

# For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!

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## THE GREAT VITAL AND CREATIVE POWER OF THE IDEAS OF LENINISM

April 22 is a day of great rejoicing for the whole international revolutionary working-class movement, for all progressive mankind. On that day, 85 years ago, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was born—titan of revolutionary thought and action, founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the world's first Soviet socialist state, great leader and teacher of the working-people of the world.

Lenin's name has come to symbolise a new world. It is with his name, with his immortal teachings, that all the outstanding developments of contemporary history are associated: the world-historic victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the immense achievements of the Soviet Union in building a Communist society, the success achieved by the Chinese People's Republic and other countries of people's democracy in Europe and Asia in building Socialism, the development and consolidation of the Communist and working-class movement.

At the very outset of his revolutionary activity, towards the end of the last century, Lenin succinctly and clearly voiced his profound conviction that "the Russian WORKERS will rise at the head of all the democratic elements, overthrow absolutism and lead the RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT (side by side with the proletariat of ALL COUNTRIES) along the direct road of open political struggle to the VICTORIOUS COMMUNIST REVOLUTION".

Lenin's appearance in the arena of revolutionary struggle coincided with the turning point in history and the international working-class movement, when capitalism entered upon its highest and last, its imperialist phase of development, when the era of the decisive storming of the outworn system of exploitation began. Lenin, the great continuer of the work of Marx and Engels, comprehensively elaborated the fundamental problems of social development that were posed by the new epoch; he developed further the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat; he created a comprehensive teaching on the revolutionary Marxist party—a party of a new type; he formulated a new, comprehensive theory of socialist revolution, established the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country and defined the path of the working people's advance towards Socialism.

measures are being taken to accomplish the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism.

The development and consolidation of the Soviet state—the first working people's state in the world—graphically demonstrated to the oppressed masses of the world that capitalist oppression will be overthrown, that the rule of the exploiters has not long to live. The victory of Socialism in the USSR kindled in the hearts of the workers and peasants of other countries an undying faith in the future; it gave a powerful impetus to the further progress of the world revolutionary movement.

Lenin was able to predict the course of events as no one else could. Soon after the Great October Revolution he pointed out that the Soviet people would be as it were in a beleaguered fortress until other detachments of the socialist revolution came to their assistance. "But these detachments exist", he wrote, "they are more numerous than ours, they mature, they grow, they become stronger as the bestialities of imperialism continue."

How boundless is the faith in the power of the peoples, how vital the truth which breathes in these words of Lenin! And how consistently and exactly they are coming true! Today the international isolation of the USSR is a thing of the past. The USSR is no longer the only socialist state in the world. Today there exists a powerful camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, headed by the Soviet Union. United in this camp by inseparable bonds of fraternal friendship, the Marxist-Leninist ideology they share in common and by their common aims, stand the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Chinese People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Albanian People's Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Already, more than one-third of mankind has broken away from the imperialist system forever, and is building a new, free life.

Backed by the rich experience of the Soviet Union and creatively applying the principles of Leninism in accordance with the concrete conditions obtaining in their countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties

of the press and the radio—we see restrictions, exceptions, exclusions and obstacles. The so-called "free world" is democracy for the rich, the exploiters, and not democracy for the masses of the people. Democracy in the bourgeois countries is always restricted by the narrow framework of capitalist exploitation. "What the capitalists always mean by 'freedom' is freedom for the rich to make profits and freedom for the workers to die from hunger", wrote Lenin.

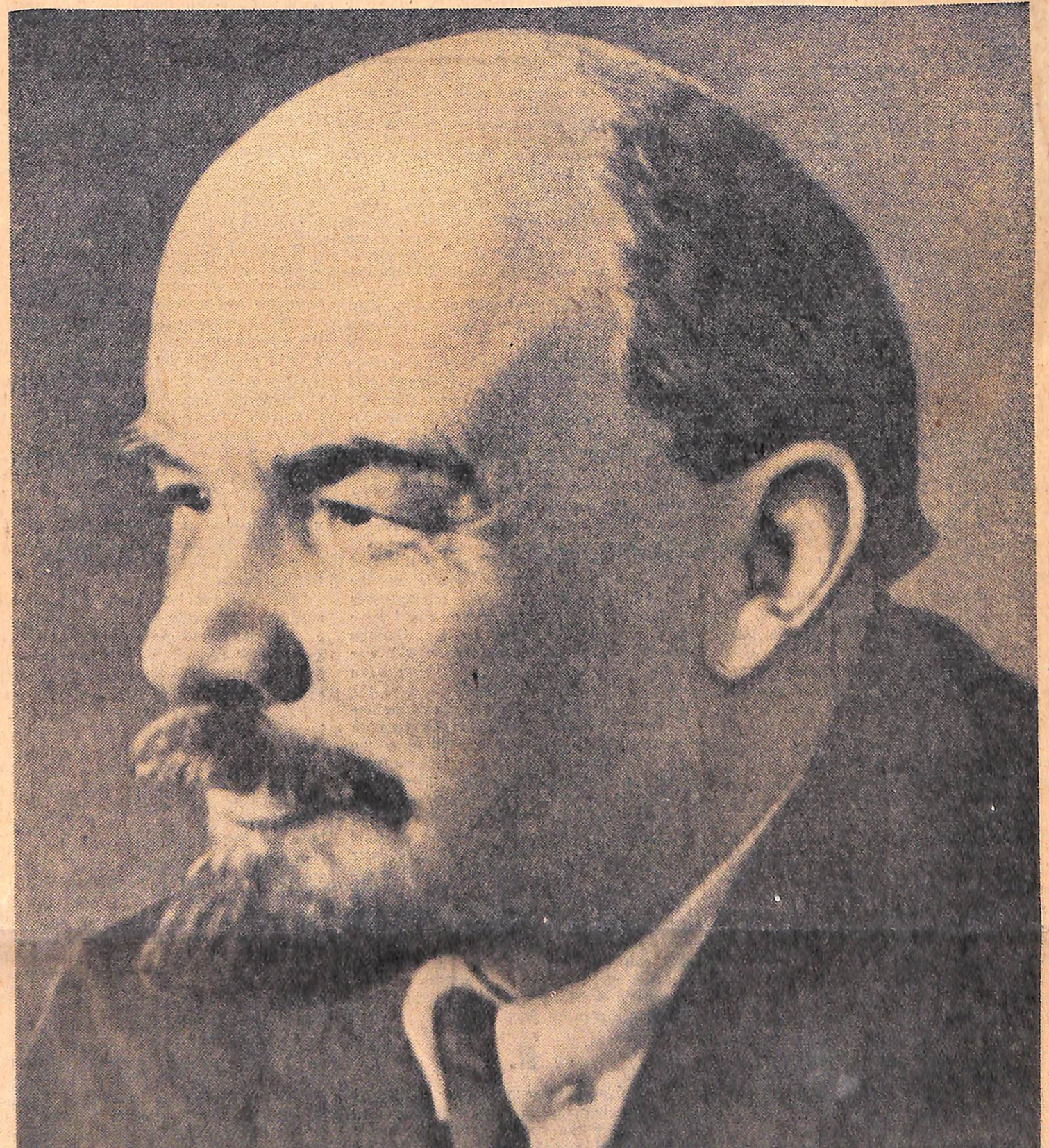
In the epoch of imperialism the change-over from bourgeois democracy to political reaction in the capitalist countries shows itself in all its ugliness. Social and national oppression is intensified many times over by imperialism. "Imperialism", wrote Lenin, "brings to the working class an unparalleled sharpening of the class struggle, want, unemployment, high prices, oppression by the trusts, militarism and political reaction, which raises its head in all, even the freest countries." This is really what the so-called "free world" means for the working people!

Leninism teaches that imperialism is decaying, moribund capitalism, that it has been sapped and undermined by history and that it will inevitably perish, no matter how extreme the bestialities of its death throes. Lenin wrote that imperialism was the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat. This has been confirmed on an international scale by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the emergence of the People's Democracies in Europe and Asia and the triumph of the people's revolution in China.

Nowadays the colonial and dependent countries are no longer the tranquil rear of imperialism. The entire colonial system is disintegrating under the mighty blows of the national liberation movement. Nearly half of Asia's population is now living in countries of people's democracy, which have left the camp of capitalism and adopted the aim of building Socialism.

The peoples of India, Indonesia and Burma have thrown off colonial rule. The African peoples are offering increasingly powerful resistance to their imperialist colonisers.

The Bandung Conference, where representatives of 29 countries of the Asian and African continents are meeting, is a momentous historic event. There is no doubt that it will make its contribution to the cause of strengthening the national consciousness of the Asian and African peoples and promote the development of co-operation and peace and



Lenin's appearance in the arena of revolutionary struggle coincided with the turning point in history and the international working-class movement, when capitalism entered upon its highest and last, its imperialist phase of development, when the era of the decisive storming of the outworn system of exploitation began. Lenin, the great continuer of the work of Marx and Engels, comprehensively elaborated the fundamental problems of social development that were posed by the new epoch; he developed further the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat; he created a comprehensive teaching on the revolutionary Marxist party—a party of a new type; he formulated a new, comprehensive theory of socialist revolution, established the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country and defined the path of the working people's advance towards Socialism and Communism. Leninism is the supreme synthesis of the theory and practice of the revolutionary working-class movement, the supreme achievement of progressive social thought, of Russian and world culture. With every day that passes the great world significance of Leninism becomes more and more apparent.

On the granite foundation of scientific Communism Lenin created a party of a new type—the Communist Party—which is a mighty force for the transformation of society, possessing the greatest courage and heroism and inseparably linked with the broad masses of the working people; a party that has become a shining example to Communist and Workers' Parties in all lands. The Communist Party created by Lenin organised an alliance between the working class and the working peasantry and brought Russia to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Soviet socialist state founded by Lenin has from its earliest days unswervingly put into practice the Leninist principles of foreign policy—the principles of peace and friendship among nations: equality, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, non-aggression and no encroachment upon the territorial integrity of other countries, and respect for sovereignty and national independence. These principles of foreign policy of the Soviet Union accord with the vital interests of the peoples of the USSR and the interests of the working people of all countries.

Following the path blazed by Lenin, invariably putting into practice Lenin's general line of priority development of heavy industry, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Central Committee with Stalin at its head, brought the Soviet people to the victory of Socialism. Today in the USSR the tasks involved in the further powerful development of the productive forces of socialist society are being solved, and

exists a powerful camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, headed by the Soviet Union. United in this camp by inseparable bonds of fraternal friendship, by the Marxist-Leninist ideology they share in common and by their common aims, stand the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Chinese People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Albanian People's Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Already, more than one-third of mankind has broken away from the imperialist system forever, and is building a new, free life.

Backed by the rich experience of the Soviet Union and creatively applying the principles of Leninism in accordance with the concrete conditions obtaining in their countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies are directing the revolutionary energy of the masses towards bringing about the most profound socialist changes. In doing this they take as their guide the Leninist ideas on socialist industrialisation, on the priority development of heavy industry as the foundation stone of the entire economy, on the socialist reorganisation of the countryside, and on strengthening the defence capacity of the country and further improving the welfare of the working people.

The great Lenin formulated the ideology of equality and friendship among the peoples, established the principles of the new, socialist democracy—democracy for the people. There would be real freedom and equality, he said, in the system the Communists were building, in which there would be no opportunity for some to grow rich at the expense of others. Having forever abolished the exploitation of man by man, the Soviet socialist system gave rise to unparalleled development and expansion of democracy for the working people. It placed the best members of the working class, peasantry and working intelligentsia at the helm. Profound democratic transformations have been effected in the years of people's power in the People's Democracies. The Communist and Workers' Parties in these countries see to it that the democratic rights of the working people are scrupulously upheld, that the working people take an ever-broader and more active part in the administration of the state.

