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*The 50th
Anniversary
of the
Communist Party
of the
Soviet Union*

(1903—1953)

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NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS • *New York*

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

THIS PAMPHLET contains the complete text, in a fully verified translation, of the significant document, entitled "The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1903-1953)," issued jointly in July, 1953, by the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and by the world-renowned Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute of Moscow. The occasion for the publication of this document was the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the Second Congress, on July 30, 1903, of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. This was the historic Congress which crowned with success the long struggle waged by V. I. Lenin for the creation of a revolutionary Marxist Party of the working class, a party of a new type, that would differ in principle from the reformist parties of the Second International.

Because few newspapers or periodicals carried the text of this important statement, although its interest for Americans is unique, it is being made available herewith in pamphlet form to meet the public demand.

Published by NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y., September, 1953

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

The 50th Anniversary of the C.P.S.U. (1903-1953)

The fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (R.S.D.L.P.)—July 30th 1903—is an outstanding date in the life of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the peoples of our country, in the history of the entire international revolutionary movement. This Congress laid the foundation of the militant, revolutionary Marxist party of the working class, the party of a new type, differing in principle from the reformist parties of the II International. “As a trend of political thought and as a political party,” wrote V. I. Lenin, “Bolshevism exists since 1903.”*

The Second Congress crowned with success the truly titanic struggle waged by the great Lenin for the creation of a revolutionary proletarian party in Russia. Over a period of many years, beginning with the nineties of the last century V. I. Lenin, acting as a true disciple of the teaching of Marx and Engels, creatively developing Marxism in the new historical conditions, began a merciless struggle against the open and concealed enemies of Marxism, against all manifestations of opportunism in the working-class movement, for organizing and rallying the forces of the proletariat under the banner of revolutionary Marxism.

Founded and tempered by Lenin—the genius of revolution—the Bolshevik Party brought our people to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, organized the dictatorship of the proletariat, roused the millionfold masses of the working people of our homeland for conscious historic creation, ensured the building of socialist society and confidently leads the Soviet people forward, to Communism. The

* *Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, by V. I. Lenin, International Publishers, N. Y. P. 10.

name of Lenin, great founder and wise leader of the Communist Party, is indivisibly linked with the entire history of our Party, with the rise and development of the first socialist state in the world—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Lenin's name has become the banner of the working people of the world in the fight for the cause of peace, democracy and Socialism, for the bright future of the peoples.

By its selfless struggle for the cause of the workers and peasants, for Socialism, by its tireless work for the revolutionary transformation of society, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has won the boundless love and confidence of all Soviet people. The many years of historical experience convinced the working people of the U.S.S.R. that of all the political parties that functioned in our country, the Communist Party alone is the genuine party of the people, expressing the vital interests of the working people.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has traversed a glorious fifty years of heroic struggle, difficult trials and world-historic victories. Tempered in battle under the leadership of Lenin, the genius, under the leadership of the disciple and continuer of Lenin's cause, the great Stalin, and of their companions-in-arms, our Communist Party is now the leading, guiding and directing force of Soviet society, building Communism.

The entire history of the Communist Party is distinguished by the triumph of the great, all-conquering teaching of Marxism-Leninism. The rich historical experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is an inspiring example for the Communist and Workers' Parties in all countries in their constant struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society.

I. HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF R.S.D.L.P.

1. The Marxist Party in Russia was founded at a turning point in the international working-class movement, when capi-

talism had entered upon its highest and final, imperialist phase of development, when it began to be transformed into a parasitic, decaying and dying capitalism, when the proletarian revolution became a question of immediate practice. At that time Russia was the focal point of all the contradictions of imperialism. The interests of Russian tsarism and Western imperialism were closely intertwined. On the eve of the Second Party Congress V. I. Lenin wrote: "History has now confronted us with an immediate task which is the most revolutionary of all the immediate tasks that confront the proletariat of any country. The fulfillment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark not only of European but also (it may now be said) of Asiatic reaction would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat."* This defined the character, the peculiarity and international significance of the great people's revolution then maturing in Russia.

The sources of the Marxist movement in Russia relate to the eighties of the last century, to 1883 when, under Plekhanov's leadership, the Marxist "Emancipation of Labor" group was formed. But this "Emancipation of Labor" group "only laid the theoretical foundations for the Social-Democratic movement and made the first step towards the working-class movement."** The rudiment of a revolutionary proletarian Party in Russia was Lenin's St. Petersburg "League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class" (1895) the activity of which aimed at uniting Marxism, on a broad basis, with the working-class movement.

In March, 1898 there took place the First Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. which proclaimed the formation of a Marxist Party in Russia. But the Marxist movement in Russia after the First Congress remained, as before, in the stage of separate, dispersed Social-Democratic circles and groups unlinked by unity

* *What Is To Be Done?* by V. I. Lenin. International Publishers, N. Y. P. 30.

** *History of the C.P.S.U.*, International Publishers, N. Y. Pp. 15-16.

of a militant Marxist program and centralized organization. Moreover, a considerable part of the Social-Democratic groups was corroded with the rust of "Economism" (opportunism which denied the political struggle of the working class and its leading role.)

