian trade unionism is encountered primarily in its attitudes on national and international policy. It is violently anti-Communist and anti-Soviet. In these respects, it is in the vanguard of the struggle. But it certainly is becoming increasingly vulnerable in the matter of immediate demands (wages and the like); that is where it feels the greatest pressure from the working class and its supporters; and that is where it is persuaded to adopt, certainly against its wishes, attitudes favorable to the working class and therefore unfavorable to the big bosses. As this pressure increases, Christian trade unionism will surely be obliged, sooner or later, to change its attitude also on political issues.

The situation in Belgium is such that, if certain demands and objectives are to be attained, unity of action will be necessary among the Socialist, Communist, and Catholic trade unions and between the Socialist and Christian trade unions. It is clear that the enactment by Parliament of laws favorable to the working class is conceivable only through separating certain Christian Democratic deputies from their party.

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That is why we work within the Socialist unions, where we hold certain positions, to bring about cooperation in the struggle, in the daily f50X1-HUMD satisfy human needs, between the two great union organizations. Certainly, it is not easy. May I point out only one difficulty. One often hears talk of sectarianism in our own ranks. But this sectarianism is nothing compared to that in the ranks of the Social Democratic organizations. Certain aspects of the struggle for improvements are characterized not so much by a desire to attain maximum satisfaction as soon as possible, as by long and violent tirades and sectarian verbiage against the Christian workers and their organizations, a situation which promotes dissension and seriously weakens the possibilities of victory. It goes without saying that, at the crucial moment, these same Social Democratic leaders will yield before the bosses, along with the Christian Democratic leaders.

At the same time we are working to ensure that the Christian Democratic Party, which at present forms an integral part of the great Reactionary Clerical Party, and which in fact is led by the reactionary wing of this party, will separate from the Christian-Social Party. Here also the struggle is very difficult. This separation obviously does not agree with the ends and interests of the big bosses; actually, it will weaken the position of the reactionaries and reinforce that of the working class. But there is more; this separation is not even in agreement with the views of the leaders of the Socialist organizations, who expect nothing from the prospect of a consistent struggle under a genuine unity of the working class, and who

see the future only in terms of a collaboration of the [working] class in^{50X1-HUM}
a Socialist-Catholic government. Nevertheless, it has been amply demonstrated
in the past that such collaboration is always directed by the reactionaries
against the working class. It offers no other prospects than the intensifi-
cation of the present government's policy of social retrogression and
preparation for war.

As to the second item:

Much is said about anti-Communism. It is one of the favorite^{50X1-HUM} themes, not only of the reactionary forces but also of the rightist leaders of Social Democracy. Anti-Communism has done much wrong, and it continues to do so.

But even if at the present time it is not losing any of its virulence, it is, however, losing its effectiveness more and more.

What were the general reasons which led Belgium to give the policy of anti-Communism the success which our adversaries were awaiting?

Without trying to exhaust the problem, I see three of them.

1. The cold war. This cold war is identified, actually, with the anti-Soviet campaign. And to the extent that this last influences the general political climate of the country, it becomes possible for the reactionary forces to represent the Communists as the friends of the potential enemy. The cold-war climate contributes to the isolation of the Communist Party and holds the healthy elements of Social Democracy back from all contact or collaboration with the Communists.

It is certain that at the present time, thanks to the untiring efforts of the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies and to their political, economic, and military forces, along with the great struggles waged by the defenders of the peace, the cold war is diminishing and will continue to diminish, despite the ridiculous efforts of the Belgian government to put obstacles in the way. Thanks to these worthies, the war policy has reached an impasse. It is obliged to find a way out.

2. It is certain that the errors committed several years ago and the serious difficulties of 1956 -- Stalin, Hungary, Poland -- have increased the effectiveness of anti-Communist propaganda in Belgium. But only memories of these errors remain. Everything has returned to socialist order as it should be, and nothing suggests a return to such a situation. The reactionary forces would like to take advantage of it, but in vain.

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3. Certain living conditions of the populations of the USSR and the peoples' democracies, again several years ago, formed a basis for anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism for us here in Belgium.

Certainly, even several years ago, the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system was conspicuous. It was superior both in its development and in certain very important aspects of the social and cultural life: full employment, social security, and education, to mention only the most important. Certainly the Soviet Union also had suffered enormous destruction at the time of the war of 1941-1945. Certainly every country where a socialist system exists at the present time, except Czechoslovakia, started at the time of its transformation [toward socialism], as an undeveloped, backward economy. But at the same time, it was true that in other aspects, the Belgian worker was living better than the Soviet worker. The statistical comparison -- and the bourgeoisie made it one of its favorite weapons -- did not always show in favor of the socialist system. Automobiles, electrical appliances, textiles, exotic fruits, and housing were taken into account.

But that also is changing. The GDR, which is for many Belgians a decisive test of the value of the socialist system -- has passed t50X1-HUM Adenauer system in many fields. The Belgian workers who visit the GDR realize this more and more. But in 1961 [?] the GDR will overtake the GFR in every field. And our bourgeois will have nothing more to say about the alleged superiority of the capitalist system. The facts will be there, stronger than any lies.

In a little more than 10 years, the Soviet Union will have overtaken the US in every field. This means that in 4 years, the Soviet citizens will have a higher standard of living than the Belgians in every field. No one doubts this.

There is a third source of nourishment for anti-Communist propaganda which is disappearing and will have definitely disappeared in a few years. That will make our task vastly easier. We shall stop seeming to be good apostles -- I am not running down the apostles, for they were very necessary -- but we and you shall be conquering heroes, shining with the radiance of the superiority of socialism in every aspect of human life.

III

I raise a third question.

In Belgium, Social Democracy is very strong, and the Communist Party is relatively weak. Unfortunately, this situation is not peculiar to our country. All bourgeois-democratic Europe is in the same situation, except for France, Italy, and Finland, where the relative strength of the Communist Party is greater than that of the Socialist and Social Democratic parties. Moreover, except for some

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rare exceptions, the parliamentary, provincial, and local elections show a persistent decline in our position since the liberation.

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Certainly there are peculiarities which partially explain this situation for such and such a country. However, the development of power ratios in our disfavor is general in these countries. Social Democracy remains very strong everywhere. This cannot be explained by national characteristics alone. There must be a general reason.

I pose the problem. I do not offer any solutions. We are trying to find a valid answer for it. It does not come quickly. I know that other parties are also trying the same thing. I hope that within a few months, some exchanges of views will take place among the interested Communist parties, joined by our great brother parties.

But I think that the historians can help us. The strength of Social Democracy in the western countries does not date from today. It dates from a long time ago. It has been maintained since the twenties. It persists now. There must be historical reasons, some sort of law which explains this persistence. I think that it would be an interesting job for our historians to find these reasons.

And a general questions -- at the same time, an indication -- how is it that in undeveloped or under-developed countries, Social Democracy has not taken hold; in economically highly developed countries -- from a capitalist point of view -- Social Democracy is very strong; and yet in countries where economic development is most accentuated, the USA, Social Democracy also is almost nonexistent?

IV.

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I raise the fourth and final point of my talk. It concerns the report presented by Comrade Shatagin on the tasks of the science of history in the struggle against modern revisionism. I raise only one point of it, that part in which Comrade Shatagin discusses the possibility of extensive planning in the capitalist system, an idea advanced by the revisionists.

An Extraordinary Congress of the Belgian Socialist Party will take place in Brussels in a few days. It was called following the defeat of the Socialists at the time of the last elections to the Legislature in the beginning of June 1958. This defeat caused great discontent in the Belgian Socialist Party. Some militants, the militants of the very first rank, considered that the electoral defeat of the Belgian Socialist Party was due to the absence of any true Socialist doctrine. They had demanded a new program of Socialist action. The result was the Report on the Planning and Organization of the Economy.

This report was worked out by a commission which included both Socialists of the left and Socialists of the right. It is necessary to believe that these Socialists of the right do not see in the proposed planning any danger whatsoever for the maintenance of the system and for the continuation of their rightist policy.

[Translator's Note: The following section is translated from the Russian-language version, as the corresponding page of the French^{50X1-HUM} original is missing.]

The Belgian Social Democrats have a particular affection for planning. You probably remember De Man and his plan. Recently many Socialists, most of them leftist union leaders, visited the USSR or one of the People's Democracies. When they returned, they did not deny the achievements of the socialist system; but they regarded those achievements solely from the point of view of planning. They saw only the formal aspect forgetting completely that planning in the USSR and in the other People's Democracies brings results, as is actually happening under the Socialist system. According to these comrades, planning is all that is necessary to put an end to capitalist anarchy.

We sometimes run into surprising situations. In Belgium there is great opposition to the closing of mines decreed by the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Quite naturally the Socialists -- even the leftist Socialists -- find themselves in an embarrassing position as regards the closing of the mines. But do they not bear some of the responsibility for it? Actually, they praised the ECSC as one of the first manifestations of new-style European socialism. And now this same manifestation of socialism -- the ECSC -- is closing the Belgian mines, is putting an end to the working of one of our national resources, is throwing tens of thousands of miners out into

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the streets. To overcome these contradictions, the leftist Socialists have begun to spread the following theory: in the present situation it is impossible to avert the closing of the mines. Structural reforms and planning must come first, and only then can we hope to get a coal policy that corresponds to the interests of Belgium.

These are the Socialists, incapable of an effective struggle against the closing of the mines (since they do not believe in the fighting power of the Belgian working class), but they talk about transforming the state and dream of changing its character by simple legislative reforms. [Translator's Note: Remainder of speech is translated from the French-language original.] -- as if a true structural reform were possible without making every effort today to prevent what the International and Belgian holdings want--the closing of our mines.

These Socialist comrades do not understand that great battles are won only by smaller battles, that true structural reforms are possible only through struggles for the satisfaction of immediate demands.

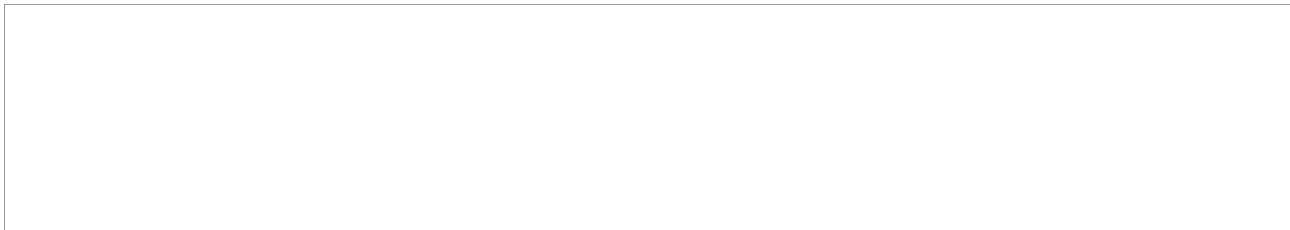
It is necessary to say clearly: We are for structural reforms, we are for nationalization, we are also for certain ideas of planning in the capitalist system. And we even believe that such measures can have a different significance from that of the years preceding and following the war of 1940-1945, that they can weaken the capitalist system by an untiring and ever greater interdependence of economic and political measures, obtained by a struggle of the masses; this

brings about the possibility of peaceful but revolutionary transition from the capitalist system to the socialist system. And it does so,^{50X1-HUM} thanks to the fact that throughout the world, the ratio of strength leans more and more to the side of socialism.

But for that, it is necessary that some essential conditions exist:

It is necessary to outline clearly the real value, the real scope, the real limits of these reforms and of these few measures of planning, to say what they are worth in their static value as well as in their development.

It is necessary to emphasize that these reforms have a revolutionary significance only if they are the result not of a scheme of several great minds but of a constant struggle for the satisfaction of the ever-increasing needs of the masses, leading the masses to understand that this satisfaction, or rather, that a better satisfaction of their needs makes the structural reforms necessary. The struggle for structural reforms, unless it precedes and is linked to the struggle for immediate demands, will end in administrative measures without revolutionary significance. It is not a question of a struggle for some formal change -- one or two more Socialists on the Board of Directors of some nationalized or half-nationalized company -- but for a partial change of its essential nature. The struggle for these reforms, for these nationalizations, for a certain form of planning for the purpose of reducing the powers of oligarchies, must be waged



against the holdings and must not look for a compromise with them;

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it must be dedicated to the revolutionary objective of the liquidation of capitalism.

This is the way to advance Socialist ideas in reality and not in words. This is how to serve the true interests of the working class.



IDEOLOGICAL COMPARISONS BETWEEN THE BELGIAN SOCIALIST
AND COMMUNIST PARTIES

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What conditions the leftist Socialist in the BSP [Belgian Socialist Party] of today?

In order to answer this question we must first see the characteristics of the BSP as a whole.

This party has succeeded in disseminating the most complete theoretical confusion, in order to imbue the consciousness of the working class with all kinds of bourgeois ideologies. Instead of promoting the class struggle, the BSP endeavors to conclude compromises with the bourgeoisie, compromises which ended in so many capitulations. Vulgar opportunism has become the order of the day. The parliamentary activity of the BSP has degenerated into what Lenin called "parliamentary cretinism." The BSP generally avoids reinforcing its parliamentary activities by the struggle of the working class in the industries, in the unions, and on the streets; the party realizes that this would give rise to demands too forceful to deny at the decisive moment. Social Democracy has completely lost sight of real socialism. The determination to realize socialism has disappeared. To most of the Social-Democratic leaders socialism is no longer a calling but merely an occupation, which for the rest provides them with ample means of subsistence. The worst thing is that unscrupulous ambition and the chase after nice soft jobs has become deeply rooted in Social Democracy, on all echelons, even down to the base. For all these reasons Social Democracy has never anywhere achieved one square centimeter

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of socialism, not even where it obtained a parliamentary majority.

Social Democracy does carry out some reforms from time to time, but these reforms never go one millimeter beyond that which the capitalist system permits.

Of course, when mighty movements like the recent one in the Borinage area are unleashed, when the cart once gets moving, the Social-Democratic leaders get in, but only to get control of the brakes as soon as possible. In order to get on the cart these leaders express themselves in radical terms and participate in demagog^uery for a few days, but at the decisive moment the negotiations terminate in treason. Oh, it cannot be said that nothing is obtained. Something is always obtained, just enough to paralyze the movement.

The policy of Belgian Social Democracy is integrated with capitalism, with colonialism, and with the cold war. Throughout the constant swerving of the BSP policy there is ^{one} factor which remains the same and to which unchanging loyalty is shown, namely anti-Communism. One of the chief endeavors of the reformists is to show the bourgeoisie that their anti-Communism is more effective than that of the rightist political formations. The Western European Social-Democratic parties are so consistently anti-Communist that they do not hesitate to sacrifice the power of their own formations. For, the more Social Democracy assails Communism, the more it sweeps the ground from under its own feet and the more it opens the road to the rightist forces. The anti-Communism of Social Democracy feeds the reaction. The more Social Democracy supports the Atlantic [Pact] cold-war policy, and the more it

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nourishes anti-Sovietism, the more it consolidates the rightist political formations. It is no mere coincidence that the Western European Social Democrats are now everywhere being pushed out of the governments. (Exceptions: Sweden and Austria, neutral countries, and Norway and Denmark, where the Social Democrats are displaying reserve with regard to the Atlantic [Pact] policy.)

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We stated that Social-Democratic anti-Communism consolidates the reaction. Let us cite an example. What effect can the Social-Democratic protest against the inclusion of Franco-Spain in the NATO have, if this Social Democracy determines its entire policy within the framework of anti-Communism? For that matter, it has by this time become clear (see statement of Prieto and resolution of the WFTU) that Social Democracy prefers keeping Franco in power if the Communists participate in the struggle against Franco.

Such is the political atmosphere in which the leftist Socialists have to operate. They admit that dissatisfaction about this policy is prevalent in the ranks of the BSP and of the Common Campaign (Gemeenschappelijke Actie). Agreed. They admit that the mass of the workers, at any rate, are here. Agreed.

Twice agreed. However, let us investigate the possibilities of the leftist Socialists a bit more closely:

1. First of all we wish to establish the fact that up to the present time the leftist Socialists constitute a rather insignificant group. Their two organs, La Gauche and Links, have a vastly smaller circulation than Drapeau Rouge and the weekly Rode Vaan.

2. The BSP, trade unions, mutual organizations, and cooperatives constitute a bureaucratic machine, the lever being controlled by the rightists. 50X1-HUM1 of these organizations, little is accomplished in the way of democracy. We are sufficiently informed about certain meetings to know that a member who risks making a reservation of any political significance will soon be silenced. Certain leftist truths cannot be openly asserted in the BSP, for discipline is exercised only against the left.

3. Even those who speak and write leftist, and perhaps even think leftist, act rightist. The luckless agreements which made the strikes of the Borinage area come to nothing were signed by the "leftist" Renard as well as by the rightist Major. If the Communists promote a demand of the ABVV (General Confederation of Labor of Belgium) in the parliament, the demand is generally rejected by the leftist as well as the rightist members of the BSP. We are thinking, for example, of the 36,000-franc pension [demand?], made some time ago. The legislation in application of the school pact (the maneuver of the reaction to consolidate its political influence thoroughly as a result of the unbridled expansion of clerical education) was supported in the parliament by the leftists as well as the rightists; it was even supported by persons whose political careers were chiefly based on organizations for the defense of public education.

4. The leftists boast (and rightly so) about the turmoil which they managed to stir up at the last BSP Congress. It is true that they received a bit of elbow room at this congress, in consequence of the election defeat.

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(If the BSP had not been defeated in the elections, the leftist members^{50X1-HUM} would have had to maintain complete silence). The rightist leaders, however, remained in control. Ambiguous resolutions were adopted, interpreted in a leftist light by Renard in Liege and in a rightist light by Larock in Brussels. Since that^{time}/Van Remoortel has delivered an address worthy of an extremist, in the Senate about the Congo. Since that time Spinoy has lodged a protest against the 12-month term of army service in the name of "our Atlantic obligations." Since that time Spinoy has proposed a reorganization of the Congolese "Territorial Forces," so that soldiers of other tribes would be used against the local population. (Where are the good old times when Flemish soldiers were used against Walloon workers, and vice versa?) Since that time the Socialist deputies in the parliament have voted in favor of the school pact. Since that time the strikes of the Borinage area have been wrecked. Since that time the organ of the Young Socialists has made a shameless attempt to rehabilitate Rik de Man. Since that time Fayat has come to Antwerp to challenge the usefulness and the possibility of East-West trade on the basis of Atlantic [Pact] views. Since that time the Socialist press has presented the Dalai Lama, a representative of medieval feudalism, as a champion of democratic freedom. Since that time the Socialist press has declared its sympathy for the persons who shouted "Away with Collard" in Kerala. Since that time

5. There is in the BSP a way, a well-trying way, for keeping the leftist rebels in line, namely bribery. The BSP always occupies just enough positions to hand out favors, to provide soft jobs, to offer promotions. Many a leftist

Socialist (not everyone is a hero) has fallen prey to this temptation.

6. The leftist Socialists generally go about aimlessly. Theoretical^{50X1-HUM} clarity is undoubtedly not their strongest aspect. They usually howl along [with the others] in the anti-Communist camp. Some of them do this for "tactical reasons," in the opinion that this is necessary to avoid discrediting themselves, so as not to "burn" themselves. They live under the terror of anti-Communism. Others, and the most influential ones among them, are basically and I would say "morbidly" anti-Communist. They never strike at the rightists without at the same time hurling poisonous darts at the Communists or at the USSR. If, for example, Socialist and Communist students participate in the same demonstration, La Gauche expresses its opinion with loud indignation. Whether it be for tactical reasons or for reasons of principle, in either case the leftist Socialists condemn themselves to sterility with their anti-Communist attitude.

7. There is a danger that the leftist Socialists may allow themselves to be taken in by nice-sounding reasons. The rightist leaders of the BSP have enough experience and political shrewdness to set their sails to the wind when they realize that there is a leftist trend. On the occasion of a congress, for example, nothing will keep them from subscribing to a number of sound resolutions. We Communists, however, have enough experience to know that this is only lip service.

Do not misunderstand us. We regard a good resolution as a favorable factor, to the extent that it is an instrument through which something can be achieved, even if we know definitely that the rightist leaders do not take the resolution seriously. However, such a resolution can be utilized only if one sees through the entire game of the rightist leaders.

In concluding this chapter, we would like to tell the leftist Socialists that we regard the leftist trend in the BSP as a positive phenomenon, ^{50X1-HUM}ed possibilities are undoubtedly present there. However, you will be unable to bring about a decisive turn in the BSP and everything connected with it. This prospect does not exist at least as long as you participate in anti-Communism, as long as you reject every form of cooperation with the Communists, and as long as the Communist Party lacks sufficient strength to assert itself alongside of the BSP.

The leftist Socialists should not forget that the rightists only tolerate them, and are only prepared to grant them a few concessions on their positions if they [the rightists] fear that the Communists will otherwise gain ground. The leftist Socialists should not forget that a strengthened Communist Party is a condition for leftist gains within the BSP.

It stood to reason that the non-partisan intellectual, the subject of and the occasion for the dispute, did not remain a passive listener.

His first question: You say that there is a difference between a leftist Socialist and a Communist ...

My reply: One important difference is that the Communist has a firm theoretical basis, Marxism-Leninism, a reliable method of political analysis which enables him to assume a consistent position with regard to the problems of the day. The leftist Socialist lacks this to a very serious degree. His ideology is permeated with bourgeois influences.

For example: "Free democratic elections," one of the great slogans of the bourgeoisie whenever it is suitable. It is suitable, for example, in

Germany, but not in Korea, nor in Vietnam; thus free democratic elections in a country where the capitalists fabricate public opinion. It is ~~easy~~ to formulate the matter in these terms for a Communist to see it in all its clarity. In this regard the leftist Socialist, no matter how leftist he may be, struggles with insurmountable theoretical difficulties.

The specific conditions under which the leftist Socialist has to operate (namely, within the framework of a reformist party) also contribute to his hopeless confusing of principal and tactical positions.

In and through his party the Communist has the advantage not merely of theoretical bearings but also the advantage of sharing in the experience of a powerful international movement, which has already guided revolutions and built up socialism.

Immediately came the question: Is there not a danger, however, that the CPB [Communist Party of Belgium] may groundlessly and mechanically take over the conclusions of, let us say, the Eastern countries?

My reply: The CPB has undoubtedly erred in this regard. Since 1954, however - one year before the 20th Congress of the CPSU - the Communists in Belgium have been fully aware that the problems here today are different from, for example, those in Russia in 1917, and that the problems in Belgium - a highly-developed capitalistic country - are different from those in China. The CPB is doing its best to develop a line, tactics, and slogans in which its militants recognize the real situation in which they have to operate.

The question, which was also a challenge, could not be deferred: How then can it be explained that the CPB is still so weak, after so much devotion from so many militants during so many years?

My reply: First a reservation with regard to the question itself. Even if the assertion about the weakness of the Communist Party should be correct, it would be completely wrong to conclude that the CPB no longer plays a role in Belgium today. Without the activity of the Communists, the psychological atmosphere in our country would be different from what it is today. The influence of the Communist Party extends far beyond the number of its members, even beyond the number of those who vote for it, as far as concerns the struggle for [workers'] demands, peace, and the concept among the masses concerning the evolution in the Socialist countries, in short, as far as concerns the political orientation of Belgian public opinion. One has to participate in the activities in order to realize how many more and less important movements, expressions of opinion, motions, and tenets actually originated with Communists. The Communist Party has more than once succeeded in getting one movement or another to adopt the slogans which were best suited to the mobilization and the unity of the movement involved. It is striking how many tenets which were originally those of the Communist Party have gradually become the common property of very broad masses. About a year ago the Communist Party advanced the slogans: "Fight against shutdowns in industry," and "conquest of the means of subsistence." Since that time, these slogans have made considerable headway in the working class. Without the Communists, they [the workers] would not be nearly as far as they are today.

I nevertheless agree that the Communist Party in our country is very weak. But that is not the case in Belgium alone; it is also true in West Germany, the Netherlands, Great Britain, etc.

What is the explanation? The Communist Party is not strong for the same reasons that Social Democracy is rightist and that the leftist t_{50X1-HUM} in Social Democracy is weak.

Marx once stated: "The ideology of an era is the ideology of the dominating class." Capitalism has at its disposal sufficient means: school, church, press, films, radio, television - also commercial advertising and the paternalistic system with its "human relations" - to foist its ideology upon the working class. The process of infatuating public opinion is continued systematically day by day and year by year, with the aid of vast funds. The ^{more} highly developed capitalism is, the greater the means which the bourgeoisie has at its disposal to "condition" the masses, that is, to keep them in a state of tutelage, to confuse them ideologically, to choke them in the morass of political neutrality, and to drag them along in the stream of conformism. I do not hesitate to assert that the working masses are at present underdeveloped. In passing, I wish to call attention to the great responsibility of the rightist Social-Democratic leaders in this process. I do not like either abusive language or stereotyped formulas, but it seems to me that it is scientifically justified to call the rightist Social-Democratic leaders "agents of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement." How, for example, can a worker who has been reading the Volksgazet for 20 years still have any sound political understanding?

While political infatuation is relatively easily achieved, the capitalists find it considerably more difficult to paralyze direct struggles for demands. Isn't it remarkable how much readiness to fight the Belgian working class

exhibits again and again in connection with campaigns for immediate demands?^{as?}
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Think of the many powerful campaigns for demands which have occurred in our country since the end of the year. However, isn't it also striking that most of these campaigns ended in a compromise which provided very little satisfaction? Why? Because the trade union leaders and the BSP leaders always succeed in maneuvering in such a way that the campaign ends in a fragmentary result. How is this possible? This is possible because of the political underdevelopment of the working class. Political prejudice, for example, keeps the working class from appreciating sufficiently the slogans which the Communists have advanced during the campaign, which slogans are nevertheless correct. This also explains the difficult growth of the Communist Party.

Hereupon the leftist Socialist asked: The situation being what it is, what prospects do you see for the Communist Party?

My reply: The prospects of the Communist Party are indissolubly connected with the prospects of the labor movement as a whole. So long as the labor movement as a whole remains in a political state of tutelage (and accordingly relatively weak), the Communist Party will be unable to achieve any extensive development. So long as the Communist Party is unable to achieve any extensive development, the labor movement as a whole will be unable to achieve any important results.

As far as our position as a party is concerned, it seems to me quite probable that the anti-Communism which aims at isolating us will soon lose much of its force.

Where does anti-Communism derive the material for its propaganda?

Not in the tenets of the Communist Party with regard to the domestic problems. It is significant that the large newspapers do not write or argue about these tenets. To the contrary, the method in this regard is that of ignoring [these tenets]. They [the large newspapers] realize that all polemics about our tenets concerning unemployment benefits, legal curtailment of industrial shutdowns, social security, double pay for vacations, health insurance, etc., actually came down to propaganda for our party, since our proposals are wholly in agreement with that for which the working class is sighing. In regard to this, it is not so easy to fool the workers.

Our peace campaigns are also ignored.

The arsenal of anti-Communist slogans is concentrated exclusively in one field, namely that of our relations with the USSR, with the people's democracies, and (to a lesser extent) with China.

Interruption of leftist Socialist: Admit that you were a bit mistaken in regard to Stalin.

Interjection of the non-partisan: The Communists should at least have displayed more discernment.

My reply: It is true that we failed to take into account certain degenerating developments which appeared in connection with the development of socialism in the USSR, and further of Stalin's responsibility in this regard. Nevertheless, during all those years we Communists were much less wrong than the Social Democrats. Although we may have been ever so blind to certain mistakes, we recognized the main thing, namely that the USSR was a regime of socialist development and carried out a peace policy. Social

Democracy constantly slandered as well as opposed the USSR in every respect, along the entire line, on every occasion, and without reserve. Our b.50X1-HUM love was perhaps a bit naive, but their blind hatred was criminal.

The disclosures of the 20th Congress of the CPSU may have been a hard lesson for us, but they were also a salutary lesson. We studied the entire problem anew; we learned something. The worrisome question for us was this: are the mistakes which have come to light inherent in the regime, attached to the essence of the system itself, or have the mistakes and the degenerating developments of the last two decades of the Stalin era sprung from specific historical situations? Our conclusion left no doubt. We not only succeeded in sufficiently clearly indicating the historical combination of circumstances at the basis of these negative developments, but we also understood why the historical conditions of today are such that those mistakes can be overcome. Today we accordingly ascertain that many changes, favorable, rapid, and basic changes, are occurring in the USSR. The development of the USSR had bogged down in some respects; now the USSR has again become creative. Everything indicates that a number of developments from which anti-Communism derived its nourishment - the Stalin affair, Poznan, Hungary - are dying out.

This is a prominent breeding ground of anti-Communism which is vanishing.

Interruption of the non-partisan: Nevertheless, things do occur in the USSR from time to time in regard to which the CPB could display a certain discerning reserve. I am thinking, for example, of the way in which the Pasternak affair was handled

My reply: Agreed, and not agreed. [Regarding the matter] by itself, I should be inclined to agree with you ... but on condition of living ^{under} _{50X1-HUM} other relationships. The case is namely this: no matter what the Belgian Communists say or write, it is all completely ignored. But suppose that the CPB should issue a communique tomorrow containing one sentence of critical reserve regarding some matter in the Socialist countries. In that case, the same press which manages to ^{main-}tain complete silence with regard to us on other occasions would seize on that sentence, severed from its context, and would headline the matter on the front pages in a way which you can readily imagine. And the Social-Democratic press would be particularly active in this regard. As long - it will not be very long anymore - as a critical remark made by us can serve as grist for the anti-Communist mill, we will think thrice before publishing anything of the kind.

Let us go on. A second root of anti-Communism is already dying off. All of the areas where socialism has hitherto been developed (Czechoslovakia is a small and partial exception) were economically underdeveloped, backward, and impoverished areas. And however much the standard of living has risen in these areas up to the present time, their standard of living is still more or less far below that of a country like Belgium. This does not keep a person with historical insight, one who understands where they [the socialist countries] came from and where they are going, from having a proper evaluation of a regime. The man on the street, however, is impressed only with the immediate comparison. The light will not dawn on him until the day in which the immediate comparison of the standards of living is favorable to the socialist countries. I do not doubt that the Seven-Year Plan of the USSR will make a significant contribution in this direction.

Everything indicates that a third basis of anti-Communism is also disappearing. I am thinking of the cold-war policy. This is clearly an anti-Soviet policy. The "cold war" has offered the bourgeoisie the possibility of holding up the Communists in the Western countries before public opinion as allies of the potential enemy. This is the exact opposite of the situation during the Nazi occupation; at that time, the masses regarded us as allies of a powerful ally.

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There is every reason to believe that the cold-war policy cannot be continued forever: 1. because this would involve the world in an impasse, the danger of which the imperialists themselves also realize; 2. because the resistance of public opinion to the armament burdens and the demand of the peoples for peaceful coexistence and negotiation are growing.

In short, anti-Communism no longer has an auspicious future. The shackles which have bound the Communist Party for years are beginning to rust through.

The two others simultaneously: It seems to us that you regard the prospects of the CPB only in the light of the results achieved in the USSR.

My reply: The CPB will never become a big party through the results achieved in the USSR, in China, or in Eastern Europe. The CPB can grow only through its own work. However, the achievements "in the East" and the resultant power shifts on a world scale, will gradually turn out to be a favorable factor, instead of a drag, which they have hitherto been from a certain point of view.

This, of course, is only one aspect of the matter. The other [aspects] pertain to the conditions under which the labor movement in our country will

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SECRET

develop. And these conditions are basically dependent upon the question to what extent capitalism can still solve its own problems. Can capitalism actively continue to put into play its growing production capacities? Can it keep unemployment from assuming extensive proportions? In other words, can it escape the economic crisis?