Imperialist propagandists hypocritically speak of the capitalist countries as "the free world". Leninism provides a complete exposure of this thoroughly deceptive chatter which is meant only to deceive the people. If we look more closely into the mechanism of bourgeois democracy, everywhere—in the electoral system, in the technique of the representative institutions, in the purely capitalist organisation

international scale by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the emergence of the People's Democracies in Europe and Asia and the triumph of the people's revolution in China.

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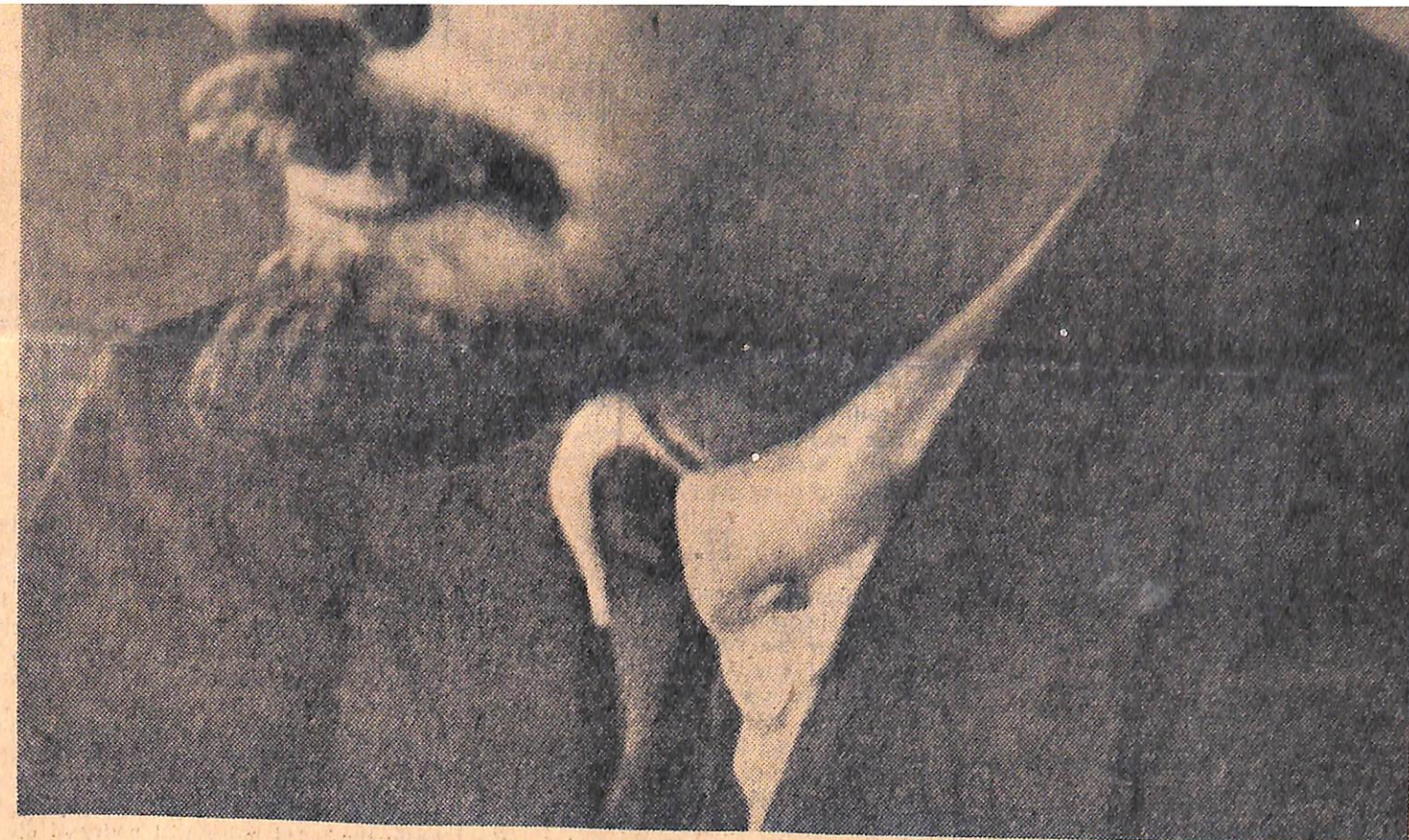
The Bandung Conference, where representatives of 29 countries of the Asian and African continents are meeting, is a momentous historic event. There is no doubt that it will make its contribution to the cause of strengthening the national consciousness of the Asian and African peoples and promote the development of co-operation among nations in the interests of peace and the easing of international tension.

The Communist and Workers' Parties are marching in the vanguard of the forces striving for peace. Theirs is a difficult and complicated path but it is the only correct one, and is illuminated by the ideas of Leninism. The revolutionary ideological power of Leninism and its great creative force provide the Communist and Workers' Parties with a solid basis for the mobilisation of the masses and the successful fulfilment of their historic tasks.

As an ever vital teaching, Leninism is constantly developing and being enriched with new experience. Lenin persistently urged revolutionary Marxists to advance Marxist science, to develop it further in order to correctly understand and appreciate the meaning of events. At the same time Lenin ruthlessly fought against those who attempted to distort Marxism and to strip it of its revolutionary spirit. Lenin was merciless in the fight against all open and concealed enemies of Marxism, enemies of the working class, opportunists of all colours and shades.

The great teachings of Lenin are imbued with unlimited optimism and confidence in the creative forces of the revolutionary proletariat, in the triumph of the forces of progress and peace. Leninism is a genuinely international teaching, a powerful ideological weapon of the working people in their struggle against the old order of things. The ideas of Leninism are having an increasing influence on the consciousness of the peoples and on the course of world history.

Armed with the immortal ideas of Leninism, the Communist and Workers' Parties are rallying ever more closely the millions upon millions of working people in the fight for peace and progress, for democracy and Socialism.



Vladimir Ilyich LENIN

## Eternal and Indestructible Friendship

*The Tenth Anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Postwar Co-operation Between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Poland*

The Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Postwar Co-operation between the USSR and Poland was signed in Moscow ten years ago, on April 21, 1945. It laid the foundations for new relations of mutual trust and fraternal friendship between the Polish and Soviet peoples.

The working people of the Soviet Union and of the People's Republic of Poland joyfully celebrate this significant event at a time when the inviolable brotherhood of the two peoples, based on their joint struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism, is gaining in strength with every passing day. The entire camp of peace and democracy, and all who cherish the interests of friendship between the peoples have joined them in celebrating this glorious anniversary.

An anniversary meeting took place in Warsaw on April 20, in the spacious hall of the Polish State Theatre, which was packed to capacity. It was attended by Boleslaw Bierut, Alexander Zawadski, Konstantin Rokossowski and other leaders of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Government, by representatives of the Polish public, advanced workers from Warsaw enterprises and new construction sites and scientific and cultural workers.

The appearance on the platform of the members of the Soviet Government delegation headed by N. S. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was greeted with stormy applause.

In his opening speech Alexander Zawadski, President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Poland, wholeheartedly welcomed the Soviet Government delegation.

The report on the tenth anniversary of the Polish-Soviet Treaty was made by Comrade Boleslaw Bierut, First Secretary of the C.C. of the PUWP, who stressed that the friendship between Poland and the USSR was growing stronger and firmer thanks to the triumph of the revolutionary ideas of Leninism.

On the day of the tenth anniversary of the Treaty, he said, we can justly say: we have not betrayed the trust of our friends and we never shall. We are deeply thankful and indebted for the great aid given us at a time that was most crucial for our people; we well remember this, and the great and immortal ideas of international proletarian solidarity constantly become more firmly entrenched in our consciousness.

In conclusion Boleslaw Bierut called for cheers for growing Polish-Soviet friendship, for the Soviet Union—the mainstay of peace, the guiding star of all mankind—and for world peace.

Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the C.C. of the CPSU and head of the Soviet Government delegation, who was the next speaker, was warmly welcomed by the audience.

Today, said Comrade Khrushchev, in celebrating the tenth anniversary of the conclusion of the Polish-Soviet Treaty, we express our firm determination that friendship, mutual assistance and fraternal co-operation between the People's Republic of Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall steadily develop and strengthen for the benefit and happiness of our peoples.

In conclusion N. S. Khrushchev called for cheers for the indestructible friendship of the Soviet and Polish peoples, for the fraternal Polish people, the Polish People's Government, and for the PUWP, which is leading the Polish people along the bright path of building Socialism.

Stormy applause repeatedly punctuated Comrade Khrushchev's speech, which was listened to with keen attention.

A public celebration meeting to mark the tenth anniversary of the Treaty took place on April 20 in Moscow.

Leading workers from Moscow factories and plants, eminent scientists, writers, painters, representatives of the Soviet Army, and students met in the Hall of Columns.

The Presidium of the meeting included Comrades N. A. Bulganin, L. M. Kaganovich, G. M. Malenkov, A. I. Mikoyan, V. M. Molotov, M. G. Pervukhin, M. Z. Saburov, Party and Government leaders; leading workers of the Party, Komsomol, trade union and public organisations of the capital and the Moscow region; and the members of the Government delegation of the People's Republic of Poland headed by J. Cyrankiewicz, member of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the PUWP and President of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Poland.

The members of the Presidium were greeted with a standing ovation.

In his opening speech L. N. Solovyev, Vice-Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, stressed the great significance of the Soviet-Polish Treaty for both countries and for the further strengthening of world peace. He welcomed representatives of the fraternal Polish people, present in the hall.

The meeting was addressed by N. A. Mikhailov, Minister of Culture of the USSR, and prolonged applause broke out when he said:

"There is no doubt whatsoever that the fine and splendid friendship of the Soviet and Polish peoples, which developed and was tempered in the flame of battle, will continue to grow and strengthen. This friendship will remain eternal and inviolable."

An impressive speech was made by J. Cyrankiewicz, President of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, who was warmly greeted by the audience.

In conclusion he read a message from the State Council, the Government of the Polish People's Republic and the Central Committee of the PUWP to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU.

## SOVIET PEOPLE WIDELY CELEBRATE 85th ANNIVERSARY OF LENIN'S BIRTH

The Soviet people in their millions are celebrating the 85th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin—the great leader of the working people and founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet socialist state.

Meetings devoted to this notable date took place at plants and factories, in offices and Party, Soviet and public organisations in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk and other cities and towns of the Soviet Union.

These days large crowds are visiting the V. I. Lenin Central Museum where a new hall—the 18th—has been opened. From its foundation up to April 1 of this year about 14,000,000 people visited the Museum. There is an unending stream of people to the branches of the Central Museum in Leningrad, in Ulyanovsk—the city of Lenin's birth, in Kiev, Tbilisi and Lvov and

to Lenin's living-quarters which have been made into museums in Leningrad, Kazan, Kuibyshev, Shushenskoe, Ufa, Podolsk and Gorki-Leninskie near Moscow.

A scientific session devoted to the 85th anniversary of Lenin's birth was held on April 20 in the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Professor G. D. Obichkin, director of the Institute, made a report on the new edition of Lenin's biography, which is being published in 3.5 million copies by the State Publishing House of Political Literature. The first 100,000 copies are coming off the press for the Lenin anniversary.

A general meeting of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, devoted to the Lenin anniversary, took place in the assembly hall of the Moscow University on the Lenin Hills. The meeting was opened by Academician A. N. Nesmeyanov, President of the

Academy of Sciences. He spoke on the tremendous services to humanity of the great Lenin, scientific genius of our day, who made an enormous contribution to the development of Marxism. Those present listened with keen attention to a report by Academician G. M. Krjijanovski on "V. I. Lenin and electrification". Academician M. B. Mitin delivered a report on the theme "V. I. Lenin—great materialist-dialectician". Academician A. M. Pankratova read a report on "V. I. Lenin on the Revolution of 1905-1907".

The Soviet people have honoured the anniversary of Lenin's birth with new achievements in emulation. During these days workers in industry and agriculture have secured fresh successes in the drive for higher labour productivity, the fulfilment of the national plan ahead of schedule and the exemplary carrying out of the spring sowing.