The period of the Second Party Congress decided a vital political question: what path would the young Russian working-class movement take—would it, inspired by socialist ideology, take the path of bold, consistent revolutionary struggle against tsarism and capitalism, of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the path to which Lenin, the "Iskra-ists" and the Bolsheviks summoned it, or would it slide down to the path of subordination to bourgeois ideology, reformism, adaptation to tsarism and capitalism, the path to which the Mensheviks and their predecessors—the "Economists"—sought to divert the working-class movement. The victory of the ideological principles of Lenin and of the Leninist "Iskra" at the Second Party Congress was of vital significance for the development of our Party and of the revolution, for the entire international revolutionary movement.

2. The decade which preceded the Second Party Congress was marked in the history of the working-class movement in Russia by Lenin's irreconcilable struggle against liberal Narodism and "legal Marxism," against the amateurishness and circle principle, against the opportunism of the "Economists" who opposed the creation of a revolutionary party of the proletariat, opposed imparting socialist consciousness to the spontaneous working-class movement.

The decisive role in the struggle for the Marxist Party, in smashing the "Economists," in linking up the dispersed Social-Democratic circles, in the preparation of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. was played by the all-Russian Marxist political newspaper "Iskra," founded by Lenin. In accordance with Lenin's plan this newspaper became the center for uniting the Party forces, for rallying and training the Party

cadres, for uniting them in an all-Russian militant, centralized proletarian party with a clear-cut Marxist program, revolutionary tactics, single will and iron discipline. This Leninist plan for founding the party had its source in the vital tasks of the revolutionary struggle and, in masterly fashion, generalized the organizational experience of the Marxists. The victory of this plan laid the foundation for the welded, militant and tempered Communist Party which has become the model for the international revolutionary movement.

The tasks of the growing working-class movement in Russia insistently called for creative development of Marxist theory, for firmly uniting the working-class movement with Socialism. Lenin, the great continuer of the cause of Marx, elaborated the ideological foundations of the Marxist party, raised to a high level the significance of revolutionary theory. Lenin proved that only a party guided by an advanced theory can fulfill the role of vanguard fighter and genuine leader of the working people; he emphatically stressed the significance of welding the mass working-class movement with scientific Socialism.

3. The historic significance of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. is that it founded in Russia a genuine Marxist Party on the ideological and organizational foundations advanced and elaborated by Lenin's "Iskra." For the first time in the history of the international working-class movement, since the death of Marx and Engels, a Congress adopted a revolutionary program which advanced as its basic task—struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin and his fellow-thinkers, consistent Iskra-ists, waged an irreconcilable struggle at the Congress against opportunist elements who tried to prevent the vital thesis of Marxism about the dictatorship of the proletariat from being included in the program. Lenin resolutely and firmly upheld the thesis of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The inclusion by the Congress in the Party program of the point about the dictatorship of

the proletariat was an historic victory for the supporters of Lenin.

Advancing the task of struggle for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin stressed the enormous significance of the revolutionary struggle of the peasantry as an ally of the working class and succeeded in getting the revolutionary-democratic demand on the peasant question included in the Party program.

Lenin resolutely rebuffed the Bundists and the Polish Social Democrats who objected to the point on the right of nations to self-determination being included in the program, and upheld the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The Second Party Congress witnessed the triumph of the great ideas of revolutionary struggle for which Lenin fought from the very beginning of his political activity. Criticizing as unacceptable the draft program prepared by Plekhanov, from which the thesis of the dictatorship of the proletariat was omitted, Lenin emphasized that the party of the Russian proletariat must have a program of a "party fighting in practice," and not an academic manual. Hence, said Lenin, the Party "must in its program most unequivocally outline its indictment of Russian capitalism, declare war on Russian capitalism." The Communist Party took this path, the Lenin path.

The revolutionary program of the working-class Party, adopted by the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., expressed both the immediate tasks of the proletariat—in the phase of the bourgeois-democratic revolution (the minimum program), and also its basic tasks, calculated on the triumph of the socialist revolution (the maximum program). This program was the militant guiding document of our Party right up to the Eighth Party Congress (1919).

4. A bitter struggle ensued at the Second Congress around the organizational principles of building the Party. Lenin and his fellow-thinkers upheld the cardinal Marxist theses about the role of the Party as the advanced, conscious and organized

detachment of the working class, armed with revolutionary theory, knowledge of the laws of the development of society and the class struggle, and with the experience of the revolutionary movement. Only such a highly conscious and organized party, united and centralized, a party with a single will, is capable of leading the working class to victory, of successfully leading its struggle for the conquest of power.

The Mensheviks, however, were opposed to the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and they, therefore, had no need of a militant party of social revolution. The Mensheviks wanted only a reformist, an organizationally vague, conciliatory organization of the type of the opportunist parties of the Second International. Opportunism in the program (denial of the dictatorship of the proletariat) gave birth to organizational opportunism (renunciation of a centralized, disciplined, militant, revolutionary party of the proletariat).

In order to preserve the unity of the Party, what is needed—taught Lenin—is iron proletarian discipline, rigid norms of Party life, regulated by the Rules, equally obligatory for all Party members, both for the leaders and for the rank and file. Of immense significance is the thesis advanced by Lenin at the Second Party Congress concerning the high title of Party member, that each member is responsible to the Party and the Party responsible for each of its members. The task of the Party, Lenin pointed out, is to “safeguard the firmness, stamina and purity of our Party. We must endeavour to elevate the title and significance of Party member higher, higher and higher. . . .”