I do not hesitate to assert that, to the extent that capitalism displays vitality, to the extent that it can avoid depression, unemployment, and mass impoverishment, to the extent that the labor movement remains within the channels of reformism and will even be in part dragged along into the channel of Christian trade unionism, as long as relatively broad sectors of the working class enjoy a more or less satisfactory standard of living within the framework of capitalism, a basic radicalization of the labor movement is out of the question. And so long will the possibilities of the Communist Party (and for that matter also of the leftist trend within the BSP) remain principally limited. The first condition for a change in the attitude of the masses is a change in their material circumstances. It is useful to bear this elementary Marxist tenet well in mind.

The most basic explanation of the weakness of the Communist parties in a number of Western European countries, and of the scope of Social-Democratic reformism in the same countries, as well as of the growth of Christian-Democratic organizations in some instances, can be found in the fact that during the post-war period capitalism still showed many signs of vitality, that it passed through no serious crises, in short, that it still proved to be a tenable regime.

- 16 -

SECRET

This personal opinion of mine was on occasion sharply criticized within my own party, because conclusions not contained in it were drawn from ^{50X1-HUM} ~~it~~.

Some of my comrades were afraid that the advancing of such a point of view would have a "demobilizing" and "demoralizing" effect. It seemed to them that my point of view involved a kind of waiting fatalism, approximately in this sense: the best we can accordingly do is to let the matter run its own course until inner contradictions bring about the collapse of capitalism.

This, of course, is a false conclusion.

For no matter in what difficulties Communism [sic] is involved, it will never collapse of itself. Still less do I believe in the spontaneous birth of socialism. I reject the [theory of] spontaneity, as well as fatalism and determinism, in the advance of socialism. This advance is impossible without a wide-awake leadership, without an advance guard, in short, without the Communist Party. However, the simple determination of the Communist Party alone will not achieve this either [the advance of socialism].

I believe that it is no exaggeration to trace the mistakes of what we might call the later-Stalinist period in the Communist parties to an expression of "voluntarism." That holds true for the USSR, for the People's Democracies, and for the Communist parties of the West. I would like to define that voluntarism as a tendency to force history, to determine the course of events by our will, and that without taking into account the objective situation. We should not forget that the human race solves its problems only to the extent that they come up and that one regime does not make way for another until it has completely exhausted its own possibilities.

This is not yet the case with capitalism in Western Europe today, at least not along the whole line. Western European capitalism is, however, giving indication of its powerlessness and of partial depression conditions in a large number of sectors. This gives rise to struggles sufficiently important to be used as a point of departure for the campaigns of the Communist Party.

In our country this situation undoubtedly offers rather limited possibilities. The thing we have to do is to make the most of this. This maximum can best be achieved if we do not try to go beyond it. Demoralization among us was often the result of a kind of forced optimism, of "voluntarism," of keyed-up expectations, which later failed to materialize.

My opinions were sometimes scornfully called a "misery-theory." I accept this label with the understanding that this "misery" is a very relative concept. To my mind it simply means impoverishment, or more correctly: the failure to satisfy the increasing needs which capitalism itself creates.

Remark of the leftist socialist: The thing for the Communists to do is accordingly to promote impoverishment

My reply: To the contrary. Impoverishment is a principally favorable background if the Communist Party does everything it can to combat it. For that matter, the CPB is doing this. The struggle for the increase of unemployment benefits and the introduction of social security, for example, are definitely means to keep up buying power and to defend the standard of living. Here we have a typical instance of dialectical unity between the impoverishment brought about by capitalism and our struggle against it. The combination of these two factors leads to a revolutionary labor movement.

Remark of non-partisan: In the last analysis the significant thing accordingly is to know what prospects capitalism still has.

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My reply: Exactly. Let us therefore consider the possibilities of capitalism a bit more closely. At the present time, it seems to me that capitalism is not yet at the end of its rope. On the other hand, there is no doubt about the fact that capitalism is facing difficulties which grow ever bigger.

The bourgeoisie have undoubtedly learned something from the depression years in the thirties. The most important characteristic of capitalist development since the thirties has been the ever-increasing intervention of the state by means of monetary manipulations, credit regulations, international payment agreements, market studies, economic planning, premiums, tax relief, stockpiling of goods, public works, and armament orders. The state budget is increasing a good deal more rapidly than wealth in general and the weight of the state budget is being increasingly felt in the determination of the economic policy of a country. The era of nineteenth-century liberalism is definitely past. We are living in an era of state-planned economy. Some prophets go so far as to make this economic planning of the state equivalent to a process of socialization, and many social democrats feel obliged to cooperate in this process. It should nevertheless be clear that the state machinery remains completely in the service of the policy of the trusts and of the holdings. The observation of Marx that the bourgeois state is a kind of corporation entrusted with the management of the general capitalistic interests is no less true today than it was in the nineteenth century, when the state

SECRET

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confined itself to the function of a "night watchman."

The question is: can this regulatory intervention of the state^{50X1-HUM}unt the basic contradictions of capitalism? We would say "yes" if we ascertained that the main duty of the state was that of constantly increasing the purchasing power of the masses, in order to cope with the constantly increasing production capacities. That, however, is something which we do not ascertain precisely.

The very rapid development of technology does occasion an ever-increasing concentration and centralization in industry, does occasion the elimination of many smaller factories whose activity is transferred to a number of larger and more modern enterprises, does lead to a unification of markets (the European Common Market), and does occasion a credit policy favorable to technical modernization. This technical expansion (electronics, computing machinery, automation) offers a temporary way out in the sector of the production of capital goods, but it also creates unemployment (called technological unemployment); it does not, however, lead to price reductions (to the contrary), or to an expansion of the purchasing power in the sector of consumer goods, the field in which this entire process will finally have to bog down.

The expectation that capitalism will finally bog down in the contrast between the rapidly increasing production capacities and the much more slowly increasing consumption possibilities seems to be fully justified.

Up to the present time, the capitalist contradictions have been settled at the expense of colonial peoples. This led to a division [of the countries]

SECRET / CONFIDENTIAL

into highly-developed and underdeveloped areas. The national and social autonomy movements of the hungry peoples, however, will no longer permit transferring the difficulties to these areas. The contradictions will now exert themselves in all their force within the confined arena of the highly-developed countries.

In the measure that this situation is accentuated, capitalism will appear in the minds of the people as untenable, the more suspicious will the revolutionary prospects become and the greater the possibilities for the activity of a Communist Party.

The result of this conversation was not that the non-partisan asked me about a membership card. He suggested thinking the whole thing over once more and I agreed with him. The leftist Socialist did the same.

The leftist Socialist and I suspected each other of having expressed ourselves out of purely tactical considerations.

June 1959

Report on the Struggle of the Communist Party of Indonesia Against Modern Revisionism

Address by Comrade Tjoo Tik Tjoen

50X1-HUM

(Indonesia)

On Item 2 of the Agenda

At the present time, the Communist Party is the largest political party in Indonesia. The party has played an important, decisive role in the political life of the country. It has become a significant, militant force of the working class and the people's revolutionary movement in the struggle against Dutch imperialism and the subversive activities of the United States (SEATO), and in the struggle for national independence, democracy, peace, and socialism. The growth and consolidation of the Communist Party of Indonesia is not an accidental occurrence, but the natural result of the process of historical development and of the complex, persistent class struggle of the Indonesian working class against the enemies of the workers of Indonesia. Considering the lessons derived from the 39-year experience of the struggle, the CPI fully realizes that the ideological struggle and the struggle for maintaining and consolidating Marxist-Leninist positions and the ideas and methods for the victory of Marxist-Leninist ideology over various ideologies hostile to Marxism-Leninism, are important conditions for the consolidation and growth of the Communist Party itself and the successful fulfillment of its historical tasks.

From the time of the creation of the party up until 1951, an occasional deviation to rightist or leftist opportunism, or even a simultaneous right-wing and left-wing deviation, were observed in the party. Generally, however, one can say that, up to the present time, the party has never suffered

- 1 -

SECRET

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from the illness of revisionism. This is not fortuity, but rather the result of a number of objective factors. First of all, the CPI developed as a party of the working class in a colonial country in which all the people suffered from imperialist oppression and exploitation, and in which ancient survivals of feudal oppression were preserved, forcing the people to live "on 2 pennies a day." It was a country in which destitution and poverty were spread throughout the entire population, which explains the nickname given to the Indonesians: "Servants among a nation of servants." All this engendered an exceptionally militant revolutionary spirit directed against all injustices, economic exploitation, and political oppression, from which the Indonesian people, and particularly the working class, suffer.

Thus, the Communist Party of Indonesia, which arose from the ranks of the revolutionary working people, is noted for its ardent revolutionary spirit which is alien to all reformist ideas or ideas of "class collaboration," against which the party has always fought. On the other hand, the sources of the vast profits for the imperialists are constantly decreasing so that the imperialists find less and less possibilities for creating a "workers' aristocracy" in the colonial countries by allowing additional profits. They also find it more difficult to split the solidarity of the workers' movement and to put pressure on it, i.e., to use all the methods which they apply in their own countries.

It is for this very reason that the right-wing socialists of Indonesia and their party (the Socialist Party of Indonesia) are not able to expand their influence among the masses of workers. Their influence is limited to a narrow circle of the intelligentsia; this distinguishes them from the

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right-wing socialists of Europe and the imperialist countries which have a certain influence among the workers. 50X1-HUM

Secondly, from the time of its formation, the CPI has grown and strengthened in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and has developed by the experience of its struggle. The victory of the October Socialist Revolution in 1917, achieved by the Russian working class and its Bolshevik party, greatly influenced the workers' movement of Indonesia and the CPI. This great event served as a powerful impetus for the creation of the Communist Party of Indonesia and inspired its struggle. Soon after its formation, the CPI joined the Comintern in December 1920. This was evidence of the fact that the CPI, from its very beginning, was an integral part of the international revolutionary workers' movement.

From the time of its creation and during its entire struggle, the CPI and the Indonesian people have constantly enjoyed the powerful support of the international workers' movement, their fraternal foreign parties, and especially the Dutch working class, which is headed by its Communist Party. They have also used the support of the workers and the fraternal parties of the socialist countries. All this has promoted the development of a high spirit of proletarian internationalism and ardent patriotism among the ranks of the CPI and the Indonesian working class. This powerful spirit of proletarian internationalism made it possible for the Indonesian working class and its party to put an end to the numerous intrigues and provocations of the reactionaries and revisionists ~~who are~~ attempting to weaken and split the solidarity of the struggle of the working class and the Indonesian people. Proletarian internationalism has inspired the CPI in its consistent struggle against bourgeois chauvinism.

3
SECRET

Thirdly, from the first days of its foundation, the CPI took deep root^{50X1-HUM} among the broad masses of workers of Indonesia. In December 1924, the CPI had 38 affiliates consisting of 1,140 members, and the "Sarekat Rakjat" (Union of the People), "a reserve of the CPI," had 46 affiliates consisting of 31,000 members (D. N. Aidit: The Formation and Development of the Communist Party of Indonesia, Jajasan Pembaruan, 1955).

This fact indicates that the CPI, from the very beginning, was a party which maintained close contact with the workers and which leaned on the masses. This close contact with the masses developed the revolutionary traditions of the CPI.

Moreover, leaning on the rich experience acquired in their own struggle, as well as on the experience of fraternal foreign peoples and parties, the CPI strengthened its ideological principles and absorbed the principles of Marxism-Leninism common to all countries. All this has reduced the possibility of penetration of the party by reformist and revisionist elements and the achievement of power by them.

Despite the fact that, in general, the CPI has not been subjected to the influence of revisionism, this by no means signifies that the danger of revisionism has not threatened the party. After the June 1948 adoption by the Information Bureau of the Communist Party of a resolution "On the Situation of the Communist Party in Yugoslavia," the threat of modern revisionism became serious and compelled the party to take up a struggle immediately against this movement.

During the August revolution of 1945, thanks to its revolutionary traditions and the great influence of the victories of the proletariat in several countries of Eastern Europe and Asia, the CPI found great approval among the

SECRET

people, the workers' and peasants' masses, the intelligentsia, ^{to} students, artisans, and the anti-imperialistically inclined national bourgeoisie. However, since the party was at that time still very weak from the political, ideological, and organizational point of view, it was not able to consolidate and organize all these national forces, and was not able to establish the proper leadership in these favorable, objective conditions. Thus, the party was unable to halt penetration into its leadership by the pretty-bourgeois elements which caused the party to make mistakes, one of which, we note, was the support rendered by the party to the reactionary policies of the right-wing socialists, headed by Sutan Sjahrir.

In this connection, the resolution "The New Way," adopted by the party conference in August 1948, indicated that, in supporting the policies of the right-wing socialists, the Communist Party of Indonesia committed two mistakes:

First, the Communist Party of Indonesia did not realize that the "anti-imperialist national revolution is an integral part of the world proletarian revolution in an era of imperialism," and that "the national revolution in Indonesia must maintain close contact with the anti-imperialist forces of the entire world -- the colonial, semicolonial, and capitalist countries." This means that the Communist Party of Indonesia does not completely realize the leading role of the proletariat in national revolution in an era of imperialism.

Secondly, the Communist Party of Indonesia erroneously estimated the correlation of forces in the international plan after World War II, which led to an overestimation by the Indonesian Communists of the imperialist forces in Holland and other countries, and to an underestimation of the forces of the Indonesian revolution and other anti-imperialist forces.

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Thus, the resolution, "The New Way," helped the Communist Party of Indonesia to intensify the concept of patriotism and proletarian internationalism, as a result of which the Communist Party of Indonesia took the position of combatting any attempts or attacks directed at weakening or splitting the socialist camp and any anti-Soviet political action, for the Soviet Union is ^a powerful stronghold of anti-imperialist forces. At the Party conference in August 1958, the Communist Party of Indonesia clearly stated its standpoint in the resolution, wholly supporting the June 1958 resolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties and condemning the anti-Soviet position, of the leadership of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia, which has separated from the socialist camp.

When the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, came out in favor of improving relations with Yugoslavia and undertook ^k a number of measures in this connection, the Communist Party of Indonesia approved of this decision and made it known to the masses without any trace of illusion or disagreement, because we realize that every effort made to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement is just as important and necessary as is the effort to get rid of any revisionist element in the Communist movement.

The correctness of the standpoint of the Communist Party of Indonesia in the Yugoslav question once again was confirmed by the breaking out of a counter-revolution in Hungary in 1956. While the Yugoslavs supported the counter-revolutionary movement and supported Imre ^g Nagy against the workers' and peasants' government headed by Janos Kadar, the Communist Party of Indonesia decidedly supported the steps of the Hungarian government directed

~~SECRET~~

at suppressing, with the help of the Soviet Army, the counter-revolution which the imperialists had prepared and financed. The position of the Communist Party of Indonesia was confirmed in a report by the delegation of the Communist Party of Indonesia, headed by Comrade Njoto, which participated as observers in the 7th Congress of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The statement of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, published after discussion of the report of this delegation, said: "The delegation of the Communist Party of Indonesia, which attended the Congress of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia as observers, called attention to the fact that the incorrect principles, formulations and opinions (of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia) were not only retained during the congress, but also were developed, mainly in the addresses of the leaders of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia." Further, the statement emphasized: "The Communist Party of Indonesia has no reason to change its standpoint. The Communist Party of Indonesia will never agree with a viewpoint opposing the Declaration and the World Manifesto, and it has become obvious that, at present, the censure of any form of revisionism is correctly and urgently needed."

The report of the delegation and the statement of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia strengthened the faith of the masses in the correctness of the position of the Communist Party of Indonesia on the Yugoslav question.

It stands to reason that the imperialists and reactionaries of the whole world, including those in Indonesia, welcomed the Yugoslav deviation, especially after the 7th Congress of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia, which accepted the draft of a reactionary program, and after the events in Poznan and Hungary.

- 7 -
SECRET

They acted as if they were the owners of a magic weapon to destroy the revolutionary people and, in particular, the Communist Party of Indonesia. This tendency served the purposes of the right-wing socialists of In^{60X1-HUM} who could pound themselves on the chest and shout at the top of their voices: "We are creative Marxists, just as the Yugoslav Communists, not like the members of the Communist Party of Indonesia, who only know how to obey the orders from Moscow." Even Mohammad Hatta, having stained his hands with the blood of the heroes of the Indonesian working class during the events in Madioen in 1948 and after the conclusion of the traitorous Renvil agreement with the Dutch imperialists, supported by the American imperialists, stated that "his views differ from the views of the Communists only in regard to religion" (Njoto) "Misinterpretation of Marxism").

The reaction tried to use these events to spread among the Indonesian people the slanderous assertion that the Soviet Union is the most aggressive and dangerous "imperialist" power and that the Communist Party of Indonesia is its agent.

This is not surprising for, as Lenin wrote, "the dialectics of history are such that the theoretical victory of Marxism compels its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists." (Lenin, The Historical Fortunes of the Teaching of Karl Marx, Vol 18, page 546).

The Indonesian people who, at present, have reached a high political consciousness and whose critical opinions are becoming more aggressive, are not easily deceived by cheap propaganda and agitation.

We can recall the fact, for example, that at the time when the revolutionary government, with the help of the Soviet Army, suppressed the counter-revolution in Hungary and the Indonesian reaction organized a mass assembly

8
SECRET

in Bandung to mark the USSR as aggressors against the Hungarian people^{50X1-HUM} people finally turned this assembly into a meeting which condemned the British-French aggression against Egypt and demanded the destruction of the terrorist bands, "Darul Islam", and the Indonesian Islamic Army.

In the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, along with articles in the press, reports and lectures explaining the formulation of the question and the position of the Party in this connection, the Communist Party of Indonesia conducted an explanatory campaign to strengthen the spirit of proletarian internationalism and patriotism and organized theoretical discussions to disclose the theories of contemporary revisionism and to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Thus, the Party used the problem of the Yugoslav revisionists not only to increase the political vigilance of its cadres, but also to increase the ideological-political level of the party. Comrade Njoto was absolutely correct, stating in his report entitled "Some Yugoslav and Indonesian Problems from a Philosophical Viewpoint", that, "in the ideological struggle now unfolding, it is easy for the working class to understand what Marxism is and what revisionism is" and that "we have accomplished a dialectic process, that is, we have converted bad into good."

In analyzing the revisionist theory, which found its clear expression in the draft program accepted by the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia, we noted a number of questions which should be studied in connection with the situation in Indonesia. In past years, certain circles have spread among the public of Indonesia opinions and ideas that the only way to socialism, according to the specifics of Indonesia, is the "peaceful way." They state that as a result of the formation of the Indonesian Republic, one can build "a just, flourishing

SECRET

society based on fair principles" or "socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat"; that "state capitalism and cooperatives in a capitalist society are elements of socialist economics, etc." If we do not tirelessly fight these opinions, they will be able to serve as a basis for spreading the influence of the modern Yugoslav revisionism. These ideas facilitate the effort of those who try to entice Indonesia to create "a third force", which the Yugoslav revisionists have dreamed about for a long time.

In this regard, the party publications, People's Daily, Red Star, the Communist Forum, and others, and also a number of works published by the "Pembaruan" Institute, as, for example, the articles by Lenin on revisionism, the state, and others, have played an important role in crushing these ideas. Party schools and courses served this same important aim. Exchange of political literature among fraternal parties and also such international discussions as this have turned out to be very useful. Reciprocal visits of leaders and delegations of fraternal parties has been very important not only for strengthening the unity of the world proletariat, but also for enriching Marxist-Leninist theory, which leads to an increase in the fighting ability of the proletariat of all countries.

Tito's visit to Indonesia at the end of the past year convinced the Indonesian people even more of the correctness of the party's position on the Yugoslav question and strengthened their determination to fight against revisionism.

In connection with Tito's visit to Indonesia, the Communist Party of Indonesia occupied a position corresponding to the statement of the Politburo of the party, in which it is stated that "the position of the Communist Party of Indonesia opposing the line and policies of the Union of Communists of

- 10 -
SECRET

50X1-HUM

Yugoslavia does not in any way signify a weakening of the support shown by the party to the policy of friendship and peace pursued by the government of the Republic of Indonesia in its relations with other countries, including Yugoslavia. Relations between two Communist Parties, which can be built only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, is a completely separate matter from relations between two states."

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This point of view disappointed the imperialists and reactionaries, who started provocation to accuse the Communist Party of Indonesia of organizing subversive action against a guest of our country.

At the time of Tito's visit to Indonesia, the people of Indonesia had the opportunity to convince themselves personally of Tito's whims. Unlike other chiefs of state who have visited Indonesia, Tito arrived with three navy ships and brought an armored car and a whole army of bodyguards, who outnumbered the Jakarta garrison. But Tito's greatest caprice was his political position regarding the struggle of the Indonesian people for liberation of West Irian. On this question he occupied an ambiguous position. In short, the Indonesian people met directly, in the person of Tito, the head of a Communist state and leader of the Yugoslav Communists who greatly differed from other leaders of Communists such as Kliment Voroshilov and Ho Chi Minh, but was much like the bourgeois leaders, particularly regarding political position and concepts, to say nothing of his liking for luxury and his arrogant manners. The Indonesian people could even see the difference between President Sukarno and Tito, as Indonesian journalist A. Karim pointed out in the newspaper Sin Po of 7 January 1959. He wrote that "they regard Sukarno with scorn in the West, but with respect in the East," while "Tito enjoys the

- 11 -

50X1-HUM

sympathies of neither the leaders nor the peoples of eastern countries, and in the West they consider him a pawn whom they accept and favor only because they need him temporarily."

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Thus it is clear that these two personalities differ sharply from one another in their roles in international politics. As a result, the Indonesian people understood the radical distinction between the policy of neutrality pursued by the Republic of Indonesia, and the policy of Yugoslavia. The difference is not only with regard to military pacts, which Indonesia opposes while Yugoslavia is even a member of the Balkan Pact, but with regard to the socialist camp, with which Indonesia maintains friendly relations, while Yugoslavia treats it in an unfriendly manner. In short, Indonesia's neutrality is subordinate to the struggle for liberation from the rule of the imperialist camp, while Yugoslavia's neutrality is aimed at undermining the unity of the socialist camp, a powerful stronghold of anti-imperialist forces.

It is just these political differences that frustrate the efforts of Yugoslav revisionists aimed at drawing Indonesia into organization of a "third power." This appears also from the lead article published in the newspaper Sulu Indonesia, press organ of the Indonesian bourgeoisie, which stated that the establishment of a third power "would contradict the present position of the parties with regard of the existing blocs."

The fact that our party is united and occupies a decisive position regarding Yugoslav revisionism, and the fact that Yugoslav revisionists, despite all their efforts, did not succeed in winning the Indonesian bourgeoisie over to their side and that their plan to reach an agreement with the

right socialists of Indonesia also suffered defeat, still does not mean that the struggle against contemporary revisionism will be less difficult in the future. On the contrary, it will be even sharper.

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This is objectively necessary, primarily, because we are living in a time when "the east wind clashes with the west and defeats it," when the socialist camp achieves rapid successes, when the colonial system is disintegrating, and when imperialism is collapsing. In short, during this important transitional period, the struggle between socialism and capitalism, between the proletariat and bourgeoisie in various countries, has entered a decisive phase. In this critical situation, the imperialists have realized that it is not enough to bribe the traitors of the working class in order to weaken and split the unity of the proletariat in capitalist countries. Therefore, they are trying to organize diversionary action in the ranks of the Communist Parties of all countries, particularly in the countries of the socialist camp; to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system; and to smash the international Communist movement and split the unity of the socialist countries. The origin of contemporary revisionism in a form such as the Tito clique in the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia is the result of these imperialist schemes. Therefore, to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement, the resolution of the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia held in connection with the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of the World in Moscow in November 1957), subsequently confirmed by a statement of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia after reading the report of Comrade Njoto (head of the delegation

of the Communist Party of Indonesia, which attended the Seventh Congress of the Union of Communists (of Yugoslavia as an observer), categorically stated that a decisive struggle against contemporary revisionism is the first step in hardening and strengthening the united anti-imperialist front, strengthening and development of the unity of the socialist camp as the center of the gigantic power of anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces, and protection of the purity of proletarian ideology against the attacks of bourgeois ideology.

Secondly, considering contemporary epochal events, when the colonial system is living out its last days, the struggle of the Indonesian people against imperialism and for complete national independence -- something for which peoples of other colonial and semi-colonial countries are also fighting -- is becoming stronger with each day and acquiring a more acute character, while the position of the imperialists, particularly the Dutch, and also internal reactionaries, is weakening more and more.

To hold their positions and defend their interests, the imperialists, in collusion with internal reactionaries, have tried and continue to try to weaken the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people and, in particular, to belittle the Communist Party of Indonesia -- the leader of this revolutionary struggle. They conduct their subversive activity not only in political, economic, and military fields, but also in cultural and ideological fields.

Along with dissemination of pornographic books, movies, songs, and dances, the purpose of which is to loosen the moral principles of the Indonesian people, and mainly the younger generation, by means of popularization of the "the American way of life," they grant a very large number of

stipends, to create their own lackeys. They also disseminate many materials expounding various social theories such as "people's capitalism," "religious socialism," "people's socialism," etc., to poison the consciousness of Indonesian people, and the working class in particular. In this connection it must be noted that Yugoslav revisionists render considerable service to imperialists and Indonesian reactionaries by inviting to Yugoslavia Indonesian political leaders and military personnel, representatives of the intelligentsia, artists, journalists, and young people, and also by publication of the program of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia, passed by the Seventh Congress of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia and recently translated into the Indonesian language, and by other measures.

Under such conditions Indonesian Communists must not only increase their vigilance and struggle against any subversive political activities, intrigues, and provocations of the imperialists and their accomplices, but also must wage a persistent struggle in the field of culture and ideology and fully expose any attempt to distort Marxism-Leninism, so as to protect the unity and purity of the ideology of the working class. This is the basis for maintaining the unity and strength of the Indonesian working class which, in turn, is a condition for the establishment of a powerful united national front for the victory of the national revolution in Indonesia.

Thirdly, considering the important events of recent years, we can say that the Communist Party of Indonesia has developed rapidly. The rapid growth in the number of members and candidate members is a great achievement, which has strengthened the Communist Party of Indonesia. It is true, on the other hand, that in this connection, the number of bourgeois and petty bourgeois

SECRET

elements who have penetrated the party has grown and this undoubtedly will have a bad effect if the party does not strengthen the ideological struggle and the study of Marxist-Leninist theory in its ranks. 50X1-HUM

In addition to this, as a result of the growth in the strength of the party and of the victories achieved in the parliamentary struggle, and due to the fact that the party has been able successfully to direct the economic affairs of a number of cities and provinces, many members will become intoxicated by these victories and slip into the mire of bourgeois ideology. Moreover, the successes of the Communist Party of Indonesia, in connection with the establishment of a unified national front, was conducive to a situation wherein members of the party entered into close relations with bourgeois elements existing outside the party. This created many opportunities for enticing some party workers, in particular those weakly trained in ideological points of view and not imbued with a deep party sense, into bourgeois ideologies.

Therefore the report, which will be presented for discussion at the 6th National Party Congress by the Central Committee, will lay special stress on the struggle with revisionism, formulating the following view: "Now the basic means to increase vigilance is the international struggle against contemporary revisionism. This means -- to defend all principles of Marxism-Leninism; to oppose any slander directed against the chief bulwark of socialism and peace, the USSR and the CPSU; and at the same time to explain the decisive role of the CPSU and of the Soviet Union as the vanguard in the struggle for the complete defeat of imperialism." The struggle with contemporary revisionism must be a struggle against "contemporary chauvinism, the bitterest enemy in the struggle of the proletariat for their liberation. It is necessary in

SECRET

every way to uphold the banner of proletarian inter⁺nationalism which must be the standard not⁺ only of the proletariat, but of all peoples struggling against imperialism. The struggle against contemporary revisionism ^{50X1-HUM} become the struggle against complacency, the root^s of which are found in petty bourgeois subjectivism."

Address of Comrade AVIRMID S. [Mongolia]

on item two of the agenda.

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One of the most important tasks of the entire ideological work of all Communist and workers' parties, is the complete ideological and theoretical rout of modern revisionism as the agent of international imperialism in the world Communist and revolutionary movement.

The strength of the international Communist and revolutionary movement is in its unity and socialist consciousness. But the basis and support of this great strength are the socialist countries united in fraternal cooperation by the community of ideas and purposes in building socialism and Communism, and by the community of the class nature of *the* social-economic system. Precisely, therefore, contemporary revisionism comes forward against the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the world Communist movement by denying the role of the Communist Party, the class struggle of the proletariat. The purpose of the revisionists is ideologically and organizationally to disarm the working class and to divide the world Communist movement so that it would be easier for international imperialism to suppress this movement and its centers and to preserve capitalism. However, it was difficult for the revisionists simply to reject Marxism-Leninism when it more and more deeply entered into the consciousness of hundreds of millions of the ~~world's~~ workers; when, in the eyes of everyone, it is becoming a reality in the countries of socialism; and when mankind is going through the transitional period

from capitalism to socialism. Seeing this, the revisionists are coming out against Marxism-Leninism under the false slogan of its development in order to discard from it that which is living and vitally important and to make it acceptable for monopolists. At the same time, they are embellishing capitalism and bourgeois democracy, as if capitalism will grow into socialism, etc.

All Communist and workers' parties announced an uncompromising struggle with revisionism for the protection and purity of Marxism-Leninism and for the unity of the international working class. In the course of the struggle, the unsoundness and baselessness of the revisionists' ideas were exposed. Always, they decisively repudiated the ideas of the revisionists and severely condemned them as paid servants of imperialism.

The 20th and 21st congresses of the CPSU, the congresses of the Chinese, French, and other fraternal Communist parties, and their plenums and central committees, having analyzed the experience of contemporary international life and the world Communist movement, the experience of the construction of socialism in ~~countries of~~ the peoples' democracies and the construction of Communism in the USSR, bravely pushed Marxist-Leninist science forward and gave a crushing blow to revisionism, dogmatism, and reactionary imperialist ideology. In this, a large role was played by the "Declaration of Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries," unanimously supported by other Communist parties, and by the "Peace Manifesto of 64 Communist and Workers' Parties." These two documents, having given a really scientific analysis of the history of

2
SECRET

50X1-HUM

mankind in the period after World War II and having enriched and developed the treasury of Marxism-Leninism with new tenets, is the program of action of all Marxist parties.

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In the struggle with revisionism, dogmatism, and the ideologies of imperialism, all Marxist parties as never before have become strengthened in the ideological, organizational, and political spheres and have increased even more the unity of the world Communist movement on the solid base of Marxism-Leninism.

The Mongolian Peoples' Revolutionary Party^(MNRP) always valued and does value Marxism-Leninism and guards it as the apple of its eye. It heads the workers of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic^(MNR) the first of the countries of the peoples' democracy, and led them to socialism -- thanks to the guidance of the theories of Marxism-Leninism and to the loyalty to principles of proletarian internationalism.

Of course, under the conditions of a very backward and feudal Mongolia our party did not assimilate the ideology of the working class at once.

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The 3rd Party Congress, held in 1924, having defeated the Dansan group, acknowledged Marxism-Leninism as the ideological base of the MNRP and directed the attention of the Party to the capitalist development of the country .