Vladimir Ilyich LENIN

# LENINISM AND THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE OF THE GERMAN WORKING CLASS

The German working class is celebrating the 85th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, brilliant teacher and leader of the proletariat of Russia and the world, in peculiar conditions—with Germany divided as a result of the aggressive policy of the imperialist powers. The German working class lives, works and fights in two different German states.

In the German Democratic Republic, the lessons of history have been taken into account, the aggressive German imperialists and militarist junkerdom have been stripped of power and a democratic system established, where power is in the hands of the working class in alliance with the working peasantry and in friendly co-operation with the intelligentsia. This peace-loving German state has won the confidence and recognition of the states of the peace camp and of the millions upon millions of peace-loving men and women in the capitalist countries. Thanks to the stand taken by the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy, the German Democratic Republic is now a sovereign and independent state.

The West German Federal Republic came into being as a result of the policy of division pursued by the imperialist Western powers, a policy which even at the time of the second world war was designed to ensure their future domination over a divided Germany and the maintenance of this domination with the help of the old reactionary forces of German imperialism and militarism. Not one of the basic principles, such as denazification, demilitarisation and democratisation, laid down in the Potsdam Agreement with a view to defending the European peoples from the danger of fresh aggression by the German militarists, has been put into effect in the present-day Federal Republic. Under Anglo-American control the Federal Republic has become the embodiment of all the reactionary and aggressive features of the Kaiser Reich, the Weimar Republic and the Nazi state. However, this "militarist authoritarian state", as it was called in the decisions of the Third Congress of the West German Trade Union Federation, is by no means sovereign and independent. In the political, economic and military respects it is subordinated to American and British imperialism.

Now, more than ten years after the end of the war, this divided Germany has not yet a peace treaty, for such a treaty could be signed only with a united, democratic and peace-loving German state. This situation is fraught with extremely serious and dangerous consequences for the German people in both parts of the country. The territorial division has torn asunder an economic structure that was built up over decades and centuries. The West German revenge-seeking politicians and foreign imperialists are also seeking to destroy the single German culture, science and the arts. The measures taken by them to deepen the division of Germany are destroying the natural ties between the members of hundreds of thousands of families living in the East and West of Germany. In addition, the arming of the Federal Republic, which is regarded by the U.S. bosses of the North Atlantic bloc as a mere strategic area, means that she is threatened with the danger of a devastating war.

This general situation in which the German people now find themselves sets a specific national task before the German working class in the struggle for the peaceful reunification of Germany as a democratic and independent state. This task poses particular and peculiar problems of the national struggle and the way to their solution is just that indicated in

—a disgraceful, coercive peace in the interests of plunder and profit." The Versailles Peace Treaty proved that the Entente powers had fought against Kaiser Germany for the sole purpose of strengthening their domination in the colonies and expanding their imperialist rule. That was precisely why this peace, as Lenin said, was "the biggest blow that the capitalists and imperialists of these ill-starred victorious countries could possibly deal themselves".

In fact, the so-called Versailles system, which was created for the purpose of establishing and strengthening the unrestricted rule of finance capital of the victorious Entente countries and used to unleash an interventionist war against the young Soviet power and to suppress the revolutionary movements of the masses of the people in the defeated countries, carried within itself the seeds of the second world war. The great French writer Romain Rolland, expressing the will of his people, thought it necessary to put the German General Staff, junkers and princes behind bars so that the German people, liberated from this gang of ruffians, could return to health. The victorious French, British and U.S. imperialists did not, however, intend to deprive reactionary German militarism of its power. Moreover, the militarist junkers were let loose against the revolutionary working-class movement to drown it in blood and prevent a far-reaching democratic revolution from taking place in Germany. The German bourgeoisie, which recognised the Versailles Treaty and shifted its entire burden onto the shoulders of the working masses, already at that time betrayed the national interests of the German people to preserve and strengthen its own class domination.

In this international and domestic political situation in which the Weimar Republic found itself the Communists were the only consistent opponents of the Versailles system and of its consequences—the Dawes and Young plans—and at the same time the most determined fighters against the chauvinism whipped up by finance capital, and against fascism and war. The working-class Party had to conduct the struggle against the double enslavement of the German working people by home and foreign monopoly capital as a struggle for social and national liberation. Only a working class that was led by a Marxist-Leninist Party that rallied around itself all working people in the battles against the devastating consequences of the Versailles peace system could have won national liberation for the German people and prevented another world war from being unleashed. Ernst Thaelmann stressed the particular significance of the resolution passed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany in January 1931, which demanded that the struggle for peace be closely linked with that for national liberation: "We must expose to the masses the unbridled policy of the arms drive and the adventures pursued by German fascism, its criminal attempts to instigate both an interventionist war against the Soviet Union and a revenge-seeking war. To all this we must clearly counterpose the banner of internationalism unfurled by our Party... We are the only party that stands for peace, the only party that can solve all the basic problems of German and international politics without predatory wars, without enslaving and intimidating other peoples."

## II.

The plundering expeditions of fascist German imperialism that marked the beginning of the second world war posed the national question before the German working class in a new way.

During the first world war Lenin wrote

## Wilhelm Pieck

President,  
German Democratic Republic,  
Member, Political Bureau,  
Central Committee, Socialist Unity  
Party of Germany

★ ★

Nazi attack on the Soviet Union and the establishment of the anti-Hitlerite coalition of the Great Powers.

The aim of the Soviet Union in the second world war was to liberate the socialist homeland and the European peoples enslaved by fascism, to put an end to Hitler domination and ensure a lasting peace by depriving the aggressive German imperialists and militarists of power while preserving the unity of a peace-loving Germany. This task, which found its most succinct expression in the words of Stalin—"Hitlers come and Hitlers go, but the German people and the German state live on"—fully accorded with the national interests of the German people.

The Soviet Union, land of Socialism, loyal to the Leninist principles, recognised the right of national self-determination for the defeated enemy also. V. M. Molotov's statement made on behalf of the Soviet Government at a meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Council in Paris in July 1946, after the conclusion of the preparatory work for peace treaties with Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Finland and Italy, was an expression of the Leninist policy. He said: "The time has come when we must discuss the future of Germany and a peace treaty with her.

"The Soviet Government has always taken the view that a feeling of revenge is not a good counsellor in these cases."

Consequently V. M. Molotov resolutely opposed the imperialist politicians who sought to identify Hitler Germany with the German people and were planning to destroy Germany as a state or, by wiping out its basic industrial centres, to turn it into an agrarian country. This policy, Molotov pointed out, "will result in Germany becoming a hotbed of dangerous revanchism, will play into the hands of German reaction and deprive Europe of tranquility and lasting peace.

"We must not look back, we must look ahead and take care that Germany becomes a democratic and peace-loving state with a developed agriculture, industry and foreign trade, but without the opportunity of rising again as an aggressive force."

But this postwar policy for ensuring a lasting peace in Europe and the peaceful development of Germany ran counter to the intentions of the Western imperialist powers. In violation of the Potsdam Agreement, which guaranteed the right to national unity for the German people, the U.S. and British governments took the first step on the way to the division of Germany at the end of 1946. The U.S.-British agreement to unify the administration, economy and currency in their zones of occupation already contained all the elements of Germany's partition. It ensured power for aggressive German finance capital and also the controlling influence in administration for reactionary bureaucracy. Clause 5 of the agreement stated that it was the object of the U.S. and British governments to attain a self-sufficient economy in the two zones by the end of 1949. And in actual fact the formation of the Federal Republic in September 1949, after a number of intermediary stages, completed the division of Germany. The Paris agreements providing for the rearmament of the Federal Republic and its integration into the ag-

Proceeding from these premises, it is necessary to define the tasks of the working class in the national struggle for the peaceful reunification of Germany, the struggle that is a fight for political self-determination, for state independence and the establishment of a united national state. The German Democratic Republic was formed in the struggle against the imperialist policy of partition and provided a state basis for the mass struggle for peaceful reunification. Free of imperialist bondage, sovereign in its home and foreign policy, the German Democratic Republic regards the struggle for the annulment of the Paris agreements and for the peaceful solution of the German problem as its chief task.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany stands at the head of all patriotic forces which, in the GDR, have united in the ranks of the National Front of Democratic Germany. However, the tasks of the national struggle for the peaceful reunification of Germany cannot be accomplished within the German Democratic Republic alone. That is why the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and, together with it, the Federation of Free German Trade Unions, are exerting great efforts to establish unity of action with the working class of Western Germany for the struggle against the implementation of the Paris agreements.

## IV.

The struggle against remilitarisation has led to an upsurge of the working-class movement in Western Germany, which manifests itself, above all, in mass actions and even mass strikes. Broad sections of the bourgeoisie and quite a few prominent representatives of the Catholic and Protestant Churches have joined this popular movement, whose weakness, however, is that no stable national unity of the opponents of the Paris agreements under the leadership of the working class has yet been established. This is explained by the fact that even the resolute opponents of remilitarisation in the trade unions, and even certain Communists, do not yet realise the need for the working class to take its place as leader at the head of the national struggle and rally around it all the sound forces of the people. All conscious workers, primarily the Communists, must, therefore, learn to apply the following counsels of Lenin in the concrete conditions of Western Germany: "To the extent that the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation struggles against the oppressing one, to that extent, we are always, in every case, and more resolutely than anyone else for it because we are the staunchest and the most consistent enemies of oppression. Insofar as the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation stands for its own bourgeois nationalism we are against it. A struggle against the privileges and violence of the oppressing nation and no toleration of the strivings for privileges on the part of the oppressed nation."

The struggle against the privileges of the occupationists, who, under the Paris agreements, remain the absolute rulers of Western Germany, the struggle against the U.S. policy of strangling inter-German trade and the foreign trade of the Federal Republic, the struggle for complete sovereignty of the German people in all questions of their peaceful reunification and foreign policy must not, of course, be confused with the chauvinistic struggle for fresh imperialist domination being waged by a section of the West German bourgeoisie and certain

assert that in view of the different economic and social development of both parts of Germany, reunification has become impracticable. In this way they hope to create the impression that the German people are not in a position to make use of their right to self-determination. All such allegations are merely a reiteration of the assertions as to the "impracticability" of the right of nations to self-determination under conditions of imperialism, which Lenin most resolutely opposed. In 1916 he had already forecast that "the formation of new states, Polish, Indian etc." would be quite possible. History has shown that on the national question it was not the capitulators but Lenin who was right.

Naturally imperialism curtails all the chief demands of political democracy but this, of course, cannot serve as a ground for refraining from waging a struggle for them and should, on the contrary, stimulate this struggle. All democratic and national demands, Lenin taught us, must be formulated and carried out not in a reformist, but in a revolutionary manner. One must not be satisfied with parliamentary speeches and verbal protests only, but the masses must be drawn into real action, by widening and fomenting the struggle for every kind of fundamental democratic demand. These counsels of Lenin have become especially important now, when a number of Social Democratic leaders are trying to make believe that the means of struggle against the Paris agreements have been exhausted by parliamentary speeches and voting in the Bundestag. Now is just the time when there must be a broad development of the extra-parliamentary struggle of the people against every step in the implementation of the Paris agreements, a struggle that must continue to develop until they are annulled.

Lenin taught us further that the right of nations to self-determination means exclusively the right to independence in a political sense. This demand for political democracy signifies complete freedom to carry on agitation in favour of secession—in the conditions of present-day Germany for reunification—and the settlement of this question by means of a referendum of the nation concerned. Concretely in Western Germany today, this means a struggle for the free conduct of a popular referendum on the reunification of Germany by means of free all-German elections and on the German Manifesto. This referendum is an important integral part of the popular movement for the right of the German people to political self-determination.