The firm norms of Party life, principles of leadership, elaborated by Lenin, envisaged strict observance of the demands made by the Party Rules, consistent realization of the principles of democratic centralism, all-round development of the activity of the rank and file members, collective discussion of the vital problems of Party life. The normal functioning of the Party organizations and of the entire Party as a whole, is, as Lenin

taught us, possible only on the condition of strict observance of the principle of collective leadership which guarantees the Party against elements of fortuity and one-sidedness in reaching decisions. The Party is a living, self-active and constantly developing organism.

V. I. Lenin elaborated for the first time in the history of Marxism the teaching about the party as the leading organization of the proletariat, as the main instrument in its hands without which it is impossible to win the dictatorship of the proletariat, build Socialism and Communism.

Lenin's struggle against opportunist elements at the Congress on questions relating to the program and organizational matters created a gulf between the revolutionary section of the R.S.D.L.P.—the Bolsheviks—and the opportunist section—the Mensheviks.

The triumph of Lenin's plan of genius for creating a revolutionary Marxist Party—the Party of social revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat—showed that in the person of Lenin the Russian and international proletariat had a great Marxist theoretician, the continuer of the cause and teaching of Marx and Engels, an outstanding strategist of revolution, who wisely saw the perspectives of developing the working-class movement, a mountain eagle knowing no fear in the struggle.

5. Lenin's irreconcilable struggle at the Second Congress and in the subsequent period against the opportunists in defense of ideological and organizational principles of Bolshevism was of vital international significance. Lenin's merciless exposure of the ideological and organizational theses of the Mensheviks, theses inimical to Marxism, was a crushing blow against the revisionists, the apostates of Marxism, against the entire international opportunism and was of immense significance for the development of the revolutionary movement in all countries. The Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. marked a turning point in the world working-class movement.

II. COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

6. The entire course of historical events since the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. up to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution strikingly confirmed that the Communist Party was the sole leading revolutionary force in the country. The history of the three revolutions in Russia showed that our Party, in a brief period (1903-1917), carried out gigantic political work which, for richness of experience, for the profundity with which it elaborated Marxist theory and creatively applied it in the course of the revolution, is without precedent; it revealed the great strength and resilience of the strategy and tactics of the Communist Party, the might and invincibility of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The political group of Bolsheviks headed by Lenin, which took shape at the Second Congress and which until 1912 formally remained in the single R.S.D.L.P., pursued a consistent revolutionary line corresponding to the vital interests of the proletariat, the peasantry and of all the peoples of Russia. The Bolsheviks waged an irreconcilable principled struggle against all kinds of opportunism in the Russian and in the international working-class movement.

7. Lenin's great service is that in the period of the development of the first Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution he brilliantly substantiated the Bolshevik tactics of the Party, the tactics of the working class, worked out the political (tactical) bases of the Communist Party. He developed the idea of the hegemony of the working class in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and showed that, in the historical conditions then taking shape, the indispensable condition for the victory of the revolution was the alliance of the working class and peasantry with the proletariat retaining its leading role. Lenin gave the Russian Marxists a clear perspective of the bourgeois-democratic revolution growing into the Socialist revolution. He enriched Marxism with the new theory of proletarian revolution

and laid the foundations of the revolutionary tactics of the Communist Party with the help of which in October 1917 the proletariat, in alliance with the poor peasantry, overthrew the rule of the bourgeoisie in our country and established a genuinely people's power—the power of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, the power of the Soviets.

The struggle between the two lines in the R.S.D.L.P.—between the revolutionary, Bolshevik line and the opportunist, Menshevik one, which in the period of the founding of the Party developed on ideological and organizational questions, became particularly acute during the years of the first Russian revolution (1905-07) when questions of tactics came to the fore. The Bolsheviks steered a course for developing the popular revolution and for crowning it with victory, for emancipating the working people from the yoke of tsarism and the landlords, for the growing over of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a Socialist revolution. The Mensheviks, on the contrary, standing for the hegemony of the liberal bourgeoisie in the revolution, took the course of virtually abandoning the revolution. They sank into the swamp of compromise and became the agents of the bourgeoisie inside the working-class movement.

8. After the defeat of the first Russian revolution the Bolsheviks did not quail before the increased difficulties. During the grim years of the Stolypin reaction, in conditions of rampant tsarist repressions and the Black-Hundred terror, the Party of Bolsheviks consolidated its ranks, skillfully utilized the legal and illegal opportunities for strengthening its contact with the masses. While the Bolsheviks steered a course for preparing a new revolution, the Mensheviks, on the contrary, retreated more and more from revolution, worked for the liquidation of the illegal revolutionary Party of the proletariat, became open Liquidators. A section of the Bolsheviks broke with Marxist principles and tried to get the Party to take the path of transforming it into a sectarian organization isolated from the masses, demanding, in particular, the recall of the workers'

deputies from the State Duma. The Party members of this type, who became known as "Otzovists", were described by Lenin as "Liquidators inside-out."

