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**TRANSLATION**

Number 720

2 Dec 1958

"KOMMUNIST" ARTICLE BY PONOMAREV ON  
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

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S U M M A R Y O F C O N T E N T S

"Kommunist" Article by Ponomarev on  
International Communist Movement

This publication presents the full text of an article by B. Ponomarev titled "The International Communist Movement in Its New Stage," which appeared in the Moscow monthly periodical Kommunist, No 15, October 1958.

Pages 1 through 29

"KOMMUNIST" ARTICLE BY PONOMAREV ON  
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

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## INTRODUCTION

The Communists of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people, and the entire international Communist movement are observing widely the first anniversary of the Moscow Conferences of the Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties. These conferences were a significant event in the history of the Communist and workers' movement and demonstrated its unity and loyalty to Marxism-Leninism. The declaration of the Conference of the Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries and the Peace Manifesto, signed by representatives of 64 Communist and workers' parties are militant programs for the Communist and workers' movement, which throw the light of Marxism-Leninism on the most important problems of modern times and indicate ways to solve these problems successfully.

"The work of the Conferences of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in November 1957 and their decisions," noted the Plenum of the Central Committee CPSU, meeting in December 1957, "represents a very great achievement in the world Communist movement. These conferences demonstrated convincingly the future unity of the socialist camp and of the whole international Communist movement on the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism. The working out and the declaration of the very important tasks facing Communists in the struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism in the present stage of their peaceful history, the consolidation of the whole international Communist movement, and the subsequent strengthening of the ties between the Communist parties are the most important goals of the conferences."

The decisions of the conferences were approved by all the fraternal parties. The resolutions of the congresses of the Communist parties and the Central Committees emphasize that the Moscow Conferences laid a firm foundation for new victories in the Communist movement. The resolutions of the Second Session of the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China state the following: "The declaration laid the ideological basis for the solidarity of the Communist parties of various countries and strengthened the unity of the socialist camp, led by the Soviet Union. This is a program that has ushered in a new stage in the international Communist movement." This is a stage in the continual strengthening and development of the peaceful socialist system and the unprecedented triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideals.

This year marked the further rise of the forces of ascending socialism and the extended fall and decay of capitalism.

The stepup in the growth of social processes characterizes the present stage. It proceeds along two opposite lines. The countries of the peaceful socialist system are moving more swiftly toward the creation of socialism and Communism. The decay and fall of capitalism, the extension of capitalism's general crisis, and the intensification of all the differences of the capitalist regime are taking place faster than previously. This is reflected in the great class conflicts within capitalist systems and in the conflicts between the forces of peace and socialism and the forces of war and imperialist reaction.

The theoretical analysis of the contemporary international development and the conclusions drawn from this analysis given in the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and in the documents of the Moscow conferences are fully confirmed by facts.

The ideas of the Moscow conferences assisted in further rallying the international Communist movement, in improving the level of the ideological and organizational work of the Communist parties, and in consolidating Communist parties' international ties. Guarding the purity of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the Communist and workers' parties organized an active large-scale struggle against revisionism and dealt it a number of shattering blows.

The international Communist movement, inspired by the Marxist-Leninist ideas of the Moscow conferences, is confidently advancing forward while preparing for great new victories of the working class.

#### I. THE SOCIALIST CAMP IS POWERFUL AND SOLID, AS NEVER BEFORE

The year after the Moscow Conference is marked by the outstanding successes of the Soviet Union and of the People's Democracies in the development of their economy and culture, and in the further consolidation of the socialist camp.

The Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist camp countries direct the masses to the struggle for a fast rate of growth of the national economy and for the improvement of living conditions of the working people.

The economy and culture of all countries of the socialist camp are following the road of continuous progress. The national economy development plans are being exceeded. The industrial production volume in the USSR for the 9 months of 1958 increased 10 percent, compared with the corresponding volume of 1957. The gross industrial production of the People's Republic of China for the first 8 months of 1958 increased 47 percent, compared with the corresponding period of 1957. In the first half of 1958, the industrial production exceeded that of the same period of 1957: in Hungary more than 20 percent; in Albania, 19.5 percent in the German Democratic Republic, 11.7 percent; in Czechoslovakia, 11 percent; and in Poland, 10.5 percent. In other socialist countries the progress was just as significant.

As a result of the powerful development of its economy, the share of the socialist camp in world-wide industrial production steadily increases.

The economy of the socialist countries does not know recessions and crises; from year to year, it is going uphill. Advantages of the planned socialist economy are especially clearly seen this year. The socialist countries during the first 6 months of 1958, produced more than in the corresponding period of last year as follows: cast iron, 9 percent; steel, 10 percent; coal, 11 percent; petroleum, 15 percent. In the capitalist countries, however, production decreased as follows: cast iron, 19.6 percent; steel, 19.5 percent; coal, 9.1 percent; and petroleum, 1.8 percent.

The socialist countries have reached such a height that some of them are making it their immediate task to catch up with and surpass the principal capitalist countries in per capita production. The Soviet Union aims to surpass the US in per capita production and the other great socialist power, the People's Republic of China, aims to overtake and surpass Great Britain in 15 years in the production of the basic types of industrial commodities. A comparison of the rates of development of the industrial production of the USSR and the People's Republic of China, on one hand, and the US and Great Britain, on the other hand, shows that this task will be completed in a historically short period of time. For the first 9 months of 1958, compared with the corresponding period of last year, the USSR produced more of the following items: iron, 6 percent; steel, 8 percent; coal, 8 percent, petroleum, 16 percent; electric power, 13 percent; and tractors, 9 percent. The US produced less of the following items: pig iron, 37 percent; steel, 33 percent; coal, 22 percent; petroleum, 11 percent; electric power, one percent; automobiles, 35 percent; and tractors, 23 percent. In the output of coal and production of machine tools, China will catch up with Great Britain during 1958.

Agriculture in socialist countries has attained enormous successes. Experience has thoroughly demonstrated that cooperation based on Lenin's precepts is the general line in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. The Communist and workers' parties in countries of the People's Democracies have attained outstanding successes in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Cooperation in agriculture has been completely realized in the People's Republic of China. The formation of people's communes is presently being completed throughout all of China. In the Korean People's Democratic Republic, cooperation in the village has also been completed basically. In Bulgaria, the socialist sector comprises 92 percent of the cultivated land; in Czechoslovakia, more than 70 percent; and almost 70 percent in Albania. The socialist reorganization of agriculture is a great new victory of the workers in countries of the People's Democracies, [a victory] which has strengthened the union of the working class and the working peasantry, and has opened the road to the tremendous rise in agricultural production.