Influential politicians, newspapers and journals of the imperialist Western powers have repeatedly declared that for strategic reasons there can be no talk of the reunification of Germany, even if it were now possible to effect this to some extent. The U.S. warmongers regard the Federal Republic first of all as a jumping-off ground and theatre of hostilities in a future war in which weapons of mass annihilation would be used. Consequently, not only is the continued partition of Germany bound up with the Paris agreements, but also with a heightening of the war danger, whereas the reunification of Germany would ensure peace for the peoples of Germany and the whole of Europe. That is why the German people are not alone in the struggle for the peaceful reunification of Germany. They have true and powerful allies in the Soviet Union and all the countries of the camp of peace, which are vigorously fighting against the resurgence of German imperialism.

## PUBLICATION OF THE WORKS OF LENIN

### SOVIET UNION

For the working people of the Soviet Union Lenin's works have become books of daily reference. Between 1917 and 1955 they were published in 6,682 volumes, the total print amounting to 281,570,000 copies. Of these, 2,266 volumes, i.e. 216,383,000 copies, appeared in Russian, and 3,559 volumes (50,337,000 copies) in the languages of other peoples of the USSR.

In all, Lenin's works have appeared in the Soviet Union in 81 languages. His "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" has been printed 189 times, "The State and Revolution" 173 times and "What Is To Be Done?" 146 times.

### CHINA

Between 1949 and 1955 (March), 72 works by Lenin were published in China, totalling 4,180,000 copies. Last year alone 34 of his works appeared, amounting to about a million copies. Seven volumes of Lenin's Selected Works are already on sale. His Complete Works are being translated into Chinese.

### POLAND

In the past ten years a total print of 9,177,000 copies of Lenin's works has been issued in Poland.

Included among them are 21 volumes of his Complete Works and several volumes arranged according to subject, articles, speeches and statements on socialist emulation, the socialist reorganisation of the countryside, Party building etc.

In honour of the 85th anniversary of Lenin's birth, a special volume will shortly come off the press entitled "Lenin in Poland", describing his life and activity in Cracow, Ponorin and Bialy Dunajec in 1912-1914.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The first 13 volumes of the Complete Works of Lenin have appeared in Czechoslovakia, 100,750 copies being printed for each volume.

A two-volume edition of his Selected Works, and separate volumes of many of his writings including "The State and Revolution", "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Power", "A Great Beginning" and "On Co-operation" have appeared in print, each amounting to thousands of copies.

In all, 5,250,000 copies of Lenin's works were published in the Czech and Slovak languages from 1945 to the end of 1954.

### HUNGARY

Under people's rule 62 editions of Lenin's separate works have been brought out in the Hungarian language, totalling 2,739,000 copies. A two-volume edition of his Selected Works and an edition of his book "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" have been printed three times.

Twenty-six volumes of his Complete Works have already appeared and six more will come off the press this year. Publication of the whole will be completed in 1955.

### RUMANIA

By February 1, 1955, the Rumanian State Publishing House for Political Literature had brought out 105 works by Lenin amounting to 4,304,400 copies in the languages of nationalities. Sixteen volumes of nationalities

not yet a peace treaty, for such a treaty could be signed only with a united, democratic and peace-loving German state. This situation is fraught with extremely serious and dangerous consequences for the German people in both parts of the country. The territorial division has torn asunder an economic structure that was built up over decades and centuries. The West German revenge-seeking politicians and foreign imperialists are also seeking to destroy the single German culture, science and the arts. The measures taken by them to deepen the division of Germany are destroying the natural ties between the members of hundreds of thousands of families living in the East and West of Germany. In addition, the arming of the Federal Republic, which is regarded by the U.S. bosses of the North Atlantic bloc as a mere strategic area, means that she is threatened with the danger of a devastating war.

This general situation in which the German people now find themselves sets a specific national task before the German working class in the struggle for the peaceful reunification of Germany as a democratic and independent state. This task poses particular and peculiar problems of the national struggle and the way to their solution is just that indicated in Lenin's teaching on imperialism and the national question.

### I.

In 1916 Lenin pointed out in his "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" that imperialism sharpened class antagonisms to a tremendous degree and worsened the conditions of the masses both economically (trusts and high cost of living) and politically (growth of militarism, frequent wars, increase of reaction, strengthening and extension of national oppression and colonial plunder).

In his classic "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", which in the most concise way, gave all the data available at that time indicating the transformation of the capitalism of the period of free competition into monopoly capitalism, Lenin pointed out that "the characteristic feature of imperialism is precisely that it strives to annex not only agricultural regions, but even highly industrialised regions..." In another place he added that "it is not only in newly opened up countries, but also in the old, that imperialism is leading to annexation, to increased national oppression, and, consequently, also to increased resistance".

These conclusions of Lenin, which proceed from a scientific analysis of the peculiar features of imperialism, were brilliantly confirmed by the course and the outcome of the first world war.

By means of the monstrous predatory Brest-Litovsk peace treaty, German imperialism sought to seize important areas of Russia where Soviet power, which proposed a democratic peace for the peoples, had just been victorious. This, however, by no means satisfied the greedy aspirations of the German militarists. They also wanted to annex industrial areas of France and Belgium, and at the same time dreamed of a vast colonial empire in Asia and Africa.

But the Entente imperialists, who claimed the role of "representatives of culture and civilisation" and who contemptuously dubbed the German imperialists the "Huns", were likewise unable to propose a better peace to the peoples. The following words spoken by Lenin on July 4, 1919, expressed what was in the minds of the French and British workers, who had believed that they were acting correctly in bringing the war waged by their imperialists to a "victorious conclusion": "For four years we were deceived, driven to war. In the name of freedom we were promised the defeat of Germany, a victory for freedom, equality and democracy, but instead we were presented with the Versailles peace

won national liberation for the German people and prevented another world war from being unleashed. Ernst Thaelmann stressed the particular significance of the resolution passed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany in January 1931, which demanded that the struggle for peace be closely linked with that for national liberation: "We must expose to the masses the unbridled policy of the arms drive and the adventures pursued by German fascism, its criminal attempts to instigate both an interventionist war against the Soviet Union and a revenge-seeking war. To all this we must clearly counterpose the banner of internationalism unfurled by our Party... We are the only party that stands for peace, the only party that can solve all the basic problems of German and international politics without predatory wars, without enslaving and intimidating other peoples."

### II.

The plundering expeditions of fascist German imperialism that marked the beginning of the second world war posed the national question before the German working class in a new way.

During the first world war Lenin wrote in "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" that the German Socialists "who fail to demand freedom of secession for the colonies, for the Alsations, for the Danes and for the Poles, and who fail to carry direct revolutionary propaganda and revolutionary mass action to the field of struggle against national oppression... are behaving like chauvinists, like lackeys of the blood and mud-stained imperialist monarchies and the imperialist bourgeoisie".

The German Communists, who fought consistently against the national oppression of the German people by the Versailles diktat, carried on, in the most difficult conditions of complete illegality, the same consistent struggle against the national oppression of the peoples subjected to aggression by Hitlerite fascism. There was not one instance of aggression by Hitler against which the German Communists did not fight resolutely and without sparing themselves, and not one people attacked whose national freedom and independence they did not defend. The resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the CPG early in July 1940 can be cited as an example. The resolution passed in connection with the monstrous act of force against the French people by fascist German imperialism read as follows: "The German working class condemns the brutal diktat of Compiègne and will never recognise it... Linked by fraternal bonds with the French proletariat it will rise to struggle against this diktat, this infamous act of force against the great French people."

Thousands of German Communists laid down their lives in the struggle against the Nazi dictatorship, for the Leninist principle of the right of nations to self-determination.

By its selfless struggle against the policy of national oppression pursued by fascist German imperialism, the Communist Party of Germany upheld the historic right of the working class to leadership also in the present national struggle of the German people for their peaceful reunification in a democratic and independent state.

All historical comparisons are relative. Nevertheless, it is most striking how well Lenin's definition of the policy of the Versailles diktat applies to the policy of the U.S. and British imperialists after the second world war.

This time the victory over Hitler Germany could have been a real victory for "freedom, equality and democracy". Fascist aggression in the interests of the plans of the German imperialists for world domination gave to the fight of the peoples who had been attacked the character of an anti-fascist liberation struggle, particularly with the

a democratic and peace-loving state with a developed agriculture, industry and foreign trade, but without the opportunity of rising again as an aggressive force."

But this postwar policy for ensuring a lasting peace in Europe and the peaceful development of Germany ran counter to the intentions of the Western imperialist powers. In violation of the Potsdam Agreement, which guaranteed the right to national unity for the German people, the U.S. and British governments took the first step on the way to the division of Germany at the end of 1946. The U.S.-British agreement to unify the administration, economy and currency in their zones of occupation already contained all the elements of Germany's partition. It ensured power for aggressive German finance capital and also the controlling influence in administration for reactionary bureaucracy. Clause 5 of the agreement stated that it was the object of the U.S. and British governments to attain a self-sufficient economy in the two zones by the end of 1949. And in actual fact the formation of the Federal Republic in September 1949, after a number of intermediary stages, completed the division of Germany. The Paris agreements providing for the rearmament of the Federal Republic and its integration into the aggressive North Atlantic military bloc, which make the peaceful reunification of Germany impossible for a long time to come, merely represent another stage in this systematically conducted imperialist policy of dividing Germany. But ratification of these military agreements has created a new situation in Germany and throughout Europe. It has confronted the German working class with new tasks in the national struggle for the right of the German people to self-determination.

### III.

Lenin taught the working class that in working out the national programme for a given country, it was essential to take into account the concrete peculiarities that distinguish that country from others within the same historical epoch. The peculiar conditions of Germany are undoubtedly that up to the end of the second world war she was a highly developed imperialist state that subjected other peoples to national oppression. Her imperialist and militarist rulers involved the German people twice in an aggressive war, each time bringing about a national catastrophe. That is why the future of the German people as a nation can only be assured if they free themselves of the forces of imperialism and militarism that are hostile to them.

As a result, however, of the postwar policy of the imperialist powers Germany has been divided and the power of the former imperialist and militarist rulers of Germany has been restored in her western part. The Paris agreements provide for the military occupation of Western Germany for decades to come. In spite of the formal recognition of the sovereignty of the Federal Republic, it has been deprived of the main sovereign rights of an independent state. It has no right to take any independent steps to reunite with the other part of Germany. The U.S. and British imperialists may at any time prevent the Federal Republic from negotiating with other states, as, for instance, with the Soviet Union or with People's China. The economy of Western Germany is to a great extent subordinated to U.S. capital. As Lenin showed, finance capital is such a great, such a decisive force in all economic and international relations, that it is capable of subordinating to itself even states enjoying complete political independence. In such conditions, there can, of course, be no thought of real sovereignty for the Federal Republic. Furthermore, the Paris agreements subordinate it still more to U.S. and British imperialism. This separate West German state is more than ever becoming the bulwark of militarism and of the policy of revenge.

Communists, must, therefore, learn to apply the following counsels of Lenin in the concrete conditions of Western Germany: "To the extent that the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation struggles against the oppressing one, to that extent, we are always, in every case, and more resolutely than anyone else for it because we are the staunchest and the most consistent enemies of oppression. Insofar as the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation stands for its own bourgeois nationalism we are against it. A struggle against the privileges and violence of the oppressing nation and no toleration of the strivings for privileges on the part of the oppressed nation."

The struggle against the privileges of the occupationists, who, under the Paris agreements, remain the absolute rulers of Western Germany, the struggle against the U.S. policy of strangling inter-German trade and the foreign trade of the Federal Republic, the struggle for complete sovereignty of the German people in all questions of their peaceful reunification and foreign policy must not, of course, be confused with the chauvinistic struggle for fresh imperialist domination being waged by a section of the West German bourgeoisie and certain right-wing leaders of the SDP, who oppose the Paris agreements only insofar as this is required by the interests of German finance capital in its striving towards domination.