In the difficult conditions of reaction it was the Bolsheviks alone, the Leninists, who remained loyal to Marxism, loyal to the principles outlined in the Program of the Party and rebuffed all attacks by adversaries who sought to disarm the Russian proletariat, to crush its Party, to undermine and discredit the theoretical foundations of revolutionary Marxism. To Lenin belongs the great service that in those difficult days for the Party, he upheld and developed further the theoretical foundations of the Party—dialectical and historical materialism, the theoretical foundation of Communism. The ideological Marxist-Leninist tempering, the correct understanding of the perspectives of the revolution enabled the main core of the Party, rallied around Lenin, to uphold the Party and to preserve its main cadres.

9. The Sixth All-Russian Party Conference held in Prague in 1912 expelled the Mensheviks-Liquidators from the R.S.D.L.P., marking thereby the final moulding of the Bolsheviks into an independent Party. Purging the ranks of the proletarian party of opportunists, of the Mensheviks-Liquidators, was of decisive significance for the further development of the Party, for consolidating the unity of its ranks and for the successful winning of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The relentless struggle waged by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, rallied around the Lenin leading core for the formation of a Party of a new type, was crowned with complete victory.

10. The new powerful upsurge of the revolutionary movement (1912-14) vividly showed that the workers were getting ready for another revolution, that they were being led forward to new battles by the Communist Party, tried and tempered in the class struggle.

An important role in strengthening the ranks of the Party

and in extending its contact with the masses, in training a new generation of revolutionary workers, in the struggle against the Liquidators, Trotskyites, Otzovists and other opportunists, was played by "Pravda"—legal daily newspaper of our Party which appeared in the spring of 1912 on the initiative of the St. Petersburg workers.

11. In the grim years of the imperialist war (1914-18) the Party of Bolsheviks demonstrated its ability to grapple with the tasks of the revolutionary Party, its loyalty to the cause of Socialism and proletarian internationalism. The parties of the Second International betrayed the cause of Socialism and descended to the position of social-chauvinism.

Unswervingly guided by Marxist-Leninist theory in relation to the questions of war, peace and revolution, the Bolsheviks carried out a consistent struggle for turning the imperialist war into a civil war, for the overthrow of imperialist rule in Russia, for supporting the struggle waged in all countries against the imperialist war.

V. I. Lenin's classical work, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," was an outstanding contribution to the treasury of creative Marxism. For the first time in Marxist literature Lenin, in this work, made an all-around and profound analysis of imperialism, of its basic contradictions and laws, showed that imperialism is the highest and, simultaneously, the final stage of the development of capitalism, that "imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat."*

Lenin scientifically proved that in the epoch of imperialism, capitalism, which right up to the end of the XIX century was in the period of its upsurge, had become moribund capitalism, bringing with it untold hardship and suffering for mankind. Lenin fearlessly disclosed the incurable ulcers of contemporary monopoly capitalism which, with particular force, made themselves felt already during the first world war. While at the time of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Lenin,

* International Publishers, N. Y. P. 14.

in the Party program, submitted a grim indictment against Russian capitalism, in the years of the first world war he, with the utmost scientific precision and revolutionary passion, brought an indictment against world imperialism which was hurling mankind into the abyss of new sanguinary wars and economic catastrophes.

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

"The war has caused such a far-reaching crisis, such a straining of the material and moral forces of the people, has struck such blows at the entire contemporary social fabric that mankind is faced with the choice: either to perish or submit its fate to the most revolutionary class in order to effect the speediest and the most radical transition to a higher mode of production."*

Lenin's historic service is that, while analyzing imperialism on the basis of the law discovered by him of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism, he made a great scientific discovery: he formulated and substantiated the brilliant conclusion about the possibility of breaking the chain of the front of world imperialism at its weakest link, the conclusion about the possibility of the victory of Socialism at first in a few countries, or even in one capitalist country taken singly. This was a new and complete theory of the socialist revolution. It enriched Marxism and advanced it, opened up a revolutionary perspective for the proletarians of separate countries, released their initiative for exerting pressure on their own, national bourgeoisie, strengthened their faith in the victory of proletarian revolution.

The workers of Russia, headed by the Party of Communists, were the first in the world who successfully took advantage of the weakening of world capitalism during the world war (1914-18) to overthrow tsarism and ensure first the victory of

* International Publishers, N. Y. P. 24.

the bourgeois-democratic revolution; the second Russian revolution triumphed. Smashing the resistance of the conciliatory parties—Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries—the Bolsheviks steered a course for switching from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

12. In the period between February and October 1917 the Communist Party in our country carried out the most difficult task of winning the majority of the working class, a majority in the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies formed in the course of the revolution, of winning to the side of the socialist revolution millions of working people, of strengthening the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry for achieving victory, for the overthrow of imperialist rule.

In his famous April Theses Lenin made another discovery, enriching Marxist theory—he drew the conclusion that the most suitable political form of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not the parliamentary democratic republic, as the Marxists had considered earlier, but a republic of Soviets. This brilliant discovery was of the greatest importance for ensuring the victory of the Socialist revolution in October 1917, the victory of the Soviet system in our country.