On the basis of the growth of industrial and agricultural production, the material welfare of the workers is improving at increasing rates. Real wages and large-scale housing and cultural construction are increasing in all countries of the socialist camp. For instance, Czechoslovakia surpassed France, Austria, West Germany, and Italy in the per capita consumption of a number of food items. The German Democratic Republic surpassed West Germany in the consumption of a number of important products. This is one more testimonial of the progressiveness of the socialist camp, and the concern of the Communist and workers' parties for the workers' welfare.

Socialism has won a decisive victory on the political and ideological fronts in countries of the People's Democracies. Marxist-Leninist ideology is the basis whereby the working class, the working peasantry and the intelligentsia have united into a friendly family of builders of socialism. Socialism is becoming more and more a part of the working class' life.

The authority of the Communist and workers' parties has increased even more in countries of the socialist camp. These parties have demonstrated great skill in implementing the ideas of socialism. In decisively repulsing attacks of antisocialist forces, as well as of different kinds of opportunists, the Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist camp are courageously and confidently rallying the popular masses around them along the road to socialism and Communism.

The peoples of the Soviet Union are very enthusiastically preparing for the 21st Irregular Congress of the CPSU. The congress will discuss the planned figures for the 1959-1965 development of the USSR national economy. The Seven-Year Plan is an important stage in the building of a Communist society in our country. All this will strengthen the attracting force in the idea of socialism.

A new stage in socialist construction has been reached in a number of countries of the People's Democracies. The Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party stated that socialism became the dominant and sole commanding force in the entire national economy. The congress proposed the task of completing the construction of a socialist society in Bulgaria. The Ninth Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party determined that Czechoslovakia, in essence, had established the bases of socialist society, and lofty tasks for the completion of socialist construction are being resolved. The time is not far off when socialist construction will be completed in China, in the German Democratic Republic, in Rumania and in all countries of the People's Democracies. This has world-wide historical significance. The people's democratic order has withstood the test of time. It has brought its remarkable fruits to the people and is demonstrating that socialism is the sole correct road for all humanity.

So impetuous a development of production forces and so rapid a progress along the road to socialism in countries of the People's Democracies would be inconceivable without fraternal reciprocal aid and without a consolidation into one socialist camp. The socialist camp, which represents the voluntary collaboration of sovereign states possessing equal rights, is a world-wide historical victory by the international working class. The socialist camp is fulfilling its great mission of delivering mankind from the destructive fires of war; it is implementing the Marxist-Leninist idea; it is reliably preserving the freedom and independence of each socialist country, it is demonstrating ever-increasing influence on the international scene in the interests of peace, progress, and the freedom of peoples. It is natural that all progressive people should be interested in its strengthening. He who attacks the socialist camp and attempts to undermine or weaken it is not a contender for peace.

Fraternal indissoluble friendship, mutual aid, and joint resolution of questions common to all the socialist countries -- these are the principles of socialist internationalism. Marxist-Leninists do not limit themselves to the confines of their countries. They regard the construction of socialism and Communism as a great international cause. Therefore they assist each other in this.



The ever-expanding collaboration among socialist countries affords remarkable results. In generalizing on the experience of such collaboration Comrade N. S. Khrushchev points out:

"Historical experience has shown that the political collaboration of countries in the socialist camp is reliably ensuring national independence and state sovereignty for them. In each of its plans it is creating the necessary conditions for the successful realization of peaceful socialist construction.

"Experience has also shown that the economic collaboration of these countries, based on the principles of equal rights and mutual aid, gives each of them the opportunity for the greatest efficiency, both for the complete use of their natural resources and for the development of their productive forces. On the other hand, it permits them to coordinate and to unite their forces in the general interest, to use the tremendous advantages which lie in the world socialist system for strengthening the economic right of the socialist camp in its entirety."

Cultural collaboration of socialist countries mutually enriches the spiritual life of each of these nations. It contributes enormously to the rapid and multifaceted blossoming of national cultures, sciences, and technology.

The Communist and workers' parties in the socialist camp, in conducting a consistent Marxist-Leninist internationalist policy, are in every way concerned over developing such collaboration. The declaration has contributed to the fact that this cooperation has become even closer and all-embracing.

With the aim of further developing and extending economic cooperation among socialist countries, a conference was held in May 1958 of representatives of the Communist and workers' parties of countries participating in the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. The conference was attended by representatives of the Communist Party of China, the Workers Party of Korea, the Workers Party of Vietnam, and the Mongolian National Revolutionary Party. The results of the conference were a concrete development of the ideas of the Declaration on Problems of the Economic Cooperation of Socialist Countries. The conference unanimously concluded that at present, when economic ties among socialist countries have developed considerably and grown stronger, further improvement of the forms of economic cooperation, a more intense specialization and cooperation of production in interdependent branches of the national economy of countries in the socialist camp, have become exceedingly important. The conference defined measures to further the development and strengthening of the international division of labor of socialist countries and to work out long-range plans in the development of their national economy. These measures increase cooperation among the countries of the socialist camp to a greater degree and speed up their movement along the road to socialism and Communism.

Trips by party and government delegates to brother countries and party delegates to congresses of a number of Communist and workers' parties have deepened the friendship among socialist countries. The Second Session of the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China, the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and the Fifth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, made great contributions to strengthening the socialist camp. In addresses by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev at the congresses of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, fundamental questions for developing and consolidating the world socialist system were theoretically elaborated and the aims and methods of the undermining activities of revisionists were unmasked. A historical role in strengthening the brotherly friendship of socialist countries was played by the meeting in Peiping between the first secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU, and chairman of the Council of Ministers USSR, N. S. Khrushchev, and the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Chairman of the Chinese National Republic, Mao Tse-tung. In a communique regarding that meeting, it was emphasized that "The unity and cooperation which both countries are building on a foundation of complete equality of rights and comradely cooperation have a great and vital strength. This unity and cooperation favors not only the rapid advancement of both countries along the road of socialism and Communism, but also strengthens the power of the socialist camp as a whole."

To a great degree, the further rallying in the socialist camp promoted (1) the consolidation of the forces of the builders of a new life in each socialist country; (2) the increase of their confidence in the victory of socialism; and (3) the decisive rebuff to antisocialist elements and revisionists who were attempting to deflect the working masses from the high road of socialist construction. The internal situation in the socialist countries is solid. The working masses are closely rallied about the working class and its Communist avant-garde, and they are enthusiastically building socialism. The socialist camp is unified and monolithic as never before. In this is the tremendous service of the Communist and workers' parties which are strictly promoting the ideas of the Moscow Declaration.

Rallying the socialist states into a single camp is a deeply logical phenomenon. Through their entrance on the general road to socialism, through the class entity of the social-economic order and state authority, through the demands for mutual support and aid, and through common interests and aims in the struggle against imperialism, they are united in a single collaboration for the victory of socialism and Communism and of the Marxist-Leninist ideology which is common to all. Comrade Mao Tse-tung asserts, "We have a single fate and a single life with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp." The Soviet nation also has a single life with the Chinese nation, with the workers of all countries of the People's Democracies. Their invincible strength is in the unity and rallying of the socialist countries.