SECRET

The struggle for the realization of the general party line concerning the non-capitalist development of the MNR was, at the same time, a struggle against petit-bourgeois opportunism and nationalism, for securing the victory of Marxism-Leninism and for the Marxist development of the MNRP. The period of 1925-1932, when right and "left"-wing opportunists composed the leadership of the party, was a difficult period in the history of our party. (We note that even earlier, in 1923-1924 a "leftist" tendency was evident and later in 1933-1936 there was a right-wing deviation in the party.) The right-wing opportunists, believing in a gradual transition to socialism, by-passing capitalism, as a spontaneous process, denied the ~~acute~~ ^{acute} condition of the class conflict, made concessions to the feudal lords and capitalistic element, tried to conciliate the class interests of the workers and exploiters, weakened the role of the party in the state, identified Marxism-Leninism with Buddhism, retreated from proletarian internationalism and under-estimated the danger of imperialist aggression. Moreover, "left-wing elements", using certain general theses of Marxist theory, tried to artificially create socialism, and, not understanding the nature of the class struggle, spoke out against prosperous and middle class arats (peasants) and all the lamas, considering these without exception class enemies allied with the feudal lords. They scorned the role of the people's democratic state, did not creatively approach the experience of the building of socialism in the USSR, and resorted to mechanically copying it. Consequently, while the rightists underestimated the possibilities of the rise of capitalism, overestimated the national peculiarities of the country, the "leftists", underestimating the national peculiarities of the country, did not understand the opportunities and conditions of its gradual transition to socialism, by-passing capitalism. The rightists and

50X1-HUM

- 4 - SECRET

"leftists," being weak in Marxist-Leninist theory, turned out to be, in essence, revisionists and dogmatists.

50X1-HUM

Repeated petit-bourgeois opportunist deviations of the MNRP leadership weakened the internal and external objective conditions of the country. The following factors concerning these conditions should be noted: 1) The party itself was composed of people of non-proletarian origin and solely of the arat (peasant) class; 2) The revolutionary nucleus of the party sympathetic to communism had not yet succeeded in satisfactorily mastering Marxist theory; 3) Influence of the feudal lords, monasteries and capitalist elements on the party; 4) Pressure and threat of imperialism; 5) Influence of opportunists in the international communist movement on the party.

In spite of this, the MNRP, zig^azagging along the difficult path, was steadily being strengthened in ideological, organizational and political respects and, in the end, it stood firmly on the position of Marxism-Leninism. This results from the fact that on one hand the MNRP, steadily mastering Marxism-Leninism and governed by Leninist principles in its organizational work, conducted an uncompromising struggle against petty-bourgeois opportunism, nationalism, and showed no mercy to class enemies of the workers. Moreover, the Marxist-Leninist general party line fully answered the class interests of the workers and therefore it gained their wholehearted support. On the other hand, our party, having willingly joined the international communist movement, received direct ideological-

political guidance and practical assistance from the Communist International, headed by the party of Lenin, and learned from its experience. Without these two conditions, our party would not have been able to grow and change from a party of non-proletarian, arat (peasant), revolutionary-democracy into a genuine Marxist party of workers and toilers, able to direct the building of socialism in the MNR. 50X1-HUM

Currently, when socialism has become a world-wide system, the MNR envisages the development of the MNR in a fraternal union with the powerful, friendly family of peoples in the socialist camp. It sees a guarantee of success for each socialist country in its unity with other fraternal countries; therefore, as formerly, it makes even stronger efforts for strengthening, in every way possible, this invincible unity of the countries of socialism.

All victories, such as ours and that of other peoples in democratic and socialistic revolutions, have been and are being won thanks to the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the principles of proletarian internationalism, which are a firm basis for the unity and solidarity of all communist and workers' parties and the great friendship of peoples of socialist countries. The historical experience in the life of the peoples of socialist countries clearly demonstrates and confirms that the necessary factors and main conditions for the solidarity of socialism on an international and national scale, are the leadership of the communist party by the class of workers and toilers, a strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of its basis, i.e. the union of

- 6 -
SECRET

the working class with the toiling masses, the suppression of the opposition of the exploiter classes and elements, the unity of socialist countries and their support by the international communist movement, and the protection of the Socialist Motherland against aggression of international imperialism.

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This is why, shoulder to shoulder with other fraternal parties, the MNRP decisively spoke and speaks in defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and against the anti-communist ideology of imperialism, contemporary revisionism and dogmatism.

As far back as 1948, the Central Committee of the MNRP, in its decree on the decision of the Informbureau of several communist parties concerning the situation of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPYu), fully supported it [the decision], stating that the leaders of the KPYu had become revisionists of Marxism-Leninism and had renounced the principles of proletarian internationalism. In February 1957, a decree of the Central Committee MNRP entitled "On the problems of the MNRP in the General Struggle for Strengthening the Unity and Solidarity of Communist and Workers' Parties on the Basis of Principles of Marxism-Leninism" was published. This decree criticizing the views of revisionists, indicated that the MNRP would not permit revision of the bases of Marxism-Leninism and would decisively protect the purity of its teachings.

- 7 -

SECRET

The Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party emphasized that the most important task of the world Communist movement^{50X1-HUM} is the tireless strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the Communist and workers' parties and all the forces of socialism, both on the international and on the national scale. Marxism-Leninism must be developed and defended from revision, and the latter must be rebuffed. As tasks of our party, the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party pointed out the need for the following: developing in every possible way close ties between the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Communist and workers' parties; strengthening the leading role of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party within the system of the people's democratic state; developing further the friendship and cooperation of the Mongolian People's Republic with the USSR, the People's Republic of China, and other countries of socialism; studying and making wide use of their rich experience in the socialist construction of the Mongolian People's Republic; raising sharply the level of all ideological work by the party; arming the members of the party with Marxism-Leninism; training them to apply it creatively in all fields of work; and conducting a struggle against any attempt to revise or distort Marxist-Leninist theory. Meetings of all party organizations which discussed these two documents pointed out the indissolubility of the Marxist ideological unity of the whole party.

Actively participating in drawing up the "Declaration of the Communist and Workers Parties of Socialist Countries" and the "Peace

- 8 -
SECRET

Manifesto of the Communist and Workers Parties of 64 Countries," our party once again proved its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, and to the cause of peace, democracy, and socialism. In approving and supporting the Declaration and Peace Manifesto completely, the 13th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, a demonstration of the ideological solidarity of the whole party, obliged all party organizations and party members to be strictly guided by them in their work.

The newspaper Unen, the central organ of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, in an editorial entitled "Marxism or Revisionism?", sharply criticized the revisionism of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia -- revisionism which is systematically expressed in its program.

In struggling against revisionism in the world Communist movement, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party demanded in a number of its decisions that the party members intensify their ideological and political training and warned them to be on guard against ideas and views alien to Marxism-Leninism penetrating into party ranks.

At the same time, the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party had to point out some comrades who interpreted the history and policies of the party erroneously. Certain party and non-party comrades from among the intelligentsia, who were critical of shortcomings in the work of party and state agencies, which was correct, went so far as to seek a slackening of the principle of democratic centralism

and a violation of party and state discipline; they underrated the importance of the achievements of our people during the years of people's power, displayed a tendency toward nationalism, and expressed doubt in^{50X1-HUM} economic collaboration with the Soviet Union. Of course, this was not revisionism. However, the party had to turn its attention to this, as it can lead to harmful consequences. In due course, the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party corrected these irregular and erroneous views by carrying out important explanatory work among the masses and by improving the teaching of social sciences in the higher educational institutions and in the party education system.

Now, there are no social roots in the Mongolian People's Republic which can give rise to any revisionist trend in the party. However, the existence of petty bourgeois ideas has a negative influence on the party. One of the manifestations of this is dogmatism. In December 1957, a plenum of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, in discussing the "Moscow Declaration" and the "Peace Manifesto," stated that dogmatism represents a serious obstacle in the ideological life and practical work of the party and set forth the task of completely overcoming it.

In light of the tasks set forth by the party, our historical science bent every effort toward propagandizing Marxism-Leninism, working out the history of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party scientifically, indoctrinating the working people in the spirit of socialist patriotism

SECRET

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and proletarian internationalism, and struggling against revisionism in the international Communist movement and dogmatism within our party.

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In connection with this, permit me to report to you briefly about some of the work done by our institute during recent years. The amount of work in the translation and publication of works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism has increased significantly. The resolutions of congresses and conferences, decisions of plenums of the Central Committee, and the party programs and Party Statutes were published in two volumes, which is a great help to the members of the party and the party cadres in studying the historical experience of the struggle of the party. Together with the Propaganda and Agitation Section of the Central Committee, the institute compiled the theses of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, commemorating the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution, and other party documents. A collection of scientific works written by workers of the institute entitled 40 Let Oktyabr'skoy Sotsialisticheskoy Revolyutsii i Mongol'skaya Narodno-Revolyutsionnaya Partiya (Forty Years of the October Socialist Revolution and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party) was published. A number of scientific articles and lectures by workers of the institute on various problems and questions of the history of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the theory of Marxism-Leninism were published. The most important materials of Communist and workers' parties and their central organs against revisionism, and other documents, were translated and prepared by the institute for Mongolian publication in a separate brochure and collection. The institute is participating in the publication

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SECRET

lism) in the Mongolian language. Now, it has basically completed work^{ized} on the author's version (~~author's version~~) of a short course in party history. 50X1-HUM

As a result of the work which has been done, it can be said that a significant step has been taken in historical science in overcoming the personality cult and eliminating its after-effects. Many questions of party history, for example, questions concerning the tactics of the united front, the principal stages of the Mongolian People's Revolution, and others, were given a more scientific interpretation and explanation on the basis of a thorough study of the facts and materials.

However, dogmatism still has not been completely overcome. This accounts for the shortage of theoretical cadres and the after-effects of the personality cult which took place in the leadership of the party and the state for years, and which gave rise to an underrating of the importance of revolutionary theory.

Dogmatism seriously hampers the creative development of all the ideological work of the party in general, and historical science in particular. In our opinion, dogmatism manifests itself in the field of historical science in the following forms:

a.) simple memorization and repetition of one or another of the general theses or formulas of Marxist theory and the inability to apply materialistic dialectics in the study and explanation of concrete historical phenomena and events. Because of this, the true facts of life are arbitrarily squeezed into certain formulas of Marxism-Leninism,

instead of being explained correctly, in a Marxist fashion;

b.) isolated study of one or another question of history apart from the historical reasons for its origin, its relationship to other questions, and the concrete conditions of the specific period which gave birth to it. This results in a situation where some comrades, on the one hand, make the history of the party a history of a continuous and even triumphal procession of victories and successes. These comrades fail to show the struggle and difficulties, the defeats and retreats, the errors and shortcomings surmounted by the party. It was by experiencing this that the party learned seriousness (ser'yeznost') and flexibility. Some comrades, on the other hand, exaggerate the errors and shortcomings and understate or under-rate the achievements won;

c.) the study of party history is not tied closely enough to the concrete practical tasks of the building of socialism and to questions of its future prospects. This is accounted for, in particular, by an insufficient acquaintance with the practical work of the party and the laboring masses, ignorance of questions concerning the concrete economic structure of the socialist system of economy, weak study of the role of our socialist state and socialist democracy, etc.

Dogmatism in ideology is closely connected with worshipping practicalism which underrates the significance of theory, and that inevitably leads to "khostism" [following behind]. This is borne out by the activities of Comrade Damba and some other former members and candidate members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary

- 13 -
SECRET

50X1-HUM

Party of Mongolia. While underestimation of the significance of theory and overestimation of narrow practice favor the strengthening of dogmatism and the weakening of the creative development of science, this in turn leads to a break with practical life and to lagging behind the urgent goals of socialist building.

Citing the words of K. Marx and F. Engels that "our teaching is not a dogma but a guide for action," V. I. Lenin wrote: "In this classical thesis and aspect of Marxism which is quite often forgotten is emphasized with remarkable force and expression. And in forgetting it we make Marxism one-sided, deformed, and dead. We extract its living soul; we undermine its theoretical bases, -- dialectics, the teaching about the comprehensive historical development which is full of contradictions; we undermine its connection with definite practical goals of the age, goals which can change with each new turn of history." (Lenin, Works, vol. 17, p 20)

We take these words by Lenin to our own heart in order to set about in a really serious way to overcome and eliminate dogmatism in ideology and in practice as one of the varieties of opportunism.

The Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, which was held in March 1959, suggested as the main goal of practical activities of the party and the people the creation of a material and technical basis for socialism and the improvement of socialist productive relations, in order to assure the full and final victory of socialism in the Mongolian People's Republic. In striving

SECRET

for this great goal, we are inspired by the Marxist conclusion of the
21st Congress ^{of the} CPSU which stated that socialist countries move from socia-
lism to Communism at more or less the same time. The struggle for finish-
ing the building of socialism demands that the party's ideological and
theoretical work be raised even higher. The Third Plenum of the Central
Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Mongolia defined the
main goals of all the party's ideological work as a whole and of histori-
cal science in particular, and demanded that they definitely eliminate
the harmful underestimation of theory and the lag of ideological work
behind the practical tasks of building socialism, that they overcome dog-
matism and abstraction, and that they overcome shortcomings in the
ideological and theoretical training of cadres.

In the ~~light~~ of the decisions of the Third Plenum of the Central
Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and of subsequent
measures, our historians have much work before them.

The task of historians consists, first of all, in eliminating the
harmful underestimation of the significance of theory, in overcoming
completely the theoretical lag and dogmatism by systematically raising
the ideological and theoretical training of party historians. It is
particularly important for our historians to study the materialist dia-
lectic in a deep and thorough manner. It alone will be a weapon in
triumphing over dogmatism and revisionism and a weapon for the creative
development of historical science. It is necessary to raise the demand

on historians to strengthen steadily the position of historical materialism and consequently to carry out the principle of party spirit in historical science. The ranks of party historians must be enlarged with new cadres who have sufficient theoretical knowledge and practical experience and who are able to create works of high ideological quality.

In the coming months we must finish the work on the final edition of the short history of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. It must become a good weapon in educating party members, young cadres, and all workers on the heroic example of the party, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, and of training them to be devoted to the cause of the workers and of socialism, merciless to external and internal enemies, and uncompromising towards all opportunists and nationalists. After finishing the work on the short course in the history of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, we shall have to set about writing separate scientific works dealing with definite periods of party history in the form of sketches, monographs, dissertations, etc. We also must study deeply and examine in a scientific way the most important historical and theoretical problems. Among these problems one may include the problem of changing a democratic revolution into a socialist one, about the peculiarities, content, and forms of the transition of the Mongolian People's Republic from ^{fe} ~~fe~~ ₁ dalism to socialism, about the role of the people's democratic state at the democratic and socialist stages of the revolution, about changing the revolutionary and democratic dictatorship of the working peasantry into

a socialist dictatorship, about the origin and development of the union between the working class and the peasantry, and the leading role of the former in relation to the latter, about spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in Mongolia, about developing the ties of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party with the Comintern, problems about the ideological and organizational growth of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party problems about the trade-union, youth, and women's movement in the Mongolian People's Republic, about the development of the fraternal friendship between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples, and many other problems.

Scientific criticism has great significance for us in developing historical science. One ~~many~~ say that it is almost completely lacking among us. This retards the overcoming of dogmatism and hinders the creative development of ideas. Now we must organize and develop scientific criticism in every possible way.

We also consider it important to organize the detailing of scientific workers to practical work for a definite period of time. This helps us to get close^{ly} ~~to~~ acquainted with practical activities of the party and the working masses in the building of socialism.

It is very important to popularize in a broad manner among the working masses the achievements of the peoples in socialist countries, the peaceful policy of Communist and workers' parties and governments of these countries, the difficult position of the working class in capitalist countries, its struggle for freedom, peace, and socialism against the aggressive policy of the governments of these countries, etc. Studying and analyzing the wealth of materials from socialist and capitalist

SECRET

experience, we must continued to unmask the unsoundness and falsity of the ideas of revisionism and to prove the correctness and vitality of ^{50X1-HUM} Marxism-Leninism. This will guarantee the triumph of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism and the strengthening of the unity of the Communist movement. We consider that writing the history of the struggle of Marxism-Leninism against opportunism will be a most important matter in the struggle with modern revisionism, and we welcome the representative of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee CPSU who spoke about the draft of a textbook on the history of the international workers' movement.

The cooperation of our institute with the institutes and commissions on history of fraternal parties has a favorable influence on its activities in fulfilling its obligations.

We are particularly grateful to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee CPSU. Its rich experience and friendly advice have helped and are helping us to work out scientific methodology and experience of scientific research work and are helping our ideological growth.

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- 18 -
SECRET

The Struggle Against Modern Revisionism and

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the Science of History in Bulgaria

Speech by Comrade P. Georgiev

(People's Republic of Bulgaria)

on item two of the agenda.

The Bulgarian Communist Party has a considerable amount of experience in combating revisionism, which is an ideological expression of reformism and opportunism in the workers' movement. One may say that the revolutionary Marxist party has been formed, developed and has grown up in the struggle against opportunism. The experience gained [in this struggle] now helps the party in its struggle against modern revisionism. Our historical science draws much material from past experience to unmask modern revisionism and to expose its bourgeois nature.

It would be useful to mention briefly some past stages of the party's fight against revisionism, which have some significance also for the ideological struggle of today. The first to be mentioned is the struggle against so-called "soyuzists" (unionists) in 1891-1894, the first few years of our party's existence. The "soyuzists" movement was of an anti-party nature and had a fundamental similarity to the opportunist and revisionist trend of "economists" in the Russian revolutionary movement. The Bulgarian "soyuzists" were supporters of the "Bulgarian Social-Democratic Union" then in existence, and negated the necessity of having a social-democratic party.

- 1 -

SECRET

50X1-HUM

They declared that the class consciousness of workers is formed during economic struggle which is naturally (spontaneously) transformed into political struggle. Therefore, the "soyuzists" claimed, the socialists should direct their efforts toward establishing economic organizations. In these organizations, the workmen were allegedly to learn the use of weapons of political struggle, so that they may be able, eventually, to take the reins of government into their hands.

Bulgarian Marxists, headed by Dmitur Blagoev, and called "partists" because they created and adhered to the Social-Democratic Party, opposed the opportunist trend of the "soyuzists" and developed the Marxist teaching of the workers' class party. In this ideological struggle, the Marxist "partists" used reasons and arguments similar to those used by Lenin in his book Chto Delat' (What to Do). Of course, the Bulgarian Marxists could not express the reasons and arguments with such clarity and depth as Lenin did, but the ideological similarity was there.

In opposing the point of view of "soyuzists" that the economic struggle and economic organizations play a dominating role, D. Blagoev pointed out in his articles that political struggle and an independent proletarian party are of primary importance. Blagoev says: "... political activity is one of the most powerful means for determining class consciousness of the working class and elevating it to the level of a social class." (On the History of Socialism, 1956, p 157, Bulgarian edition.)

- 2 -

SECRET

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Blagoev further points out, that socialist propoganda and socialist^{50X1-HUM} agitation spread by the proletarian political party is necessary to raise the class consciousness of the working class.

Blagoev argues, in opposing the "soyuzists", that the economic struggle which is carried out by such economic organizations as British trade unions, is accompanied by a political struggle, but it is not a conscious class struggle of the proletariat against capitalism. Blagoev contends that such economic organizations rather prevent than help the formation of class consciousness among workers and divert the workers from the political struggle for liberation. The workers' class consciousness can be developed in the process of political struggle under the guidance of the revolutionary Social-Democratic Party. (On History, p 161, Bulgarian edition).

In his article The Fundamental Principles of Social-Democratic Parties and Unions (1893), Blagoev comes to the following significant conclusion: "... beginning with the first, even feeble steps of the workers' movement, it is very necessary to organize the most class-conscious workers into a strong Social-Democratic Party, which must safeguard the future of the movement and direct it to the ultimate goal...." (On History, p 164, Bulgarian edition).

The realization of the necessity and importance of having a revolutionary proletarian party as a vanguard of the workers' movement was strengthened during the struggle of the Bulgarian Marxists against opportunist "soyuzists."

3
SECRET

The struggle of the Bulgarian Marxists to purge their party of opportunist elements in 1900-1903 has even greater significance. In the nineties of the last century, under the influence of opportunism in West European social-democratic parties, an opportunist trend had developed in our party. The opportunists were called "Obshchedeltsy" [common cause makers] from "Obshcheye Delo" (Common Cause), the title of a periodical published by Yanko Sakyzov, their ideological representative. 50X1-HUM

In the struggle against this trend the Marxist members of the party utilized ideological weapons borrowed from the arsenal of scientific socialism, the works of socialist classics. They also utilized What To Do, the outstanding work by V. I. Lenin. In his article Opportunism and Socialism, Blagoev highly praised this book by Lenin.

The article by Blagoev, Marxism or Bernsteinism, which was published in the periodical Novoye Vremya (New Times) in 1901, is especially important. The article is a contribution to the theoretical struggle against revisionism and opportunism in the international workers' movement. Blagoev subjects the revisionist opinions of Bernstein to annihilating criticism. He points out that Bernstein subjected Marx's teaching to a general revision so as to substantiate his complete retreat from the position of revolutionary struggle and the shift to the position of bourgeois reformism. In the article Blagoev convincingly defends the idea of dictatorship of the proletariat. He considers the dictatorship of the proletariat as a natural outcome of the revolutionary class struggle and a tool for the establishment of political authority of the proletariat.

SECRET

The ideological strife within the party ended with a split in 1903 and the purge of opportunist elements. The split was deliberately brought about by the Marxist leadership of the party as a necessary surgery, good for the health of the party, and for the purpose of definitely establishing the Marxist revolutionary party of the Bulgarian workers. Of course, the struggle against opportunists continued in later years when the opportunists "Obshchedel'tsy" organized their own reformist party called the party of "Broad" socialists with petty Bourgeois membership and unscrupulous petty bourgeois leadership. This party participated in different political blocs together with Bourgeois parties, supported Bourgeois rule in the country, and finally even participated in the military-fascist coup in July 1923 and in the formation of a fascist government at that time.

In the struggle with opportunism, the uncompromising attitude towards all deviations from Marxism became firmly established in our party. No factions were tolerated in the party. The party was organized on the basis of centralism and strict discipline was enforced.

In World War I, our party managed to protect itself against the infection of social-patriotism thanks to the loyalty of party members to Marxism and proletarian internationalism, and thanks to the uncompromising attitude toward alien ideologies. In Parliament, the representatives of the party voted against military appropriations and boldly denounced the double-dealing Bourgeois policy.

Therefore, the Marxist revolutionary party of Bulgaria was prepared to accept Leninism as a further development of Marxism under conditions of the imperialist rule. The party enthusiastically greeted the Great October Socialist Revolution and considered it a matter of vital concern to them. It appealed to the Bulgarian workers to follow the example of their Russian brothers. The party wholeheartedly joined the Communist International in the capacity of one of its constituent parties. Then it changed its name to Bulgarian Communist Party, and started the process of Bolshevization of its members.

We consider that the modern development of the Bulgarian Communist Party along the lines of Marxism-Leninism, and its Bolshevist growth, have been made easier by the struggle against opportunism and revisionism; in the process of this struggle it was consolidated as a Marxist revolutionary party. In the modern history of the party there have been glorious accomplishments, such as the organization and directing of an armed popular revolt against the fascist government in September 1923, the subsequent heroic struggle against fascist dictatorship, the organization of a mass guerrilla warfare during World War II, and finally, the preparation and conduct of an anti-fascist uprising on 9 September 1944. By these means it became possible to establish a [socialist] government and start socialist development in our country.

We may conclude that a firmly established tradition of uncompromising attitude towards opportunism and revisionism now exists within the Bulgarian Communist Party. We cherish this tradition as a valuable heritage of the

past and a sacred legacy left by Dnitur Blagoev. The traditions⁷ was^{50X1-HUM} strengthened by the development of the party along Bolshevik lines under the guidance of George Dmitrov and Vasil Kolarov, and it creates a favorable background for a successful struggle against the advance of modern revisionism.

The Bulgarian Communist Party has accepted in its entirety the resolution of the Moscow Conference of Communist Parties in November 1957 to the effect that revisionism is the main danger under present conditions.

The resolution passed by the Seventh Party Congress in June 1958 reads:

"The foremost duty of the Central Committee, party committees and organizations as well as of all communists participating on the ideological front, is to preserve "as the apple of one's eye" the purity of Marxist-Leninist theories; and to wage an uncompromising struggle against bourgeois ideology, opportunism, and revisionism, without slackening the struggle against manifestations of dogmatism."

Further, it is stated:

"Imperialists, both in the past and in the present, have used revisionism in order to split the international workers' and Communist movements. Modern revisionism has found vivid expression in the program of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia and in its leaders' nationalist activity, directed against the unity of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement, and especially against its natural leading center, the Soviet Union and the CPSU.

For this reason, the Congress designates a struggle against revisionism and bourgeois nationalism as the first and most important task of the Party."

- 7 -
SECRET

It should be noted that our Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria are objects of special "attention" on the part of Yugoslav revisionists. A steady, hostile campaign is being conducted against us in the Yugoslav press and radio.

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Systematic steps are taken to arouse animosity against the People's Republic of Bulgaria ^{and} spread slander against the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

At the same time, they [the revisionists] are trying to sow dissension in the ranks of the Party, to exert influence on its cadres, writers, and other cultural representatives. Yugoslav leaders are loudly complaining that in criticizing Yugoslav revisionism, Communists of other countries are interfering in their internal affairs. However, it is they who are rudely and directly interfering in the internal affairs of Bulgaria.

Yugoslav revisionists are making use of nationalism as a main weapon in the struggle against our Party. They are systematically rousing nationalistic and chauvinistic feelings in the ranks of the Yugoslav people, and are trying to sever the fraternal ties between the Bulgarian and the Yugoslav peoples. The greatest efforts are being made to create anti-Bulgarian feelings among the Macedonian people and to destroy the age-old historical ties between Macedonians and Bulgarians. "A single official Macedonian language" was fabricated in order to create a language difference between them. This artificial language is not understood by the Macedonian people and the Yugoslav press is often obliged to state the fact that students do not know and do not learn the "literary

Macedonian language." Between the Macedonian language used by the 50X1-HUM and the Bulgarian language there exist only dialectic differences and in certain parts of Macedonia pure Bulgarian is spoken. Now we can read Macedonian newspapers and periodicals only with the help of a Serbian-Bulgarian dictionary.

The Yugoslav historians unceremoniously falsify history, giving a nationalist interpretation to historical events. A consistent anti-Bulgarian line is found in their articles and works, and in their textbooks of history. Nationalist enmity and fratricidal wars which took place in the past, were utilized for instilling hatred toward the Bulgarian people. They constantly complain that Bulgarian communists are supposedly denying the national consciousness of the Macedonian population and that they have territorial claims toward Yugoslavia. Of course, there is no grain of truth in it. Our historical science confirms the historical fact that for centuries the Macedonians and the Bulgarians had the same destiny, because they fought a joint struggle for the national renaissance and liberation. We think that these historical ties constitute a good base for maintaining and developing friendship, brotherhood, and collaboration between the Bulgarians and all the people of Yugoslavia.

The lie fabricated in Yugoslavia about the Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria is being picked up and zealously disseminated by propaganda centers and the reactionary press of imperialist countries. Yugoslav nationalists are constant collaborators of imperialist centers conducting an ideological and political struggle against socialist Countries.

- 9
SECRET

50X1-HUM

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By the way, Yugoslav revisionists are burrowing in Marxist literature in order to find a justification for their nationalist attacks. Thus for example, last year they organized a noisy nationalist campaign in connection with the anniversary of the breakthrough on the Salonika front, made by the army of the Entente with the participation of Serbian units, after fierce battles against the Bulgarian troops. After this breakthrough, the Bulgarian units were destroyed and the Balkan countries were occupied by the troops of the Entente. The Yugoslav leaders celebrated the military victory of the Entente states as the beginning of liberation of the Yugoslav people and their unification into a single state. Actually, the nationalist domination by the Serbian bourgeoisie was established in Yugoslavia and the Macedonians, Montenegrins, Croatians, and others were subjugated to a cruel national oppression.

In order to justify these nationalist celebrations, the Yugoslav revisionists refer to Lenin's article: "Collapse of the Second International" published in 1915 (Works, Vol. 21). In this article, Lenin disproves Kautsky's assertion that World War I was not purely imperialist. The Yugoslav authors quoted the following phrase found in Lenin's article: "The national element in the current war is represented only in the war between Serbia and Austria," (Vol. 21, page 209). These authors merely overlooked what Lenin stated further on this question, namely: "In the all-European war, the national moment of the Serbian-Austrian War is not, and cannot be, of any serious significance."

Lenin criticized Kautsky for examining the Serbian-Austrian War as an isolated event and called him "the sophist Kautsky." The Yugoslav authors withheld this part of Lenin's article in order to justify the nationalist

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policy of their government. They falsified Lenin in order to conceal the fact that they held the position of the "sophist Kautskiy," who had searched for the national moment in the world imperialist war. Actually, the Yugoslav revisionists took the position of social-chauvinism as early as the time of World War I.

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It is interesting to note that, at the time nationalist celebrations on the occasion of the Entente's military victory in the Balkans were taking place in Yugoslavia, the People's Republic of Bulgaria celebrated the anniversary of the 1918 soldiers' uprising against the nationalist bourgeois government and Czar Ferdinand, and against the leaders who had involved Bulgaria in the imperialist war and led her to a national catastrophe.

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the first Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party (1919), when the Party entirely went over to Bolshevik positions, the Kommunist, an organ of the Union of Yugoslav Communists ((June 1959)), published an article crudely distorting the nature of the most important moments in the history of the Party. The above-mentioned article indicated that the September 1923 armed revolt, which was prepared and led by the Party, was not the Party's work. The article asserts that, subsequent to the September revolt, the Party was guided from abroad and that it had no leaders in the country; this statement is a lie. At that time, the Party's leaders were in the country and they also had representatives abroad. The article states that during World War II, the policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party supposedly was not "consistent" and "active," although it is

SECRET

known that during those years our Party organized a mass partisan movement, fought steadily against the fascist regime, united the people around the patriotic front, and prepared the victorious popular uprising on 9 September 1944.

The article mentioned that under the pressure of "Stalinism," "deformation" in the development of socialist relations and a strengthening of bureaucracy took place in Bulgaria. Actually, these assertions are nothing but a distortion of the real situation of things: i.e. the country's accelerated economic and cultural development which resulted in the completion of socialist development. On the other hand, private ownership in agriculture and capitalist anarchy in economic relations still prevail in Yugoslavia. The above named article talks about the "great-Bulgarian nationalism" within the Bulgarian Communist Party, which is an attempt to lay the blame on somebody else.

A model of nationalist distortion of history by Yugoslav revisionists is the article published in the periodical Nasa Stvarnost (No 3, 1959) in reference to the book of the Soviet historian, G. A. Deborin: "World War II." The author of the article, Velemir Terzich, regards the events set forth in Deborin's book in a strictly nationalist spirit. In spite of this, he boldly asserts that "Soviet historians sometimes regard historical events in accordance with the Soviet Union's policy at a definite moment." The author accuses Deborin of consciously underestimating and understating the role of Yugoslavia in World War II and overestimating the role of Bulgaria and Albania and, especially, the role of Bulgaria on the patriotic front.

This article by a Yugoslav author has a clearly anti-Soviet character.

It is stated in the article that a "belated, cautious, and timid cens^{50X1-HUM}ure of the counter-revolution in Yugoslavia" is supposedly typical of the Soviet Union's policy. The article contains shamelessly slanderous statements to the effect that it was said to have been decided in Moscow to divide Yugoslavia into spheres of influence between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. It denies the significance of the military operations of the Bulgarian people's army after 9 September 1944 to liberate Yugoslavia from the German fascist invaders, and it underestimates the military action of the Soviet Army. Nationalist delirium has reached the comic stage. It is maintained, for instance, that "Yugoslav troops liberated Belgrade with the help of Soviet troops," and not the reverse. The history of military operations is impru-^gdently falsified for the purpose of gratifying national delusions of grandeur.