During the struggle for the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country the Party of Communists alone led the masses of the working people, smashing all the attempts of the despicable capitulationists—Trotskyites, Zinovievites and similar strikebreakers of the revolution—to divert the Party from its Leninist path. The fate of capitalism in Russia was decided by the circumstance that the Party fused into a single powerful revolutionary torrent the general democratic struggle for peace, the peasant-democratic movement for the abolition of landlord land ownership and for the transfer to the peasants of the land held by the landlords, the national-liberation movement of the peoples of our country, and the socialist movement of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and

for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As for the conciliatory, petty-bourgeois parties, all of them (Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Anarchists) exposed themselves in the course of the revolution as anti-people's parties striving to preserve and reinforce the capitalist system.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution was a triumph for the Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution. By overthrowing the rule of the capitalists and landlords, overthrowing the rule of the imperialists in Russia and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, our Party carried out the program adopted by the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.

Having carried out the victorious Socialist revolution the Communist Party saved our country from national catastrophe, freed it from the status of a semi-colonial country dependent on world imperialism and led the Soviet people onto the broad highway of socialist transformations unprecedented in history.

In order to organize the victory of such a revolution as the Great October Socialist Revolution there was needed a Party equipped with advanced revolutionary theory, a Party distinguished for the greatest courage and heroism, ready to bear every sacrifice in the interests of the people and of the homeland, a Party having the closest contact with the broad masses of the working people. The mighty Party of Communists, founded and trained by the great Lenin, proved to be precisely such a Party.

III. THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR BUILDING SOCIALISM

13. The Great October Socialist Revolution opened a new era in the history of mankind—the era of the collapse of capitalism and of the triumph of Socialism and Communism. The victory of the Soviet Revolution in Russia signified a radical turn in the destinies of mankind, in world history—

from the old, capitalist world to the new, socialist world.

The October Revolution inflicted a mortal wound on capitalism, shook and weakened the foundations of imperialism, facilitated the struggle of the international proletariat against capital. Our Communist Party was transformed from a national force into a world, international force, into the "Shock-Brigade" of the world revolutionary and working-class movement.

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

V. I. Lenin, leader of the Communist Party, and head of the Soviet Government, elaborated the scientifically-based program for transforming the economically backward Russia into an advanced, mighty socialist power. This program stipulated socialist industrialization of the country, all-around development of heavy industry, electrification of the entire national economy, realization of the co-operative plan for switching agriculture to socialist foundations and the carrying out of the cultural revolution.

Overcoming enormous difficulties—economic devastation and famine, repulsing the frantic attacks of the foreign interventionists (the so-called "crusade of 15 states" against Soviet Russia) and the revolts of internal counter-revolution, the Communist Party led the peoples of our country to complete victory over the interventionists and White Guards.

History will never forget the magnificent heroism displayed by the workers and peasants during the years of intervention and civil war while defending their young Soviet Republic. Neither the hunger, devastation, lack of fuel, clothing and footwear, the epidemics of typhus and other misfortunes, nor the kulak revolts organized by the agents of the imperialist plunderers who dreamed of carving up Russia and of transforming it into a colony of the imperialist powers—nothing

could break the indomitable will of the working people of our country for victory over the exploiting classes, for construction of the new socialist life.

In April 1919, the most difficult moment for the young Soviet Republic, Lenin, with the greatest confidence and far-sightedness, said:

"It is impossible to be victorious over a people the workers and peasants of which in their majority have learned, felt and seen that they are upholding their own, Soviet power—the power of the working people—that they are upholding a cause, the victory of which will ensure for them and for their children the opportunity to enjoy all the blessings of culture, all that has been created by human labor."

History has shown how profoundly correct was Lenin.

Having upheld the dictatorship of the proletariat in battles against the foreign and internal counter-revolution, having smashed the foreign interventionists and White Guards, the Party developed immense construction work on the basis of a new economic policy, channeled the inexhaustible creative energies of the people in the direction of carrying out the Lenin plan for building Socialism. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the working people of our country were the first to take the unexplored paths of building Socialism, paving the way for a free and happy life for all mankind.

14. As the heroic work of the Party and the working class for rehabilitation of the national economy drew to an end the question of the perspectives of the development of our country arose in all its urgency.

Whereas at the time of the Second Congress of the Party the Bolsheviks fought against the Mensheviks for the victory of the revolutionary line in the working-class movement, now, in conditions of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat, the question of the destiny of Socialism arose in the U.S.S.R. The enemies of the Party and the people—Trotskyites, Bukharinists and bourgeois nationalists—who represented the

Menshevik rump, adopted a capitulatory stand. They tried to divert the Party and the country from the Leninist path to the path of liquidating the gains of the proletarian revolution, to the path of restoring capitalism. Under the leadership of the Central Committee headed by J. V. Stalin, great continuer of the cause of V. I. Lenin, the Communist Party smashed the traitors and capitulators, upheld Leninism and steered a decisive course for the construction of Socialism in our country. In doing so the Communist Party proceeded from the objective laws of the economic development of society, from the matured requirements of the development of the material life of society, from the interests of the people. The Party proceeded from the Leninist thesis that our country possesses in sufficient quantity everything needed for the complete construction of socialist society.