The successes of the construction of Communism in the USSR and of socialism in countries of the People's Democracies -- this is the triumph of Marxism-Leninism. Communist and workers' parties have gained victories and are continuing to gain victories with their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and with the proper combination of general conformity of the socialist structure with the concrete conditions and peculiarities of their countries. "The creative application of the common conformities of the socialist structure as verified by the experience of life, and a variety of forms and methods of building socialism in various countries," as is emphasized in the declaration, "are the collective contributions to the theory of Marxism-Leninism."

The Communist and workers' parties, in leading the building of socialism and Communism, enrich the Marxist-Leninist theory and reveal more broadly and deeply its vitality and its significance for the workers of all countries.

The countries of the socialist camp are going forward confidently; they have created all the requisites for a still greater rise in economies and culture and for increased prosperity of the popular masses.

II. NEW PROFOUND SHOCKS IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD

The declaration states: "The world capitalist economy remains unsteady and shaky...The capitalist economy will not be able to avoid serious new shocks and crises."

This conclusion was completely confirmed in practice by the over-all development of these countries for a year. Capitalism is experiencing new shocks; all the contradictions peculiar to it have developed still further.

The theories of the apologists of monopolies and of the various types of reformists "on new characteristics" of capitalism which exclude the possibility of crises have suffered complete bankruptcy. An economic crisis has been developing in the US since the end of last year. In the last 18 months, industrial production in the US decreased by almost 15 percent. According to official data, there are over 5 million unemployed persons in the US.

After a standstill for 3 years, the economy of England has started on the downgrade. The production rate of the machine-building, metal-working, and steel-casting industries fell short [of the goal] by 20 percent. The index of industrial production in August 1958 was 4 to 5 points lower than that of August 1957. Even the Financial Times, an organ of financial and industrial circles in England, admits: "Industrial production now stands just where it did about 4 years ago." The number of unemployed has reached 500,000. By the beginning of 1959, it is expected that there will be almost one million unemployed persons in England.

Decreased production in the coal, steel-casting, ironworks, textile, and sewing industries in West Germany is making itself felt more and more. Production is also curtailed in Japan. A growth of unemployment is evident in Canada, Italy, Japan, Belgium, and the countries of Latin America.

A comparison of the results of economic development of the socialist and capitalist countries during the past year confirm with new force the conclusion of the declaration: "If socialism is on the rise, then capitalism is on the decline." Socialism, as the ascending system, brings with it the prosperity of economics, universal employment of the workers, and an improvement in their living standards, but capitalism, as the moribund system, cripples the economy, deprives tens of millions of workers of work and a means of existence, and intensifies the attack on the living standard of the masses.

The policies of the ruling classes of the Western countries are leading to a clash with the interests of the popular masses of these countries and also with the interests of the peoples who have attained national independence, the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, and even the bourgeoisie of small countries. From here stems the new intensification of the contradictions of capitalism.

First of all, the contradiction existing between labor and capital becomes intensified; this finds an outlet in the growth of resistance by strikes. The old wives' tales of the reformists concerning "twilights of strike activity" and "harmony among the class interests" of workers and bourgeoisie have proved like a soap bubble.

Actually, instead of a reconciliation, there is effected in the capitalist countries an intensification of the class struggle. During the past 2 or 3 years, the range of strike activity has significantly expanded.

During 1956, there were 1,904 strikes in Italy, with 1.7 million people participating. During 1957, there were 1,849 strikes, with 2.1 million participating. During the current year, the strike movement has become stronger. Among the most outstanding strikes were the general 48-hour strike of the 200,000 workers and employees of the Italian chemical industry, the general strike of workers of the cement industry, the 24-hour strike of the 100,000 city transport workers, a "Day of Struggle" by the 2 million Italian share-croppers.

In England, there were 2,855 strikes in 1957, with 1,358,000 people participating. Since January of 1958, there have been 1,826 strikes. At present, some labor unions, totaling nearly 4.5 million members, are on strike to obtain a wage increase.

Large-scale strikes are also taking place in Latin America, where the cost of living has greatly risen as a result of the predatory policy of the US monopolies. In 1953, 5.6 million people participated in strikes in the Latin American countries; in 1954, their number totaled 7.4 million; in 1955, 9.1 million; in 1956, 9.7 million; and in 1957, 11.8 million. This year, large-scale demonstrations took place in nearly all the Latin American countries. For instance, a general 24-hour strike, with more than 4 million workers participating, was held in Argentina on 11 October. Strikes are also increasing in West Germany, the US, and Japan.

On the one hand, there arises a contradiction among the colonial powers, while, on the other, there is a contradiction among countries striving for national freedom and also among the colonies and dependent countries.

The national liberation movement, which was strengthened after World War II, is still growing like a torrent, washing out and demolishing imperialism, breaking away from the colonial system more and more new regions, narrowing the sphere of imperialistic domination. This year, the struggle for the national liberation of people has achieved new victories. The victory of the revolution in Iraq tore a gap in the aggressive Bagdad Pact and strengthened the national liberation struggle of the Arab people. The people of Ghana and Guinea have also obtained their national freedom. All of Africa and Asia have been seized by a great upsurge of national consciousness.

Very important processes are taking place in the Latin American countries. For a long time, the US imperialists have regarded Latin America as a sphere for supplementing their capital, as a strategic rear area in the preparation for a new world war. "The policy of the US," testifies a deputy of the Peruvian Congress, "was always directed in such a manner as to maintain Latin American economy in a state of dependency and to exploit these countries as its own backyard so that they are bound to serve toward the fulfillment of US interests!"

The US monopolies seized the enterprises which are extracting the basic natural resources of Latin America. The plundering of the resources of Latin American countries and the exploitation of their people by the US monopolies have attained monstrous proportions. According to the statistics provided by the UN, in 1946-1954, the US monopolies realized a profit of 3.17 dollars for every dollar invested in Latin America.

Having seized the wealth of the nations of Latin America, the monopolies of the US are trying with all their strength to repress the movement against the economic exploitation and political oppression of the people of these countries by North American imperialism.

However, now the people of Latin America are all the more decisively increasing the struggle to defend their national wealth and democratic freedoms. Latin America is a seething volcano. As in one country, so in another country, outbursts are taking place which are sweeping away reactionary regimes and are loosening the nooses which the monopolies of the US had thrown on their economy.

In May 1957, as a result of the rebellion of the people of Colombia, the henchmen of the US monopolies, Dictator Pinilla, was overthrown. Extremely characteristic events occurred in Venezuela. In 1957, on the initiative of the progressive patriotic forces in Venezuela, the "Patriotic Junta" was established to fight against the bloody regime of Jimenez. The representatives of the bourgeois parties, Democratic Action, the Social-Christian Party, and the Republican-Democratic Union participated in the "Junta." Having rallied the masses, it called a general strike for 21 January 1958, which later turned into an armed revolt. As a result of the participation of the working class and students, several groups of the national bourgeoisie and a part of the army of the government of Jimenez were deposed.