Our press published a detailed critique on the revisionist program of the Union of Yugoslav Communists, but it did not cope adequately with Yugoslavia's hostile anti-Bulgarian campaign. Our party does not think it should enter into polemics with Yugoslav revisionists, especially since our press does not penetrate into Yugoslavia, and Yugoslav authors distort everything that we write. They would resort to polemics so as to lead their people astray and kindle nationalistic passion. Thus, the Yugoslav leaders distract their people's attention from the unworthy role they [the leaders] are playing with their policy against the communist and workers' parties, and against the socialist countries, -- a policy of flirting with the imperialist governments.

Our party places high priority in its ideological work on the struggle against modern revisionism. In support of this struggle we need scientific historical works, not for entering into polemics with Yugoslav revisionists, but for developing and establishing Marxist-Leninist consciousness in the ranks of the workers of our country, as a necessary condition for further socialist development. In these [historical] works, the criticism of Yugoslav revisionists must be utilized [to point out] obvious cases of ideological distortion of Marxism-Leninism as examples of the falsification of history and implantation of nationalist views. Historical science and, especially, the history of our Party must take an active part in the ideological work of our Party. We believe that as yet this participation is not sufficient. In this connection, we can indicate certain essays and articles in which historical science's contribution to the struggle against modern revisionism has found its expression.

The periodical Novoye Vremya (1957) published an article "How History is Falsified," written by P.G. in answer to the slanderous articles against the Bulgarian Communist Party and, especially, against D. Blagoev, founder and leader of the Party for many years. These articles had appeared in the Yugoslav periodical Glasnik, published by the National History Institute in Skoplje. In the Bulletin No. 3-4 of the Institute of History of the Bulgarian Communist Party, there appeared an article by the same author, entitled "Nationalist Criticism," written in connection with other vicious articles which had appeared in the

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Yugoslav press: in the periodical Istoriski Pregled (No 1, 1959), an article by D. Kosev "Revisionist Falsification of the History of Bulgaria by Historians from Skoplje," "Against the Influence of Bourgeois Idealism and Revisionism in Historical Science" (No. 3, 1958), "The Reactionary Character of Modern Bourgeois and Revisionist Views in Regard to Historical Science" (No. 3, 1958).

In the periodical Novove Vremya, scientific organ of the Bulgarian Communist Party, there appeared many theoretical articles, including the following: "Program of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and Relations Between Socialist Countries and Communist Parties" (No. 7, 1958); "Modern Revisionism, a Bourgeois Reaction Against the Historical Success of Marxism-Leninism," by N. Iribadzhakov (No 2, 1958); "Lenin and Some Problems of the Struggle Against Modern Critics of Marxist Philosophy" by the same author (No. 6, 1959); "Marxist Teaching on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Revisionism," V. Dobrianov (No. 4, 1958).

A number of critical articles against revisionism also appeared in other scientific periodicals (Philosophical Thought, "Economic Thought," "Bulletin of the Higher Party School," and others).

The Party Organ, Rabotnichesko Delo, and other newspapers published articles of propaganda character aiming to explain the essence of modern revisionism; for example, in Rabotnichesko Delo: "Modern Revisionism, Ideological Weapon Against Communism" (March, 1958); "Some Questions of Transition to Socialism and Theoretical Speculations by Revisionists" by Prof. Kr. Dobrev (March, 1958); "Historical Experience of the Bulgarian Communist Party in the Struggle against

- 15 -

SECRET

50X1-HUM

Revisionism" by I. Kirilov (May, 1958); "General Retreat from Marxism^{50X1-HUM} Revisionism," (May, 1958), and others. Our periodicals and newspapers reprint some of the most important articles against modern revisionism published in organs of fraternal communist parties.

In conclusion, I want to express my confidence in the fact that the discussions at our conference will be of great help to us and will serve as a stimulus to our scientific work in increasing participation of the Party's historical science in the struggle against modern revisionism and fulfilling the task set by our parties on the ideological front.

16 SECRET

PROBLEMS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM

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Speech by Comrade NORLUND (Denmark) on Item Two of the Agenda.

First of all, I wish to express my thanks for having been given, for the first time in my life, the opportunity to participate at a conference on questions relating to party history: I express my acknowledgements to our Rumanian comrades for extending an exceptionally warm hospitality to us.

I should also state that I am in complete accord with the contents of the report made by Comrade Shatagin on the matter under discussion.

* * *

I should like to make a few remarks about our country, based on the experience of the Communist Party in Denmark. These [remarks] will not bear the stamp of a report, and do not claim to being inclusive.

In the first place, I shall note a few particulars pertinent to the situation in Denmark.

The determinative factor which characterizes the present situation in Denmark is [the following]: Denmark was formerly an independent capitalist country whose position within the capitalist system was favorable in many respects. [However], during the past decades, and especially since World War II, it has succumbed more and more to the supremacy of international monopolies and the great imperialist powers.

On the economic scene, this was evidenced in the economic system, introduced at the time of the Marshall Plan and continued in its trade relations, unfavorable to Denmark, with a number of capitalist countries.

- 1 -
SECRET

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Finally, Denmark joined the "Outer Seven" economic bloc. From a military point of view, monopoly rule is evidenced in Denmark's subordination to the NATO military system. In accordance with its military plans, NATO is attempting to convert this country into an advance base of aggression.

The authority of the "NATO Fifth Column" in Denmark is evident from the fact that by its influence on reactionary circles and on the government which is directed by Social-Democrats, it has succeeded in destroying those opportunities which Khrushchey's visit would open for Denmark. However, this victory has at the same time brought about great losses because of a sharp reaction on the part of the people. The people have become more aware of the unhealthy situation which has befallen the country as a result of NATO policy.

Internal contradictions are characteristic of imperialist supremacy in Denmark. West German imperialism has been gaining more ground in recent years. The experiences which the Danish people brought away from the last World War make this danger even more obvious.

Such a baneful policy would have been impossible, had not leading circles of Danish monopolistic capital openly collaborated with international imperialism and thus betrayed Denmark's national interests.

The basic problem which confronts the Communist Party in this situation is to develop a broad national and democratic movement, headed by the working class in defense of the vital interests of people and country.

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This movement must be directed both against foreign imperialism ^{50X1-HUM} especially German -- as well as against Danish monopolies, which betray the nation and attempt to shift the pressure of foreign monopolies on the shoulders of the laboring people.

Thus, the most immediate task is to merge the democratic movement in defense of the nation's vital elementary interests and the social struggle of the working class into one stream. This may be achieved only under Marxist-Leninist leadership. The significance of such leadership is in no way diminished by the traditional petty bourgeois influence in the Danish workers' movement.

I shall not go into details on this question. I merely wish to note, in connection with our previous discussions, that basic emphasis is being placed on the question of working class unity and on the union of the working class with other classes. The party has achieved several successes in this respect. The broad national movement obstructed the realization of several dangerous NATO plans, such as the construction of foreign military bases, the atomic armament of Denmark, and others. Recently the working class has also waged great struggles in defense of its interests, as for example, the strikes in the spring of 1956, which almost became a general strike.

This survey of the situation in Denmark was presented here merely to point out the most important factors which permit us to judge the essence and the role of modern revisionism in our country.

As is known, our Party also experienced a dangerous and slanderous ^{50X1-HUM} attack by the revisionists.

For the Danish bourgeoisie, a similar attack was greatly desirable and necessary, especially in 1956. It was just at that moment that the Communist Party proved itself the leading force in the intensive struggle of the working class. The Party's loyalty to the national interests was acknowledged by increasingly large circles. For this reason the ruling class was obliged to seek new methods to disorganize Communist operations and to weaken the Party. It first of all attempted new methods for subverting the Communists' national and democratic activity. The revisionists were used toward this end. It is precisely on this point that they expressed their readiness to appear as false witnesses against our Party and systematically attempted to undermine the Party from within.

The revisionist attack in our country bore a special character, as it gradually became known that it was headed by Axel Larsen, then chairman and later first secretary of the Party. As a pretext for their attack, the revisionists used a false interpretation of the work done by the CPSU. 20th Congress, as well as the events in Hungary and Poland. At first they did not speak directly and openly because they knew that attacks which were too crude would not produce the [desired] effect. Therefore they deemed it expedient at first to use a double-dealing approach to the implementation of their plans.

At our 19th Extraordinary Congress in January 1957, the Party categorically rejected revisionist propaganda. The Party hoped at that time that the revisionists would draw the necessary conclusions from their defeat. However, they [the Revisionists] continued even later to use any pretext in attempting to create contradictions between the Party and the socialist camp; for instance, on such issues as the atomic danger, the execution of Imre Nagy, and others. When the draft of the program for the Union of Yugoslav Communists was published, the revisionists decided that the moment for overt action had come.

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At the 20th Congress held in November 1958, the Party put an end to Axel Larsen's revisionist group. This immediately had a positive influence on general intra-party work and on party morale: It also reacted favorably on the work for strengthening party bonds with the masses which had naturally been weakened as a result of the protracted intra-party struggle.

On the ideological front, the revisionists waged their attacks mainly in the following directions: against the Marxist point of view on democracy, i.e., against the Marxist teaching on the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat; against proletarian internationalism and against the Marxist theory of the impoverishment of the working class under capitalism, i.e., against the recognition of the anti-humane character of modern capitalism. From these positions they later directed their attacks against the Marxist theory of the Party and its role. They also opposed democratic centralism.

Using demagogic methods, the revisionists attempted to create emotional grounds for their later attacks. They pointed out: 1.) The difficulties which had recently cropped up in the Party, and which were especially noticeable in comparison with the first post-war years; 2.) The resultant losses and decrease. Their "arguments" were that the decrease was caused mainly by events in the socialist camp abroad, the reactionary campaigns in connection with the events in Czechoslovakia in 1948 and in Berlin on 17 June 1953; in connection with the suppression of the counterrevolution in Hungary in 1956; and in connection with the criticism of the personality cult.

If the Party wishes to move forward -- they said -- it must "Keep aloof" from these events, i.e., break with proletarian internationalism; renounce recognition of the conditions of class struggle on national and international scales. At the same time the revisionists began to disseminate illusions on the progressive nature of so-called "democratic capitalism" in Denmark. The revisionists make particular use of the criticism of the personality cult as a direct cause, by interpreting it in the sense that now "everything is different." Under this pretext they began an offensive against the basic theses of Marxism. Of course, if such a campaign is headed by a person who was a former Party chairman of many years standing, then difficulties are bound to arise. But, as I have already stated, the Party overcame these difficulties.

The clarification of ideological problems was effected in the Party on the eve of the 20th Congress, mainly on the basis of a detailed discussion of the Moscow Declaration by the whole Party. I take this occasion

to express our gratitude to the fraternal parties which, by their attitude, aided in clarifying problems of a basic nature which were discussed in our Party. 50X1-HUM

The revisionists conducted their subversive activity by insidious methods. They published in distorted form all the intra-party discussions, which had come up during the intra-party struggle. These were published in the bourgeois press, especially in one newspaper, well-known for its close ties with the British imperialist agency network. They substituted personal slander for political arguments. Larsen asserted that he has the support of "influential circles" in the fraternal parties.

The true face of our revisionists was unmasked by their own doing. Their "independence" as regards the socialist camp led them to assert that, although the world has systems of socialist national economy, nowhere does there exist an authentic socialist state system. This is obviously quite a new "Marxism"! By the way, they recently supported the government in its arguments against the refusal of Khrushchev [to visit Denmark]. As to their notorious "national position", it resulted in their backing Denmark's subjugation to the interests of the "Outer Seven" monopoly bloc. Their so-called "rejection of dogmatism" resulted in their promoting as their main slogan a demand for complete disarmament under the present conditions in Denmark. In reality, however, this slogan is none other than a demagogic appeal, addressed to pacifist-minded circles. Its practical purpose is to divert attention from the basic problem of

the day -- uniting the people in the defense of national independence^{50X1-HUM} to revisionist protestations that they wish to strengthen the Communist Party and the world-wide Communist movement, the falsity of such assertions is proved by the fact that the revisionists have now founded a new party which deals in all kinds of anti-Soviet slander. In its ideology as well as in its social structure, this party represents a petty bourgeois grouping, oriented towards a trivial unprincipled parliamentary policy.

I should also like to discuss several other considerations. A complete break with the revisionists poses the question of the roots of this trend. Of course the revisionists could not have suddenly cropped up in 1956. One cannot just say that revisionism is the result of petty bourgeois influence. The question arises -- how did this influence manifest itself? In this respect I wish to emphasize that our Party, in its make-up, has a clearly proletarian character.

For us the aforementioned question was the cause for a critical analysis of the Party's historical development. Another occasion [for analysis] was our Party's 40th anniversary which will be celebrated in November of this year.

For this reason our Party is combining its ideological work this year with a thorough study of its history. It will eliminate the shortcomings which have heretofore existed in this field. New materials on Party history will be published. Research on the conditions favoring the appearance of the revisionists is one of the main tasks in the study of Party history.

Two periods are of special importance. They are, incidentally, related to certain international aspects. First, the period which followed immediately after World War II. Our Party made a brilliant showing in the Danish people's liberating struggle against the German invaders. It directed the people's national and democratic struggle and guaranteed the working class a leading role in this struggle. After the end of World War II, our Party was confronted with the fact of continuing the democratic and national struggle and of promoting the hegemony of the working class. In this activity the Party was obliged to lean upon the unity of the people, which was molded during the Resistance period. At the same time it had to achieve the unity of the working class under conditions when the Socialist Party was still the prevailing influence in the working class. It was a question of ^[dealing with] the Social-Democrats, whose leadership was compromised to a considerable degree by their collaboration with the German occupation forces. The result was a very involved situation.

Then all the reactionary forces united under the banner of the anti-Communist campaign in the name of "democracy."

At a time when the Communists were the sole party which had not been compromised from a national point of view, it was useless to slander them on that basis. However, attempts were made to represent the Communists as inferior democrats, connecting this with idle talk about "democratic socialism" etc. It should be noted that bourgeois propaganda had some success in this offensive. One of the questions which awaits an answer is the question on whether the Party permitted the transition to a

defensive position under these conditions. It can hardly be denied that considerable tendencies to find "excuses" and "justifications" appeared, instead of going over to an offensive on a class basis against anti-democrats who were hiding under a "democratic" mask. 50X1-HUM

It may, however, be noted that such a development took place not only in Denmark. Such a development was noted in many countries where an analogous situation existed, e.g., a powerful social-democracy, under the dominance of western imperialism. The door was purposely left open for certain democratic illusions which British Intelligence used both for propaganda and other purposes. One must not forget that the groundwork both for the reactionaries' ideological offensive as well as for reactionary inclinations against the entire bloc of Communist parties was laid during this period. The fact that the peaceful transition of the government to the Czechoslovak workers and peasants, in 1948, and the realization of the socialist revolution could be successfully used in Denmark [as an argument] against the Communist Party, indicates that the ideological weakness could have pernicious consequences for the Party.

A number of parties at that time, including ours, expressed the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism. Experience has proven that the discussion of these possibilities was not a mistake. But as regards the prerequisites for such a development, there was much vagueness in the concepts of that time. In 1949 we were forced to admit that this vagueness was the cause of illusions about bourgeois democracy and of an

inadequate understanding of the terms of class struggle both on the national and international plane. For this reason we then published a "basic statement" [or "statement of principle"] which fully interpreted these questions from a Marxist-Leninist point of view. But this statement was not studied to a sufficient degree in the Party's internal ideological work. As a result, this vagueness of concepts on the democratic struggle continued to exist. Doubtlessly it contributed to the development of revisionist tendencies.

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The Party's main task at that time should have been the further development of political unity. It is quite true that the Party focused its attention mainly on overcoming sectarian narrowmindedness on ideological issues, and it had some success in this respect. However, the danger of revisionist influence had been underestimated.

As the patriotic struggle of the occupation period gradually receded into the past, the reaction began to make increased use of bourgeois nationalism in its anti-Communist struggle. The anti-Soviet campaign took on nationalistic and chauvinistic forms. Incitement against socialist transformations in countries of the people's democracies was concealed under "democratic" as well as "nationalistic" phrases. The results for us were that the less stable party elements abandoned the position of proletarian internationalism under the pretext of considering special national characteristics. For instance, in the struggle for peace, they adhered to the opinion that on the issue of collaboration with other powers, they must keep equally aloof from the socialist as well as the imperialist

camp. The pretext was that under these conditions the struggle would
make great strides. Thus they leaped directly into the position of
modern revisionism. 50X1-HUM

For this reason I think that the important problem confronting our
Party historiography is to investigate the post-World War II position of
a certain group of European parties. From a historical point of view,
it still remains inadequately explained why the Communist parties in
a number of countries, which have a powerful social democracy, very soon
lost the initiative which they had had during the war and in the early
post-war period.

The reasons for this are manifold. It is impossible to bypass the
prevailing influence of the imperialist powers on military, economic and
ideological attitudes, or to ignore the traditional premises. One should
also examine to what extent the very important questions of growth (which
confronted the Communist Parties during this period) conditioned the
development which later became the grounds for revisionist attacks.

Similar questions demand serious analysis of the period which preceded
the development of Communist Parties, i.e., the period of the unfolding of
the anti-Fascist struggle toward the end of the thirties.

It is incontestable that the decrees of the 7th Comintern Congress
and the directives which were summarized in Comrade Dimitrov's report
have been confirmed by history, and they are a part of our movement's
treasure-house. The Communist parties' main task at that time was to

overcome sectarianism, this "deeply-ingrained trash." But many Communist parties raised the question as to whether such a struggle was carried on in complete accord with the directives of the Seventh Congress, or whether concessions had already been made at that time to bourgeois democratism and nationalism, resulting in the first signs of modern revisionism. 50X1-HUM

It is possible that during that period -- at least it was so with us -- a certain weakening in ideological work was noticeable, as well as the appearance of a tendency toward increased criticism of sectarianism, which developed into a general censure of all the work which the Comintern and a number of its leading divisions had conducted heretofore.

The development of Browderism was noted just about this time in the United States.

Thus, it seems to me that a consideration of these remarks in the new editing of party history will be useful in establishing ^{the} origin of modern revisionism and, on this basis, intensifying the struggle with it.

This will have not merely a historical significance. The Communist movement in Western Europe will in the future also have to cope with the question of correctly developing the growth of broad democratic movements. Thus, these parties will have to use historical experience.

I should like to note here one other circumstance which could be useful in the struggle with modern revisionism. Modern revisionists often proclaim themselves "renovators," "The newest of the new." As is known,

This is not true. On the contrary, we noted upon closer observation ^{that} ~~their~~ _{50X1-HUM} word-for-word imitation of Bernstein's revisionism and campaign. To the best of our knowledge, the new international literature has few works on this entire period. We consider this a shortcoming. The old revisionism, the essence of which was thoroughly exposed in its relation to history, has compromised many theses of modern revisionism. The determination of common points in modern and former revisionism, as well as a mention of the historical experiences of the working class in the struggle against Bernsteinism, would have been a powerful weapon for the unmasking of modern revisionism.

Thus, historical research on this period may have great current value.

The ~~af~~ ^{re}mentioned questions are the most important ones we are faced with in Denmark. Of course, they must be studied and evaluated, based on our own conditions. But they also have some general and international aspects.

I should like with these observations of mine to induce my comrade historians to give more consideration to the questions on the workers' movement in the Scandinavian countries than has been done heretofore. May I be permitted to point out that such consideration has not been particularly evident in the papers presented at the present Conference.

The problems of the Scandinavian workers' movement has definite international significance. Distorted presentations of the development of the workers' movement in the Scandinavian countries have long since been included in the arsenal of Social-Democracy and revisionism, and

are being used on an international scale for anti-Communist speeches. 50X1-HUM
Social-Democratic stories on "Scandinavian socialism" are well-known. In
recent years even Cardell found many "socialist" elements in our country.
The exposure of similar falsehoods is also part of the struggle with
revisionism.

As has already been noted, the Scandinavian problems are also a
part of the very important problems of the development of our movement
in the northwest Europe, where the Social-Democrats still maintain a
considerable influence on the working class.

Sometimes we run into various mistakes in evaluating the Scandinavian
workers' movement on the part of the fraternal parties. At times they
regard northern Social-Democracy as a variant of Austro-Marxism. This is
absolutely wrong.

We come across superficial appraisals which belittle the struggle
of Scandinavian Communists. This is no help to us in overcoming our
weaknesses.

The forms of bourgeois exploitation and supremacy in the northern
countries have their own particular traits. However, they can be fully
explained on the basis of Marxist-Leninism. In knowing them, it is also
easy to understand the peculiar character of the struggle in Scandinavia.

The Communist parties in the northern countries are of the same flesh
and blood as our working class. In their own struggle they have created a
Marxist-Leninist foundation for themselves. They have headed the broadest

movements of the working class and of the people in our time. In the
future they will also be capable of heading national and democratic movements
which they will be able to create. They will create the conditions for
victory in the struggle for Socialism.

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In its mass policy, our Party has initiated a determined attack as the
second stage in the struggle with revisionism. We are fighting for the
salvation of the people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.
This is all the dearer to us in that we have won it in a fierce struggle
and have placed it at the foundation of our Party.

Address by Jakob Rosner (Austria)

50X1-HUM

On Item 2 of the Agenda.

First of all, I want to tell you that if I talk at too great length you may start whistling and I will stop.

In 1918, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin ended his article on revisionism with the words: (I am quoting only the general idea) -- The partial attacks of the revisionists against Marxism observed by us now, at the beginning of the 20th Century, will later on acquire scope and turn into a general offensive, when class contradictions will be intensified, and when all problems of the political and social struggle will be placed directly on the agenda.

Comrades, that period has arrived. What we now observe is a general, concentrated, and concentric offensive against Marxism.

It seems to me that we must also look upon revisionism in that light, as part of this general, broadly-conceived campaign of all strata of the bourgeoisie and all its accomplices against the workers' movement and against Marxism. We are faced with a concentrated and extremely active offensive. Catholicism serves as an example. In recent years literally an endless stream of works on Marxism has descended upon us. They were published by Catholic scholars, Jesuits, etc. As far as I know, these are the works of Wetter, Redel, and many others. In these works, a flank attack on Marxism is also carried on, to the effect that: Marxism is a stage which has passed; it has become obsolete and must be replaced by something new, since it is no longer of any use. The "Something new" consists of their return to Thomas Pollack, a Viennese, who is a few centuries older than Marx. Thus, the following is new: the older it is, the newer it is. This perhaps sounds like a dialectical principle, but here it is, to say the least, out of place. However, if this

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interests you, I can tell you an interesting detail: 10 days before the Festival, the anti-festival committee instructed Wetter to come to Vienna and tell the people, his own people, something about Marxism so that they could carry on a discussion. It must be noted that this provoked a great deal of interest. It was one of the hottest days, but 400 people gathered together. Only two observers from our party were present, so that there was no question of discussions, speeches, or questions. Four hundred persons sat and listened. What happened then? Eighty percent of his speech on Marxism was a hymn to Marxism. Strange, is it not? And it was mainly a hymn to the high moral character of the Communist man. Four hundred persons sat and their faces assumed a look of increasing despondency: he is supposed to give us weapons against Marxism, but he keeps praising it. From all that he said, they discovered that Marxism gives a picture of the world. Only twenty percent of his speech was, of course, in opposition to Marxism. That is a detail which I mention in passing; we have already written about it.

As I have said before, the signal for attack against Marxism and against the class struggle was given by the Catholics. In the center of their theories lies "social partnership." Workers and enterprisers, as they say, have one and the same interest; they have a common interest, and consequently they are not enemies, but partners, participators in an association (comradeship.) Thus, we have a multimillionaire, Mausner Marko, and the proletarians working for him as members of a comradeship. In 1956 some Austrian bishops issued an epistle to the faithful in which special attention was given to social questions. In that epistle they eulogize the so-called moderate socialism of Pollack and Pittermann. This is a good thing, they say; the only

bad thing is that they have not yet completely renounced Marxism. And so what? The party leadership heard this and immediately a commission was formed, the program was changed, and Marxism was also verbally thrown overboard. 50X1-HUM

In that epistle, social partnership occupies the central place; then follows a single, short phrase: what role is played by both partners in this association (comradeship)? An explanation is then given: The enterpriser is the guiding element, and the worker is the fulfiller. This means that we again return to the old, to the eternally young Karl Marx: The capitalist remains a capitalist -- he leads, he orders, and he evaluates everything; and the proletarian remains a proletarian, but he, you see, is also the partner of the enterpriser. That is how it is! The Catholics are now making every effort to penetrate the working masses with their so-called social theories, their theory of people's capitalism, and dispersion of property; they are advising each worker to purchase stocks, etc. They write about this in thick books, but what happens when they come to the question: What does each one own? At this point, we come to an ideologist of these social theories, Professor Mettner, who wrote in a very thick and, by the way, quite interesting book, that in the end, private enterprise is absolutely necessary for economic and social progress. But the functions of the enterpriser are connected, in all aspects, with his demands to obtain profits. Of course, for the true enterpriser, work and earnings are inseparable. It is further said that the enterpriser is fulfilling his social duty if he not only works, but also obtains profits.

I believe that in this case, we must do justice even to the class enemy and acknowledge that the enterprisers are actually quite deeply imbued with their sense of duty.

As for obtaining profits, they are fulfilling their duty in an exemplary fashion.

They are working for themselves and are earning very well for themselves.^{50X1-HUM} Such is the explanation of the entire present activities of the Catholics, both in the ideological field, where they are conducting a direct offensive against Marxism and the class struggle and even against the existence of classes, and in their social demagogy and their social offensive. Through these means, they hope to insinuate themselves into the confidence of the working class.

This is one aspect of the offensive. The second aspect of the offensive is directed against the countries of socialism. There is no crime, no abomination, or no scandal which they would not attempt to attribute to the countries of socialism. In doing this, they conduct various activities: During certain months, they organize church processions and mourning prayers for the silent church -- the church in the countries of the socialist camp. They are also engaged in direct military preparation. There is an institution, "Ost Hilfe" (Aid to the East) headed by a Dutch priest, who, however, operates mainly in Austria and West Germany. He stated in plain terms that Austria is a dispersal base which serves the activities directed against the East. He explains that it is necessary to prepare thousands of priests -- who will invade the East -- for the moment when so-called X-day arrives, for the moment when the road to the East is free. So again, there is the "Drang Nach Osten" (Thrust Toward the East). We can only say: "Pleasant journey, but I believe that you shall not return from there." This same priest from "Ost Hilfe" has been engaged in preparing for the opening, I believe, next year, of an

international or European Catholic university in Salzburg -- in the capital of the Austrian province by the same name. This university will have complete faculties on questions of the East. Thus, again there is an attack against^{50X1-HUM} Marxism, against the worker's movement, and against the principles of the class struggle, as well as a social offensive connected with the direct preparation for war and with instigation of war against the countries of socialism.

Something similar is also observed in the Socialist Party. This party has also declared that Marxism is obsolete. The son of Karl Kautsky, Benedict Kautsky, is the creator of the new program of the Socialist Party. One of our comrades has said that the worst product of the older Kautsky is Benedict. This was indeed proven by all his activities. He explained, by the way, that the Communist Manifesto was written in an era when people sat by candles and kerosene lamps, whereas now we have more light and we possess atomic energy -- and now Marxism is obsolete. Alright, please give us something new, we are listening with interest as to whether someone can reveal something new. That is very good. But what is this new thing? It is Christianity, which is not 100 years, but 2,000 years old; so ¹this is the novelty, and Marxism is obsolete. We have opposed this program. Through broad discussion, which we conducted and which our party initiated among the ranks of the Socialist Party, we shattered their calculations. They were forced to change several portions of this program. The program stated, for instance, that Communism is a deadly enemy; they stated openly that only through war and revolution can the order be changed in socialist countries. They have now had to change much of this. But even in that which is left, they have discarded such concepts as class, class struggle, and Marxism. What remains is a purely liberal,

petty bourgeois, anti-Marxist program, and, consequently, a program directed against the working class. We observe this not only in Austria, but also in Switzerland, where the Social-Democrats have now adopted a program which contains approximately the same ideas. As we hear from our German friends, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany has now absorbed them also. Thus, they are all engaged in revision. It is interesting that one of their ideologists, Branke, -- if I am not mistaken, he was previously a nationalist but is now a socialist again, -- wrote a book in which he made a new disclosure: Exploitation at enterprises, in the industrial field, does not exist. Exploitation is possible only as a result of prices, very high prices. Consequently, it is necessary to organize consumers. But the large-scale capitalist is also a consumer. He must also buy coffee, milk, meat, etc. This means that we again have a kind of social partnership in the matter of prices. What can be said of this? One witty Frenchman once said that if one wishes to imagine infinity, one should think of stupidity. It seems to me that if one is to speak of the stupidity of the Socialist Party, one should introduce the concept of "Supra-infinity," since they are endlessly producing theories of all types and forms. They are propounding these theories with the air of profound scientists and they are interspersing them with so many foreign words that -- even if I cannot lose my teeth because I have none, -- others who still have them can break their teeth [trying to pronounce] all these abstruse words and this deep erudition. But if one asks about the contents of these theories, then it appears that one stupidity is followed by another. And all this is directed against the so-called obsolete Marxism and against the countries of socialism.

For many years, the bourgeoisie, and ~~particularly~~ the social-democratic press, has conducted a continuous drum-fire against the countries of socialism. You will see why this is necessary for them. Thus, in the present case, agreement and harmony with the Catholics and the bourgeoisie are observed. They find out all kinds of things. In the last address of Pollack about the Second International -- too bad for the International that Pollack got involved in it -- the speaker made a certain change in his stand. It is possible, he said, that the situation in the Soviet Union could be settled with the help of reforms. He does not want a revolution directed against the Soviet Union. He hopes that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Comrade Khrushchev will some day take the path of inviting Mollet and Pollack: Please establish a Socialist Party for us, we want to be democratized. But, he warns, in other countries of people's democracy and socialism, (they do not use the word "socialism" since, in their opinion, it is not socialism), in these countries, it is possible to establish a new order only through revolution. Thus, he is also in readiness with his "Drang Nach Osten."

What do we find here, if we examine the problem as a whole? It seems to me that we are paying too little attention to the fact that the struggle of several generations of workers, and the struggle of Marx and Engels, undertook the task of freeing the working masses from the influence of the bourgeoisie and organizing these masses as a special class with its own ideology etc. This struggle has achieved success in the sense that the working class was formed. I hope that this will be recorded very dramatically in the history of the international workers' movement. The grandiose, powerful struggle of the working class and the leading workers, and the realization

[REDACTED]

of independence of the workers' movement, is probably one of the greatest, and perhaps the greatest, achievement of the 19th Century. And this struggle was crowned with success. But now the Catholics and socialists -- exc^{50X1-HUM} it might be blasphemy to call them socialists, but since these bandits so-call themselves, nothing remains for us but to repeat this name -- the Catholics and socialists are now attempting to break up everything and again turn the working masses into a segment of the bourgeoisie, and not only to make them a segment of the bourgeoisie, but to subordinate them to the direct influence of the bourgeoisie. This is why they say that socialism is not an ideology at all. Only religion is an ideology. This is why they say that in our time, exploitation is non-existent; this is why they say that in a generally prosperous state, all classes, in essence, are equal; a difference is observed only in prices, so if the price of beer goes up one should fight against it.

All these are attacks against the independence and sovereignty of the workers' movement. In my opinion, this is the chief aspect of their struggle. They consider that if they achieve success in this, they will receive some respite, and for a certain amount of time, the Bolsheviki and Bolshevism, those indefatigable spirits, will not bother them.

Therefore, they wish to separate the working class from Marxism-Leninism. Secondly, they wish to isolate the working masses from that great force which radiates from the world of socialism, from this new world where grandiose events of world-wide historical significance take place, which we have the good fortune to witness in our time. They wish to isolate the working class from this force and again subordinate it to the influence of the bourgeoisie.