Lenin pointed out that there is not a single democratic (and, consequently, national) demand, which has not served, under certain conditions, as an instrument of the bourgeoisie for deceiving the workers. Adenauer and his foreign backers are taking exactly this path of deception when they endeavour to drill into the German people the idea that the Paris agreements can promote the reunification of Germany, or when the Bundesrat, in ratifying these agreements, adopts such a declaration. In order to expose this deception it must be made clear to the West German working people that reunification at any price is impossible, that, on the contrary, one must be guided by Lenin's thesis: "The right to self-determination is one of the demands of democracy which must, naturally, be subordinated to the general interests of democracy."

In the common interests of democracy in Germany it is necessary for the reactionary forces of militarism, who have more than once acted as the grave-diggers of democracy, to be completely deprived of power in Western Germany. The common interests of democracy require that aggressive German imperialism, embodied primarily in the trusts and concerns of heavy industry and in their "fuhrers of military economy", be deprived of their key posts in the Federal Republic. In the common interests of democracy the peace-loving German Democratic Republic must not be permitted to be annexed to a Federal Republic dominated by militarists and revenge-seekers, which would mean nothing less than giving the grave-diggers of democracy and the aggressive warmongers the opportunity to dominate the whole of Germany. It is because of this that the peaceful reunification of Germany is unthinkable unless the Paris agreements are annulled, unless the masses of working people in Western Germany secure democratic freedoms in order to decide their own fate. It is precisely because of this that the remilitarisation of Western Germany calls for the utmost strengthening of the defensive might of the first peace-loving German state—the German Democratic Republic.

The bourgeois politicians of the Adenauer Government coalition, as well as certain leaders of the Social Democratic Party, assert that the reunification of Germany is the exclusive affair of the allied powers; others

elections and on the German Manifesto. This referendum is an important integral part of the popular movement for the right of the German people to political self-determination.

Influential politicians, newspapers and journals of the imperialist Western powers have repeatedly declared that for strategic reasons there can be no talk of the reunification of Germany, even if it were now possible to effect this to some extent. The U.S. warmongers regard the Federal Republic first of all as a jumping-off ground and theatre of hostilities in a future war in which weapons of mass annihilation would be used. Consequently, not only is the continued partition of Germany bound up with the Paris agreements, but also with a heightening of the war danger, whereas the reunification of Germany would ensure peace for the peoples of Germany and the whole of Europe. That is why the German people are not alone in the struggle for the peaceful reunification of Germany. They have true and powerful allies in the Soviet Union and all the countries of the camp of peace, which are vigorously fighting against the resurgence of German militarism. On the side of the German people are also the millions of working people in the capitalist countries who have not forgotten the terrible sufferings inflicted upon them by German militarism in the two world wars. It is only ignorant people who can underrate the vast strength the national movement of the German people draws from the international solidarity of the peoples in the struggle for ensuring peace in Europe and throughout the world.

### ★

Lenin pointed out that there must be a clear and precisely formulated political programme for the national liberation struggle of the peoples. The proposals of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic for holding a popular referendum throughout Germany contain such a programme. By a free vote the German people must themselves decide: whether they are for the peaceful reunification of Germany by means of free all-German elections and the St. Paul's Church German Manifesto, or for the Paris military agreements. It is the present task of the German working class, its Party and trade unions to develop throughout Germany a broad popular movement for this national referendum and for its practical organisation.

The working class, and with it all peace-loving working people in Germany, will never recognise the Paris military agreements. On this basis it is now necessary to develop a wide-scale struggle of the masses against the implementation of the Paris agreements and above all, against the restoration of the Wehrmacht in Western Germany. Out of the all-round struggle against conscription to the army, against putting the arms burden on the shoulders of the working people, against all curtailment of democratic rights and freedoms there must grow an irresistible national movement which will force annulment of the Paris agreements and thus eliminate the main obstacle to the peaceful reunification of Germany.

The German Democratic Republic is a firm bulwark in the struggle of the German people against the Paris agreements and for peaceful reunification. That is why its continued consolidation corresponds to the national interests of the German people as a whole. To protect and defend this bulwark of the peace-loving forces of the German people against the encroachments of the militarists and revenge-seekers is at present one of the most vital national tasks of the German working class and all the working people.

"On Co-operation with the Peoples of the East" each amounting to thousands of copies of Lenin's works in the Hungarian language, totalling 2,730,000 copies. A two-volume edition of his Selected Works and an edition of his book "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" have been printed three times.

Twenty-six volumes of his Complete Works have already appeared and six more will come off the press this year. Publication of the whole will be completed in 1956.

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Twenty-six volumes of his Complete Works have already appeared and six more will come off the press this year. Publication of the whole will be completed in 1956.

### RUMANIA

By February 1, 1955, the Rumanian State Publishing House for Political Literature had brought out 105 works by Lenin, amounting to 4,304,400 copies (150,000 in the languages of national minorities). Sixteen volumes of his Complete Works have already come off the press.

In commemoration of the 85th birthday anniversary of the great leader the Publishing House is issuing several volumes of his works arranged according to subject matter.

### BULGARIA

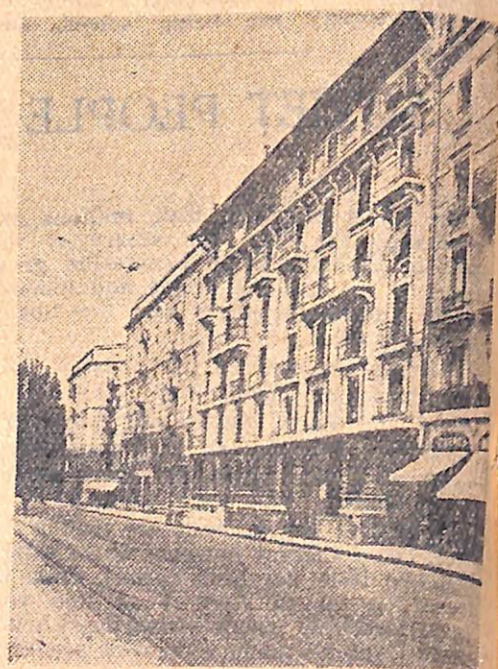
Lenin's works in 136 editions totalling 2,190,300 copies have been published in the Bulgarian language. In 1954 publication of Lenin's Collected Works in 25 volumes was completed, with a total print of 600,000 copies. In addition ten volumes of the Selected Works of Lenin and Stalin have been published in an edition of 118,100 copies.

### GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Since 1945 the Dietz Publishing House has issued 45 works by Lenin totalling 4,437,000 copies. Lenin's "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" alone has been published in 535,000 copies.

### ITALY

From the end of 1945 to the end of 1954 the Rinascita Publishing House has produced one-volume editions of 26 works by Lenin, in a total print of more than 252,500 copies. In addition 30,000 copies of a two-volume edition of Lenin's Selected Works have been distributed. Publication of his Complete Works recently began, the first two volumes having already appeared.



House in Geneva (Switzerland) where Lenin lived in 1908.

## LENIN ON THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S BONDS WITH THE MASSES

Lenin taught us that "...for any serious revolutionary work to be successful, the idea that revolutionaries can play their part only as the vanguard of the truly virile and advanced class must be understood and translated into action. A vanguard performs its task as such only when it does not allow itself to be divorced from the masses it leads and is able really to lead them forward in their entirety. Without an alliance with non-Communists in the most varied spheres of activity there can be no question of any successful Communist construction."

As the organised militant vanguard of the working class and all working people, the Marxist, Communist, united and disciplined party is called upon to skilfully lead the working class and the working masses, to convince them of the correctness of the path to be followed in order to make life better, happier, more joyous.

Consequently, the policy of the Communist Parties is one that gives expression to the interests and hopes of the broadest masses of the working people. Hence, the Communist Parties carry out their policy in close contact with the broad working masses. They understand the masses, and lend an ear to their voice; and the masses understand the Communist Parties and their policy, and work to put that policy into effect.

That they may fulfil their leading role, the Communist Parties are armed with the most advanced theory of society, the science of Marxism-Leninism. This scientific theory gives them confidence and strength in their struggle. It also enables them to see far into the future, to give direction to the masses and teach them accordingly.

Whenever the Communist Parties allow their policy to depart from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the result is a decline in their influence and the disorientation of the masses, who then fall under the influence of various pseudo-socialist theories which in essence play into the hands of the class enemy.

We should not forget that even after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie the Party has to carry out its task of building Socialism amidst an acute class struggle. Hence, the Party is called upon to explain the principles of its policy and convince broad sections of the working people of its correctness; it must show and explain to the masses why its policy is correct and reflects the interests of the people.

The Party will be able to carry out its tasks provided it does not divorce itself from the masses, does not break its ties with them or underestimate their role. The Party's policy can succeed only if the working people are convinced of its correctness, if the reasons that give rise to a particular policy in any given period are well-grounded and elucidated. The strength of the Party lies in that it does not conceal difficulties and shortcomings from the masses.

"The reason for our victories", Lenin points out, "is that our Party and the Soviet Government appeal directly to the working masses, pointing out every new difficulty and task as it arises; it is our ability to explain to the masses why it is necessary to devote all our energies now to one, now to another aspect of Soviet work at any given moment; it is our ability to arouse the energy, heroism and enthusiasm of the masses to the utmost revolu-

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Member, Political Bureau,  
Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia  
★ ★

tion between the Party programme and the current situation. The Party must be able always and under all circumstances to link theory with the practical tasks of the struggle against the bourgeoisie under the conditions of capitalism and with the practical tasks of reorganising society on socialist principles in the period of socialist construction.

To prepare the masses to carry out revolutionary tasks means to educate them. Lenin always emphasised that this was a matter not of some sort of scholastic, pedantic training but of education that had to be conducted in the course of practical work. Therefore, in explaining the Party's policy, we must not only place before the masses the tasks we are striving to carry out, but also explain why we advance precisely these tasks rather than others, and what the logical connection is between them and the current situation. The higher the level of consciousness of the masses, the more actively do they support the policy of the Communist Party, the more staunchly do they withstand all blows and overcome all obstacles that may and do arise in the course of any struggle, and especially in acute class struggle.

The following fact might be cited as an example of the great significance of political work among the masses. In the course of preparations for the elections to the National Assembly in November last, our Party developed large-scale mass-political work among the electorate, which led to a great increase in the activity not only of individual Party members and Party organisations but of the Party as a whole. On the other hand, this work, carried out by Party and non-party canvassers, helped to raise the level of political consciousness of the masses and led to their making greater efforts in production. The working people showed greater interest in both domestic political problems and international affairs. During the elections they again demonstrated their firm determination to follow our Party and carry out its policy aimed at preserving peace and building a socialist society.

The policy of leading the masses by means of slogans which are understandable to them requires that we explain the principles on the basis of which the Party advances those slogans. Although difficult, that is the only correct policy, the only one that creates for the Communist Party, as the vanguard, a strong and thoroughly dependable base of support.

It would be a grave error to think that after the victory of the proletarian revolution, after the taking of power by the working class, after the overthrow of the capitalists and landlords and the expropriation of their property, the Leninist principles of the bonds between the Communist Parties and the masses lose their validity. Quite the contrary. In the period of struggle against the capitalists and the bourgeoisie, we deal with a visible enemy, one that we can expose and whose policy we can sternly condemn. After the victory of the working class, the struggle does not die down;

the Party's bonds with the masses, harming the common cause of the Party and the entire working people.

A socialist state or one that is building Socialism cannot be governed by violence or against the will of the people. Such a state can be governed only together with the people, with their consent and support. The socialist state utilises the dictatorship of the proletariat to suppress the resistance of hostile elements. For the broad masses of the working people the dictatorship of the proletariat means the constant growth and expansion of democracy, their ever-broader participation in the administration and direction of the state, under the guidance of the Communist Party.

It is not only because the Communist Party is in power that it exercises its leading role. It owes that role to the fact that its policy accords with the vital interests of the broad masses of working people. That is why the masses recognise it; that is why the Communist Party does in fact become their leader.