The forces which are working to strengthen national independence and democracy and to liberate the economy of these countries from the domination of the monopolies of the US are growing in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and other countries. The strength of these forces was shown by the failure of reactionary plans and of the reactionary candidates in the general elections in Argentina. There was established the Front of People's Action, which merged the national and anti-imperialistic forces of Chile: the Communist, socialist, and democratic parties and the labor party. A People's Front was organized in Brazil.

An important characteristic of the current stage of the liberation struggle in Latin America is the continually increasing role of the working class. That is, the participation of the working class imparts to the national liberation movement in Latin America a clearly marked anti-imperialistic character. Earlier, when the question of state power was decided on the bases of armies and by feudal-comprador circles, one dictator was replaced by another dictator. Thanks to the participation of the masses, and mainly the working class, the overthrown military dictators were replaced by bourgeois-parliamentary regimes offering the people the well-known democratic freedoms.

Under the pressure of the masses, many Latin American countries began more sharply than ever to demand that the US look into the character of the economic relations and establish just prices on goods exported from Latin America so as to protect national resources from encroachment by US monopolies. The Brazilian Congress passed a law nationalizing the reserves of atomic materials and prohibiting their export from the country and canceling a secret agreement with the US regarding this matter.

The conflicts between the US and Latin American countries were increased in connection with the crisis which started in the US. Seeking to get out of crises, the US raised the tariff on products exported by the Latin American countries and began to dump its own surplus products on the market at such low prices that a great deal of damage was done to the economy of the Latin American countries. To repulse North American imperialism, the Latin American countries are taking several measures to strengthen mutual relations and unity. The attempts of the US to involve the Latin American countries in a military bloc, to create the so-called South Atlantic Pact, have failed.

The US still holds strong positions in the Latin American nations. But its prestige grows weaker every day. The Latin American people want to handle their natural resources themselves and regulate their lives without interference from outsiders. The fight for these ideals is spreading everywhere and has already borne its first fruit.

Another important process is taking place side by side with the liberation from colonial and semicolonial dependence -- the liberation of the people from the old slavish ideology which imperialism cultivated. The growth of national consciousness is taking place both in the nations which are throwing off the foreign yoke and in the countries fighting against the colonizers. The Conference for Solidarity of Asian and African Countries in Canada and the Afro-Asian Writers Conference held in Tashkent pointed this out very clearly.

The leaders of the Eastern countries are fully aware of the harm of imperialistic ideology and the ideology of capitulation in the face of imperialism. The ideology of conciliation and capitulation seeks to stifle the growth of consciousness of the popular masses, tries to hold them down in work, and does not give them the chance to follow the broad road of progress. In the struggle against reactionary forces, ideology becomes more and more an ideology of national liberation. Successive representatives of ideology of national liberation and representatives of the higher classes of these nations argue that, achieving freedom from the colonial yoke, it is impossible to stop half way, that it is impossible in any case to retravel the tortuous path which capitalistic countries follow, and that one must follow the contemporary path, the path of national independence, freedom, and social progress.

The happiness of people in the countries now being liberated consists of the fact that there is a socialist camp in the world which gives them considerable help in strengthening national independence. Almost a billion people of the socialist countries existing under the banner of socialist ideology have achieved remarkable success in developing their economy and culture. This shows the tremendous influence on the heart and mind of the people being freed from the colonial yoke. The main strength of these people comes from the treasure-house of socialist ideology, the inspiration for their struggle. This advanced ideology promotes an increase of consciousness of the popular masses, opening effective prospects for emancipation, not only from a foreign yoke, but also from social servitude, and follows the paths of development which meet the expectations of the liberated people, the path of building a new life.

Imperialist circles try to hinder the progressive movement of mankind. Infuriated by the successes of socialist countries which are extending the scope of the national liberation movement, experiencing serious economic difficulty, and seeing that capitalism is losing in the competition with socialism, reactionary circles of Western countries follow the path of intensifying military preparation, the path of military adventure.

In the declaration it is emphasized: "As long as imperialism remains, grounds for aggressive war will also remain." The Peace Manifesto states that the threat to peace and independence of peoples comes from capitalistic monopolies, growing incredibly rich on two world wars in the current arms race.



All the people were witnesses to how the imperialists of the US and England, intervening in Lebanon and Jordan, set up an extremely dangerous situation in the Near East which is fraught by the threat of world war. All the people are witnesses to how the US imperialists provoked war in the Taiwan Strait area, widening the aggression against the People's Republic of China; how they set up a hotbed of war in Europe and placed atomic weapons in the hands of Hitlerite generals.

The policy of "from a position of strength" and "balancing on the brink of war" which the bosses of monopolies are pursuing imposes a heavy burden on the shoulders of mankind. The imperialist countries are now spending 25 times as much money for war purposes as they did in 1929. The amount of taxes collected in the US during the last 5 years is 1.5 times the total amount of taxes collected during the 156 years of existence of the US up to 1945. Imperialism cannot live without blood; it hurls itself from one adventure to another. However, this only further exposes its doom, its antipopular character. The entire adventurist policy of "balancing on the brink of war" is connected with the name of Dulles. This misanthropic policy arouses the indignation of all people of good will; it is condemned even by the American people. The defeat of the Republicans in the elections for the US Senate and House of Representatives, which have just been completed, signifies, primarily, a condemnation of the policy of Dulles and the desire of the American voters to change the course of the foreign policy of the government of the US.

In spite of the furious castings about of imperialism, there is no fatal inevitability of war in our time. The 20th Congress of the CPSU pointed out that there are now powerful social and political forces which have substantial means for preventing the unleashing of war by the imperialists, and for repulsing the aggressors in a crushing manner and frustrating their adventurist plans if they try to start a war. This conclusion of the 20th Congress of the CPSU is confirmed by life. The growing peace-loving forces frustrated the aggressive plans of the imperialists directed against Egypt in 1956, and in 1958, they frustrated aggressive plans against the Republic of Iraq and the United Arab Republic. The decisive role in this was played by the socialist camp and the peace-loving countries of Asia and Africa. In the consciousness of the popular masses, the conclusion is becoming ever more deeply implanted that if there were no socialist camp, then there would be no peace on earth.

The socialist camp and all peace-loving governments and peoples have made great progress in the struggle to lessen international tension and in the defense of peace. However, the danger of war is not past. The imperialist circles of the US, England, France, and West Germany continue a course of preparation for war. Mankind did not succeed in getting the governments of the US and England to accept a ban on atomic weapons tests. The ruling circles of the US and England bear sole responsibility for the fact that the testing of atomic weapons continues, poisoning the atmosphere

and menacing human life. Everyone whom the peace, tranquility, and happiness of people are dear cannot but protest against this misanthropic policy. It is necessary to force the imperialists to refrain from atomic weapons tests. If all the peoples rise up and unanimously demand that the ruling circles of the US and England cease their testing of atomic weapons, then the peoples can achieve their will. To fight still more actively for peace, enlisting the broadest popular masses in the struggle -- this is what the current situation dictates, this is what is needed to avert war.