15. During the prewar Five-Year Plans the Soviet people successfully translated into life the plan elaborated by the Party for the socialist industrialization of the country and collectivization of agriculture. As a result of fulfilling this plan our homeland made a gigantic leap forward and, from a backward agrarian country, was transformed into a mighty industrial-collective-farm socialist Power.

In our country the exploiting classes were completely abolished, and the exploitation of man by man done away with forever. The Soviet people, under the guidance of the Communist Party, were the first in history to build a new social system—Socialism. The victory of Socialism abolished unemployment and resulted in a radical improvement of the material well-being of the people, created the necessary conditions for a well-to-do and cultured life for the working people. A genuine cultural revolution was effected in the country. Guided by the Lenin-Stalin national policy, the Communist Party liberated the peoples of Russia from the centuries-old social and national yoke, overcame the economic and cultural backwardness of the formerly oppressed peoples, rallied all the

peoples of our home land into one fraternal family and created a mighty multi-national socialist state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Based on the victory of Socialism, there developed and grew strong such mighty motive forces of the Soviet state as the moral-political unity, the friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., and Soviet patriotism.

The world-historic victories of the Soviet people are inscribed in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.—the Constitution of victorious Socialism and wide socialist democracy. The 18th Congress of the Communist Party (1939) outlined a program for the further advance of Soviet society along the pathway of completing the construction of socialist society and gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. The building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is the result of the fulfillment of Lenin's behests, the result of the great organizing and directing work of the Communist Party, of its wise leadership, the result of the heroic labor of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia who unanimously support the policy of the Party.

Our Party was victorious and is victorious because it is faithful to Leninism. It teaches our cadres and all Communists perseveringly to master revolutionary theory, to adhere consistently to the standards of Party life elaborated by Lenin, to the Bolshevik principles of Party leadership. In a speech delivered on April 22, 1941, J. V. Stalin spoke about the greatness of Lenin and the significance of his behests:

"It was he, Lenin, who taught us to work in the way that Bolsheviks must work, knowing no fear and not faltering before any difficulties."

16. The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union was a most serious trial of the strength and vitality of our social and state system. During the war the Party was the inspirer and organizer of the popular struggle against the fascist occupationists. By its organizational work the Party directed towards the common goal all the efforts of the Soviet people, subordinated

all the forces and means at the disposal of the country to the cause of smashing the enemy. The Party rallied the working class, peasantry and the intelligentsia for selfless effort in overcoming the difficulties, organized a powerful labor impulse, placed the national economy in the service of the front and turned the country into a united fighting camp. During the war the Communist Party came into closer kinship with the people, established still closer contact with the broad masses of the working people. During the greatest trials of the war, overcoming the most grave difficulties and obstacles on the way to victory, the Party once more revealed that it is a united militant organization knowing neither vacillation nor differences in its ranks.

Having defeated the fascist aggressors, the Soviet people and the valiant Soviet Army, led by the glorious Communist Party, upheld the freedom and independence of their homeland and saved the peoples of Europe and Asia from the threat of fascist enslavement. As a result of the victory of Socialism over fascism during the second world war the forces of Socialism and democracy grew and became stronger, while the positions of imperialism and reaction became weaker. A number of countries of Europe and Asia dropped out of the capitalist system and the people's-democratic system was established there. A great victory for the cause of Socialism and democracy was the triumph of the people's revolution in China and the rise of the Chinese People's Republic. Immeasurably stronger and consolidated became the positions of the Soviet Union, the prestige of the Soviet Union, and the influence exerted by it on the entire international development grew immensely.

17. The postwar years demanded from the Soviet people an enormous effort in order to heal the grave wounds of war and abolish its aftermath. The working people of our country, inspired and organized by the Communist Party, rehabilitated the national economy in an unprecedentedly brief space of

time and advanced all branches of Soviet economy, technique and culture.

The XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union summed up the magnificent results of the struggle and victories of the Soviet people and outlined a program for the further advance of our country. The Congress was further clear testimony to the unbreakable monolithic unity and oneness of the Party, to the close unity of Party and people, to the firm resolve of the Party to bring the peoples of our country to the victory of Communism.

Translating into life the historic decisions of the XIX Congress of the C.P.S.U., the Party ensured a further upsurge in all branches of the national economy and culture. The enormous successes of socialist economy and the flowering of culture in the U.S.S.R. became possible thanks to the firm unity of the working class and the collective-farm peasantry, to the growing friendship of the peoples of our country, thanks to the steady consolidation of the moral-political unity of the Soviet people. All this is the result of the consistent carrying out of the policy elaborated by the Communist Party, a policy based on the creative activity of the masses and enjoying the support of Soviet society as a whole.

The Soviet Union, permeated through and through with indestructible might and creative strength, is successfully marching forward along the pathway of building Communist society.

IV. THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS THE ORGANIZING AND INSPIRING FORCE OF SOVIET SOCIETY IN BUILDING SOCIALISM

18. The Communist Party successfully fulfills the role of leader and organizer of the popular masses because it is a militant union of like-minded Communists solidified by unity of views, by unity of action and of discipline. All the activity

of the Communist Party is permeated with profound faith in the people, in the revolutionary energy of the working people. Our Party proceeds from the fact that the workers and peasants, the creators of all the blessings of life, are genuine history-makers, that "only he who believes in the people, who penetrates to the innermost recesses of the life-giving creative energy of the people, can win victory and retain power." (Lenin.) The strength of the Party lies in its indivisible bonds with the people. The strength of the people lies in their solidarity around the Party.