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The foregoing clearly indicates the value and importance of criticism and self-criticism as the chief means of remedying errors and defects. Criticism and self-criticism strengthen the Party; they serve to ensure the correct carrying out of Party policy among the broad masses of the working people. Communist criticism and self-criticism give timely warning of shortcomings which weaken the Party and thereby also weaken the trust the broad masses place in it.

Far from undermining the Party's prestige among the masses, bringing errors and defects to light and eliminating them only draws the masses closer to the Party, strengthening their faith in the correctness of its leadership.

For criticism and self-criticism really to be of benefit, that is, for it to result in the correction of errors and observance of the correct Party line, Communists must not go to extremes or depart from the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Of this we are convinced by the whole experience of history and, in particular, by the experience gained in solving the problems of socialist reorganisation in the Czechoslovak countryside. In practice, certain mistakes were made in this connection in various localities. The voluntary principle was violated and the method of persuasion neglected in the countryside. This could easily have seriously weakened the worker-peasant alliance which is the essential precondition for the building of Socialism. In correcting these mistakes there were cases of going to the other extreme of disregarding our chief task, namely, the necessity for the socialist reorganisation of agricultural production, and of underestimating the danger of the growth of the kulak class.

Matters were much the same as regards the policy of industrialisation, under which, in accordance with the Leninist principles, the development of heavy industry is the basis for the development of socialist industry as a whole and of socialist agriculture.

The Leninist principle of the bonds between the Communist Parties and the masses derives from the necessity of establishing a firm alliance between the working class and the peasantry, that is, a militant alliance that unswervingly adheres to the fundamental aim of building Socialism

## LENIN'S ETERNALLY NEW, ALL-CONQUERING TEACHING

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Edward Ochab  
Secretary, Central Committee,  
Polish United Workers' Party  
★ ★

labour movement, which was published in Warsaw a few months ago, is a precious treasure not only for historians but also for Party activists and the Polish working class.

The workers of Lodz, and indeed of all Poland, read with pride the words Lenin wrote fifty years ago:

"...the workers, even those untrained for the struggle, even those who at first merely defended themselves, for instance the proletariat of Lodz, are not only setting a new standard of revolutionary enthusiasm and heroism, but are also showing examples of superior forms of struggle."

Elsewhere he wrote: "Heroic Poland has again joined the ranks of the strikers, literally mocking the impotent fury of the enemies, who thought their blows would smash her, but who only succeeded in steeling her revolutionary forces."

We admire Lenin's profound analysis of the national question, his thorough knowledge of our history and the great patience with which he explained to the Polish Social Democrats their mistakes in understanding those parts of the RSDLP programme dealing with the right of nations to self-determination, and with which he explained the tactics of the Bolsheviks in the period of the Stolypin reaction and that of the imperialist war.

The Polish people will never forget that it was Lenin who signed the decree of the Council of People's Commissars on August 29, 1918, to the effect that "all treaties and acts concluded by the government of the former Russian Empire with the governments of the kingdom of Prussia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, concerning the partition of Poland, are hereby irrevocably abrogated in view of their contradicting the principle of self-determination of nations and of the revolutionary consciousness of the Russian people, who recognise the integral right of the Polish people to independence and unity".

Nor will we ever forget that it was thanks to the Land of Soviets, established by the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of the great Lenin, and to the historic victory of the Soviet Army led by Stalin, the great continuer of Lenin's work and struggle, that we acquired freedom for the second time and escaped the physical destruction which Hitler fascism—murderer of six million Polish citizens—was preparing for us.

Guided by the unerring teaching of Marxism-Leninism, the Polish United Workers' Party smashed the counter-revolutionary bourgeois-kulak groupings and armed bands of all kinds of imperialist agents, exposed and frustrated the machinations of the right-wing nationalist deviators and united all the sound and constructive people's forces around the worker-peasant government, around the programme of the National Front, the programme of the battle for peace and Socialism.

In ten years of people's power our people, led by the Polish United Workers' Party, have accomplished a great task; they have abolished age-old backwardness—dark heritage of bourgeois rule and the occupation—changing the face of the country and advancing Poland to the status of a foremost European state.

The national income last year more than

of such an industrially developed country as France.

The number of students in secondary and vocational schools has risen 1.6 times, and those in establishments of higher learning 3 times—despite the fact that the total population of Poland is considerably reduced.

The number of books, journals and newspapers published during the first five years of the Six-Year Plan is substantially greater than that published by the Polish bourgeoisie in more than 20 years of its rule.

Of great importance for the training of Party cadres and the broad masses of the working people of Poland is the translation into Polish of the majority of Lenin's works, of which over nine million copies have been published.

The number of people learning Russian in Poland is increasing year by year, thanks to which an ever-growing number of workers are able to study the works of the great Lenin and his loyal disciple, Stalin, in the original.

A profound knowledge of Lenin's teaching on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, of his plan to transform the countryside on a co-operative basis and of the Leninist principles and standards of Party life are of particular importance in the theoretical equipment of members of the Polish United Workers' Party.

The decisions of the Second Congress of the PUWP and later of the Second and Third Plenary meetings of the C.C. were mainly devoted to the problems of developing agriculture, strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, led by the working class, improving methods of leadership and the strict observance of the Leninist standards of Party life.

The carrying out of these decisions, which evoked a wide response throughout Poland and were enthusiastically endorsed by the broad masses of working people, call for vast, well-organised, prolonged and consistent effort at all levels, on all sectors and by all Party members.

The more thoroughly we study the works of Lenin and assimilate the historical experiences of the CPSU founded by him, the easier will it be for us to carry out this difficult task. The Polish people, who have taken, under the leadership of the PUWP, the Leninist path of socialist construction, find in the works of Lenin an unfailing compass indicating the direction of the movement towards complete victory of the cause of the working people in Poland and throughout the world.

Of great significance for those studying Leninism and for the socialist training of the masses is the opening in Warsaw, in honour of the 85th anniversary of Lenin's birth, of a museum devoted to his life and teaching.

Lenin museums exist in Cracow and Poznan which in the main reflect Lenin's stay in Poland from 1912 to 1914, it being from there that he directed the activities and struggle of the Bolshevik RSDLP. These museums help to deepen the warm feelings of the Polish working people towards their great friend, the brilliant leader of the working masses of the whole world.

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For Party members, politically conscious workers and peasants, to revere the memory of the great Lenin means to work for the complete victory of his cause, the complete victory of Communism.

In this fight millions of Polish workers, peasants and intellectuals unite with hundreds of millions of working people of all countries, with the hundreds of millions of people who have rallied around the great banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The working people of the world deeply revere the memory of V. I. Lenin, and are widely observing the 85th anniversary of his birth.

The great Russian people will for ever be proud that they produced the genius who creatively developed the immortal teachings of Marx and Engels; who armed the Bolshevik Party and the Russian working class with a reliable weapon of revolutionary theory, closely linked with revolutionary practice, and who indicated to the peoples of the tsarist empire and the international working class the only path leading to power; the genius who in the most difficult conditions never failed to guide the victorious struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the struggle to build the first state of free workers and peasants in the history of mankind.

Lenin, unequalled among the greatest men of his day, the genius who scaled the utmost heights of human knowledge, was at the same time tied heart and soul to the millions upon millions of the working class and of all working people, knowing better than anyone else the colossal strength of the people. In the grimmest period of tsarist terror and unbridled chauvinism he clearly saw that the people were stronger than their enemies. And he was able to inspire the Party and the workers of Russia with faith in victory.

His brilliant mind and profound knowledge, powerful will and immovable staunchness, his heart overflowing with love for the people, his close ties with his class, his tireless energy and flaming revolutionary enthusiasm—these characteristics of Lenin, great leader and teacher of the working class, won for him the boundless trust of the Party and the working people. Even today, after many years, the extraordinary influence of these qualities is still felt by every working man who studies the imperishable works of Lenin, with their revolutionary, constructive power.

In those difficult moments, which are not rare in the life of the working people, when they are confronted with complex problems that must be solved by the Party, their vanguard, the answer is sought in the works of Lenin: rich, inexhaustible treasure-houses of knowledge of society and the laws of its development, of the transition of capitalism to the phase of decay, of the rapacious essence of imperialism, of the strategy and tactics of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle for power and in the work of building a socialist system.

In the writings of the great Lenin, whose teachings belong to the proletariat of the whole world, we find incomparable examples of dialectic analysis and creative application of Marxist principles in definite historical conditions; his works give us a precise compass guiding us through the intricate maze of historical events, the complicated and varied forms of the class struggle and the contradictions rending the capitalist world, they enable us to grasp the thread running through the seeming chaos of events. Lenin's works are more than a key to understanding the difficult developments of the class struggle, more than a source of profound intellectual pleasure; they are also a fount of inspiration, a powerful impetus to labour and struggle. As we turn the pages, we seem to be conversing with our dearest friend, our best and most experienced comrade. After each such conversation we emerge strengthened and better prepared for the struggle, we see our Communist path more clearly; our hearts beat more strongly and we have a deeper understanding of our tasks.

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The fact that we find so many points in

The Party will be able to carry out its tasks provided it does not divorce itself from the masses, does not break its ties with them or underestimate their role. The Party's policy can succeed only if the working people are convinced of its correctness, if the reasons that give rise to a particular policy in any given period are well-grounded and elucidated. The strength of the Party lies in that it does not conceal difficulties and shortcomings from the masses.

"The reason for our victories", Lenin points out, "is that our Party and the Soviet Government appeal directly to the working masses, pointing out every new difficulty and task as it arises; it is our ability to explain to the masses why it is necessary to devote all our energies now to one, now to another aspect of Soviet work at any given moment; it is our ability to arouse the energy, heroism and enthusiasm of the masses and to concentrate the utmost revolutionary effort on the most important task of the hour."

If the Party wants to carry on its agitation and propaganda work successfully, it always bears in mind the level of political consciousness of the working masses which it leads. It does not allow itself to be so carried away by the great prospects before it as to run too far ahead and become divorced from the masses. Otherwise there will be a danger of the masses ceasing to understand its policy or to see the connec-

society. The policy of leading the masses by means of slogans which are understandable to them requires that we explain the principles on the basis of which the Party advances those slogans. Although difficult, that is the only correct policy, the only one that creates for the Communist Party, as the vanguard, a strong and thoroughly dependable base of support.

It would be a grave error to think that after the victory of the proletarian revolution, after the taking of power by the working class, after the overthrow of the capitalists and landlords and the expropriation of their property, the Leninist principles of the bonds between the Communist Parties and the masses lose their validity. Quite the contrary. In the period of struggle against the capitalists and the bourgeoisie, we deal with a visible enemy, one that we can expose and whose policy we can sternly condemn. After the victory of the working class, the class struggle does not die down; it continues and grows sharper, because the defeated class enemy moves heaven and earth to regain its lost positions and turn back the wheel of history.

To grow complacent in such circumstances, to depend on one's power and strength and fail to consolidate one's positions by winning the support of the broad masses for the Party's policy, to govern solely by administrative methods, by means of orders and decrees, means weakening

neglected by the peasantry. This could easily have seriously weakened the worker-peasant alliance which is the essential precondition for the building of Socialism. In correcting these mistakes there were cases of going to the other extreme of disregarding our chief task, namely, the necessity for the socialist reorganisation of agricultural production, and of underestimating the danger of the growth of the kulak class.

Matters were much the same as regards the policy of industrialisation, under which, in accordance with the Leninist principles, the development of heavy industry is the basis for the development of socialist industry as a whole and of socialist agriculture.

The Leninist principle of the bonds between the Communist Parties and the masses derives from the necessity of establishing a firm alliance between the working class and the peasantry, that is, a militant alliance that unswervingly adheres to the fundamental aim of building Socialism in the given country.