The ideas of the Peace Manifesto are as important and timely today as they were a year ago. The vast masses and all mankind are vitally interested in the realization of these ideas. They call for the unity of all peace-loving forces and for making the struggle for the cause of peace more active.

The socialist countries are consistently and persistently striving for peace. War is foreign to the very nature of socialist countries. However, this is not in the slightest degree a sign of their weakness. They have available every means of defense. Only people who have lost their faith in socialism, in the peace-loving peoples, can assert that in the event that war breaks out there will be no victors in it, that everyone will be vanquished. The Marxist-Leninists have a different view. It was formulated in the Declaration. The united, powerful, peace-loving forces of the present day can "ward off the explosion of war, and in case the imperialist militant maniacs dare to unleash war, in spite of everything, then imperialism dooms itself to destruction, since the nations will not endure any longer a system which brings them such heavy suffering and sacrifice."

### III. SOME PROBLEMS OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT

In present-day conditions, as never before, the role of the working class, its organization, and above all, its Communist vanguard, is growing. Communist and workers' parties bear basic historic responsibility for strengthening the world socialist system, for leadership of the proletariat and all workers in the struggle for liberation from the capitalist yoke, and for saving mankind from destructive nuclear war.

Armed with the ideas of the Moscow conferences, the international Communist movement was united even more strongly and forged ahead. The most important indications of this in the past years are: remarkable successes in building up of socialism and Communism in the countries of the socialist camp; strengthening of international solidarity; increasing the level of ideological and organizational work; increase of the ranks and authority of many Communist parties of capitalist countries.

The second session of the Eighth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party; congresses of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Sweden, Japan, Uruguay, and a number of other countries; conferences of representatives of Communist parties of socialist countries who are participants in the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance; and the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers Parties of 15 European countries have been conducted successfully. All these congresses and conferences have demonstrated with new force the unity and solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist parties, their loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism, and their implacability toward apostates from Communism.

The strength and authority of the Communist party were proved this year during parliamentary elections in a number of capitalist countries. The glorious Communist Party of Italy won a great victory in the elections. All the bourgeois and petit-bourgeois parties, from the fascists and monarchists to the social democrats, spoke against it, slandered it. But, despite the bitter anti-Communist campaign, despite falsification of the elections, the Communist Party of Italy received more than one fifth of all the electoral vote, and more than 100,000 new members joined its ranks. The Finnish People's Democratic Union, whose basic strength is the Communist Party, collected the largest number of votes in the election. The Finnish People's Democratic Union bloc became the largest bloc in Finland's Diet. More votes than in previous elections were given to the Communist Party of Japan. Leftist forces in Greece obtained great success in the elections.

The influence of the Communist Party of India is growing steadily. After the Moscow conferences more than 70,000 people joined its ranks. In the state of Kerala a government headed by Communists has been working for more than a year and a half. Despite that fact that reactionary forces are making desperate attempts to discredit the government of Kerala, to prove that the "Communist experiment" has failed, the government of the state has carried out a number of reforms in the interests of various strata of city and country workers and won their warm support.

The Indonesian Communist Party enjoys great authority among the popular masses of its country. The Indonesian Communists proved themselves heroes in the struggle against the counterrevolutionary rebels. The Communist Party appealed to all workers to strengthen national unity and unity of ranks of the working class, in order to suppress the rebellion within the country, to repulse foreign intervention, to defend the united Indonesian Republic, to liquidate the activities of foreign and internal subversive elements, and to wipe out, finally, Dutch influence in the country. The Communists were in the front ranks of those fighting the counterrevolutionary insurgents. Hundreds of Communists courageously gave their lives to defend the republic. The Communists were worthy of the vast respect of the broad popular masses. In the local elections of 1957-1958, the Communist Party received over 2 million more votes than at the elections to Parliament in 1955.

In recent years, the influence of the Communist parties in the countries of Latin America, especially Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Cuba, Venezuela, and Colombia, has been growing rapidly. This is the result of selfless struggle of Communists for the development of the national liberation and democratic movement. Since the end of 1957, 15,000 persons have joined the Communist Party of Argentina and about 1,500 persons the Communist Party of Uruguay. The Communist Party of Venezuela emerged from under ground and became an important political force in the country. Its numbers have risen to 20,000. The creation of a limited Trade-Union Center of Chilean Workers and a Popular Front of Chile which includes all leftist parties is a great achievement for the Communist Party of Chile. The authority of the Communist parties has grown so much and their role in the national liberation movement is so great that governing circles in Latin America have been compelled by popular pressures to change laws banning the Communist Party, or to actually permit them to emerge from the underground.

The Communist parties of Latin American countries ever more closely coordinate their activities in the struggle against the common enemy of the Latin American peoples -- US imperialism. This contributes to the further activation of the activities of the 21 Latin American Communist parties counting in their ranks over 360,000 Communists.

In the light of these facts, it is quite obvious how deceitful and awkward is the noisy new campaign of imperialist propaganda on "the crisis of Communism." The enemy, citing the situation which has arisen in certain European Communist parties and the fact that several of them have received fewer votes in elections, attempts to show that the entire Communist movement is allegedly in the process of being weakened. But the enemies are passing off the desired for the real.

The revolutionary movement is of a universal nature. Its main support is the socialist camp. The great successes of the socialist camp are the successes of international Communism.

Now when the entire world capitalist system is ripe for socialist transformation, the question arises once again of the development of the world revolutionary workers' movement. Now this movement is developing on a much wider front than previously, and new centers of the revolutionary movement are constantly being created.

It is also characteristic that if the revolutionary workers' movement does not for the time being meet with such great success in certain regions of the world as it has had recently, then this movement will grow up quickly in other regions of the world. Whereas in certain old capitalistic countries -- in countries of so-called classical capitalism -- the bourgeoisie and its right-socialist accomplices succeed for the time being in deceiving part of the toilers, including the workers, then in other countries, particularly in countries of the East and Latin America, and a number of

European countries, the workers movement is noted for its militant nature and solidarity and furnishes models of Marxist-Leninist tempering, and is experiencing an upsurge.