This is the sense of their activities; in addition to the ideological and propagandist aid in preparing for war against the Soviet Union and against the countries of socialism, there is an attack on the workers of their own countries. It seems to me that we have not made it sufficiently clear that slander against the Soviet Union and against the camp of socialism is an attack against the workers of the capitalist countries, since a powerful force is destroyed in this manner. Don't worry, comrades, I am not a supporter of "attentism" [wait-and-see], I am not in favor of our waiting for the completion of the Seven-Year Plan, and, possibly, immediately achieving Communism, I do not believe that we should loaf, sleep, drink new wine, play, and listen to the music of Strauss, while others -- in the Soviet Union, China, Bulgaria, and Romania -- are creating. It is unnecessary to say in many words what this force means for the exploited workers, for those workers who are exploited, not in the field of prices, but in the field of production. It is unnecessary to speak of the fact that if the working masses were isolated from this force, the working masses of the capitalist countries would be split, atomized, and dispersed, and they would be deprived of the greatest force in the world. On one side, our enemies are striving to deprive the working masses of Marxism-Leninism as an ideology, and on the other side, they wish to take from the working class the active, materialized Marxism-Leninism which has been put into practice and embodied in the actual conditions of the socialist countries. In my opinion, this is the real reason behind the entire general offensive. This is an offensive against the existence of the workers' movement as such and against the sovereignty and independence of the working class. In this regard, I would like to express, once more, deep gratitude

to our Soviet comrades, and I hope that this book will help us very much when we point out the significance of the working class as an independent force. 50X1-HUM

The revisionists are occupying a special place within the framework of this general offensive. The bourgeoisie understands that, at present, one must proceed skillfully. They come and say: Marxism-Leninism is wonderful, excellent. However, it seems that there is a small piece of it which should be removed. So they cut and cut until nothing remains, i.e. the working masses are again deprived of their independence. Such is the situation from the theoretical point of view; but from the political point of view, revisionism presents a greater danger.

I have already spoken at length, but I must add several more words. I ask you in a democratic manner. Although I have been allotted 2 hours, I would not like to speak at too great a length.

In our party, even two members of the Central Committee, Willy Schultz and Dieter Piltz, expressed such views. They come from Steiermark. Over a period of many years, we have made a strong effort to direct these men on to the right path. Then the 17th Party Congress was held. They brought up all sorts of things in the draft of the resolution and in the pre-congress discussion. We argued with them and told them to come to the congress and tell the workers and everyone what they wished. But they did not come, and on the second day of the congress, they sent us a statement in which they said that they were leaving the party. At the same time, they sent this statement to a bourgeois press agency. They thought that by doing this, they were

compromising our entire party congress and were inflicting a powerful blow on us, but here is where dialectics began functioning. They rendered ^{50X7}HUM great assistance. Even those comrades whose views they confused said: Wait a minute, where are these friends leading us, they want to drag us from the party, they want us to desert the party. No, we will not go with them. One of the favorite topics of our revisionists is the appeal: Disassociate yourself just a little from the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. If the Soviet Union does something which pleases the bourgeoisie, then they will write something good; but if this is not so, then they will criticize. Their chief slogan is: Disassociation from the Soviet Union, which actually means: an objective, or even non-objective, but rather, objectivist attitude toward the socialist countries, as toward any other country. Please, if Khrushchev makes a good speech or if the Soviet Union takes some step, then we will shout and criticize, since only in this way can we become a national party. It seems to me that Comrade Norlund spoke about this. Again the goal is the same: Isolate the working masses from this great force, tear them away from it. They think that in this way they will lead the workers to the point where the bourgeoisie will need them. Now, comrades, I must speak of what we, the Austrian communists (I do not know what the situation is in other countries), have actually lost sight of for a long time. Inspired by the successes of the socialist camp, we have not always been able to clearly determine the problems of this building-up process. The impression was created that all was going perfectly, victory after victory, a direct street, or, as Lenin said: Nevskiy Prospekt, on which nothing can happen.

It is not our task to criticize the socialist countries in the capitalist countries. But it is our task to show our workers the conditions,

difficulties, and sacrifices under which socialism is to be built. I believe we must not be afraid that we will discourage the workers. It seems to me that we can make a weapon from these difficulties so that the workers will be better armed, telling them: Look how great, how vast, how powerful your force is when you are led correctly. Under such difficulties, you can achieve that which the history of mankind has not yet known. We have pointed this out too infrequently, but to criticize as our socialists wish us to do would mean to isolate the working masses from the countries of socialism.

Comrades, I believe that I am now coming to the end.

I believe that if revisionism is to be examined from the political point of view, we must consider it as part of the general offensive against the working class. This must be covered in our theoretical and historical works. For instance, the Socialist Party now claims that the October Revolution was a Putsch. Lenin carried out a Putsch. But they do not consider it necessary to explain how history has followed Lenin for the past 40 years, and how he was able to accomplish this by means of a Putsch. They eulogize the Kronstadt rebellion, etc. This means that in our historical works and in all our theoretical works, we must also point out this political aspect; we must point out that revisionism is a part of the general offensive of the bourgeoisie and the Socialist Party against the existence of an independent workers' movement. I believe that this must find its expression in our struggle. Allow me, comrades, to say one more word, since there are contributors to a journal here. I believe that this journal could help us very much, since we who live in capitalist countries -- Comrade Norlund spoke about this -- are sometimes engaged in trivial details. Comrades who are working in

capitalist countries know what this is like. Sometimes, it is a number of petty questions which absorb our efforts. I believe that this journal could help us very much by developing tasks and questions which arise in connection with the Socialist Party. I spoke of stupidities, but these stupidities enjoy a certain influence. Unfortunately, quite unfortunately, an overwhelming majority of our working class still follows them -- for the time being. We know that we will be victorious and that the leadership will be on our side. We have no apprehensions on this point, and we are not losing our fortitude. But that is how the situation is today, and, no matter how foolish their arguments are, we must struggle against them and struggle against them ardently. In our style of work -- our Chinese comrades speak so much about the style of work -- in our style of work, we need less restraint and more ardency. I don't have agitation in mind. Unfortunately, I have the impression that I have agitated you slightly. However, I don't wish to say that we must agitate, but I believe that in this journal, we must raise questions with great force, passion, and directness. It is not important that each word be weighed on apothecaries' scales, but it is important that each word be aggressive, provocative, and attacking, so that it will mobilize and summon people: "Seize the beast!" I would like, if it were possible, to achieve this in the articles of the journal.

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Address By Comrade Nicolai Golberger (RPR)

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On Item 2 on the Agenda

We have listened with great interest to the report given by Comrade SHATAGIN, the leader of the Soviet delegation. We wholly approve of the wealth of information it contained and the questions it has raised. The report contains detailed proposals relating to the tasks of Marxist historians in clarifying questions in the history of the international Communist and workers' movement, and in the struggle against revisionist views and every kind of deviation from Marxist-Leninist doctrines.

For workers on the ideological front in general, and for historians engaged in study of the history of the party and the workers' movement in particular, a great, responsible task is the struggle against revisionism and the thorough exposure of its theoretical bankruptcy and class attitudes. This is all the more necessary because the present-day revisionists speak out mainly against fundamental ideas in the question of the party's role against its organizational, ideological, and tactical principles, and against the Marxist-Leninist theory which governs the party

Marxist historians in our country view the struggle against revisionist allocutions on the ideological front as part of the struggle which the closely affiliated Communist and workers' parties are waging against revisionism in the workers' movement today.

- 1 -

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Valuable aids to the work of Marxist historians in the area of unmasking bourgeois, reformist, and revisionist ideology are the documents of the Moscow conference of representatives of the Communist and workers parties, held in November 1957; the decisions and documents of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU; and documents from congresses and plenums of the Communist and workers parties in other countries.

The Declaration of the Moscow conference of representatives of the Communist and workers parties pointed out the need for intensifying ideological work in exposing and waging a resolute struggle against modern revisionists' attempts to falsify Marxist-Leninist teachings, to invalidate its revolutionary content, and to divert the proletariat from the revolutionary struggle.

The Declaration emphasizes that "... under contemporary conditions, revisionism is the principal threat (for the Communist Parties)." At the same time the Declaration focused attention on the need for struggle against dogmatism, which constrains the creative activity of the parties and isolates them from the masses. The Moscow conference demonstrated a unity of views on basic questions of revolutionary theory and practice in socialist construction. Comrade G. Gheorghiu-Dej points out, "In its criticism of revisionism, the Moscow conference contributed greatly to the struggle in defense of purity in Marxist-Leninist teaching against opportunist and revisionist trends, and promotes the growth of steadfastness and solidarity of each Communist party."

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The Rumanian Workers' Party, in concert with the its brother ^{50X1-HUM} parties, headed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, made its contribution to the drawing up of the decisions of the Moscow conference, and the exposure and rout of revisionism.

Because of the close solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist parties, because of their firm stand -- the attacks of the revisionists were foiled, and they suffered utter defeat.

As the main speaker correctly pointed out, the publication of Marxist-Leninist classics and of party materials and documents is of great importance in arming scientific workers with Marxist-Leninist theory for the struggle against modern revisionism.

The immortal works of the founders of scientific socialism serve us as a true guide in the most ^m complicated social phenomena. They offer us a model fighting position with respect to any erroneous interpretation of historical processes and events -- for an unrelenting struggle for the defeat of any theories which attempt to distort Marxist-Leninist doctrine and disarm the working class and its vanguard party.

We should like to ⁱⁿ inform you, in this respect, that activity in the publication of Marxist-Leninist classics is being widely developed in our country. The most important event in the publishing field in recent years was the completion of the publication, in the Rumanian language, of the works of V. I. Lenin in 35 volumes, based on the fourth Russian edition.

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In response to urgent demands, compilations of Lenin's works were also published, ^{for} example, On Proletarian Internationalism, On Party Construction, On the Union of the Working Class and Peasants, and others. The Rumanian edition of the compilation, V. I. Lenin Against Revisionism, makes it possible for our country's propagandists and scientific workers in the social science field to become well acquainted with and to study Lenin's relentless struggle against revisionism, opportunism, and dogmatism in the Russian and the international workers movements. It equips them with a knowledge of the class and gnosiological basis of revisionism. At the same time, it points out that the current theory of contemporary revisionism, which pretends to ~~be~~ originality, is nothing more than a reworking of old opportunist views which Lenin exposed and destroyed.

The development of activity in the publication of Lenin's works is indicated by the fact that the circulation of these works in our country has exceeded five million copies.

Active work has been done in the publication of the works of Marx and Engels. The chief works of Marx and Engels have been published in several large editions: Das Kapital; The Communist Party Manifesto; Anti-Duhring; Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State; Critique of the Gotha Program; and others. Recent publications include: The Theory of Surplus Value, Vol I; A Criticism of Political Economy; German Ideology, and others, which are invaluable weapons in the struggle against revisionist trends and every kind of bourgeois distortion.

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Publication in Rumanian of the complete collections of the works of
 Marx and Engels has also begun. Five volumes have been published to date. 50X1-HUM

Publication of the works of a number of prominent Marxists and leaders in the international workers' movement should be noted:

The works of I. V. Stalin have been published, and in 1957-1959, special editions of the works of G. Dimitrov and articles and speeches by K. Liebknecht, F. Dzerzhinskiy and others.

Comrade N. S. Khrushchev's reports at the CPSU congresses and plenums were published in Rumanian in large editions. The collection of articles and speeches, Za pobedu v mirnom sorevnovanii (For Victory in Peaceful Competition), ^{translated} into Rumanian from the Russian, was published recently.

Four volumes of Mao Tse-tung's works, and the works of M. Thorez, Wm. Foster, and others were also published.

Publication of the documents of the RRP (Rumanian Workers' Party) congresses and Central Committee plenums, and the speeches and reports by our party leaders, primarily the speeches of Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej in two volumes under the title Articles and Speeches, of which the second volume was recently published -- is of exceptional importance in equipping our country's Marxist historians with a knowledge of the party's record in the struggle against opportunist trends within the ranks of the workers' movement and in defense of the ideological purity of Marxist-Leninist teachings.

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Concurrently, work has expanded in publishing a number of collections of documents on the history of the RCP, and republication of older collections. The second and third volumes on the RCP's struggle to achieve a union of the working class and the laboring peasantry were published, as well as works on the workers' struggle in ~~the~~ 1917-1920. Published in 1958 was a collection of articles which described the most important events in the trade-union movement in Rumania. The 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution served as the occasion for publishing a collection of articles which reviewed the influence of the October Revolution on Rumania. Scientific research articles on the solidarity of the laboring masses in Rumania with the Hungarian Soviet Republic (1958) were published, as were sketches showing the relationship of the Rumanian workers' movement with the First and Second International.

The problem of developing a textbook on the history of the Rumanian Workers' Party is the center of attention of the Institute of Party History. Historical research in connection with the production of this textbook must actively promote the Communist education of the workers, development of revolutionary traditions, exposure and refutation of revisionist distortions and falsification of social phenomena. We are trying to write the history of our party so that it will clearly show that the advance guard of the working class has waged unrelenting war throughout its existence, against anti-Marxist tendencies, revisionist and factional manifestations, leftist tendencies, etc. There are many

SECRET

such examples in our party's history. Let us note one of them.

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It is known that the establishment of the RCP in 1921 signaled the victory of Leninism over opportunism in the workers' movement of Rumania. After its establishment, the RCP had to struggle against reformist views, mainly against the Gherea concept, which was one of the variants of international opportunism, of Menshevist color. K. Dobrojeanu-Gherea, the founder of this concept -- for all his services in the initial period of the socialist movement -- asserted that in such lagging countries (from the viewpoint of the development of capitalism) as Rumania and the countries of southeast Europe, the transition to socialism would be realized only after the victory of socialism in countries having a highly developed industry. He maintained that the working class and the party must promote the development of capitalism; and considered that the bourgeoisie was a class preordained to promote social progress in this period. Dobrojeanu-Gherea concluded that Rumania was on the eve of a bourgeois revolution. His theories were directed toward converting the workers' movement into an appendage of the bourgeois parties. They had a pernicious effect on the workers' movement in our country.

These opportunist views were crushed at the Fifth Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party, held in 1931 -- which was of historical significance for the workers' movement in our country.

At the same time, the congress decisively rebuffed those left^{50X1-HUM} ideas which attempted to push the party onto the path of adventurism.

On the matter of developing a textbook on party history, our institute discussed and specified an outline of the plan for its division into periods. In some instances, previously published brochures, which presented party history by periods, were improved as a basic model and served as a basis for direct wording of the textbook. Study of archives has cast new light upon several important stages in the history of the party.

Of great importance was the organization of discussions on fundamental questions in the history of the party, as for example, the heroic struggles of the railroad and oil workers in 1933, the armed uprising of 23 August 1944, etc.

Treatises on the events of 23 August 1944 received special development this year. The Higher Party School imeni Stefan Gheorghiu, the Institute of Party History, the Military Academy, and the institutes of social sciences of the Academy of the RPR held a scientific conference at which about 50 reports were presented, covering a wide range of questions: the organization and conduct of the RCP armed uprising of 23 August 1944, the role of the Soviet Army in the liberation of Rumania, the organization and operations of patriotic fighting detachments, the Soviet Army's contribution to the war against Hitler, etc.

Party documents which permit us to achieve fruitful results ^{50X1-HUM} and correctly explain pertinent questions are highly important in reviewing questions of decisive significance for the history of the party.

In recent years our party as well as other Communist and workers' parties, published numerous materials exposing revisionism, notably, the program of the Union of Yugoslav Communists, which is a catechism of contemporary revisionism. Essays and articles describing the struggle against revisionist distortions and confusion on basic issues of the revolution and socialist construction were published in the newspaper Scinteia, in Lupta de Clasa, theoretical and political organ of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, in the Annals of the Institute of Party History, and in special publications of the Academy and others. Two collections of essays and papers by scientific workers in our country are now being printed; these deal with the antirevisionist struggle and the experience of socialist construction in our country.

Proceeding along the line set by the Second Congress, the Central Committee of the RRP has directed the ideological front, including the historical, in a tireless battle against revisionism as well as other influences of foreign ideology, regardless of form. In the field of history the struggle against concessions to bourgeois ideology is currently playing an important role in our country. We have clashed with some

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non-Marxist views in this field, as well as in other sectors of the^{50X1-HUM} ideological front. Therefore, as regards our country, an account of the struggle for purity of Marxism-Leninism, and a Marxist-Leninist approach to the history of the workers' movement and to the history of our fatherland, would be incomplete, should we not also record the struggle against these foreign manifestations. The struggle against them is closely related to the persistent work of historians of our country in developing a treatise on the history of the Rumanian People's Republic and a text-book on the history of the Rumanian workers' party.

Theoretical and political errors of some workers on the historical front have been subjected to criticism during discussions on the party and historical press. These errors consisted of idealizing the role of the bourgeoisie in Rumania and minimizing the role of the working class. For instance, despite the historical truth and Leninist doctrine on the nature of World War I, some historians attempted to revive bourgeois nationalistic views, supporting the idea of the alleged justifiable nature of the war which Rumania fought in 1916-1918.

In refuting these anti-Marxist views, our party relied on Lenin's works, which present a profound and complete analysis of the nature of World War I. Our party was supported by such facts as the antimilitary activities of the leftist Zimmerwald and the activity of the Rumanian workers' movement which, although it did not fully comprehend the Leninist

call to convert the imperialist war into a civil war, nevertheless ^{50X1-HUM} waged a heroic struggle - with many sacrifices-against the imperialist war. Both warring sides in World War I, including the small countries, waged an unjust, aggressive war. The masses were drawn into it by means of nationalistic subversion. This Leninist appraisal is completely valid as regards Rumania, as well.

As regards the history of the workers' movement in Rumania before 1917, it should be stated that some historians have deprecⁱated its importance in the process of the country's historical development. However, it is known that Rumania^{'s} proletariat at the end of the 19th century was charged with the historic task of leading society forward; of being the leader and supervisor of the logically-developed bourgeois-democratic transformations which had been realized through revolutionary means. There were also some tendencies- refuted by the party - to criticize, indiscriminately, the entire workers' movement in the pre-World War I period, without distinguishing between the revolutionary left and the reformist right.

Our historical works attempt to describe the workers' movement up to the founding of the Communist Party to show the struggle of the revolutionary element, against the opportunist, and the process of imbuing the Rumanian workers' movement with Leninism.

Comrade Shatagin noted in his report the need for portraying 50X1-HUM great role of the Communist International in the history of the international workers' movement. It should be emphasized in this connection, that we, too, are focusing a lot of attention on this problem, all the more so because the establishment of the Communist International and its work was of great aid to the workers' movement in Rumania and in other countries as well. The Communist International played a great role in molding the Communist parties in many countries throughout the world in their ideological - political hardening, and in educating Communist Marxist-Leninist cadres.

The Comintern rendered important support to the Rumanian Communist movement in its orientation, in defining its aims and establishing ways and means for its struggle and in eliminating some remnants of social-democratic attitudes. The Executive Committee of the Communist International rendered decisive support to our party in 1929-1930, by helping it to eliminate the unprincipled fractional struggle and to restore unity within its ranks. This played a major role in raising the party's fighting efficiency. With its solid ranks the party headed the heroic battles of the workers in 1933, which it organized and directed. The high evaluation which the Comintern put upon these battles, as well as the demonstrations of solidarity with the struggle of our working class and its leaders who were arrested by the bourgeois landholder government, on the part of the broad working masses of all

- 12 -

SECRET

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countries, organized and directed by the Communist parties which had^d 50X1-HUM
 joined in the Third International, were a powerful mainstay for the
 working class in Rumania. But these^s are only some of the facts. We
 refer to them here because the Comintern, as is well-known, gave great
 help to other Communist parties as well, including the Communist Party
 of Yugoslavia, which is now shamelessly defaming the Comintern's historic
 work. This is why the preparation of works on the Communist Inter-
 national's role and activity, and a decisive rebuff to the attempts of
 the revisionist detractors, constitutes a debt of honor for our historical
 front. Publication of the documents of the Third International is with-
 out question rendering real aid in the fulfillment of this noble task.

Modern revisionists bombastically ~~boast~~^{claim} to be the only theoreticians
 in the world who are creatively developing Marxism-Leninism. They claim
 to have a monopoly on theoretical analyses of the processes and trans-
 formations which have transpired in the modern world. However, it is in-
 dicative that in not a single area in which they have undertaken to write
 do the revisionists see a need to intensify the revolutionary nature
 of any given Marxist principle. The constant and immutable purpose and
 intended result of their so-called "creative development" is the extirpat-
 ing^{of} Marxist-Leninist teaching of its revolutionary content and ~~con~~^{con}sequently,
 renunciation by the proletariat of the revolutionary struggle.

In connection with the problems advanced in the main report, we^{50X1-HUM} should like to note that the modern revisionists, in minimizing to the point of negation the role of the Communist parties in the transition period from capitalism to socialism, are making concentrated attacks, especially on the Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

For instance, the renegade, Pierre Herve^f, referring to the "authority" of old reformists, openly expresses his disagreement "with some of Lenin's too authoritative and centralized points of view."

He sets as his goal "in works by socialists of every leaning" to seek out the "truth," which would allegedly show the vulnerable spot in Lenin's views on the organizational principles of the new type of party.

Why are neoteric as well as former^f revisionist^s waging such a furious offensive against democratic centralism? Because democratic centralism imparts a revolutionary nature to the party of the working class, and a closely knit and disciplined organization. To curtail the Leninist principle of democratic centralism means depriving the working-class party of that basis which imparts to it the quality of an unconquered citadel, a centralized organization possessed of a great, militant organizational and directing force.

Renunciation of the principle of democratic centralism leads to vacillations and clashes within the party; to a relaxing of disciplineⁱ and to liberalism in party life; to a split in party unity. It poses

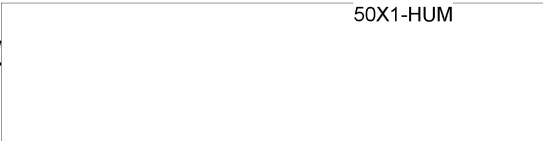


a threat to the very existence of the party as the directing organ^{50X1-HUM} of the working class.

Lenin^Y repeatedly directed the attention of Communists to the stable nature of democratic centralism, to the obligation of each party member to see that this organizational principle of the new type of party be strictly observed.

Only an organization based on democratic centralism makes it possible for the party to combine strict centralism with broad democracy and iron discipline, with initiative from the mass of party members, with their inalienable right to discuss questions of party policy and effect control over the activity of elected party organs and with the obligation unreservedly to implement party decisions. Only an organization which has such internal life is loyal to the high ideals of Marxist-Leninism to the end, and can be really revolutionary.

Establishment of a truly proletarian, centralized party, inspired by a single will; struggle against any kind of factional manifestations, against nonobservance of discipline, against manifestations of liberalism and their defeat; education of Communists in the spirit of concern for party unity and efforts for implementing party policy -- these were and remain the central tasks which our party has set for itself throughout its entire history. We are of the opinion that elucidation of the party's struggle for the triumph of Leninist principles in party organization and activity against factionalists and deviationists is an efficacious weapon in the struggle against revisionist views on the party of the working class.



We are convinced that Marxist historians will soon be able to begin to create works which present a broad, comprehensive description of the party's leading role in the construction of Communism and socialism^{50X1-HUM} and each party's experience in applying Leninist principles to its activities and organization.

The over-all lawlike regularity of the revolution and socialist construction is the main target of attack by modern revisionist and by their spiritual predecessors, whom Lenin crushed in his day. In an article published in Kommunist, the Yugoslav weekly, Radoslav Ratkovic maintains that there now exists in the imperialist countries "a special road to the restricting, eliminating and changing of the capitalist socio-economic system" without "abrupt changes and jumps in the nature of authority and property relations" -- in other words, without revolution. Milente Popovic, another Yugoslav revisionist, recently spoke on the so-called development of socialist relations in the capitalist countries, where alleged socialist forces "are forcing their way through the rifts of the old society, are widening these rifts, and are defeating the social positions and fighting for a leading role in society." What is the meaning of all this profuse talk with claims to socialism? It is nothing more than a refrain, in new garb, of former revisionist ideas on the peaceful transition of capitalism to socialism, an appeal to passivity from the working class in the capitalist world, to a negation of the conformity to laws in the socialist revolution, as borne out by the Great October Socialist Revolution and the socialist revolutions in other countries where the authority of the working class has been

established. There is no other road for the transition to socialism except the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, headed by the Communist party, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the realization of the socialist revolution. The particular roads to the accomplishment of the revolution and the form of dictatorship of the proletariat are not identical in all countries, but this in no way detracts from the importance of the general and fundamental fact.

We deem it necessary in this respect to elucidate more thoroughly those questions relating to the dictatorship of the proletariat as the essence of the state in the transition period from capitalism to Communism.

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the purpose of building a socialist society constitutes the foundation of the proletarian revolution. Threaded throughout the whole Leninist theory on the socialist revolution is the idea that the proletariat must take over the leadership of society in order to realize its revolutionary transformation on Communist principles. The party of the working class, which plays a decisive role in preparing for and implementing the socialist revolution, constitutes a union between the working class and the peasantry, and draws under its leadership those broad popular masses which have been exploited and enslaved by the ruling classes, for the purpose of winning political authority and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Under the pretext of fighting against bureaucratism and for the ^{50X1-HUM} "development of socialist democracy," neoteric revisionists are waging an offensive against the dictatorship of the proletariat and especially against the socialist state, which is the personification of, and medium for, realizing the ~~the~~ ^{goals} of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are trying to misrepresent the experience of the Paris Commune, and to slander the experience of the Soviet government and of other countries in the socialist camp. Thus, in an article published in May 1959, titled "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Its Yugoslav Form," Mirko PEROVIC declares that the Paris Commune was "a political form which should have developed the process for the withering away of all public authority and have effected public self-government..." Perovic claims that there are two forms of dictatorship of the proletariat: one "administratively centralized" (in countries of the socialist camp) and the other "based on nongovernmental unity," on "free associations" (in Yugoslavia). The conclusion he reaches is the withering away of the socialist state for the purpose of "democratizing" the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The aforementioned ~~MILENTIC~~ ^{MILENTIC} ~~POPOVIC~~ also propounds such anti-Marxist ideas on the dictatorship of the proletariat. In one of his recently published articles he attempts to discredit the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its political expression - state authority, which

allegedly gives rise to the so-called "bureaucratic state socialism (statisme). Without evading the issue in any way, Popovic ^{directly} _{50X1-HUM} states that so-called "bureaucratic state socialism" is becoming the reigning force in those countries "in which the bourgeoisie has been overthrown by force and in which the dictatorship of the proletariat was established and nationalization effected." He speaks of the need for developing in these countries reaction against the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to establish in them so-called "real socialist democracy" under which the state will wither away. This is a frank appeal to weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat, to instill organizational ~~violence~~ ^{clashes} into the activity of the socialist state, and to repudiate the socialist state as the basic tool in building socialism and Communism. Those who advised the Hungarian people in 1956 to repudiate the socialist state and to entrust their fate to the counterrevolution, which was organized in the so-called workers' soviets, are now proposing this very idea to weaken the authority of the proletariat, under the pretext of "democratization" and purging it of "bureaucratic state socialism." Such a theory should be decisively repulsed. At the same time, the historical significance of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the socialist state should be enunciated.

The great importance of the dictatorship of the proletariat in successfully implementing the revolution and socialist construction emanates from the fundamental tasks which Lenin defines as follows: ~~...~~

expropriation of the exploiting classes and suppression of any opp^{50X1-HUM} on their part; organization of the self-expression of the workers for the building of a socialist economy and culture; national defense against attacks by the imperialist powers; strengthening of relations with the ~~of relations with the~~ working class of other countries and giving support to the international workers' movement. The history of socialist construction in the USSR and in the People's Democracies asserts the correctness of these postulates by underlining the comprehensive role and decisive significance of the socialist state during the transition from capitalism to socialism. The conquest of state authority by the working class and the utilization of the socialist state as the main tool have been essential conditions for all socialist countries with the aim of eliminating bourgeois ownership of the means of production and ~~to~~ converting them into national property, and building a socialist economy and culture.

Neoteric revisionists immoderately repudiate the need for organizational, management functions of the state during the construction of socialism and, especially, the state's role in socialist industrialization and collectivization of agriculture.

Thus, Edvard Kardel^Y fights for the development, in the village, of "independent life, minus the guardianship of a state apparatus." He considers as superfluous state influence on, and regulation of, processes which occur in the village. The process of cooperativizing the village, according to Kardel, should emerge "from the very nature of technological process evoked by modern industrial technology."

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However, modern industrial technology, insofar as the nature ^{60X1-HUM} property ownership remains unchanged, does not give rise to ~~an~~ ^{the} essentially new type of production relations -- socialist production relations. The development of production forces on the basis of small-scale commodity production leads to capitalism and not in any way to socialism.

It is precisely for this reason that the socialization of peasant small-scale production demands decisive political and economic support of the peasantry on the part of the socialist state.

Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the role of the socialist state is confirmed by the experience of the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union. The more than 40 years of experience of the Soviet Union has great, incontestable significance for every Marxist. It is quite natural that the countries which have embarked on the road to socialist construction derive inspiration from it and creatively apply and profit by the lessons learned by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the implementation Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

It stands to reason that, in the process of the transformation of society in any country, there have evolved -- and are evolving -- certain peculiar characteristics, depending on the concrete conditions of development in the given country, which however, in no way contradict the Marxist-Leninist postulates common to all countries.

In organizing and heading the struggle of the working class for its liberation our party has steadfastly been guided by the general laws of socialist revolution, as for example: strengthening of the leading role of the working class; achievement of the worker-peasant union; winning of authority by the proletariat; nationalization of the means of production, etc. At the same time, in applying these laws, the party took into account its own characteristics which evolved from the historical development of our country, from the occurrence of the fascist dictatorship and the anti-Soviet War, from the compromises of bourgeois-land-owning parties as a result of their collaboration with the fascist dictatorship, and from the fact that the revolutionary struggle for authority developed directly out of the entire nation's struggle to be liberated from the fascist yoke. In accomplishing the armed uprising of August 1944 which led to the overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship, as well as the latest struggle to complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the transition to socialist revolution, the RCP exploited the existence of ruling class contradictions. It took into account the sentiments of the masses and of various social categories and groupings, the development of the correlation of forces, and the grouping and regrouping of forces. Guided by Marxist-Leninist principles, it correctly oriented itself in the labyrinth of the most contradictory class, group and privileged interests. The party was thus successful in achieving a broad democratic front which included besides direct allies from the proletariat, indirect reserves, including some bourgeois groupings.

- 22 -
SECRET

After the armed uprising of August 1944, with favorable conditions^{50X1-HUM} created as a result of the Soviet Army's victory over the Hitler troops and the rapid growth of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, the uninterrupted revolutionary process which led to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat unfolded relatively peacefully, without civil war. This made it possible for our party to also use, for revolutionary purposes, the parliament elected in the fall of 1946. The last representatives of the bourgeoisie were eliminated from the government in 1947. The monarchy was overthrown. State power was completely transferred to the working class. Just as in our fraternal countries, our people was able to transfer over to socialist construction only after the power of the exploiting classes had been overthrown, and the dictatorship of the proletariat established in the form of a people's democratic regime. In the course of the revolution, the old state machinery was destroyed, and the people's democratic society -- the instrument for the building of a socialist society -- was established.