As we observe the 85th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the great strategist of the proletarian revolution, the founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the world's first socialist state, we are once again seized with the greatness of his work. On it we base ourselves, as will all who firmly resolve to build Socialism and therewith a happier, more joyful life for all working people.

things being to the proletariat of the whole world, we find incomparable examples of dialectic analysis and creative application of Marxist principles in definite historical conditions; his works give us a precise compass guiding us through the intricate maze of historical events, the complicated and varied forms of the class struggle and the contradictions rending the capitalist world, they enable us to grasp the thread running through the seeming chaos of events. Lenin's works are more than a key to understanding the difficult developments of the class struggle, more than a source of profound intellectual pleasure; they are also a fount of inspiration, a powerful impetus to labour and struggle. As we turn the pages, we seem to be conversing with our dearest friend, our best and most experienced comrade. After each such conversation we emerge strengthened and better prepared for the struggle, we see our Communist path more clearly; our hearts beat more strongly and we have a deeper understanding of our tasks.

The fact that we find so many points in Lenin's works directly bearing upon the history and problems of the Polish labour movement, in which the great Lenin took a very lively interest, is of immense value to all Polish Communists. Lenin wrote repeatedly about Polish problems and gave invaluable assistance to the Polish revolutionary movement.

The 500-page volume of selected articles, speeches and letters by Lenin on the Polish

of the Soviet Army led by Stalin, the great continuer of Lenin's work and struggle, that we acquired freedom for the second time and escaped the physical destruction which Hitler fascism—murderer of six million Polish citizens—was preparing for us.

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In ten years of people's power our people, led by the Polish United Workers' Party, have accomplished a great task; they have abolished age-old backwardness—dark heritage of bourgeois rule and the occupation—changing the face of the country and advancing Poland to the status of a foremost European state.

The national income last year more than doubled compared with 1938, increasing 2.7 times per head of the population.

The value of industrial output per head rose 5.5 times in the same period, while the value of the output of the machine-building industry was more than 9 times greater.

The level of industrial production in Poland per head is considerably in excess of that in Italy and is approaching the level

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In this fight millions of Polish workers, peasants and intellectuals unite with hundreds of millions of working people of all countries, with the hundreds of millions of people who have rallied around the great banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the banner of freedom and happiness for the working class and for all the world.

In this battle the beacon for all progressive mankind is the invincible bulwark of peace and standard-bearer of friendship among the peoples—the powerful Soviet Union and its guiding force, the heroic CPSU, immortal creation of Lenin and his most outstanding monument.

## Inviolable Principles of Building Proletarian Parties of a New Type

Matyas Rakosi

First Secretary, Central Committee, Hungarian Working People's Party

The Communist and Workers' Parties, the working people of the whole world and all progressive mankind are commemorating the 85th anniversary of the birth of Lenin—the greatest genius of our epoch. Half a century has passed since the time when Lenin brilliantly developed the ideas of Marx and Engels—the founders of scientific Socialism—and brought into being a working-class party of a new type, the Party of the Bolsheviks, the Russian Communists. This was the party of that advanced and consistently revolutionary class which, as the leader of all working people, led to victory the great cause of the proletarian revolution in Russia in the battle to overthrow the rule of the capitalists and landlords; which established, for the first time in history, the state power of the working class—the socialist Soviet Union—built Socialism and started the building of Communism.

Carrying forward the work of Marx and Engels, Lenin showed that imperialism was the highest stage of development of capitalism and at the same time the eve of socialist revolutions. It was clear to Lenin that in conditions of imperialism, in conditions of monopoly capitalism, the successful carrying through of the socialist proletarian revolution demanded a party of a new type. The Social Democratic parties that had developed in the former conditions of peace were not prepared for this struggle and could not carry it out and win victory. Realising this, Lenin began to build a party of a new type, the party of social revolution, the party of the working class, the most advanced class, which combines love for its people with the spirit of proletarian internationalism and which must be equipped with revolutionary theory because only in this way can it lead, mobilise, rally and carry with it all the working people, both in the struggle to overthrow the rule of the capitalists and landlords and in the fulfilment of the difficult tasks of building Socialism after the victory of the proletarian revolution.

Lenin pointed out that without revolutionary theory there could be no revolutionary practice and that the former was a guide to action. The proletarian party of a new type, which Lenin strove for and built, is the best organised detachment of the proletariat, one which can introduce and impart to the millions upon millions of unorganised workers and working people its organisation, discipline, spirit of doing things in a planned way, self-control, selflessness, personal example, consciousness and militant determination.

In line with this, Lenin repeatedly stressed that the party, as the vanguard of the class, had to be highly organised, that in its struggle for power the proletariat had no other weapon but organisation. "...The proletariat", wrote Lenin, "can become, and will inevitably become, an invincible force only when its ideological unity round the principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of an organisation which unites millions of toilers in the army of the working class."

Lenin emphasised that the revolutionary party of the proletariat was the highest form of class association of the proletarians, which must be able to bring under its political leadership all other organisations of the proletariat and which can build a close alliance of the working class and the working peasantry. Iron discipline is required within this party, otherwise it cannot instil into the millionfold masses of the proletariat the spirit of discipline and organisation, cannot lead to victory the struggle for socialist revolution and subsequently the fight to guarantee and consolidate that which has been achieved. These tasks can only be carried out by

a party in which iron discipline prevails both before and after the conquest of power. "Whoever weakens, be it ever so little, the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during the time of its dictatorship)", wrote Lenin, "actually aids the bourgeoisie against the proletariat."

Lenin also pointed out that without an iron-strong and battle-tested party, one enjoying the confidence of all honest elements of the class and capable of knowing and influencing the mood of the masses, it was not possible to win or to conduct a successful struggle for building Socialism after the seizure of power.

In such a party, whose task is to lead the way to victory and consolidate the gains of the socialist revolution, unity of will and action of all party members is absolutely essential, because only this can ensure iron discipline and unity within the party. That is why Lenin declared that the Communist Party could carry out its duty only if it was organised on the basis of the maximum of centralism, if it possessed iron discipline, bordering on military discipline, and if at the centre of the party there was an authoritative body invested with power, having a wide range of responsibilities and enjoying the confidence of the membership. In accordance with this, Lenin pointed out how dangerous and intolerable was factionalism and any dispersal of authority within the party, from the point of view of the party's unity, the proletarian dictatorship and strengthening its unity of will. On the basis of the experience of the Russian and Hungarian Soviet republics, Lenin considered it wise to relieve of all positions of responsibility even brilliant Communists if they are inclined to hesitate in a difficult situation. "If hesitating leaders depart at such a time this does not weaken, but strengthens the party, the working-class movement and the revolution."

Lenin repeatedly emphasised that unconditional centralisation and strictest discipline in the proletarian party was a basic prerequisite for victory over the bourgeoisie.

"The strictest centralisation and discipline are required within the political party of the proletariat... in order that the organisational role of the proletariat (and that is its principal role) may be exercised correctly, successfully, victoriously."

Of particular importance in the Leninist Communist and Workers' Parties of the new type is the steered unity of their ranks, unremitting struggle against the slightest deviation from the Party line, relentless struggle against any distortion whatsoever of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, both before power is won and after victory, in the period of building Socialism. Unity of will of the Party as a whole and strict Party discipline ensure the guiding principle of the organisational structure of the Party of the new type—democratic centralism.

A decisive element in consolidating proletarian parties of the new type is the consistent application of the principles of democratic centralism and the steady development of the activity of Party members, collective discussion of the most important questions of Party life, hold exercise of criticism and self-criticism. Lenin regarded the attitude of a political party to its own mistakes as the most important and surest criterion of its seriousness. "Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it—that is the earmark of a serious party; that is the example of performing its duties, that is the example of educating and training the class, and then the masses."

It is most important to get criticism from below, from the broad masses, the ordinary working people, because such criticism frequently draws attention to deficiencies and mistakes right at the start, and enables the Party to take the necessary timely measures to correct the shortcomings that are disclosed. Active criticism by the broad masses effectively helps the Party, assists in checking on the correctness of Party work and decisions, prevents the emergence of moods of self-satisfaction and complacency, moods which lower vigilance and which arise particularly easily at a time of successes, and which the enemy immediately turns to account for his own foul ends. Free, constructive criticism en-

riches the knowledge of leaders with the experience and initiative of the masses. The more boldly and widely revolutionary proletarian parties apply and develop the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, the more vigorously and frankly they bring to light shortcomings and mistakes, the greater will be the influence and prestige of these parties among the working masses.

No less important for the Leninist-party of the new type is collective leadership. It is only the joint, collective wisdom of elected bodies that makes it possible for the Party, under any and all conditions, to take such decisions and measures as most fully conform to the interests of the working class and the working masses. In the last few years the Communist and Workers' Parties have been attaching increasing importance to the carrying out of the Leninist principle of collective leadership. Collective leadership is a most important principle for correct, sound leadership by the Party. Collective discussion of all major questions of Party life and of socialist construction is the surest guarantee that the working people will understand the aims of the Party, will pursue and support them. That is why a stubborn, consistent fight must be waged to give effect to the Leninist principle of collective leadership and to rebuff vigorously all attempts at restricting the application of this principle in the life of revolutionary workers' parties.

Lenin and the continuer of his great cause, Stalin, constantly emphasised that after the victory of the socialist revolution the dictatorship of the proletariat could not be consolidated, nor the construction of Socialism ensured, unless the leading role of the Communist Party was simultaneously guaranteed. It is especially important to emphasise the significance of this principle in the people's-democratic countries, where the various movements of the People's Front embrace broad masses of people. In line with this, the decision of the Central Committee meeting of our Hungarian Working People's Party, held early in March, sharply condemned the right-wing opportunist deviation which endeavoured to belittle the leading role of the Party. The meeting crushed the attempts to belittle the leading role of the Party and stressed that under people's democracy the guarantee of the building of Socialism lay in ensuring that

the leading and directing role is played by the revolutionary party of the working class. Anyone who fails to understand that without the leading role of the Party Socialism cannot be built, anyone who wants to belittle and weaken this leading role, is in effect undermining the power of the working class and the working people.

The successes of all the Communist and Workers' Parties depend a great deal on the extent to which they were able to assimilate the victorious Leninist principles and apply them to the conditions prevailing in their country, on the extent to which they were able to develop them creatively; on the extent to which they were able to draw on the invaluable experience acquired in battles extending over more than half a century, in laying the foundations of Socialism and in the building of Communism, by the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the model for every revolutionary working-class party. This particularly concerns the Communist and Workers' Parties in the people's-democratic countries. In the past few weeks we have witnessed how the Communist Party of liberated China, which is guided steadfastly by Marxist-Leninist theory and which is so successfully developing and applying this theory in the conditions prevailing in its country, frustrated the enemy's attempt to violate its unity, and, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, rallied its ranks still more closely, consolidated its unity still further and, basing itself on the ever-strengthening alliance between the Chinese workers and peasants, is victoriously continuing the building of Socialism.

Today, as we celebrate the 85th anniversary of the birth of our great teacher, we can see that everywhere throughout the world, wherever the finest representatives of progressive mankind are fighting for a life more worthy of Man, for freedom and a better future, they are following the immortal ideas of Lenin which show the way to victory. History knows of no other titan whose teaching spread with such irresistible power and speed, becoming the guide to action for a 900 million-strong camp; a titan of whose immortal cause hundreds of millions of working people the world over are thinking now with love, pride and faith in victory.

# LENINISM AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

Lenin was the great leader and teacher of the working people of the world, and it is under the victorious banner of Leninism that the working people of the world are today fighting for Socialism and Communism.

By dealing relentless and shattering blows at every shameful attempt which the opportunist renegades made to "revise" Marxism, Lenin restored its original revolutionary character. Applying the principles of Marxism to the new historical conditions which arise in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions and generalising the new experiences of the revolutionary struggle, Lenin advanced new theses enriching Marxism.