The Communist and workers' parties are growing and are tempered in the fight against revisionism and other opportunistic currents. The Moscow conferences determined that revisionism poses the chief danger to the contemporary Communist movement. This conclusion is based on the fact that modern revisionism seeks to discredit Marxist-Leninist teachings, to undermine the faith of the working class and the working peoples in socialism, is contrary to the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the transition from capitalism to socialism, denies the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party. In other words, the revisionists seek to paralyze the revolutionary energy of the working class precisely at a time when everything possible must be done to develop its revolutionary spirit. They wish to disarm the proletariat at a time when everything possible must be done to arm it with Marxist-Leninist ideas. They are seeking to leave it without leadership at a time when the leading role of the Communist parties must be raised even higher. Their aim is to weaken or to abolish Communist parties at a time when everything possible should be done to strengthen them as the principal guarantee of peace, democracy, and socialism.

Revisionism is an ideology which is useful to the bourgeoisie, an ideology of capitulators. The bourgeoisie make no attempt to hide that fact. They would very much desire the strengthening of revisionism. This fact was mentioned by an English bourgeois journalist in the newspaper Liverpool Daily Post when he openly wrote: "Revisionism has tremendous significance for the free world.... It is our best ally in the cold war. We should orient our policies and activities around support of the inescapable contradictions which arise in the Communist world...." The chief essence of revisionism, as an ally of the bourgeoisie, is correctly seized on in this statement.

Right now it is particularly easy to see how correct the Moscow Conference was in its action in singling out revisionism as the chief danger to the Communist movement and in directing the fraternal parties toward a decisive struggle against this danger.

Soon after the Moscow Conference there was published the Program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which rolled into one all revisionist concepts. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia, in sharp contradiction to positions held by the entire tremendous family of Communist and workers' parties, refused to adhere to the declaration. Moreover, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia contrasted that Marxist-Leninist declaration with its own, revisionistic, and anti-Leninist program, which is neo-Bernshteinist, i.e., right opportunist. Disruption of the unity of the socialist camp and of the Communist movement, defamation of socialism,

a repudiation of proletarian internationalism, a replacement of Marxism-Leninism by a right socialist reformism, slander and defamation of the Communist parties of capitalist nations -- such is the aim of the revisionist program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has been censured by all Communist parties of socialist nations, who have an incomparably richer and longer, withal exceptionally successful, experience in socialist construction. The Yugoslav program has been censured by all Communist parties of capitalist nations, who are in the very center of the class struggle, who know well the character of imperialism and its present-day features and the paths their own nations are traveling toward socialism. The international Communist movement, as a single front, has come out against the Yugoslav revisionists, and they have been isolated.

The events which have occurred since publication of the Yugoslav program have with full force disclosed its great harm to peace, democracy, and socialism, and have shown the total incompatibility of its anti-Marxist concepts.

One of the cornerstones of the revisionist program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is the statement that one of the reasons for the danger of an outbreak of war is "the existence of two antagonistic military-political blocs." But this attempt to blacken the peace-loving policy of the socialist camp and to hide the aggressive nature of imperialism, primarily that of the Americans, has not withstood the test. The Yugoslav program had barely been translated into other languages when the imperialists of US and Britain organized an armed intervention in Lebanon and Jordan. The authors of the Yugoslav program, in seeking to shield imperialism and to enable it, revealed themselves to the entire world as cheats and misinformers. It is difficult to conceive of a more miserable role for people who call themselves Marxists! Only the resolute position of the Soviet Union and of all nations of the socialist camp saved the world from the conflagration of war. The position of "neutrality" adopted by the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia -- between the socialist camp defending the cause of peace, and the imperialist bloc aggravating the international situation -- was actually complicity with the instigators of war, for the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia deny that the reasons for the outbreak of wars are in the very essence of imperialism itself and refuse to struggle against that imperialism.

Another cornerstone of the revisionist program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is the statement that the bourgeois state is becoming ever more "above-class," and that capitalism will grow into socialism through spontaneous development of the "socialist elements" within capitalism. These anti-Marxist conclusions made their appearance at a time when reactionary imperialist circles launched a new attack against all democratic and socialist forces. Authors of the Yugoslav program, in depicting the bourgeois state as an organ of the superstructure, are disorienting the workers of capitalist nations and are, whether they intend to or not, covering attacks of reaction on the rights of the working class.

The leading figures and the press of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia are seeking to disrupt the unity of the socialist camp. They are seeking to do damage to the Soviet Union and our Leninist Party, the People's Republic of China, and all socialist nations. The Yugoslav press publishes information about the socialist nations which is incorrect, thereby confusing the workers. The directors of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia incessantly attack the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Rumanian Workers Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and other Communist parties.

The imperialist circles do not hide the fact that they are pleased with the position taken by the Yugoslavs. US monopolists are promising Yugoslavia new sops and new contributions to "Yugoslavian socialism." The leaders of the right socialists are again flocking into Yugoslavia, seeking to hand over to the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia their experience in serving the imperialists and the betrayal of socialism and the working classes. An old wise saying goes: "Tell me who your friend is and I will tell you what you are." The facts bear witness that the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, in embarking on the rather shaky path of "national Communism," are wallowing ever deeper in the quagmire of opportunism and are departing ever further from the ideas of socialism. The position adopted by the directors of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will do serious harm to the Yugoslav peoples themselves and to socialism. This line of action has nothing in common with proletarian internationalism.

The Communist and workers' parties have stood for and are standing for the purity of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and for a world-wide consolidation of the Communist movement. They are guarding and will continue to guard the unity of the socialist camp and the principles of proletarian internationalism, and are struggling and will continue to struggle against apostates from Marxism-Leninism.

The revisionistic groups which began their activities in 1956-1957 have been crushed in the majority of Communist parties. As is known, the situation was particularly serious in the US, where the renegade group

headed by Gates sought the abolishment of the Communist Party. The healthy elements of the Communist Party, standing firmly on Marxist-Leninist positions, defended the party, prevented its conversion into a nonparty "association of political action." The leaders of the revisionists -- Gates, Charney, and Shneiderman, openly went over to the camp of American imperialism. In fighting against revisionism and this ultraleftist group, the Communist Party of the US is strengthening its ranks and broadening its ties with the national masses. The revisionists in the Communist parties of Brazil, Canada, Austria, Italy, and the Netherlands have suffered complete ideological defeat.

However, the struggle against revisionism is continuing. It has become sharper in certain parties. The Communist Party of Denmark has conducted a strenuous fight against the revisionist group of Larsen. Larsen and his group, which preached a departure from the principles of proletarian internationalism and a rupture of ties with the international Communist movement and subscribed to the anti-Leninist program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, suffered complete failure. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Denmark unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the attempts of the group of revisionists to turn the party from the Marxist-Leninist path, alienate it from the international Communist movement, and turn it into a party of reformist chatter. An opportunistic grouping in the Communist Party of the Netherlands was crushed recently.

The present stage of the Communist movement again reaffirms the Marxist-Leninist teaching that the party is capable of leading the workers to victory only when it does not endure factions and groupings in its own ranks and when it religiously observes unity. An irreconcilable struggle against revisionism and other opportunistic tendencies is the sacred task of Marxist-Leninists.