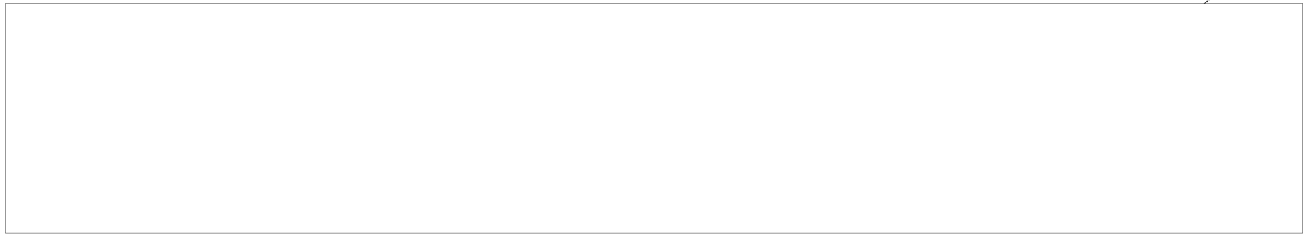
We have permitted ourselves this brief digression into history since, in our opinion, a broader interpretation of the methods used by each party in applying the general ~~laws~~ conformity to ^{laws} of the revolution and of socialist construction to the particular conditions of each country is a primary task in resolving the problems of the working class and in the struggle against revisionism.

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Before the historians engaged in the study of the history of the ^{50X1-HUM} working class and party history, there opens a broad field of activity in connection with problems of the transition from capitalism to socialism. We have the opportunity to analyze the historical experience of the entire world socialist order and, at the same time, to intensify the study of the particular paths, methods and forms by which each country derives everything of essential, principal, and general importance in the process of transition from capitalism to socialism.

We are strong, and have every opportunity to ensure that revisionism cannot touch that invincible weapon -- Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

With more intensified scientific work and strengthened collaboration among our institutes and all Marxist historians, we shall be able to fulfill the most important tasks which confront us in defending the purity of Marxist-Leninist teaching against any distortion and falsification.



Address by Comrade N. R. Doniy (USSR)

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on item two of the agenda

The entrance of the USSR into the period of large-scale building of a Communist society means raising the demands for ideological work by the party. As a result of this, the Twenty-first Congress CPSU laid down serious goals before all branches of the social sciences and called upon them to examine thoroughly the laws of changing from Socialism to Communism, to study the experience of economic and cultural building, and to further the education of the workers in a Communist spirit. One of the most important goals of historians, philosophers, economists, lawyers, and literary specialists is the struggle against bourgeois ideology in general and its variant, revisionism, which is the main danger for the Communist and workers' movement at its present stage.

In the embittered fight of two ideologies at this present stage an important place is occupied by the struggle in the area of historiography, and this is not accidental. The exploiters, in defending their class interests, have always resorted to a falsification of history.

In recent years our historians have intensified their work in unmasking revisionism. Comrade N. I. Shatagin, deputy director of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee CPSU, discussed this in rather great detail in his speech. Ukrainian historians have made their contribution to the important matter. Naturally we share with all the historians of the Soviet Union the responsibility for those serious errors and shortcomings which are still found in our work.

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In my address I want briefly to tell about the work of the Inst50X1-HUM of Party History under the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, a branch of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee CPSU, and with a few examples to show how we wage the battle against the falsifiers of history in the area of Ukrainian history and the history of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

Reactionary bourgeois historians and revisionists, by falsifying history, strive to enkindle nationalist survivals and to discredit everything that brings together and strengthens the socialist nations. Nationalists of every stripe are particularly zealous in this regard. Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists in particular specialize in distorting the history of the Ukrainian Communist Party. They assert that Bolshevism had no social basis in the Ukraine but was artificially implanted from Russia, and they distort the history of the struggle by the workers and peasants in the Ukraine to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat and to build a socialist society. Thus, in the ninth issue of the "Ukrainian Collection" published in Bonn, in an article titled "Concise Sketch on the History of the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolshevik)," the Ukrainian nationalist V. Golub writes: "From the very beginning of its existence the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolshevik) was nationally foreign to the Ukrainian people and had no connection with its masses. The Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolshevik) came to power in the Ukraine exclusively on the help of Russian armed might, by a means very close to the 'people's

democratic road of development' in Eastern Europe after World War II. 50X1-HUM

At first the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolshevik) had support in the Ukraine only among Russian and Russianized workers and particularly among the petty bourgeoisie...." At the basis of this fabrication lies the nationalistic idea of a lack of a bourgeois spirit, ^{for "non-bourgeois attitude"} in the Ukrainian nation.

In research done by Ukrainian authors there is found rich material to unmask the statements of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and to recreate a true picture of the origin and activity of Bolshevik organizations in the Ukraine. It is good to look for the facts, and the foolishness of the statements by the nationalists will become completely obvious.

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, the Ukraine in a socio-economic sense formed a whole with Russia. In the Ukraine, as in all of Russia, as a result of the rapid development of capitalism in industry and agriculture on the eve of the socialist revolution, there were formed powerful moving forces among the working class and the millions of poor peasants. Southern Russian industry, mainly concentrated in the Don Basin, at the beginning of the 20th Century occupied a leading position in the economic affairs of Russia. In 1917 from the Ukraine came 47.9% of the total Russian output of rolled metal, 49.6% of steel, 66.1% of cast iron, and 83.3% of coal output. Industrial development in the Ukraine, as in Russia, was characterized by the formation of powerful monopolies and by a high degree of production concentration.

The basic holders of stock in the metallurgic and mining enterprises in Russia were foreign capitalists. However, along with foreign capital which occupied a dominating position, and with Russian capitalists who also held significant positions in the industry of Southern Russia, the Ukrainian bourgeoisie also developed here rather quickly. It entered the fierce competitive battle with foreigners and Russian capitalists to fight for its "place under the sun."

The Ukrainian proletariat was mostly concentrated in large factories and plants. On the eve of World War I, 63% of all Ukrainian workers worked at enterprises which had 500 or more employees. The total number of Ukrainian workers in 1913 at large enterprises was 631,400. Besides this, more than 200,000 workers and employees worked on railroads in the Ukraine in 1913. The high degree of concentration of industry and of the working class was an objective prerequisite for the high degree of organization of the Ukrainian proletariat in their struggle with capital.

In Ukrainian agriculture as a result of the development of capitalist attitudes, the process of class differentiation in the peasantry also achieved a high level. In 1917, 61.5% of farms were without sowing area or with a sowing area up to three dessiatines [one dessiatina equals 2.7 acres], that is almost two-thirds. Millions of poor Ukrainian peasants were the natural and most trustworthy allies of the working class in the struggle against an exploiter system which had doomed them to incredible sufferings.

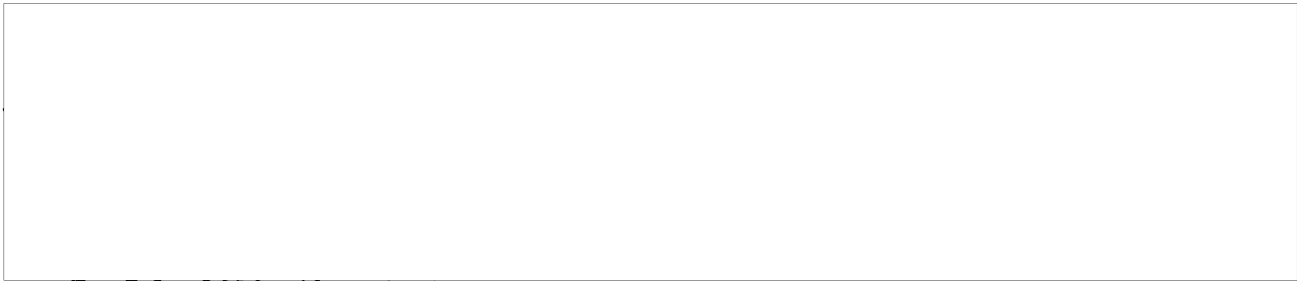
Capitalist attitudes in Ukrainian agriculture were interwoven with strong survivals from serfdom. In 1905 in the Ukraine 32,500 farms belonging to the nobility had 10.9 million dessiatines of land while 3 million peasant farms had only 20 million dessiatines of land.

Tsarism enkindled the national difference between the Russian and Ukrainian peoples and subjected Ukrainian culture and language to heavy persecution. Ukrainian workers and peasants not only suffered from exploitation by landowners and capitalists but also from lack of political rights and national oppression.

After this how is it possible to assert that the Ukraine had no socio-economic basis for the socialist revolution and for the reception of the ideas of Leninism and the existence of Bolshevik organizations?

Bolshevik organizations in the Ukraine grew from Marxist clubs and the first social democratic organizations which had appeared at the end of the 19th Century in Kiev, Yekaterinoslav, Khar'kov, Lugansk, Odessa, Nikolayev, and other Ukrainian cities, on the basis of a mass workers' movement which was a constituent part of the all-Russian workers' movement.

The increase in number and strength of Bolshevik organizations indicates the growth of influence of the Bolsheviks in the Ukraine. After the February Revolution, at the time when the Communist Party appeared openly in the Ukraine, there were only about 10 Bolshevik organizations which numbered about 1,000 party members. In a period of less than a year from March through October 1917, the number of members of the Bolshevik party increased to 40,000.



In July 1919, the First Congress created the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolshevik). The historical significance of the First Congress lies in the fact that it united all Bolshevik organizations located in the Ukraine and formed the Ukrainian Communist Party as a constituent and integral part of a united Russian Marxist party based on Lenin's principles for program, tactics and organization. The formation of the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolshevik) as part of the CPSU began a new stage in organizational and party construction. Later, on the same principles, Communist parties in other fraternal Soviet republics were formed.

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The Ukrainian Communist Party grew and became strong along with the whole CPSU as one of its fighting detachments, and it passed through the glorious road of struggle and victory.

A second example. In recent years there have appeared abroad many so-called works by bourgeois historians which in an effort to please the supporters of the cold war, distort the history of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union. Bourgeois historians, and particularly bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists, try to cast aspersions also on the Ukrainian people by making unfounded statements that at the beginning of the war the population of the occupied areas of the Ukraine reacted favorably to the Fascist aggressors and that only the mistaken policy of repressions, which were conducted by the German military commanders, roused the Soviet people to the struggle against the occupiers.

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Materials gathered by Ukrainian historians in the Soviet Informa^{50X1-HUM}Bureau, documents in archives, the press of that time, and other materials show that the Ukrainian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, from the very first days of the war rose to the defense of the Soviet motherland. Mobilization into the army which was conducted in an organized and coordinated manner, the successful evacuation of enterprises and kolkhozes to the East, the creation everywhere of fighting battalions and detachments of people's militia, the heroic defense of Kiev, Odessa and other cities, the development of a Bolshevik underground and partisan movement--all this shows that the Ukrainian people were faithful to the ideas of Communism.

From the very beginning of the war the attitude of the Ukrainian people towards the German occupiers was hostile. Even in 1918 the Ukrainian people had known German occupiers well as sworn enemies of the workers. Still long before the war the evil deeds of German fascists were well known. Under the leadership of the Communist Party during the period of socialist building the Ukrainian people achieved enormous successes in the field of political life, the development of the economy and culture, and the improvement of welfare. By its concern for the good of the people the Communist Party won universal respect. Devotion to Lenin's ideas and the aspiration to defend the great victories of the October Revolution and socialist construction were at the basis of the military and labor feats of the Ukrainian people. Therefore, the German troops in the Ukraine were met as an army of oppressors with whom it was necessary to fight to the death.

The efforts of the Ukrainian people in the struggle against the German occupiers became an ever-increasing wave from the beginning of the war up to its victorious conclusion.

In foreign historical works the question about the beginning of mass resistance to the fascist occupiers is incorrectly solved. These falsifiers of history assert that the partisan movement and nation-wide resistance to the enemy in the Ukraine belongs to the period of mass expulsion of the occupiers from Ukrainian soil. Some bourgeois historians maintain that at the beginning of the war the partisan ranks were implanted with party organizations and agencies of the state security and were manned mostly with fanatical Communists, and that the leading positions in the partisan movement were occupied only by Communists. This does not reflect reality, however. The nation-wide resistance to the enemy took on a mass character from the very beginning of the war, and only its forms and the methods of fighting changed. The party organized and directed the struggle by the masses; it was the leading force, the spirit of the partisan movement. Non-party Soviet patriots formed the basic mass of fighters in partisan detachments. Numerous instances are known when non-party people were the organizers and leaders of groups engaged in sabotage activity and of partisan detachments. Thus, in Kamenets-Podol'skaya Oblast the non-party comrade A. Odukha on his own initiative organized a partisan group which displayed aggressive activity and later developed into a powerful partisan formation. A. Odukha was given

the highest government decoration, the high title of Hero of the Soviet Union. At the head of powerful partisan formations and detachments were such outstanding patriots of the socialist motherland as S. A. Kovpak, S. V. Rudnev, N. N. Pokudrenko, A. F. Fedorov, A. N. Saburov, P. F. Kumonek, M. I. Naumov and others.

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By the end of the Great Patriotic War, according to statistics which are far from complete, there were in action in the Ukraine 2,145 partisan detachments and formations in which were more than 220,000 partisans, including 15,000 Communists and 26,000 Komsomols. In all ways the partisan movement was tied with the people, depended on its all-round help, and from the very beginning took on a truly nation-wide character. During the years of the war the partisans in the Ukraine, according to incomplete statistics, eliminated about 465,000 German soldiers and officers, derailed 4,958 troop trains with enemy troops and military equipment, blew up 1,556 tanks and armored cars, 211 planes and much other military equipment, and captured numerous trophies. In 1944 and the beginning of 1945, many partisan detachments from the Ukraine along with Soviet troops routed the occupiers on the territories of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Poland, and they gave help to the peoples of these countries in their liberation from the fascist yoke. Only during the period of March to June 1944, 15 Ukrainian partisan detachments and formations numbering 4,400 people were in action on Polish territory. In October 1944 in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania 77 partisan detachments numbering more than 17,000 people were in action.

The Party and government valued the militant activity of the partisans very highly. For their self-sacrificing struggle against the fascist occupiers tens of thousands of partisans were awarded orders and medals and 64,000 partisans were given the title of Hero of Soviet Union. Government awards were given to 2,500 Ukrainians who fought in the ranks of the Soviet Army and Navy. This is an indication of the attitude of the Ukrainian people towards the German occupiers and an indication of their high Soviet patriotism and devotion to their glorious Communist Party.

We, Ukrainian historians, have always considered and still consider as one of our basic aims to show in concrete historical material the dangers of the manifestations of nationalism in the workers' and Communist movement by directing our main attention to unmasking Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists as the enemies of the Ukrainian people.

Coming out against nationalist views which were hostile to the working class and which were directed at separating the workers, V. I. Lenin wrote: "...He who takes the point of view of nationalism naturally proceeds to the desire to surround his nationality or his national workers' movement with a Chinese wall, and he will not even ^{be} ~~be~~ disturbed by the fact that a separate wall must be built in each city, locality, or village, nor will he even be disturbed that by such tactics of separation and splintering he will bring to nought the great precept of bringing closer and unifying all nations, all races, and all languages."¹ Ukrainian Bolshevik organizations, directed

1. See V. I. Lenin. Works, vol. 6, pp. 474-475

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by Leninist theory and program on the nationality problem, have consistently
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fought against a strengthening of bourgeois nationalism and for the unity
of revolutionary activities of the Ukrainian people with the Russians and
other peoples of Russia, and have seen in this a pledge for the liberation
of the working masses from social and national oppression.

[pick up next page]

In their activity they were led by the wise instructions of the great Lenin that only "under the unified activity by the proletariats of the Great Russian and Ukrainian peoples is a free Ukraine possible, and without such unity it is completely out of the question." ^{2.} 50X1-HUM

Bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists are the most malicious enemy of the Ukrainian people and of all peoples in our country; they have always been a weapon and obedient servant of the international imperialist forces, and they have tried to wrench the Ukraine from the Soviet Union and to give it over into bondage under imperialist plunderers. The struggle against Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists was and is a struggle against nationalism, and without its destruction, Ukrainian Communists and the Ukrainian people could not have achieved the dictatorship of the proletariat, the creation of the Ukrainian Soviet State, or the construction of socialism. The ideological and political destruction of nationalism in the Ukraine is the historical service of the whole Communist Party, the Bolsheviks in the Ukraine, and the Ukrainian people, and is one of the decisive conditions for the triumph of the Leninist nationality policy and the victory of the ideology of proletarian internationalism and friendship of peoples.

False interpretation of isolated problems has had a place also among Soviet historians in the Ukraine. The work of certain historians contained

2. See V. I. Lenin. Works, Vol. 20, p. 14.

a certain idealization of the historical past and of bourgeois national-
istic organizations and institutions, an embellishment of the Borotbist ^{50X1-HUM}
Party and an exaggeration of its influence on the peasant masses. In
treating the history of the Ukrainian Communist Party, on the one hand
the positive activity of Ukrainian party organizations has been shown
insufficiently, and on the other hand, the fundamental nature of the
struggle by the Ukrainian Bolsheviks against anti-party groups and
tendencies: "left Communists," right opportunists, Pyatakovism, and
also against "leftists" and rightists in the Ukrainian Communist Party
(Bolshevik), was concealed. Such facts are isolated. However, the
Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, as well as party and
social organizations, subjected them to criticism and took measures for
increasing ideological and theoretical training and for raising the re-
sponsibility of the workers on the ideological front.

In the struggle against the fabrications of revisionists and bourgeois
Ukrainian nationalists, we must use our tested weapon -- scientific
argumentation. In the obviousness of facts and scientific arguments
lies our strength in the struggle against the falsifiers of history.
Therefore, our Institute considers one of its main goals the publication
of party documents which show the true history of the origin and activity
of Bolshevik organizations in the Ukraine and of the creation of the

Ukrainian Communist Party and its leading role in the struggle for estab-
 lishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and for building socialism. 50X1-HUM
 In our publishing work we try, first of all, to introduce documents from
 party organizations themselves, records of proceedings, resolutions,
 leaflets, letters, materials from the Bolshevik press, etc.

Recently the Institute of Party History under the Central Committee
 of the Ukrainian Communist Party, a branch of the Institute for Marxism-
 Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU, has published a number
 of documentary collections on the history of the Ukrainian Communist
 Party: Collection of Lenin materials "V. I. Lenin on the Ukraine;" "The
 Communist Party of the Ukraine in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses
 and Conferences, 1918-1956;" "Bolshevik Organizations in the Ukraine
 during the Preparation For and Carrying Out of the Great October Social-
 ist Revolution, March-November 1917;" and others. The Institute also has
 prepared a number of monographs, collections of articles, and memoirs.

The Institute is working now on a book on the history of the Ukrain-
 ian Communist Party. To prepare this book a decision by the Central Com-
 mittee of the Ukrainian Communist Party in May 1957 created an authors'
 group consisting of 18 people, which set to work in October 1957. As
 a result of work over a year and a half the group of authors basically
 finished the work of preparing a rough draft of the "Sketches." Sixty
 copies of this draft were made on a duplicator and distributed to

officials of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, ^{t50X1-HUM} the Institute for Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU, to oblast party committees, and to a number of party institutions and departments in the republic for familiarization. It is proposed to organize a wide discussion of the draft.

The "Sketches" are a condensed, systematic account of the history of the Ukrainian Communist Party, one of the militant branches of the CPSU, from the origin of the first social-democratic and Bolshevik organizations up to the present, from 1883 to 1959. The division into periods of the history of the CPSU is the basis for dividing the history of the Ukrainian Communist Party into periods. The "Sketches" consist of 18 chapters in a total volume of 36 quires.

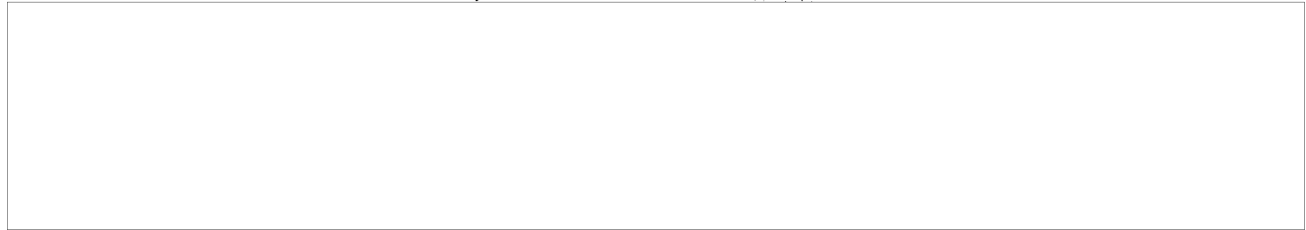
In writing the "Sketches" the authors' group was guided by the historical decisions of the 20th and 21st congresses CPSU and by the addresses of N. S. Khrushchev, which described the basic aims of historical party science and established the necessity for overcoming the mistakes of the past and for a new approach in dealing with party history. The "Sketches" were written on the basis of a study of the great ideological heritage of V. I. Lenin, of the decisions and materials from congresses, conferences of the CPSU and the Ukrainian Communist Party and other basic party documents.

In the "Sketches" the leadership of the Central Committee and of V. I. Lenin over the activity of Ukrainian Bolshevik organizations is

described extensively. The use of a large number of documents and materials made it possible to overcome a subjectivistic and objectivistic treatment of historical events which took place during the time of the cult of the personality. The "Sketches" briefly deal with the origin and activity of the Communist Party in the Western Ukraine which led the struggle by the workers of the western oblasts for social and national liberation and for a reunion with Soviet Ukraine.

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In 1957 the Institute began working on the history of the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine, The Western Ukrainian Communist Party was founded in 1919 and existed until 1938. It was a part of the Polish Communist Party. In 1938, on the basis of materials falsified by provocateurs who were later unmasked, the Polish Communist Party, and of course the Western Ukrainian Communist Party which was a part of it, were disbanded in an unfounded manner by a decision of the Comintern. After that, documents and materials about its activity were hardly published. Under the difficult conditions of the terror, the Western Ukrainian Communist Party led the struggle of the workers and peasants against oppression by capitalists and landowners and against the imminent fascist aggression, for the social and national liberation of the workers and for the unification of the Ukrainian land into one Ukrainian Soviet state.



The Polish Communist Party, faithful to the traditions of friendship 50X1-HUM
between the workers of Poland and those of the Soviet Union and to the principles of proletarian internationalism, proclaimed at its 2nd Congress in 1923: "In the name of the solidarity of all oppressed and exploited people, in the name of the right of each people for an independent solution of its destiny, in the interest of the genuine and stable independence of a Poland supported by the brotherhood and union with its neighbor republics, and in the interests of the victory of the proletarian-peasant revolution in Europe, the Polish working masses must recognize and support the aspiration of the Ukrainian and Belorussian workers and peasants for liberation from under the power of a Poland ruled by landowners and capitalists and for the unification of their lands with the Soviet Ukraine and Belorussia."

During the 20 years of its existence, in spite of blunders and errors in its activities and the actions of individual anti-party elements, the Western Ukrainian Communist Party carried on invaluable work in educating the workers of the Western Ukraine in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism.

The Institute, together with the L'vov Institute of Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences Ukrainian SSR, the L'vov Branch of the V. I. Lenin Museum, and the Archive Administration of the republic are

preparing a documentary collection in two volumes entitled "The Communist Party of the Western Ukraine in Documents and Materials." The tentative volume has about 100 quires. The collection will show the historical road of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (CPWU), the militant vanguard of the workers of the Western Ukraine lands in their struggle for social and national liberation. The first volume, embracing the period from 1919 to 1928, has already been finished and is at present under review. A team of scientific associates are now working on the second volume which will include materials for the years 1928-1938.

In conclusion I would like to say a few words in support of the idea of collaboration by institutes. We have had a number of problems which have necessitated close collaboration with the Institute of Party History under the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party of Poland, with the Institute of Party History under the Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party, with the Institute of Party History under the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and with the Institute of Party History under the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party. What sort of questions were these?

First, joint work with the Institute of Party History under the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party of Poland on the history of the CPWU. Documentary materials on the CPWU were in the archives of

the Soviet Union as well as in the archives of the Polish People's Republic. A careful analysis of materials in the first volume prepared by us shows that some very important materials were lacking, and these materials apparently were in Polish archives. At the very same time it is known that our friends from the Institute of Party History under the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party of Poland have also begun a thorough study of the history of the CPWU. Would it not be expedient to unite the efforts of our two institutes to deal in a truly scientific way, deeply and thoroughly, with the history of the CPWU, one of the militant branches of the international revolutionary movement, the organizer and leader of the revolutionary liberation struggle of the workers in the Western Ukraine lands?

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The circumstance that in 1918 and the first half of 1919 Trans-Carpathia formed a part of Hungary, was to some extent responsible for the fact that the origin of the Communist Party of Bucovina was closely tied to the formation of the Hungarian Communist Party. It is known that when the Hungarian Communist Party was formed in November 1918, it contained an autonomous section, a "group of Communists from the Russian Ukraine," a Communist organization which in those years led the revolutionary struggle of the workers of Trans-Carpathia and headed the first Soviet government in Trans-Carpathia in the spring of 1919, during the period of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. When Trans-Carpathia was occupied by troops from

bourgeois Czechoslovakia, the Communists in Trans-Carpathia established close ties with Czech Communists to fight together against the capitalist regime, and in the spring of 1921 the Communist organization of Trans-Carpathia joined with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and ~~became~~^{became} its regional organization. We have not even begun to work on the history of the Communist organization in Trans-Carpathia. Our experience in working on the history of the CPWU shows that for a successful solution of this task close contact by the Institute of Party History under the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party with the institutes of party history in Hungary and Czechoslovakia is necessary.

The Communist Party in Bucovina was born at the end of 1918 after the break-up of Austria-Hungary. In 1919-1921 it acted as an independent revolutionary party, and later in the spring of 1921, at a conference in Iasi, it joined the Rumanian Communist Party and became its regional organization. It is clearly impossible to work out the history of the Communist organization in Bucovina without close contact with the Institute of Party History of the Rumanian Workers' Party.

It is known that according to a decision of the 5th Comintern Congress in July 1924 on the Ukrainian problem, the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolshevik) was obliged to give help to the Communist organizations in the Western Ukraine, Trans-Carpathia, and Bucovina. This help given by the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolshevik) to the indicated Communist organizations

was done not over the head of the Communist parties in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania, of which at that time these organizations were constituent^{50X1-HUM} parts, but in agreement with the Polish Communist Party, Czech Communist Party, and the Rumanian Communist Party. A study of these international ties of the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolshevik) with the fraternal Communist parties in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania within the limits of the Comintern, during the pre-war years, has considerable significance and could be one of the general problems for research work by our institutes.

One of the most important goals of the Institute of Party History of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party during the forthcoming seven-year period, 1959-1965, is working out the history of the Civil War in the Ukraine. In this connection, particular interest and significance are found in studying and working out such an important phase in the Civil War in the USSR, including the Ukraine, as the participation in this war by numerous international Red Guard detachments, such as Hungarian, Czech, Chinese, Polish and others, their joint struggle with Ukrainian and Russian workers and peasants for consolidating the power of soviets in our country and for defending the achievements of the Great October [Revolution]. Materials about this are available in our country and in those of our friends -- in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and other countries. It is obvious that the collaboration of our Institute with the institutes of party history of these countries would be fruitful and would yield significant benefit.

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Speech by Comrade Jacques Chambaz (France)

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on Item Two of the Agenda

Comrades! Our delegation is in complete agreement with the report presented by Comrade SHATAGIN, head of the Soviet delegation.

The theses adopted at our Party's 14th Congress in July 1956 noted the importance of our Party's struggle against opportunistic revisionism, which was regarded as a major deviation, and against sectarianism.

Two months ago, the 15th Congress affirmed the correctness of this directive, which has permitted our Party to strengthen its unity and militant efficiency. At the same time it has refined and enriched the concrete forms of this ideological struggle. It has placed special emphasis on the political correlation between this ideological struggle and the struggle for the restoration and revival of democracy.

In its address, our delegation will dwell on several aspects of our experience and the lessons which Communist historians, participating in the work of the Commission for Party History under the Central Committee, must derive from our experience.

In France, too, where our Party plays an important role in social and political life, the revisionists directed their attacks against the theoretical and organizational principles of Marxist-Leninist parties. Under the false banner, "Freedom of Criticism," they openly bring up the principles of democratic centralism for discussion. Having lost all sense of proportion,

- 1 -

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they completely repudiate the need for a party as an organized and leading force of the working class. 50X1-HUM

In his latest work, Henri Le Fevre created a slanderous and crude anti-Communist and anti-Soviet caricature of the Party's theoretical and organizational principles. Then he demanded a repudiation of these principles and a conversion of the Communist Party into some kind of "free association" which -- he declares -- must not claim ~~to~~ a leading role in the process of transition to Socialism.

As a matter of fact, French revisionists repudiate the basic demands of class struggle; the basic task and goal in the existence of the party; the leadership of the class struggle of the proletariat in destroying capitalism and building socialism. Communist historians can significantly aid the struggle against these revisionist theses by their work. The ideological and organizational principles of the Communist parties were not taken out of the blue. They are the result of theoretical conclusions drawn from the experience of the international workers' movement.

The experience of the workers' movement in France includes, in particular, the rout of the Paris Commune in May 1871, and the arduous struggle to form the French workers' party around 1880, when the Possibilites, antagonists of Marxism, reacted inimically to the revolutionary content

- 2 -

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of the program which had been formulated in London by Jules Guesde ^{u50X1-HUM} Marx' direct and decisive participation. They demanded "freedom" for any socialist organization, and the right to have their own program. They rebelled against what was then called "the victory of the Marxist Capuchins." This experience also includes the unity achieved in 1905, which, because it lacked basic principles, was unable to hinder the opportunist degeneration of the French Socialist Party, leading to its bankruptcy in 1914. This experience finally includes the formation of the French Communist Party in 1920, the split in the ranks of Social-Democrats, and the steadfast, energetic efforts of the French Communists who strove to master Marxist-Leninist teachings and to liberate the Party from the sectarian or opportunist influences retained within its ranks.

Communist historians must therefore demonstrate how the Party has developed its organizational forms and leadership methods, based on Lenin's theses, on CPSU experience and on the activity of the Communist International, and finally on the lessons drawn from the experience of the working class in our country and from its own practical activity.

In thus studying the history of Party formation and development, and applying this experience as a means of training in the present struggle, Communist historians are contributing to the exposure of revisionist falsifications and to spotlighting the essential basic truth that the road taken in 1920 was the right one. At the same time, it is worth mentioning that

- 3 -

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the deviation from Leninist organizational and theoretical principles^{50X1-HUM} the minority at the Tours Congress in 1920 contributed to the political and ideological degeneration of the Social-Democrats and to increasing violations of the internal democracy in the socialist parties.

Tracing the development of this process amounts to showing that the principles of democratic centralism, against which the revisionists are directing their attacks, represent a unified organizational form which corresponds to the tasks of the working class, and that these principles simultaneously guarantee unity and solidarity of the working class ranks, and enable your Party workers to take active part in its life, in control over the leaders, independent of their level, and in a realistic development of the Party's political line.

It is precisely with this idea that our Commission for Party History published several documents on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Communist International, which [documents] related to its first Congress and which were rapidly sold out in France.

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There is one more point on which Marxist historians may support the general struggle of our Party. Individual voices within our ranks, as well as regular campaigns in the foreign press, develop the thesis according to which the loyalty of French Communists to Marxist-Leninist principles

- 4 -

SECRET

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and, in particular, to proletarian internationalism, may allegedly 50X1-HUM the cause for a permanent split within the working class and for disunity among the democratic forces.

Several went so far as to maintain by new false ideological arguments the old Social-Democratic and reactionary slander, depicting Communists as "Moscow agents." We pointed out in our first address that such is the position of the Autonomous Socialist Party and the Union of the Socialist Left-wing Bourdet-Martin [?].