The entire history of the Party is Marxism-Leninism in action. Basing itself on Marxist-Leninist theory, on knowledge of the objective economic laws, the Communist Party elaborated a policy which has been tested scientifically and in practice and which reflects the demands of the development of the material life of society, the vital interests of the people, and which acted as inspirer and organizer of the revolutionary energy, of the revolutionary creative effort of the masses. Summing up the rich experience of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and the experience of the present international liberation movement J. V. Stalin creatively developed Marxist-Leninist teaching in the new historical conditions and in a number of questions enriched revolutionary theory with new theses.

19. At present the Communist Party is solving the vital tasks of Communist construction, of the further consolidation of the multi-national socialist state, of constantly raising the material and cultural level of the life of all Soviet people.

We have everything necessary for building a full Communist society. The natural resources of our country are inexhaustible. We have a powerful socialist industry, a highly developed heavy industry—the base of bases of the socialist economy. Light industry and the food industry of the U.S.S.R. are able to satisfy the growing requirements of the working people in town and countryside. Our state and collective farms,

equipped with modern advanced techniques, have the opportunities for rapidly raising yields of all crops and the productivity of the state-owned animal husbandry.

But as yet there are some urgent economic problems which remain unsolved; we have also enterprises and even separate branches of industry which lag behind and some collective farms and even entire agricultural areas which are in a state of neglect. The Party, Soviet, trade union and the Komsomol organizations must rally and organize the creative forces of the Soviet people in the struggle for a further upsurge of the national economy for utilizing the reserves and possibilities latent in industry and agriculture for the successful realization of the tasks set by the XIX Party Congress.

20. The Communist Party displays constant concern for satisfying the growing material and cultural requirements of the working people. Solicitude for the well-being of the Soviet man, for the flowering of the Soviet people as a whole is a law of our Party.

The successes gained in developing the socialist economy led to a big improvement in the material and cultural life of the Soviet people. This finds expression in the steady growth of the national income, in systematic reduction of prices for consumer goods, in higher real wages for factory and office workers and higher incomes for the peasants. Year by year the Soviet state increases allocations for housing, public health and education. However, all this does not signify that we can rest content with what has been achieved. For this reason the Party is making ever greater efforts in unfolding building of houses, schools, and hospitals and for better organization of this work.

The constant attention devoted by the Party to developing science, literature and art has ensured the flowering of Soviet culture, national in form and socialist in content. The Communist Party considers that its first duty, in the future, too, is constantly to raise the material and cultural level of the working people of our country.

21. In the sphere of foreign policy the chief concern of the Party is to ensure the peaceful labor of the Soviet people, to preserve peace and prevent the outbreak of a new war. The Communist Party adheres to the view that a policy of peace is the sole and correct policy which corresponds to the vital interests of the Soviet people and of all other peace-loving nations.

In its entire foreign policy our Party is guided by the Leninist counsel of the possibility of a long co-existence and peaceful competition of the two systems—the socialist and capitalist systems. After the main forces of the interventionists had been crushed, Lenin pointed out:

“ . . . We have won for ourselves conditions in which we can exist side by side with the capitalist powers which must now enter into trade relations with us. . . . We have won not only a breathing space—we have a new phase in which our basic international existence in the network of capitalist states has been won.”

Already in those days Lenin pointed out that a number of bourgeois countries are interested economically in trade with Soviet Russia:

“The bourgeois countries need trade with Russia: they know that without this or that form of economic relations their disintegration will go further, as was the case before; notwithstanding all their brilliant victories, notwithstanding the endless boasting with which they fill the press and telegrams of the entire world, their economy is disintegrating. . . .”

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been guided unswervingly, and is guided now, by this counsel of Lenin.

We stand for long co-existence and peaceful competition of the two systems because we are firmly convinced of the superiority of the socialist system of economy, of the socialist order, we have firm confidence in our internal forces and in the steadily growing forces of the entire camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

At the same time it should be borne in mind that in the camp of imperialism, eaten up with contradictions, there is growing instability in the economy and also in the policy of the ruling circles, leading to fear of peace, fear of peaceful competition between the two systems, to loss of confidence in the further stability of the capitalist system. This is evident from some statements made by outstanding European and American economists who acknowledge the rapid and steady growth of the economy in the socialist and democratic camp and the simultaneous sharpening of contradictions and aggravation of economic difficulties in the capitalist camp. These conditions give rise to a sharp activation of the reactionary imperialist forces, to intensified provocations of all kinds, to adventures and diversions staged by the imperialists against the socialist and democratic camp. All this makes still more necessary all-round care to ensure adequate defense of our Soviet homeland.

At the same time the Party considers that it is its sacred duty to consolidate further the mighty camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, to consolidate further the friendship and solidarity of the Soviet people with the great Chinese people, with the working people of all the countries of people's democracy.

22. Our Party is the sole Party in the country. To it alone belongs the undivided guiding role in Soviet society. The leadership of the Communist Party is the decisive prerequisite for the stability and firmness of the Soviet system and for all the successes of our people. At the same time it is necessary to remember that the monopoly position of our Party, particularly in the conditions of capitalist encirclement, calls for the highest revolutionary vigilance in relation to the machinations of the class enemy.