The Communist movement inescapably meets difficulties on its path. It has undergone and undergoes harassment and persecution by reactionary forces. The greater the successes of the Communist movement, the more violent is the spite of the enemies of the working class and the more active is the struggle against Communism.

Without doubt, a furious anti-Communist campaign has been developed recently by command of a foreign reactionary center. The speeches of the brutalized German revanchists, attacks on democracy in France, the anti-Communist congress in Latin America and subsequent onslaught of US monopolies and the followers of their line against the democratic movement and against the Communist parties testify to this. And as has often happened during the last half century, a movement to the right of many social-democratic leaders follows this campaign of reaction.



All this demands the fixed attention of all honest representatives of the workers, democratic, and antiwar movement. All this demands a mobilization of forces for struggle against the imperialistic aggressors and reactionary die-hards.

The victory of the reactionary forces in France served as a signal for the activation of antipopular elements in other capitalist countries. The Japanese government introduced into the Diet a draft law giving the police unlimited rights in crushing every democratic movement and leading to the establishment of a police regime in the country. The ruling circles of Italy ever more openly violate democratic rights and intensify police repressions. An anti-Communist campaign has developed in the countries of Latin America and in several other capitalist states.

At the same time, an attack has begun on the democratic conquests of peoples who have gained national independence. A radicalization of the working masses, who wish to arrange their own lives in accordance with their own ideals, is taking place in these countries. Imperialist circles of the US, relying on reactionary forces within the liberated countries, are trying to halt this natural historical process. Reactionary coups in Pakistan and Thailand, the concentration of power in the hands of the military in Burma, and the attempts of reactionary coups in Venezuela and Bolivia are all links of one chain bearing the name of the attack of imperialism on the national liberation movement.

The plan of reaction is to liquidate or to reduce the democratic rights of the workers, drive Communist parties and other progressive organizations underground, establish dictatorships, and facilitate preparations for unleashing war. This campaign is not only against democracy but also against the cause of peace.

But the reactionary forces will not turn back the course of historical development! The times have gone when the ruling classes of capitalist states succeeded in establishing reactionary regimes within their own countries for long periods and strangling and oppressing the peoples of the East, Africa, and Latin America.

The Communist and workers' parties are now explaining to the workers how vitally necessary now is the unity of all republicans, all democrats, and all workers. Unity is that barrier which is capable of not only halting but also curbing the activated forces of reaction.

French Communists have shown themselves in the front line of the struggle against attacking reaction. The Communist party has consistently and decisively attacked the draft of the constitution which reduces to nought the democratic conquests of the French people. The international Communist and workers' movement highly values the unselfish struggle of the leading sons and daughters of the working class of France. The plenum

of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, held in October, after analyzing the results of the referendum, disclosed several shortcomings in the activities of the Communist Party. The plenum stressed the great importance of development of the party's work in the strengthening and broadening of ties with the masses.

The French Communist Party, possessing a heroic history and a united Marxist-Leninist leading nucleus, is struggling boldly and manfully for democracy and against the fascist danger. It is drawing conclusions from the campaign which led to the adoption of the antidemocratic constitution. From the trials and adversities which have fallen to the lot of the French Communist Party, it will undoubtedly emerge yet more tempered.

The events in France are of international significance. The reactionary forces in other capitalist countries are drawing conclusions from them. The fraternal parties and the working class of capitalist countries are drawing lessons from them. In a period of serious trials, the significance of the Communist party is especially noticeable to the working class as are the positions of other political parties and those measures which must be carried out to rally all progressive forces and not only to defend that which has been conquered but also to move farther along the road of freedom, peace, and social renovation.

The attack of reaction testifies not only to the growing aggressiveness of leading monopolistic cliques but also to their weakness and their inability to rule by the old methods. The successes of the socialist camp, the broadened national liberation movement, and the growth of organization and the unity of the working class more and more weaken the positions of capitalism.

This means that the attack of reaction is easier to repulse at present than, let us say, in 1933-1935. But this can be implemented only through the unity of action of the working class and the popular masses. This includes active steps, bearing both an economic and political character, and actions having as their goal the realization of contemporary tasks; but, at the same time, we must not lose sight of the socialist ideals of the working class.

The first priority matter is securing the unity of the working class. It says in the Declaration: "Both in the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of the workers, the broadening and preservation of their democratic rights, the conquest and defense of national independence, and for peace between peoples, and in the struggle for the conquest of power and the building of socialism, the Communist parties advocate the establishment of collaboration with socialist parties.... The ideological differences existing between Communist and socialist parties should not serve as an obstacle to the establishment of unity of action on many urgent problems now facing the working movement."

The persistent efforts of the Communist and workers' parties, directed toward the establishment of collaboration with socialist parties, have already had a number of positive results. The ever larger strikes of recent years in the capitalist countries are held under the banner of unity of socialist workers, Communists, and also nonparty members. The collaboration of Communists and socialists in low-level organizations has grown stronger. Some Communist and socialist parties have established broad collaboration. Unity of action, for example, has been established between the socialist and Communist parties of Chile. This collaboration has furthered the consolidation of the working class of Chile and the achievement of a number of victories by them, chiefly the creation of a united trade-union center and repeal of the law banning the Communist party.

Contacts between organizations of the Communist and socialist parties of Japan have grown stronger. Japanese socialists actively advocate peace, the prohibition of atomic weapons, the establishment of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, and protection of democratic freedoms. The Socialist Party of Japan, like the Communist party, is struggling against the draft law of the Kishi government on expanding the rights of the police. The General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, at its extraordinary 11th Congress held on 24 October, announced its resolution to struggle against the Kishi government. For this, the general council intends to oppose the law on strengthening the power of the police on the basis of the broadest front of democratic forces, including both the socialist and Communist party of Japan. "This step of the general council does indeed have historical significance," announced Comrade Miyamoto, secretary-general of the Communist Party of Japan.

In Italy, joint meetings of socialists and Communists were held in Turin on the initiative of workers of the "Emmanuel" plant, at which the serious situation being created in France and the threat hanging over Italy in connection with the attack of the government and employers on democratic freedoms were discussed. At these meetings, Communist and socialist workers adopted the text of an appeal to all Italian workers calling on them to learn a lesson from the events in France. The collectives of other Italian enterprises support this appeal.

Guilt for the prolonged split of the working-class movement in capitalist countries lies completely on the right-wing leaders of the social-democrats. Lately, proceedings occurring in a number of social-democratic parties of Western Europe testify to the further displacement of leadership of the social-democratic parties to the right.

The leadership of the French Socialist Party, headed by Secretary-General Guy Mollet, has openly deserted to reaction. Guy Mollet and company are repeating the shameful journey of right-wing leaders of the social-democrats of Germany, which split the German working class and cleared the way for fascism. The treachery of the right-wing leaders of French Socialist Party is not an accident. At the Congress of the French Socialist Party, delegate Al'ye Rushron said that the Socialist Party had forgotten about the class struggle and about Marxist ideology, and "had grown" into the political system existing in France.