The theses ratified at the 15th Congress state that our Party has never ceded to this campaign -- nor will it ever do so. It has always considered that the task of every Communist and workers party consists in resolving the problems which confront its people, by observing class solidarity on an international scale and by remaining loyal to Marxist-Leninist principles.

It is precisely this class solidarity and this unity of thinking which are repudiated by the leaders of the Union of Yugoslav Communists who share revisionist concepts on the nature and evolution of capitalism and on the role of the party.

One of the tasks for Communist historians is to prove conclusively that loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism has enabled our Party to conduct a policy which conforms to national interests, which is entirely independent of the fraternal parties, but which ^{has} ~~is~~ at the same time profound ideological unity with them, based on class solidarity and on the unity of theory. It is in this spirit that our Commission published its research on the Ruhr situation in 1923. And at the moment when the

- 5 -
SECRET

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French bourgeoisie is celebrating the 20th anniversary of 1939 in its way, [the Commission] is publishing a work on the role of our Party at the beginning of World War II, on De Gaulle and on the Resistance [movement].

In this connection, we wish to thank the Soviet comrades who recently published documents, which we have also republished, on Comrade Voroshilov's negotiations on the eve of the war with the French-British Military Delegation and on the talks between De Gaulle and Stalin. We also wish to thank our comrades from the German Democratic Republic for sending us some Gestapo documents on our Party operations during this period.

Concurrent with the campaigns against Party principles, the revisionists attempted to speculate on the materials of the 20th Congress of the ~~Communist Party~~ of CPSU. These they interpreted in their own way, asserting that the progress in peaceful coexistence serves as justification in our country for the political and ideological coexistence between leftist forces and the parties which represent them. Life quickly resolved this problem. Imperialism itself reminds those who were lured by revisionist sirens that 1.) peaceful coexistence demands the constant and persevering struggle of the people, in order to hinder the imperialist governments from resorting to war and that 2) it [co-existence] cannot eliminate the class struggle.

Then, in yielding to bourgeois pressure, the revisionists followed a new path. They attempted to shove the responsibility for the lack of a united

- 6 -
SECRET

front not only on the organizational party principles but also on its ^{50X1-HUM} theoretical foundations and the political course as a whole.

Aided by leftist phraseology, they openly demanded adapting our political and ideological positions to Social-Democrat positions. They maintained that there is an insurmountable contradiction between the broad policy of compromises and alliances, which [policy] our Party conducts, and between its desire to preserve the stability of principles and its political independence. Concurrently, on the other hand, several participants in this campaign expressed the opinion that a united front is neither necessary nor possible. They sharply criticized our Party efforts, directed toward the realization of this unity. They pretended to forget that we never set up the adoption of our principles and ^{program} as a condition for unity of action and for rallying the democratic forces.

The task confronting our historians is to point out [the following] on the basis of the historical experience of the international Communist movement and, in particular, the French movement: Firm principles, in conjunction with tactical flexibility, not only does not damage the unity of the working class and the broadest alliances; it is a condition of this unity. It alone ensures the growth of the Party's leading role in the struggle of the working class and of the people.

This is all the more necessary since revisionism distorts the conclusions which evolve out of this experience.

- 7 -

SECRET

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary commemorating the establishment of the Popular Front, they regularly defended the thesis that the Popular Front allegedly emerged as a result of spontaneous actions of the masses, who thrust it on the stagnant party leadership, including also the leadership of the French Communist Party.

Therefore it is important at this stage, as well as in the future, to point to our Party's role in mobilizing the working class and its natural allies to remove those obstacles which right-wing Social-Democrat leaders set up on the way to the creation of a united front, and later, the Popular Front.

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In our delegation's presentation on item one of the Conference agenda, we expounded this question in detail. Therefore, I shall merely point out that our Commission for Party History is concluding its compilation of documents concerning the signing of an agreement on unity of action between Socialists and Communists in July 1934 and the initial efforts of our Party in the autumn of that same year, aimed at expanding this agreement and obtaining an agreement on a Popular Front in the struggle for bread, peace and freedom. Our Commission is completing the editing of two works on the 1934-1936 period, illuminating these issues.

On a broader scale, we are striving in this same spirit to set up a manual on the history of our Party.

8
SECRET

Of course, this does not mean that we shall by-pass in silence possible illusions and errors assumed by us. Our Communist Party was not created in a "a miracle-working" day by the efforts of the Tours Congress, which passed a resolution on joining the Third International. But the analysis of these errors (which have retained the value of a lesson for our Party and for the masses) must not in any event lead us to cast doubt on the essential element of history, i.e., the creation of a new type of revolutionary party and a basically correct course for its policy. Therefore, we agree with the methodological observations made by Comrade Shatagin in the name of the Soviet delegation.

Revisionist allegations to the contrary, our epoch requires the strengthening rather than the weakening of the Communist parties. The recent experience of the French working class in November 1956 confirmed this. Our Party stability was a factor in the successful rebuff to the violent offensive -- ideologically, politically and practically -- which created a united anti-Communist front from the bourgeoisie to the revisionists. Experience confirmed this also in 1958 when our Party retained its unity and remained the sole organized opposition force in the face of the Algerian putsch.

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I should now like to proceed to the second point, to the present development of capitalism.

The report and the discussion have shown how modern revisionism^{is} 50X1-HUM attempting to put its own interpretation 1.) on some technical changes in production and in organizational forms of hired labor, which [changes] have taken place in capitalist economy; 2.) on their influence on conditions of exploitation of the working class, and on the composition of various social classes. Revisionism uses these changes as ground for bringing up for discussion the general laws and objective logic in the development of capitalism as expounded by Marxism-Leninism. Thus, it proceeds to a negation 1.) of the scientific concept of social classes and their struggle; 2.) of the necessity for the transition from capitalism to socialism; and 3.) of the proletariat's historical role in the revolutionary transformation of society. Thereby, revisionism attempts to disarm the working class in its struggle; to throw a veil of deceptive illusions over the reality of capitalist exploitation; and to spread doubts and discredit the ultimate aim of this struggle.

One renegade in our Party recently had temporary success in the bourgeois and Social-Democrat press, which published his brochure titled Marxism, Subjected to Review. Having developed the basic theses of modern revisionism, he concludes, "It seems to us that we must focus our attention on two hypotheses concerning the future of our civilization:

1. The transition from capitalism to a society of administrators, as Bernheim stated it.

SECRET

2. Advancement to socialism, including the stage of the rule of ^{50X1-HUM} administrators as the nearest [impending] historical moment, as Blum was inclined to consider.

In the present stage of our research, we do not think that sociology can dwell on either one of these two hypotheses. Therefore, it seems to us that, in any case, socialism remains a magnanimous desire and a beautiful risk which we are undergoing. In another ^{interpretation} ~~source~~, it is merely a captivating myth." (Pierre Fougereolle [?] pp 152-153)

I beg the Conference's indulgence for this lengthy quotation but it seems to me that it summarizes the course of this campaign fairly well. It also points out that while its line differs from Social-Democrat ideology, revisionism) actually attains the same objective as Social-Democratic ideology.

In September 1950 Maurice Thorez noted, in defining Social-Democratic ideology, that it is "... an ideology of repudiation and capitulation, which is trying to blunt and undermine the proletarian class spirit; to degrade and stifle the dignity of the proletariat and the pride of the champion of the just Communist and socialist cause."

A vast amount of literature in France -- books, brochures, newspaper and magazine articles -- stems from revisionist positions and attempts to force the workers to doubt their strength, their capabilities and their future; and to agree to class collaboration.

This literature corroborates Lenin's words that "in the field 50X1-HUM litical economy, revisionist amendments are indisputably more varied and mor detailed, since the changes in capitalist economy are so numerous that 70 Marxes could not cover them all."

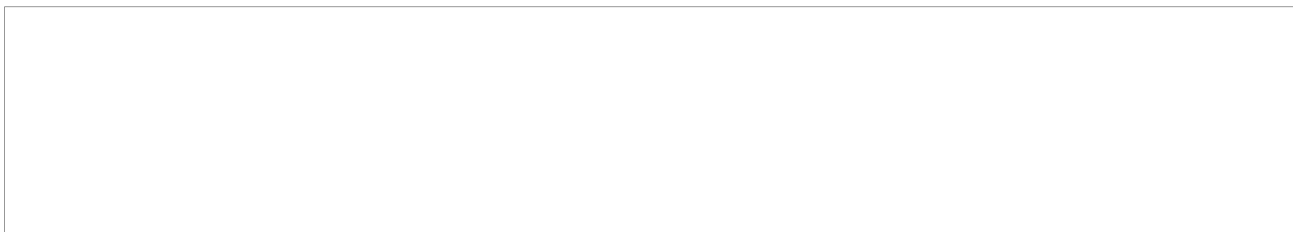
We do not intend to analyze the basic theses of this campaign, all the more so because its general substance was presented at this Conference. We should merely like to clarify in more detail one of the aspects of the party's ideological struggle, aimed at raising the class consciousness among the workers.

We give special attention to the exposure of revisionist theses on so-called "national capitalism." Our historical and economic works, lectures, and public discussions demonstrate, how the concentration of capital occurs in France, especially under the guise of state monopolistic capitalism. Of course, in these works, lectures etc, we do not disclaim changes which have taken place and are taking place in the working class, as well as in the middle classes. A thorough study of these changes is one of the conditions for the success of our struggle. Labor conditions and workers' wages are differentiated in relation to the introduction of all kinds of premiums and compensations, and overtime hours. But this analysis of changes in the structure of the working class, the methods of wage payments or the technical working conditions do not in any way alter the fundamental fact which is that the worker, in selling his working power, receives less than he produces.

From this point of view, our Communist historians should, of course, ^{50X1-HUM} have proved more thoroughly that modern revisionism is doing its utmost in this respect, too, to join with Social-Democratic ideology, which is on the decline, as compared with the period between the two World Wars. For instance, it is impossible to confound Jaures' reformism with Leon Blum's Social-Democrat ideology, or even less by Guy Mollet's ideology.

Indeed, in using the arguments which have preserved their validity even for our contemporary struggle, Jaures subjected to criticism some of Bernstein's positions, which we now encounter in various modifications. For instance, Jaures defended the Marxist position on the legality of the concentration of capital by showing that, to an increasing degree, small enterprises "are maintained only in secondary fields, and that they are dependent on or branch off from big industry." He spoke of capitalist concentration as a "spray of water around a stream." He also criticized the intentional confusion which confounds state capitalism with a collective-labor type of socialism. He stressed that private employers and hired labor and the very principle of the capitalist regime continue to exist under the first [state capitalism].

Such scientific works and the conclusions drawn at the same time from Jaures' errors, which were engendered by his reformism, seem useful to us. They afford us the opportunity to expose the ideological degeneration of modern revisionists "who have subjected Marxism to criticism." They make



it possible to repudiate their essentially false } claims to innovation^{and}_{50X1-HUM} to use for our own struggle that which has preserved its value in some traditions. And it is impossible to state that these [traditions] have lost all their influence.

In our ideological struggle against the idea of the "renewal" of capitalism, we deem it especially important to expose the process which demonstrates that the law of capitalist accumulation and the trend toward a relative and absolute impoverishment of the working class have not ceased to function in France.

We took the offensive on this issue at the time when French capitalism was going through the expansionist phase. This expansion created more favorable grounds for imbuing the working class with revisionist and reformist ideas.

In response to this, bourgeois reformist and revisionist ideologists adopted every measure in defense of the "new", "progressive" capitalism. This [latter] allegedly, had nothing in common with that capitalism which had at one time been the cause of the proletariat's impoverishment.

Not in the slightest did our party retreat. On the contrary, it intensified its offensive by publishing a number of scientific works from its Central Committee and, in particular, original works of great theoretical value, written by its secretary-general. This effected positive results. Thanks to our efforts, party organizations began giving more consideration to the impoverished strata of the proletariat, to their economic demands and to their

organization. It may be said that the great discussion, initiated to a considerable degree by our Party, was the basis for our successes 1.) in the legislative elections of January 1956 in districts with a very dense proletarian population and 2.) in the ~~1956~~ strike struggle which preceded these elections.

And even now this ideological battle which we won among the ranks of the working class has aided and is aiding [The working class] to understand the class content of the De Gaulle government.

All this facilitates the struggle of the working class. The industrialists and the De Gaulle regime of personal power compel the working class and the popular masses to pay for a policy conducted by the ruling classes. They attack the rights won by the proletariat, by reducing overtime hours and thereby reducing their earnings. Thus, those [members of the proletariat] whom we had not yet convinced, turn to the Communists as the sole party which has not deceived them.

Moreover, the increased attention to the needs and requirements of the proletarian masses, especially the most exploited strata, has facilitated and is facilitating their recruitment for the struggle for peace, for national independence, and for democracy.

Just as in other periods, during the struggle for a Popular Front or the struggle against Hitler Fascism, party confirmation of their class positions and their convincing exposure of concrete forms of capitalist

exploitation, were an important factor in the struggle for the working people's unity and for their union with the broadest strata. The work of the Party revealed the objective bases of proletarian union with all social strata which had been victimized by big capital. It promoted the development of the struggle and strengthened the leading role of the Party even beyond the boundaries of the working class.

It is not by chance that those who refused to acknowledge the manifestation of the trend of the law on impoverishment in France were the very ones who attempted to convert the working class and the Communist Party into a supporting power in the service of their so-called "competitive large-scale capital." It is not by chance that they accuse us of allegedly wanting to resist technological progress and, as they state it, to become defenders of [the use of] wheelbarrows in the atomic age. As an excuse they use the fact that we are defending all those demands of the laboring peasantry and urban middle classes which do not contradict the interests of the proletariat.

We have reached the third point: The paths for the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The revisionists say that it is possible to transfer from capitalism to socialism without a struggle, with the aid of a simple accumulation of

democratic achievements. It is as though there is no longer a need,^{50X1-HUM} under the capitalist system, to defend the democratic achievements of the working class and the laboring masses by a powerful movement of the popular forces, who are always on guard against capitalism, which poses a constant threat to these achievements.

Our Communist historians should study both the more remote and the recent historical experiences of our country. From 2 December 1851 to 31 May 1958, these [experiences] are sufficiently rich in facts which testify that political democracy is not at all a characteristic trait of capitalism, as revisionist pseudo-theoreticians would maintain.

On this point, they disregard the fact that no matter how far democracy may go in its development, it will never contain socialism in itself. They would like to bury in oblivion the fact that under whatsoever circumstances and regardless of which concrete form, the transition from capitalism to socialism is a revolutionary leap, the result of an intense class struggle.

Revolution of necessity consists of destroying the old state machinery and replacing it with an apparatus created by the popular forces, capable of serving the dictatorship of the ^oproletariat -- the highest form of democracy.

At the same time we are not making an abstract comparative study of the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism. We condemn as sectarianism the absolutely erroneous idea that by proposing democratic

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demands, we are allegedly engendering "illusions" among the masses. 150X1-HUM

the contrary, the struggle for democracy which the wealthy bourgeoisie has repudiated and betrayed, enables the proletariat to strengthen its authority and to rally the broadest masses around itself.

In the light of this point of view, our 15th Congress has proposed a program, stipulating the following measures: nationalization of some important industrial sectors; agrarian reforms, and protection of small peasant farms against monopolies; democratic control over the plans of capital investment in industry and agriculture.

Such measures, in supporting an extensive grouping of democratic forces, could isolate the wealthy bourgeoisie and destroy the reactionary bloc headed by monopolistic capital.

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In conclusion, if the revisionists zealously perform their score in the chorus of those who declare that they are going further than Marxism, this is being done for the reason that ~~that~~ the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas is being confirmed as never before in the whole world. Even in France, during the last session of the Protestant Church Synod, Pastor Burgelin gave an address entitled; "Marxism is one of the forms which represent peace in our times."

For quite some time the bourgeoisie has not been able to directly influence the working class under the banner of its own principles.

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- 18 -
SECRET

Social-Democrat ideology is being discredited more and more. Modern ^{re-}50X1-HUM visionism is trying to replace it. It is inevitably becoming the most important support of a systematic and multifaceted offensive which the bourgeoisie is conducting against the ideology and policy of the Communist Party. But the change in the correlation of forces in the world, the large-scale political and ideological struggle in our country, and the authority which our party enjoys even outside the working class, explain the ideological weakness of revisionism and the rapid loss of faith in its representatives.

As time goes on they very rapidly fall into decline. Formerly, they rejected the allegedly "poorly understood" ~~Marxism-Leninism~~ in favor of a "correctly understood" Marxism; now they have simply reached the point of rejecting it completely.

Revisionist Hervé was not only awarded the blessings of Boshenskiy, the Jesuit philosopher. Together with the traitor ~~Le~~ Le Coeur [?] he joined the Socialist Party (SFIO) and heads one of the periodicals of this Party, under the supervision of its deputy secretary-general Georges Brutel.

For his part, Le Fèvre who had recently criticized the Communist Manifesto because it discussed the culinary art in connection with the economic structure of society, definitely breaks away from Marxism in his latest work, The Sum and Difference.

Modern revisionism is making little headway with the working class, despite the means at its disposal and despite all its efforts. Indeed,

- 19 -
SECRET

as we have already stated, only the Communist Party in France can speak ^{50X1-HUM} in behalf of the majority of the working class, and not merely in behalf of its revolutionary trend.

As regards the lagging strata of the working class, they are mainly under Social-Democrat influence. The dissemination of modern revisionism has been actually effected through the bourgeois and petty bourgeois press, especially through "France-Observateur." This [dissemination] is thus designed to be used in the struggle against the influence of Communist ideas among the new strata of employees and heterogenous masses of the petty bourgeois elements. Its purpose is to confound any union on their part with the working class. This ~~is~~ is especially in evidence among the intelligentsia.

For this reason, however important the struggle against revisionism may be, it cannot be dissociated from the struggle against Social-Democrat ideology. The oft-noted resemblance between revisionist and Social-Democrat theories facilitates this dual struggle; however, its component parts must not be confused.

We are trying to conduct this struggle so as to recruit to our side, by a policy of conviction, those honest men and women who have been deceived by revisionism. We do not forget, at this point, that the implementation of our Party's broad policy of democratic unity around the working class also demands waging a battle against sectarianism. The latter has a scornful attitude toward the masses. It refuses to work with those who do not

- 20 -
SECRET

think like us, and is incapable of battling persistently. [Thus our struggle] is to organize and launch into action those social strata which have been victimized by large-scale capital. strug-
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The revisionists are constantly appealing to us to adjust to the [new] capitalism, which has allegedly become half-socialistic or is withering away. They point to the changes which have taken place; however, actually nothing has been changed in the essence of capitalism. We find it necessary to consider the new aspects which they are using in their propaganda, however only for the purpose of adapting our struggle against capitalism, and for socialism, to the present conditions.

We have summarized some of the questions on the work of our Commission on [Party] History. Its achievements are still comparatively minor. Our resources are limited. Besides, our party workers last year were absorbed in the pressing matter of ideological and political struggle against the regime of personal power.

There is no doubt that the present Conference, through the content and range of its discussions, will evoke an exchange of opinions upon our return to France. This exchange will contribute to the work of our Commission and will aid us in our party's overall ideological struggle.

Delegate of Italy

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Speech of Comrade Luciano GRUPPI
on Item 2 of the Agenda

Comrades,

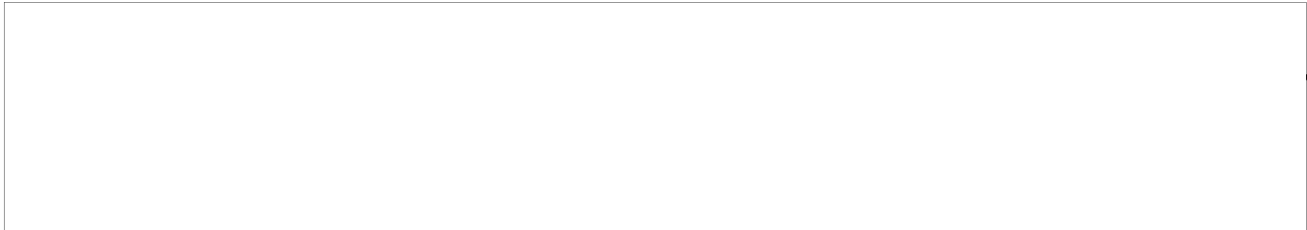
Comrade Shafagin pointed out quite correctly that problems of historical research must be approached from a political angle. Bearing this in mind I shall try to present to you certain aspects of the political experience our party has gathered.

One should not forget that the links between history and politics are dialectic by nature, and that under the circumstances none of these two factors should be unscientifically depreciated for the benefit of the other.

As is known, revisionistic attacks became particularly vicious in Italy at the time of the Hungarian events.

Our study of revisionism would be too superficial if we fail to note what revisionists were saying in relation to the 20th Congress of the CPSU, and the statements made in regard to events in Italy before the Congress, specifically, the defeats suffered by the working class in a number of monopolistic enterprises as a result of the fierce offensive by industrial circles, which used terroristic means and paternalistic corruption as weapons.

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This development clearly points to the class origin and the objective foundation of revisionism in our country.

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As is known, one of the main peculiarities of the Italian situation is that a Socialist Party exists there, and that the Italian Communist Party has long since achieved if not an outright unity of action with the Socialists, but at least a state of close cooperation.

The struggle against revisionism has always been a struggle for the unity of the working class.

A series of questions, based upon the social theories of the Catholic church, and supplemented by the new preachings on so-called "human relations," came about as a natural consequence of the defeats the working class has sustained in some of its political ventures.

Our party and the General Confederation of Labor were faced with the following task: the political and ideological work carried out by our trade unions in enterprises, factories and plants had to be adapted to the new conditions while the class characteristics of our activity had to be strictly observed and any opportunistic concessions, either political or ideological, had to be opposed.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU provided invaluable help to the Italian workers' movement and to our party's activity, when it criticized the schematic concepts implying the existence of progress potentials ^{movement,} ~~in~~ capitalism, when it opened new political horizons for the workers' and when it contributed to the progress and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist theories.

The far-reaching criticisms expressed by the 20th Congress of the CPSU^{50X1-HUM} became positive factors in our promoting the development of the Italian workers' movement. In the meantime, opportunists and opportunistic trends tried to use them as an excuse for their ideological and political capitulations, although the actual and sole reasons for their giving up were to be found in the increased intensity of the struggle, and in the evidence of the monopolistic offensive.

Nenni and the rightist elements of the Socialist party took advantage of these far-reaching criticisms by the 20th Congress of the CPSU to question the Soviet system, Socialist democracy and the great socialist achievements, and to justify their own position in international politics, their neutrality with regard to both camps, and their attempt to loosen ties with the ICP in domestic policy matters.

In those days all the efforts of the ICP which were concentrated on correctly interpreting the questions raised at the 20th Congress, on repelling enemy attacks, and on correcting orientation errors in the party ranks, harmonized with a frank and sincere discussion of the positions taken by Nenni and the right-wingers of the ISP.

The events in Hungary sharpened the discussion and mobilized our party to the defense of proletarian internationalism exposed to the revisionistic attacks.

Now that I have endeavored to present a general outline of the problem, may I proceed with the more specific investigation of certain phases of our struggle against revisionists.

We might say that in fighting revisionism we have not always ^a50X1-HUM to invariable methods, nor have we been consistent in our attitude. However, we always endeavored to conduct our discussion in a broad, open, and lively manner, so that all errors ^{Likely} ~~successful~~ to generate disorientation within the party were brought out, and the differences between the revisionistic and our own theses were exposed.

At one of the discussions, which took place before the Congress convened, a Central Committee member, speaking in self-criticism, as he pretended, ~~at~~ attempted to discredit the party. Such an incident, by the way, occurred but once. Comrade Togliatti's magazine "Rinascita," far from turning that member's article down, published it under the headline "an inadmissible attack against the Party;" a sharp and stern reprimand by Comrade Togliatti himself obviously followed that article. Comrade Togliatti pointed out in his article that the party must defend its principles and its political ^{line} with the utmost firmness.

Another example was Giolitti's taking a vague and intricate stand, without displaying an overt intention to attack the party. The friendly discussion which followed was his opportunity to clarify his views orally and in writing, thus opening the way to an attempt of bringing back in line Giolitti himself and those who shared his views. When it became obvious that Giolitti was stubborn ~~by~~ clinging to his positions, the party demanded that he clarify his views, and asked him to speak in parliament on the subject of the European Economic Cooperation. It was

then that he had to drop his mask, and he abandoned the party, to ~~W50X1-HUM~~ he actually no longer belonged.

A book written by Giolitti helped us to broaden the scope of arguments we opposed to revisionism. In this respect Luigi Longo, our Party's Secretary General, took the lead with his book "The Old and the New Reformism."

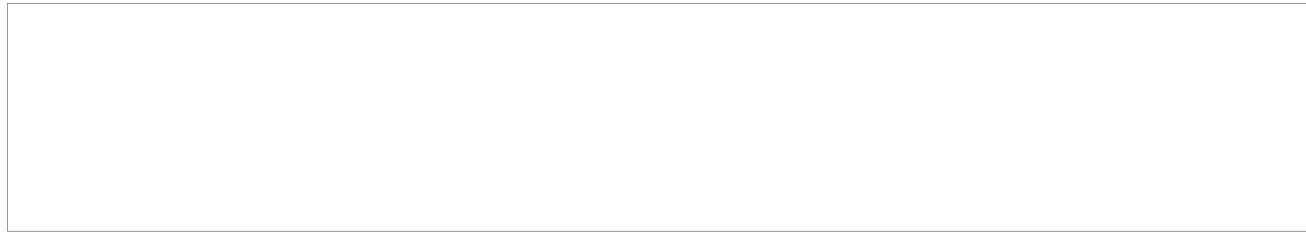
Regarding Giolitti's concept in which he made technical progress the primary stage of the party's driving power, we did not limit ourselves to an answer which spelled out the familiar thesis that technical progress should be effected from class positions while determining production relations, and that that was the decisive element from which to proceed. We analyzed the relationship between the working class and technical progress, and stressed the fact that even in a capitalistic society the working class is far from being indifferent to technical progress. On the contrary, said we, the working class fights for technical progress, while striving to achieve far-reaching economic and social reforms and to bring about changes in the political system by destroying the monopolistic power. We further emphasized that the working class was anxious to transform technical progress into social progress -- which has not been done yet -- thus providing the working class with better positions in its struggle for socialism.

The discussion continued and became more thorough when the question arose as to whether or not atomic energy and automation might cause a

second industrial revolution. We answered that question negatively^{50X1-HUM} since an industrial revolution is only conceivable with changes occurring in production relations, as this happened at the beginning of modern capitalism. In the capitalistic countries of today, Atomic energy has no effect on production relations; it serves, on the contrary, to emphasize the monopolistic character of ownership. In the meantime, in socialistic countries atomic energy and automation accelerate the transition from socialism to communism, without changing the production relations established by the workers' government.

We shall oppose the discredited claims of contemporary capitalism that it has overcome its own contradictions, by disclosing its actual condition,[✓] the lack of social balance in our country, and the situation in the colonies; we shall also declare that there is no solution for such contradictions. The economic crisis in the USA has confirmed the Marxist-Leninist theses.

On the basis of Giolitti's and other revisionists' opinion of modern capitalism, a concept was developed which set us back to those worn-out and obsolete theses of reformism, concerning the struggle for power of the working class and the nature of that class itself. Comrade Giolitti came to the conclusion that the working class has fully recognized parliamentary methods, and that socialism can be achieved through peaceful means. He forgot, however, that neither the parliamentary system nor the possibility to gain power through peaceful means are permanent factors; they are nothing more than the result of a definite historical situation which drives from class relations, and for that reason these factors are transitory.



Thus we have rejected a theory of workers' hegemony, which theory^{50X1-HUM} considers leadership, conviction and education as its only elements and forgets) the coercion and constraint exercised by the working class enemy.

Both the principle of leadership and the principle of force are fundamental in establishing the hegemony, i.e. the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was the point Giolitti attempted to discard.

The influence exercised on Giolitti by the right wing of the ICP is not limited to the above questions. It is also evident in his views on the methods by which unity of the working class should be achieved. In this problem Giolitti, in agreement with Nenni, plans to achieve unity by adopting the platform of the Social Democrats; he thus belittles the role of the communist party.

By rejecting this opinion, we stressed again the irreplaceable part the ICP took in the fight for the unity of the working class, and we re-affirmed that democratic centralism is the basic principle of intraparty life.

It can be easily proved that the position adopted by the revisionists of our party was that of the rightist elements of the ISP. When defeated within our party, revisionism concentrated within the ISP, or more precisely within the right wing of that party which welcomed Giolitti and other revisionists.

Since the decisive setback revisionists have suffered within our party, which came as the result of an uncoordinated action taken by a

SECRET

few of our members, the struggle took a form of a discussion with the right wing of the ISP, which of course relaxes the vigilance in our ranks. ^{50X1-HUM} The discussion was brought out in the open, before the masses. Although our criticism of our opponents' ideas was open and clear even throughout the electoral campaign, we did not overlook the fact that the discussion was held with a party which shared our positions on some of the outstanding problems, and that we collaborated with that party in trade unions, in co-operatives, in local government organizations, and in mass organizations. The most important point is that we never forgot the political purpose of this criticism which was to achieve a solid unity of the working class.

The approach would be artificial indeed, especially for Italy, to dissociate the struggle against revisionism within the country from the struggle against it beyond the borders.

In fact, and our comrades may have concluded it from what I said, there is an obvious analogy between the positions of the ISP and of the Association of Communists of Yugoslavia. I do not refer to ideologies alone, but to political solidarity as well. During the elections of 1958 it manifested itself in the shape of overt support given by the Association of Communists of Yugoslavia to the ISP candidates in the Julian Venice area.

As is known, at the time when a new phase in the relationship between the communist parties and the ACY was planned, i.-e. at the time Khrushchev visited Belgrade, our party made its contribution, which ought to help a further extension of the correct line planned by the CPSU.

However, in spite of our efforts to promote good relations we ^{50X1-HUM} criticized aggressively the Yugoslav speakers whether it be on the subject of the nature of the state and of the party, or on that of the workers' Soviets. This happened, for instance, at a scientific discussion dealing with workers' Soviets, which took place in the Gramsci Institute.

Even prior to the release of the ACY's program, and before the beginning of open discussions between communist and workers' parties on one side and the ACY on the other, the National Council of the party took a firm stand with regard to the so-called neutrality between the two camps, considering this viewpoint unacceptable for a party which called itself communistic, and a country which wanted to be socialistic.

When the discussion of the ACY program began, our party contributed its share both through ^{its theoretical organ "Rinascita,"} and through a series of public statements made by the Central Committee.

We found it necessary to add to the criticisms of the ACY positions, some discussions pertaining to matters, if not of primary/^{importance,} yet important enough, and concerning the wrong interpretation of Gramsci's concept by some representatives of the intelligentsia.

They tried to distort Antonio Gramsci's opinion on the movement of Soviets in factories and plants, by reducing the part played by the party.

The biased and one-sided approach of these interpretations was exposed at meetings devoted to Gramsci's works, organized by the Gramsci Institute. It is true that the Communist party did not exist when the "Ordine Nuovo"

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movement took the leadership in organizing the workers' Soviets. In 1919, Gramsci and the "Ordine Nuovo" group had yet to grasp completely Lenin's concept of the Communist Party, which was done a few years later, through a direct acquaintance with the Great October Revolution and with Lenin's works. But it is equally true that Gramsci has never set the role of the Soviets, against the role of the party. On the contrary, he always detected in both a power, which can be opposed to the opportunistic corruption of the old Socialist Party, as well a source of the formation, and promotion of new cadres of workers.

Thus, the "Ordine Nuovo" movement became the most valuable foundation on which the Italian Communist Party was established.