As Lenin repeatedly warned, various kinds of careerists worm their way into the ruling party. It is also necessary to remember that the enemies of the people, bourgeois degener-

ates, agents of international imperialism, cunningly masked as Communists, have tried and will go on trying to penetrate into the Party for the purpose of carrying on subversive enemy activity. Hence, the further whetting of the revolutionary vigilance of the Party members of all working people is a vital task of the political-educational work of the Party organizations.

23. The entire fifty-years history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has shown the great significance of the principles of Party leadership and of the standards of Party life worked out by Lenin. The Party teaches that these laws of Party building be undeviatingly translated into life, teaches strict observance of the highest principle of Party leadership—collective leadership, and of the Party Rules. It is necessary to eradicate from the Party's propaganda work the incorrect, non-Marxist elucidation of the role of the individual in history, expressed in propagation of the idealistic theory of the cult of the individual, which is alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The cult of the individual runs counter to the principle of collective leadership and detracts from the role of the Party and its leading centre, detracts from the creative activity of the Party masses and of the Soviet people and has nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the lofty significance of the directing activity of the leading organs and leading personalities. The Party proceeds from the fact that only the collective experience and the collective wisdom of the Central Committee, resting on the scientific foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory and on the broad initiative of the leading cadres, can ensure correct leadership of the Party and of the country, the unwavering unity and solidarity of the Party ranks and successful construction of Communism in our country.

Self-criticism, and especially criticism from below, is a mighty means for unfolding inner-Party democracy and improving collective leadership in the struggle against short-

comings and unhealthy phenomena. Boldly developing criticism and self-criticism the Party develops the creative activity of the members and of all the working people, directs their efforts towards overcoming the existing shortcomings and difficulties and achieves a general upsurge on all sectors of Communist construction.

24. The Party displays special concern in relation to the Marxist-Leninist education of its members. A constant rise in the ideological level of the Party members and probationers is a decisive prerequisite for enhancing their vanguard role in all spheres of life, for developing the activity of the Party masses.

In the propaganda work of our Party at the moment, more than ever before, it is necessary to eliminate the Talmudic, dogmatic approach to the study of Marxist-Leninist theory. Basing itself on the thesis that Marxist-Leninist theory is not a dogma but a guide to action, the Party demands from the members an understanding of the creative character of Marxism-Leninism, that they assimilate not separate formulas or quotations but the real content of the all-conquering, world-transforming revolutionary teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. This, precisely, is what the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union teaches us.

The ignoring of these theses and a neglectful attitude towards Marxist-Leninist theory inevitably lead to a narrow, restricted approach, to loss of perspective in work. Inability to link the daily practical matters with the basic political tasks of the Party, with its struggle for the victory of Communism, inevitably leads to the fact that such cart-wheel plodders suffer fiasco in their work.

25. In conditions of gradual transition from Socialism to Communism the Communist education of the working people acquires enormous significance. We cannot forget that in our society survivals of capitalism in the minds of people are still far from being eliminated. Nor are we insured against pene-

tration of alien views, ideas and sentiments from the capitalist encirclement and from the people infected with bourgeois survivals, including the nationalist survival. The Communist Party advances the task of greatly improving the entire political-educational work among the masses, of educating the Party members and the entire people in the spirit of confidence in the invincibility of the great cause of Communism, in the spirit of selfless loyalty to the Party and to the socialist Homeland.

The Party considers that it is its sacred duty to educate the working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and inviolable friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and the establishment of fraternal bonds with the working people of all countries. It is necessary to wage resolute struggle against manifestations of bourgeois nationalism, against the decadent bourgeois ideology.

26. In the sphere of internal policy the Party considers that one of its vital tasks is, in the future, too, to display constant concern for the maximum satisfaction of the steadily growing requirements of the Soviet people. Based on the growth of the national economy the standard of living of the working people in socialist society will be steadily raised and their material and cultural requirements satisfied on an ever more abundant and varied scale.

In the sphere of foreign policy the Party will, in the future too, consistently pursue the policy of preserving and consolidating peace, the policy of co-operation with all countries and of developing business relations with them on the principles of mutual respect for interests. Only a lasting and stable peace between the peoples can create the necessary conditions for the further steady development of socialist economy, for ensuring a happy and well-to-do life for the working people of our country.

27. Our Soviet state, the granite foundations of which were laid by the great Lenin, is a mighty instrument in the struggle

for building Communist society. The Communist Party sets itself the task of further consolidating the multi-national Soviet state, of cementing the alliance of the working class and peasantry, the friendship of the peoples, of all-round strengthening of the active defense of our Homeland from aggressive action by its enemies. The strengthening of the Soviet state is the patriotic duty and, at the same time, the sacred international obligation of the working people of our country.

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In close unity with the people our Party is confidently marching towards new victories. The recent July Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union demonstrated with renewed strength the unshakable unity of our Communist Party, its fighting preparedness to fulfill the tasks confronting it in the spheres of home and foreign policy.

Beneath the banner of Leninism, under the leadership of the Communist Party forward, to the triumph of Communism!

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