The position of Guy Mollet has been subjected to severe censure not only by the Communists, but also by many socialists. The Laborite weekly, Tribune, on 2 October wrote: "General de Gaulle, to a significant extent, owes his victory to the treachery of the French Socialist Party, to the treachery of its leaders, to the treachery of Guy Mollet." Senator Lussu, a member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Italy, said: "Anti-Communism gave birth to the present catastrophic situation in France -- de Gaulle has come into power." The responsibility for this lies with the Social Democrats. Having been left with a small group of traitors and impostors, Guy Mollet will finish the same as MacDonald. Only the Popular Front will be able to save France."

In England the last conference of the Labor Party showed that the leadership of the party has turned still more to the right. The situation at the conference was such that so much as a mention of the word "socialism" was considered inadmissible. Several leaders of the West German Social Democrats are participating in the unprecedented persecution of the German Democratic Republic, attempting to defame its great socialist achievements and to warm up revanchist aspirations.

The leaders of the rightist Social Democrats in the period of the bitter class battles more than once have been shown to be among the open enemies of the revolutionary workers or have sought a compromise with the bourgeoisie or have helped it to save the tottering bourgeois structure. Now many prominent leaders of the Social Democrats (Guy Mollet, Saragat, Spaak) take an active part in the formation and strengthening of the imperialist military blocs directed against the socialist states and the national liberation movement, and against the vital interests of the peoples of the capitalist countries, entering into a union with the American imperialists and the reactionary forces in their own countries and, together with these, have gone against the partisans of peace, democracy, and progress. Thus, many leaders of the Social Democrats have abandoned the ranks of the workers' movement and have deserted to the enemy.

Many honest members in the ranks of the Social Democrat Party understand this; they are sick of the traitorous policy of Guy Mollet and Saragat. The policy of delimitation is being strengthened in the socialist parties. Social Democrats, true to the ideals of socialism and the cause of the working class, are forming leftist socialist parties, societies, or groups. This bears witness to the fact that the healthy forces of social democracy are drawing the correct inferences from the lessons of history. They do not wish to repeat the treachery of the rightist leaders of the German Social Democrats of 1933. The Communists have considered and will continue to consider Social Democratic leaders who remain true to the cause of socialism and to the cause of the working class as well as the rank-and-file Social Democrats as comrades in arms. Communists believe that social democracy can play an important role in the struggle for the consolidation of peace and social progress. Therefore, they sincerely strive for cooperation with the Social Democrats in the struggle for peace, democracy, and the social renovation of society.

At present, the need for such cooperation is even greater. The working class party, by establishing a unity of action, could bring about the unity of the working class, could unite around it all the forces of republicans and democrats -- all who stand for peace and against war. By united action it would be possible now, while it is still not too late, to restrain the forces of reaction, not to permit the establishment of fascism in this or any other form, and to defend the cause of peace.

Under the present conditions, when a large socialist camp is in existence, when the workers' movement has had considerable experience in the struggle with German fascism, when organization among the proletariat has been increased, there is every possibility to bar the way to fascism. The time of Hitler and Mussolini is gone forever. The rapid attempts of the reactionary forces to revive fascism are being met by the powerful resistance of the people. The working class has the power to strangle in embryo the danger of fascism. All that is necessary to accomplish this is unity, more unity, and still more unity of the working class. The shift of social democratic leaders to the right and the treachery of several of these leaders forcefully underline the need to strengthen the Communist parties, to expand their ranks, and to increase their battle-readiness (bojevitost'). The leadership of the Communist Party of England justly emphasizes that the English working class needs a much stronger Communist party. This is also the need of the working class of many other countries.

The Communist parties alone are showing the popular masses the right way in the struggle for freedom, peace, and social progress. The Communist parties alone remain true to the cause of the workers. The Communist Party, even when small, plays an important and progressive role, for it gives the proper orientation to the working class, helps it to understand complicated events and to recognize the political intentions of one or another political grouping, and warns against threatening danger. The ruling bourgeois classes are also obliged to recognize this role of the Communist Party. The chairman of the Conservative Party of England (Hailsham) on 13 June made the following statement: "The Communist Party occupies a position which far exceeds in importance its numerical strength."

It is well known that in periods of revolutionary activity the number of Communist parties rapidly increases, for during such periods the popular masses are particularly clearly convinced of the rightness of the Communists, of their selfless service of the cause of progress. Events in Venezuela once again confirmed the truth of this fact. During the period of the struggle against the bloody regime of Jimenez, the membership of the Communist Party of Venezuela was small, but it was the soul of all democrats, the organizer of the armed uprising which led to the overthrow of Jimenez. After that victorious uprising the Communist Party rapidly grew into a mass and very influential party. Recently, the New York Times admitted that the Communist Party enjoys "considerable respect among the political and trade-union circles of Venezuela, among the intelligentsia, and in the education system."

The Communist and workers' parties of many capitalist nations are moving into a period in which they will face new and serious tests. In this period, Marxism-Leninism teaches, it is particularly necessary to retain the unity of party ranks, the purity of revolutionary theory, flexibility in methods used in the struggle, and ties with the national masses. The onslaughts of reaction can be fought off only through the broad mobilization of the masses and through the merger of all forces of democracy and progress. Under such conditions there must not be even the shadow of sectarian narrow-mindedness, reticence, and alienation of the masses. Communists, V. I. Lenin taught, should work everywhere, wherever the masses are, should penetrate all strata and constantly strengthen their ties with the people. The implacable struggle with revisionism as the chief danger, as well as with sectarianism, is the certain guarantee of the success of the Communist movement. Sectarianism is particularly intolerable at present, when history has placed on the Communist Party the task of defending the national independence of all nations from the threat of foreign imperialism. The monopolistic bourgeoisie of West European nations long ago trampled under national freedom and was transformed into an antinational force serving American imperialism. The standard bearers of not only the ideas of socialism but of national independence also are the Communist parties, the most internationalistic and, at the same time, deeply patriotic parties. And in the struggle for the defense of national independence and for peace, the Communist parties can rally about them all the healthy elements of their nations and convert themselves, where they have not yet been able to do so, into mass parties, into the principal force of every nation.

Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of Communists have brought the working class historical victories of world significance. Faithful to Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, they comprise the 33-million-member vanguard of the international working class and of all workers. Hardened in combat, the international Communist movement, based on the Marxist-Leninist ideas of the Declaration and Peace Manifesto, is going forward because the thing they are struggling for -- Communism -- is the bright future of all mankind.

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Approved For Release 2003/12/03 : CIA-RDP91-00965R000400010006-0

Approved For Release 2003/12/03 : CIA-RDP91-00965R000400010006-0