While describing our struggle against revisionism, I must emphasize that it was carried out within the framework of our discussions which preceded and followed the 8th Congress; in other words, this struggle was a part of our work of defining a political platform congruent with the problems set forth by the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

In our struggle against revisionism we did not limit ourselves to restating our basic principles: we connected this with the task of developing our own political party line, and of working out problems in our struggle for a democratic and socialist Italy; we made this struggle a part of our aspiration to provide for a creative development of Marxist-Leninist theories adapted to the situation in Italy.

As comrade Sereni pointed out in his concurrent report, we came 50X1-HUM
to the conclusion that ideological war on revisionism can be waged most
effectively while working out the party line and increasing the party's
ability to take political initiatives and to solve theoretical problems.
We must also indicate that in working on establishing the party line of
the 8th Party Congress, we had to struggle against other obstacles, i.e.
sectarianism and dogmatism. This struggle represented one of the factors
which enabled us to repel efficiently the revisionistic attacks.

We can see now the results of such policies.

Nobody in Italy could deny that our party's stand is now broader and
stronger than it was before the revisionists attacked us; Since then it
has become obvious that the ideological and political setback we dealt
to revisionism provoked a crisis and started a split within the ranks of
the Christian Democrats. On the other hand, all those who in 1956 spoke
with assurance about a crisis in our ranks have lamentably failed. Facts
confirmed a series of our opinions with regard to the "common market" and
to Fanfani's policies, and now even the Socialist Party has to take them
into consideration in its further activity.

The General Confederation of Labor has regained a large part of the
positions lost in 1955-1956 when, under the influence of an economic
struggle in the trade unions, Italy experienced shifts of a magnitude
unseen for many years.

On the basis of the experience we have gained, we reported to you
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on some of the hardest aspects of our struggle against revisionism on
the theoretical plane.

Speech of Comrade J. Jacobs
(Great Britain)
on Item 2 of the Agenda.

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The Communist Party of Great Britain, like the other communist parties, has started to fight revisionism both within and outside of its ranks. This struggle is not directed at leftist revisionists alone, it is aimed at the rightist revisionists as well.

Bearing in mind that the rightist "theorists" have never pretended to be Marxist followers, their revisionism materialized in the shape of "discoveries" of alternatives to Marxism, and of "proofs" that class struggle is a communist invention.

From 1920 to 1930, [and especially?] after the heroic strike of 1926, the right wingers applied a "new remedy" designed to abolish the inequalities prevailing under capitalism, and to establish a new era of freedom from labor conflicts and of prosperity for the workers.

Under the ostentatious headline "Peace in Industry," Sir Alfred Mond (later Lord Melchett), head of the large capitalist operators and director of the huge imperial chemical enterprises (Imperial Chemical Industries), together with Ben Turner (later Sir Ben Turner), Chairman of the Trade-Union Congress, published a joint declaration stating that the general strike had proved the obsolescence of class struggle and strikes and had shown that all those who advocate them live in the past with no

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interest in people's welfare, and find it advantageous to provoke troubles which would profit only some foreign power. They asserted that the best thing to do is to forbid strikes, in order to help everyone to understand that cooperation between capital and labor is indispensable, that workers ought to work more without increase in wages, while the capitalists should be required to reduce their profits.

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Reactionary trade union leaders adopted that theses, and through various undemocratic means had it declared as the policy of the British trade-union movement.

Mass resignations from the trade unions and total disillusionment were the direct results of that policy; unfortunately this happened only among the rank and file members and not among their leaders.

Our party censored the Mond-Turner agreement and called upon the workers to continue and intensify the struggle for wage increases. We advised the workers not to abandon the trade unions; on the contrary we told them to return there and fight those of their leaders who are enemies of the working class, to strengthen the unions' fighting capacity from within, and, while waging this struggle, to form a new efficient leadership.

At the beginning of 1930, the Independent Labor Party, ^{led} ~~not~~ by Maxton and Brockway, which considered itself as the theoretician of the British workers' movement, attempted once more to prove that Marxism is wrong and that it belongs to the 19th century. The leaders of that party claimed that Henry Ford, powerful monopolist of the automobile industry, had definitely defeated the Marxist theories.

Henry Ford, they said, by paying high wages to his workers while cutting down working hours at his plants, made it possible for all workers to afford their own cars, thus disproving Marxism in practice, and showing the workers the way they should follow. 50X1-HUM

The Communist Party of Great Britain fought this erroneous revisionist theory, censuring it in numerous articles and speeches. It also published a book under the title "Ford Against Marx," which represented a critical analysis of the ideas and goals concealed behind these theories.

Less than two years had elapsed before life itself answered the Independent Labor Party. Hundreds of thousands of workers at Henry Ford enterprises started a lengthy and embittered strike struggle to gain the elementary right of joining a trade union.

Fordism, as a theory of the working class, was irremediably defeated, and simultaneously the Independent Labor Party disappeared as a political power in Great Britain's workers' movement.

After the Labor Party's victory in 1945, the leaders and theoreticians of British Social Democrats advanced new revisionist theories.

Herbert Morrison, one of the oldest and most influential leaders of the labor party and founder of British anti-Communism, said in 1948: "We gave England democratic socialism without bloodshed or sufferings, and capitalism is no longer in existence in its previous form. In the name of the labor government I want to extend my hand to every private

enterprise owner, as I would do it to a friend or a brother." In 1951,
the Labor Party was no longer in power, the Conservatives were back, and
Morrison married a woman belonging to the Conservative Party. 50X1-HUM

The left centrist wing of the Labor Party also attempted to prove that Marxism has lost its significance. Micardo, one of the leaders of that wing, who was a technician in big industry, launched a new theory.

"It is true," he said, "that capitalists still hold eighty percent of the British industry, but this is not important as they have already lost control over it.

"The power now is in the hands of the technicians. We have accomplished a bloodless administrative revolution."

Poor Micardo with his ill-fated theory! Life has proved him completely wrong.

In his capacity of head of the union of managers and technicians he was very active in attempting to protect the interests of those of its members, who were discharged from their jobs precisely by those who, according to his own theory, had lost control and power.

Another revisionist theory, advocated by people such as Crossland, stated that throughout the last four years the Labor Party had thoroughly studied all the aspects of politics. For four solid years the Social-Democrat theoreticians boasted, sighed, moaned, went through childbirth pains, and finally ran for election with a program stating that they would govern England better than the Conservatives. Their program was in no way different from that of the Conservatives, although it was somewhat more efficient.

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In an article published on 24 October 1958 in one of the bourgeois papers Crossland wrote: 50X1-HUM

"One may say that, as a whole, the period of revision of the Labor Party's policies has come to an end, in other words the problem of working out Labor policies...has come to its culminating point, practically speaking, with the recent declaration bearing the mark of personal influence on the part of Mr Hugh Gaitskell. At present British Socialism is not counting on outmoded nationalization and thorough control, but emphasizes the idea of economic expansion and social equality. In the meantime its primitive and semi-Marxist analysis of capitalism has generated a more elaborate theory on the post-capitalist society.

The party's leadership and the majority of leftist intellectuals grabbed this new view point although some counteraction was experienced on the part of local activists."

Thus, under the cover of new ideas the same garbage was dragged out of the revisionist thrash can.

The idea of social equality is advanced once more, while nothing is said about the need for economic and political power, although in England such ideas suffered a decisive setback at the beginning of our century.

Crossland claims that capitalism had ceased to exist in England while millions of English workers are fighting for economic improvements

and for social security of the sick and the aged; and while about half a million people are registered as unemployed, with an additional 200,000^{50X1-HUM} unregistered, most of them married women and elderly people, who would not get unemployment compensation anyway.

Crossland spoke about post-capitalist society at a time when a campaign was starting and increasing against the working class, and even against the reforms accomplished between 1945 and 1951 by the two postwar Labor governments.

No wonder that Crossland stated disappointedly that local activists, i.e. actively opposed workers, are resisting these revisionist ideas.

The party is conducting a fierce struggle against this dangerous policy of the Laborite leaders; simultaneously it subjects to a critical analysis our own Marxist-revolutionary policies. A series of books were published, or are in the process of being published, with this purpose in mind. The books, Capitalism in the Past and Today by comrade Maurice Dobb, and Some of the Laborite Movement Illusions in the Field of Economics by comrade T. R. Campbell are now on sale, while the books War, its Causes and Ways to Avoid it by comrade Wainwright, and Philosophy for Socialists by comrade Cornfort are ready for publishing.

Moreover, our party has long made it a principle to wage a determined struggle against revisionist-elements within its ranks.

When the 20th Congress was over, the revisionists raised their heads again, and attempted to drive the party towards a false and anti-Marxist position.

[REDACTED]

The party leadership, however, displayed its firmness and led a resolute attack against revisionism and revisionists. 50X1-HUM

Questions, erroneously interpreted by the revisionists, were explained in numerous articles published in the World News, the party's weekly magazine. For many months, preceding the 25th Congress of our Party, our paper was used by party members to discuss these questions. All party organizations and groups arranged special discussions of questions to be debated at the Congress. Throughout several months the whole party was involved in this ideological struggle and in these discussions. Non-party activists were also invited to attend these meetings and express their views. Our correct Marxist-Leninist line was adopted at the 25th Congress by an overwhelming majority. Revisionism suffered a decisive setback. After October 1956, the revisionists again raised their heads in the party trying to impose upon us their anti-Marxist policies. Revisionists formed factions within the party and formed alliances with Trotskyites and other groups outside the party. While still remaining party members, they published a series of documents directed against the party, against the Soviet Union and against Hungary. They wrote articles in the bourgeois press and in many rightist social-democratic publications attacking the proletarian internationalism. They realized even then that they would not succeed in drawing the party to the revisionist side. Their purpose, therefore, was to disrupt and

- 7 -

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weaken the party, thus proving once more by word and deed that revisionism
leads inevitably into the camp of the class enemy. 50X1-HUM

They made democratic centralism and monolithic party unity their main target. They demanded the right not to obey party decisions, and to speak and act against them. Revisionists denied the leading role of the party, and asserted that such an opinion of the leading role was pure effrontery. They demanded that the Communist Party of Great Britain assume an openly aggressive stand with regard to the Soviet Union, justifying it by saying that if we criticized the CPSU openly we would prove that we are actually the independent Communist Party of Great Britain, and not the tool of the CPSU. The revisionists demanded that our party support the counter-revolution in Hungary, which they described as a progressive national movement directed against tyranny and oppression. They demanded that we take a stand against the Hungarian Communist Party and against the Soviet Union for its blood-shedding intervention. At the same time they attacked the proletarian internationalism, claiming that the Communist Party of Great Britain had to have a purely British orientation. It was supposed to subject to a critical analysis everything going on in the other, fraternal parties and in Socialist countries, and publicly censure them whenever it disagreed. The Union of Communists of Yugoslavia was naturally the example they stressed. In this connection they demanded the removal of Great Britain's Communist Party leaders, and primarily comrades Gollan [Holland?], Pollitt, Corrigan, Campbell and Palme Dutt.

- 8 -

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Such was the program of our revisionists.

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For 12 months the bitter ideological struggle continued in the whole party. Almost throughout that entire period its public activity was interrupted. The bourgeoisie of our country took advantage of the fact that the party was tied up in that struggle and attacked the working class.

The party leadership took tough measures to protect the party and its Marxist-Leninist foundations. A number of revisionists were expelled from the party because they refused to cease their harmful, disrupting activity. Many others left the party ranks and openly joined the Social Democrats. Unfortunately, several other confused comrades left the party as a result of the prevailing mix-up in opinions. Many of these comrades have returned to the party, and many-more will return in the future.

At the irregular party congress, held in 1958, revisionists attempted to modify the basic principles of the party, to slander its leaders, and to force that congress to censure the expulsion of dissident revisionists. The congress firmly rejected these suggestions and approved the line and the activity of the party leaders. It also gave its firm support to the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist structure and to the policies of the party. The party leaders were confirmed unanimously. The Congress demanded an end to the dissenting activity of the revisionists and decided to increase public work among the masses.

- 9 -

SECRET

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As a result of the firm, decisive, and consistent defense of the Marxist-Leninist principles, our party emerged even more united, more hardened and prepared for the forthcoming struggles, and better equipped to exercise the leadership of the British working class.

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After this last skirmish with the revisionists, the executive committee of the party brought to the attention of the whole party, the necessity to widen and deepen each party member's understanding of the essence of Marxism.

Our sector of party education, jointly with the district leaders and the central industrial sections, and upon consultation with responsible workers in the different sections of party work, is now organizing a greater number of party schools for activists, party cadres and new members.

A new series of works are being prepared for publication, and a number of theoretical articles, pamphlets and books are being written.

Our group of historians organizes lectures on the most various subjects and prepares new works in history, which deal with the workers' movement in England and with its battle-scarred revolutionary past.

A new book on the history of our party is planned for publication in 1960. The party is thus reinforcing its ideological and political preparedness, which helps it to find the correct orientation in its forthcoming struggle.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

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I should like to express gratitude to all comrades who participated actively in discussing item two on our agenda - "The Problems of Historical Science in the Struggle Against Modern Revisionism."

Just as the Soviet delegation had anticipated, its report on this subject was supplemented with new facts of extraordinary interest. The speeches of many delegates developed the fundamental theses of the report and supplied detailed arguments, based on concrete historical materials.

It was emphasized that historians from the Communist and workers' parties of those countries which took active part in our Conference had waged an active struggle against revisionist distortions in historical-party science. They had published a great number of works which exposed the modern revisionists as hirelings of the imperialist bourgeoisie within the workers' and Communist movement. This point was especially evidenced and detailed in the speeches by Comrades Daniszewski, Kalman, Golderberg, Georgiyev, Reiman, Einicke, T'ien Chung-fang, Jacobs, Norlund, Jacques Chambaz, Luciano Gruppi, and other comrades.

In reference to all this, it should be emphasized that we party historians did not avail ourselves of every opportunity to expose completely the falsifying pronouncements of the neoteric revisionists. The latter, in repeating the stale cliches of the right-wing Social-Democrats, do their utmost to slander the heroic services of the workers' and Communist parties, and the disinterested struggle for the triumph of socialism and Communism by the working class under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

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As has been circumstantially evidenced in the delegates' speeches, the very course of world history over the past forty-odd years incontrovertibly asserts the great vital power of Marxism-Leninism and the correctness of the course, chosen by the Communist and workers' parties, calling for revolutionary conversion of capitalist society into a socialist one. It [the course of history] is witness to the inefficacy of the reformist path on which modern revisionists, together with right-wing Social-Democrats, lead the working class astray. However, it should not be forgotten that revisionism continues to be a major threat to the international workers' and Communist movement, despite the defeats inflicted on it by the Communist and workers' parties.

The speeches of Comrades Norlund and Luciano Gruppi indicated what harm was inflicted on the workers' movement by Larsen in Denmark and Giolitti in Italy. We learned about the intrigues of revisionists in Vietnam through the address of Comrade Lê Manh Trinh. In his speech Comrade Daniszewski also spoke of the revisionists in Poland who have not discarded their pernicious weapons, although they are not currently manifesting any special activity.

Out of this evolves our task -- to continue to wage a tireless struggle against revisionism of all shades within the realm of our work, i.e., historical science. We are all aware of what fine material for exposing the traitorous bourgeois essence of revisionism is represented in the heroic history of the workers' and Communist parties and in the history of the international workers' and Communist movement.

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Take, for example, the skillfully designed Museum of History for the Rumanian Workers' Party, which we all had the pleasure of viewing ye^{50X1-HUM}. What fine material for the education of broad strata of the people in the militant revolutionary traditions of the working class! This material reveals the multifaceted activity of the Rumanian Workers' Party in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for socialism.

The entire heroic course of our fraternal Communist and workers' parties is the course of the victorious march of Marxism-Leninism; the course for banishing Communist renegades and revisionists of all shades to the nether regions. Of special significance in the final routing of revisionism is the disinterested struggle for the triumph of socialism and Communism in the USSR and countries of the peoples' democracies by workers and peasants under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist parties. For this reason I should like to stress as the primary task of our party historians: the creation of works which will analyze the experiences in the building of socialism and Communism in countries within the world socialist system. These works should reveal the epic might of the popular masses who have been liberated from capitalist serfdom and who are sovereign rulers of their fate, and proud builders of a new Communist society. To this goal are we summoned by the 21st Congress of the CPSU and the congresses of other Communist and workers' parties.

In conclusion, permit me to express confidence that we shall all work with greater fervor in creating such works in the name of the world-wide triumph of Communism.

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RESOLUTION

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of

The Fifth International Conference of Institutes for Marxism-Leninism, and Institutes and Commissions On Party History, which convened in Bucharest in August-September 1959.

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The Fifth International Conference of Institutes for Marxism-Leninism, and Institutes and Commissions for the History of the Communist and Workers' Parties, is pleased to note the growing and continuously strengthening collaboration among party historians from various countries in a scientific treatment of the most important problems pertaining to the history of the Communist and workers' parties and the history of the international workers' and Communist movement. This is partially expressed in the expanded circle of participants at our annual conferences. For instance, representatives from 20 countries participated in the 1957 Prague Conference. Representatives from 25 nations are participating in the present conference in Bucharest. These include the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the People's Republic of China, the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Hungarian People's

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Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, The Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Great Britain, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Denmark, France, The German Federated Republic, India, Indonesia, Italy, Norway and Sweden.

The operations of the Institutes for Marxism-Leninism and the Institutes and Commissions for the History of the Communist and Workers' Parties are guided by the documents of the November 1957 Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties; by the decisions of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU; and by the decisions of the congresses of their own Communist and workers' parties.

Subsequent to the 4th International Conference in Berlin, there was significant promotion in the publication of Marxist-Leninist classics -- Marx, Engels, and Lenin; in the extensive scientific study and research on Communist and workers' party history; and in the publication of party documents, etc. Publication of the manual, History of the Soviet Union's Communist Party, was an important event in the ideological life of the CPSU and the entire international Communist movement. A manual on the history of the Czechoslovak Communist Party was prepared for publication. Nearing completion are manuals on the history of the Rumanian Workers' Party, the PORP [United Workers' Party of Poland], the Bulgarian CP, and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. Wide-scale preparations have been made for preparing manuals on the history of the SEPG [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], the Chinese Communist Party and the Korean

- 2 -
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Labor Party, as well as on the Communist parties of France, Sweden, Italy, Great Britain, and Chile. The Institutes for Marxism-Leninism and the Institutes and Commissions For Party History have prepared and published a large number of works directed against modern revisionism. 50X1-HUM

In its plenary sessions the Conference discussed (1) questions based on the scientific study of the history of the Communist and workers' parties' struggle for working class unity; and (2) the tasks of historical science in the struggle against modern revisionism. The sectional sessions studied a prospectus for the publication of a manual on the history of the international workers' and Communist movement. They also discussed problems relating to the publication of party documents and to the expansion and strengthening of collaboration among the Institutes and Commissions for Party History.

The addresses by the Conference participants depicted the extensive work done by the institutes and commissions in studying the history of the Communist and workers' parties. They stressed the significance of the scientific study of the history of the struggle against revisionism and sectarianism; for the unity of the working class and other strata of laborers in the revolutionary conversion of capitalist society into a Socialist one, and for the national independence of colonial and dependent countries; and in the building of socialism and Communism.

The course of human society's historical development toward socialism graphically emphasizes the correctness of Marxism-Leninism. It is

- 3 -
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convincing evidence that the path of the heroic struggle for the revolutionary conversion of capitalist society into a socialist one, as elected by Marxist-Leninist parties, was crowned (1) with the triumph of the socialist revolution in the USSR and later in countries of the people's democracies; (2) with the complete and final triumph of socialism in the USSR; and (3) with the formation of a world socialist system. The works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin -- the most outstanding workers in the international Communist movement -- are helping the working class in capitalist countries to understand that the betrayal by right-wing Social Democrats and neoteric revisionists of the cause of the working class, and their opportunistic activity, is one of the most important reasons for the split in the workers' movement, the preservation of the capitalist system and the intensification of capitalist exploitation. These works educate the workers in the spirit of socialist awareness.

Scientific works on the history of the Communist and workers' parties--which epitomize the experience of the heroic struggle for establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism and Communism -- are also one of the most important means in the struggle against modern revisionism and for the unity of the working class and of all workers.

The Conference unanimously acknowledges that, despite the significant work performed in the aforementioned directions, the Institutes and the Commissions have not availed themselves of every opportunity

Resolution

toward the final exposure of revisionist distortions in the epic history^{50X1-HUM} of the international workers' and Communist movement. In particular, the Conference was not satisfied with the status of work done in studying the history of the Communist and workers' parties' struggle for the unity of working class activities, for the creation of a united popular front, and of working class unity.

Our institutes must publish works on the history of Communist and workers' parties and on the history of the international workers' and Communist movement. These works must reveal the invincible power of Marxist-Leninist ideology; the great organizational power of Marxist-Leninist parties in the struggle for the world-wide victory of socialism and Communism. They must expose the treachery inherent in the policy and practices of the right-wing Social-Democrats and the neoteric revisionists. Therefore, the basic tasks of the Institutes and Commissions for Party History, were determined by the Conference, as follows:

1. The completion of work by all the Institutes and Commissions, in connection with preparations for publication of manuals on the history of the Communist and workers' parties.
2. The joint efforts of all Institutes and Commissions for Party History in the preparation of a popular manual on the history of the international workers' and Communist movement.
3. The preparation of monographs and popular works devoted to the history of the Communist International.

4. Scientific treatment of problems relating to the growth of ^{t50X1-HUM} leading and organizational role of the Communist and workers' parties in building socialism and Communism.

5. The production of works which would set forth the experience of the Communist and workers' parties' struggle for the unity of working class operations, for a united popular front and for working class unity.

6. To recommend that the Institutes and Commissions, in their scientific work, pay special attention to studying the history of the rise and consolidation of the world socialist system; to analyzing the experience in the construction of socialism and Communism in the socialist countries; to studying the history of the workers' and Communist movement in capitalist countries and of the national-liberation movement in colonies during the post-World War II period.

7. With the aim of intensifying increasing collaboration and business contacts of the Institutes and Commissions, the Conference approves the recommendations adopted at the sectional sessions.

8. To consider it expedient to organize the next regular 6th Conference in July-August 1961 with the following agenda:

(a) The Communist and Workers' Parties Heading the National-Liberation Struggle Against Fascist Agression on the Eve of and During World War II (report by the Institute of Party History under the CC-Bulgarian Communist Party; co-report by the Commission of Party History under the CC-French Communist Party)

(b) Progress on the Work for Preparing a Popular Manual on the
History of the International Workers' and Communist Movement (report by
Editorial Commission for the manual and Reports of All Institutes and
Commissions on Party History). 50X1-HUM

The Conference deems it expedient that the theses of reports to be read at the next conference be forwarded to the participants from one to 1 1/2 months before the Conference begins.

The Conference expresses its appreciation and sincere thanks to the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party for its hospitality and for the excellent arrangements set up for holding the Conference in Bucharest. The Conference delegates also warmly thank the leaders and all the co-workers of the Institute of Party History under the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party for the good organization of the Conference and for the consideration and attention extended to the delegates.

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Recommendation

Having discussed the plan and prospectus for a manual on the history of the international workers' and Communist movement, as submitted by the Soviet delegation, the Commission recommends that the Conference adopt the following resolution:

1. To approve, on the whole, the plan and prospectus for a manual on the history of the international workers' and Communist movement, as submitted by the Soviet delegation.
2. To commission the Institute for Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU to introduce such changes, additions and amendments in the plan and prospectus of the manual on the history of the international workers' and Communist movement, as evolved in the course of the discussions by the separate delegations and as ratified by the participants in the Conference. Also, to give due consideration to suggestions which will be introduced by separate delegations by the end of the current year.
3. To set up, no later than October 1959, an editorial commission composed of one representative from each of the Institutes of Party History and Historical Commissions of the following countries; USSR, CPR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, GDR, Rumania, Italy and France.

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4. To charge the editorial commission with responsibility for preparing the final text of the prospectus of the manual; for printing and publishing the manual in 1963, as decided at the Berlin Conference by representatives of the Institutes of Party History and Historical Commissions.

5. To assign the coordination of the entire project-for the writing, editing and publication of the manual - to the Institute for Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU. All materials for the preparation and publication of the manual on the history of the international workers' and Communist movement shall be cumulated at the Institute for Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU.

6. To recognize the expediency of writing theses on individual debatable problems and chapters in the manual, to be reviewed by the Editorial Commission.

7. The Conference summons all Institutes on Party History and Historical Commissions of the Communist and workers' parties to take active part in the compilation of the manual on the history of the international workers' and Communist movement, by writing separate chapters, submitting materials, consultations, etc.

- 2 -

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RECOMMENDATION - 2

of the International Conference of Representatives of Institutes for Marxism-Leninism, Institutes on Party History and Historical Commissions under the Central Committees of the Communist Parties -- on the principles for the publication of historical party documents.

Historical party documents are the fundamental basis of scientific-research work in the field of the history of the Communist and workers' parties. They are the source for the study of party history. They are weapons in the struggle against revisionism and falsification of party history. Publication of historical party documents is one of the most important forms of Communist education of party cadres and of all party members and the working masses. There are no greater objective and convincing sources which reveal 1.) the multifaceted activity of the proletarian parties, 2.) the difficulties in their struggle and 3.) the grandeur of their victories in the workers' revolutionary movement. The Conference deems it a necessity for the scientific-research work done by the Institutes that in the future, also, their most serious attention be focused on the wide-scale publication of historical party documents.

In latter years all the Institutes for Marxism-Leninism and the History of the Communist and Workers' Parties in countries of the socialist camp have expended great activity in the publication of

collections of historical party documents. This has made possible the accumulation of certain practical experience, and the formulation and resolution of a number of questions which arose in this area of scientific-research work. 50X1-HUM

1. It is expedient that the collections include historical party documents of the same type (with the exception of thematic documents). Official party documents -- decisions of congresses, conferences, Central Committee plenums -- are to be published in separate collections. No textual alterations in the documents will be permitted at the time of publication. The withdrawal of separate documents which have no important current significance is permitted, before publication. In the publication of documents which contain unsound decisions along with sound ones, should be made in prefaces to the collections, appropriate comments or the errors should be noted in special footnotes to these documents.

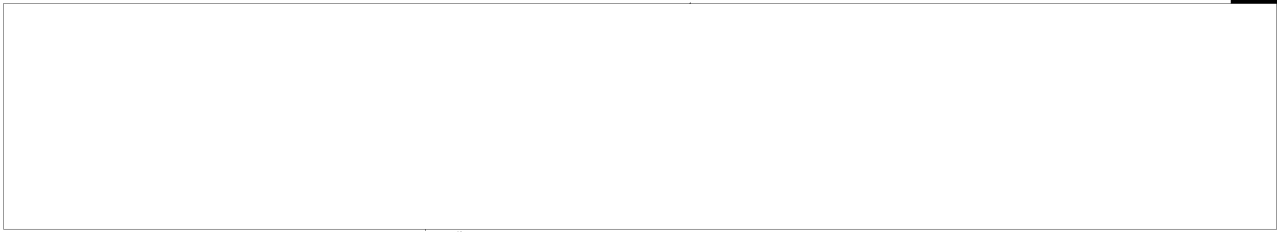
2. The question on the publication of historical party documents -- which are the product of a collegial party leadership: decisions of the Central Committee, of the party organization, etc, and signed by individuals, who have subsequently proven to be renegades or who have left the Party -- shall be resolved in each specific instance according to the significance of the document. Publication without personal signatures upon indication of either organization or enterprise, from which the documents originated, is permissible. The question of the publication of

documents, whose texts bear reference to persons who have left the party, are to be resolved specifically in each individual case. 50X1-HUM

Official party documents which have especially important significance should be published without alterations. It is more expedient not to publish analogous documents which do not bear such importance.

3. Detailed research on the authenticity of the sources and the selection of a basic source for publication are especially important in the publication of historical party documents. In the event of the lack of an original document, in certain cases, the publication of documents [is permissible] from hostile sources, for instance, from police copies, etc., on condition that supplementary studies be made of other party documents. For example, the contents of leaflets or party decisions, based on sources available only in the form of copies, preserved in police files, must be checked against other leaflets and decisions which are closely related to the documents being studied.

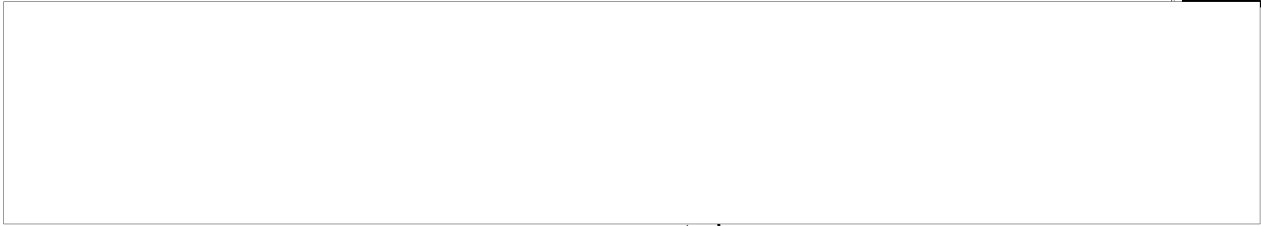
In cases where the existence of documents, important in their own right, is known from other sources, (from the press, other decisions, etc.) and the originals of these documents are missing, it is expedient, after having carefully studied all the information on the documents, to describe them in the preface of the collection. Publication of articles on documents which are unavailable, side by side with original documents, is not permissible.



4. Memoirs of active participants in revolutionary events ^{50X1-HUM} must be carefully checked before publication, both through documentary sources and the memoirs of other participants in the events.

5. Before the publication of collections which include documents of widely divergent nature -- i.e. party history, workers' organizations and other organizations -- it is deemed expedient to place the historical party documents in separate sections. Documents originating from the enemy camp (police, Gestapo, etc.) shall be placed in the appendix to the collections.

6. A number of institutes have prepared instructions, in connection with the current extensive publication of documentary collections, (Institute for Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU; Institute for Party History, of the Polish United Workers' Party, et al.) The study of these materials, and the preparation of general and basic methodological regulations for the guidance of all institutes of party history, is considered expedient before the publication of historical party documents.



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Suggestions - 3

Commissions For the Exchange of Experience

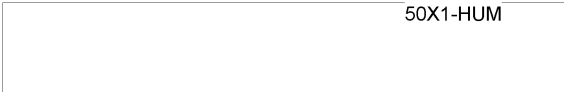
1. The extensive study of the history of the workers' and Communist movement in their countries (within their present borders) is a basic task of the Institutes and Commissions for Party History. On an equal basis with joint work in the study of the history of the international workers' and Communist movement, the Conference deems it expedient to strengthen the bonds and mutual consultation between institutes and commissions engaged in the study of those topics of the history of the workers' movement which apply to two or several countries (for instance, 1.) the collaboration of corresponding institutes for studying the history of the workers' movement in former Austria-Hungary; 2) the participation of international units in the Civil War in the USSR; 3.) work on the history of international brigades in Spain; 4.) the partisan movement during World War II, etc.)

If the Institutes ~~were to~~ have works ready for publication, pertaining to the history of the workers' movement in another country, these must be forwarded for review to the institute of the corresponding country.

2. Together with the scientific study of the history of the international workers' and Communist movement, it is necessary also to

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organize work for compiling a bibliography of the international workers' and Communist movement. It would be expedient if individual institutes would submit their bibliographic materials to the Institute for Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU. It is recommended that all the institutes prepare lists of second copies of books and distribute them to the fraternal ^{50X1-HUM} Communist parties, and thus promote the expansion of our contacts.

3. The Conference recommends organizing the exchange of archival documents and materials. For this purpose, originals and copies of the documents may be given out, in accordance with the procedure established by each Institute or Commission on Party History.

- 8 -

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