Lenin further developed Marxist theory in philosophy, political economy and the building of Socialism. In making his scientific analysis of imperialism, Lenin revealed the irreconcilable contradictions arising between the enormous productive forces of society and the capitalist relations of production. He showed that imperialism marked the eve of the socialist revolution, and thus provided a scientific foundation for the revolutionary movements of the proletariat and all oppressed peoples in the era of imperialism. Lenin established the theory that, under the historical conditions of the era of imperialism, Socialism can achieve victory first in a few or even one country taken singly. Lenin creatively developed the theory of proletarian dictatorship.

Lenin elaborated the thesis propounded by Marx and Engels that there is a necessary transition period between capitalism and Socialism, and he worked out the comprehensive theory of that transition period, whose aim is to build a socialist society. He elaborated the theory of the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat, extending it to the question of building Socialism; he showed that as long as the proletariat can rally the toiling peasants under its banner, it can be certain of great reserves and can ensure the realisation of the objectives of the proletarian dictatorship.

Lenin created the theory of the national question in the era of imperialism, and it has guided and inspired the oppressed and enslaved peoples of the colonial and dependent countries throughout the world. Lenin's theory on the Party scuttled the attempts of the renegades of the Second International to strip the Marxist Party of the working class of its revolutionary character. The Party built according to the teachings of Lenin is a party of a new type with a mass character—a party capable of leading the struggle of the working people for the seizure of state power and the ultimate victory of Socialism.

Lenin's teachings guided Russia's three great revolutions in the period from 1905 to 1917. The great victory of the October Revolution and the glorious achievement of the Soviet Union in building Socialism are outstanding manifestations of the invincible force of Leninism. The working class and the working people throughout the world look upon Lenin, the experience of the Russian revolutions and of the Soviet people in building Socialism as an inexhaustible fount of knowledge.

The October Socialist Revolution in Russia, carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by Lenin, opened a new era in the history of mankind. Lenin's immortal teachings are the guiding light of the struggle for liberation waged by progressive mankind all over the world. Following the path of Leninism, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries pulled itself out of the mire of the opportunism of the Second International. Inspired by Leninism, the national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent

tion, they looked upon the colonial and dependent countries in the East as an area in which a completely different law of social development operates. It is obvious that this kind of "theory" only suits the interests of the imperialists who always contended that the nations of the East should be doomed forever to social backwardness and ignorance and that they should passively accept their slave destiny. The great Lenin utterly demolished this absurd hypothesis. As early as 1913, Lenin wrote: "Not despair but courage should be drawn from the fact that 800,000,000 people of Asia have been drawn into the struggle for these same European ideals."

From the viewpoint of the world proletarian revolution, Lenin stressed the significance of the national liberation movement in the East. He wrote: "The era of the awakening of the East has ushered in a period in the modern revolution when all peoples of the East take part in deciding the destinies of the world so that they will not be merely objects of enrichment for others. The nations of the East are awakening now to practical activity so that each will take part in deciding the fate of all mankind."

It is an indisputable fact that for the peoples in the East who are struggling to free themselves from imperialist enslavement, Socialism is their future. As they have certain social conditions peculiar to themselves, the nations of the East must take into account their own characteristic features as they make their way to Socialism. The fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism are however completely applicable in the East no less than in the West. Lenin taught us: "...The unity of international tactics of the Communist working-class movement of all countries demands not the elimination of variety, not the abolition of national differences (that is a foolish dream at the present moment), but such an application of the fundamental principles of Communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) as will correctly modify these principles in certain particulars, correctly adapt and apply them to the national and national-state differences. To investigate, study, seek out, divine, grasp that which is peculiarly national, specifically national in the concrete manner in which each country approaches the fulfilment of the single international task, the victory over opportunism and 'Left' doctrinarism in the working-class movement, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of a Soviet republic and a proletarian dictatorship..." In particular, Lenin foresaw the special features of the countries of the East. He wrote: "Our European philistines never even dream that the subsequent revolutions in the oriental countries, which possess much vaster populations and a much vaster diversity of social conditions, will undoubtedly display even greater peculiarities than the Russian Revolution."

The Chinese working class began its revolutionary struggles and founded its own Party after the Russian October Socialist Revolution; the Chinese Communists learnt Marxism from Lenin and his followers. That is to say the revolutionary movement of the Chinese working class was guided by Leninism from its very beginning. The Chinese Communists, faithfully following Lenin's teachings, organised their Party and elaborated the principles governing its actions in full accordance with Lenin's principles. The great victory of the Chinese revolution is the victory of Leninism in the East.

True to Lenin's principles, the Chinese Communists, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, are successfully applying Leninism to the Chinese conditions, handicrafts and cap-

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of China  
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based precisely on this directive. In carrying out the policy of both uniting with and struggling against the national bourgeoisie, the Communist Party of China maintained the leading role of the proletariat and made full use of whatever revolutionary tendency the national bourgeoisie still retained, thereby increasing the isolation of the enemy confronting it and ensuring the ultimate triumph of the revolution.

The proletariat must win over the peasants if it is to become the actual leader of the national-democratic revolution. This is a principle of Leninism. The Chinese Communists have held to this principle. In giving full support to the peasants' struggle for freedom and land, the Communist Party of China formed a strong worker-peasant alliance, led by the working class. It is because of the strength of this worker-peasant alliance, led by the working class, that the bitter enemies of the revolution both within and without the country were defeated, enabling the people's-democratic revolution to achieve victory, and paving the way for Socialism. The experience of the Chinese revolution confirmed and developed the principle laid down by Lenin that once the proletariat forms an alliance with the peasants, the leadership of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution can be transformed directly into the leadership of the proletariat in the socialist revolution.

In semi-colonial, semi-feudal China, the enemies of the revolution were armed to the teeth while the workers, peasants and other sections of the people were virtually deprived of all right to wage a legal struggle against them. In these circumstances, the Communist Party had to have exceptional courage to lead the armed struggle and not to fall into the quagmire of reformism.

The characteristic feature of the Chinese revolution is that for a long time revolutionary war was the main form of struggle; that the working class led the peasants in guerrilla warfare to seize control first in rural areas and to encircle the towns, and then pushed the revolution forward step by step. The Chinese revolution gained experience in winning victories under the leadership of the working class, with the peasants as the main force and the countryside as the main field of action.

The Chinese Communist Party has become the leader of the whole nation and led it in the greatest victories of the people's-democratic revolution, precisely because it established correct relations between the working class and the peasantry as well as between the working class and the national bourgeoisie, in accordance with the principles of Leninism. Practice has proved that every deviation from Leninism leads to error.

## II.

With the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the first stage of the Chinese revolution was in the main concluded and the second began.

China has entered the transition period in which the aim is to build socialist society. The general line of the Communist Party of China for the transition period is to bring about step by step the socialist industrialisation of the country and step by step to accomplish the socialist transform-

The special features of the agricultural producer co-operatives which are developing in our countryside at present are that the land is pooled in shares and there is unified management. These co-operatives take private ownership of land and property as their basis and put into practice the system of partial collective ownership by the working masses. We have adopted this kind of co-operative as a transitional form, as a step forward to wholly collective ownership by the working masses. Experience has proved that this transitional form is readily accepted by the great mass of the peasantry. It may be said, as a matter of fact, to have been created by the masses themselves.

Lenin rightly said: "The aim here is not to expropriate the middle peasant but to bear in mind the specific conditions in which the peasant lives, to learn from the peasant the methods of the transition to a better system, and not dare to give orders! That is the rule we set ourselves."

In transforming capitalist industry and commerce, we are carrying out, in the light of conditions in China, the directives given by Lenin on how to reach socialist ownership through state capitalism.

Lenin defined state capitalism as "capitalism which we will be able to restrict, the limit of which we will be able to fix..." Lenin expounded his plan for state capitalism as early as 1918. Although state capitalism did not develop to any great extent in the Soviet Union, due to the objective conditions in the course of its socialist construction, this transitional form has acquired great importance in the People's Republic of China. This is determined by historical conditions in China. Lenin said: "All nations will arrive at Socialism. This is inevitable. But they will not all get to Socialism in exactly the same way. Each will have its own specific features in one or other form of democracy, in one or other variety of proletarian dictatorship, and in the speed with which they bring about the socialist transformation of the various sides of social life." It is, therefore, quite understandable to Leninists that there will be certain special features in our socialist transformation.

When the People's Republic of China was founded, we confiscated all the property of the Chinese monopoly capitalists, that is, of comprador bureaucrat capitalists. The bourgeoisie now remaining in China is the middle and petty-bourgeoisie engaged in industry and commerce, who in the past were squeezed out of business and oppressed by imperialism and the big bourgeoisie in power and who, up to a point, took part in the national-democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class. In addition there still exist in China tens of millions of small producers. It will take a considerable time before the socialist industrialisation of the country is accomplished. Under such circumstances, therefore, if we try to do away with capitalism simply at one stroke, the result would only be harmful to our national economy. All this makes it possible and necessary to use the form of state capitalism to bring about the gradual transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

Taking into account the conditions prevailing in the Soviet Union at the time, Lenin, in his work "The Tax in Kind", put forward several possible forms of state capitalism. One form is to "enlist the capitalist as a merchant and pay him a definite commission on the sale of state goods and on the purchase of produce of the small producer". This is one of the varied forms of state capitalism China has now adopted. Our experience has shown that whether

of the population. It must be organised on the basis of democratic centralism; it must maintain the strictest discipline, wage resolute struggles against capitulators and renegades, and rectify its errors by means of criticism and self-criticism. These Leninist principles are the organisational basis of the Chinese Communist Party. The Chinese Communist Party models itself on the Party created by Lenin and, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out back in 1939, can build itself into a "Bolshevized Chinese Communist Party of nation-wide scope and broad mass character, fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organisationally".

In applying Lenin's teaching on Party building, the Communist Party of China has had to contend with circumstances which differ from those existing in developed capitalist countries. The fact is that industry in China is relatively backward, and the Chinese proletariat relatively small. The Communist Party of China recruits new members from among the workers, poor peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and a few revolutionary middle peasants. It carries on intensive ideological education among its members. The Chinese Communist Party has steered itself in the course of long revolutionary wars and has upheld and strengthened the iron discipline of the proletarian party. Following the victory of the democratic revolution it has further strengthened Party discipline in a Leninist spirit. It determinedly expels capitulators and renegades from its ranks. As was pointed out by Lenin, the foundation of the Party's discipline is the high level of consciousness of the Party members. In consolidating the discipline and unity of the Party, the Communist Party of China lays particular stress on raising the level of consciousness of its members. It differentiates very carefully between faults committed by members through a low level of consciousness, and anti-Party activities conducted by renegades in the interests of the class enemy.

The drive to improve the style of Party work is regarded as an important way of raising the level of consciousness of Party members and consolidating Party discipline. Since the Communist Party of China came into power following the victory of the Chinese revolution, the Central Committee of the Party, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has repeatedly called on the whole Party to sharpen its vigilance tirelessly and struggle to guard the purity, heighten the militant spirit and strengthen the unity of the Party. This is necessary because in the circumstances of today there is danger of the bourgeois ideology and alien class elements penetrating our Party, which may cause unreliable and unstable elements in it to degenerate and turn traitor. In his report to the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1921, Lenin pointed out that when the Party becomes the governing party and a party of a mass character, "then it will in part reflect certain things that take place outside its ranks. It is most important to understand this". A resolution on Party unity drafted by Lenin and adopted by the Congress, stated: "...White guards strive, and manage to disguise themselves as Communists, and even as extreme Left Communists, solely for the purpose of weakening and overthrowing the bulwark of the proletarian revolution in Russia." What Lenin said is a vivid expression of the law of class struggle and, of course, fully applies to the present day in China.

In the course of its history, the Chinese Communist Party has purged from its ranks



Monument to V. I. Lenin in the town of Eisleben (the GDR). During the war the statue was taken from the Soviet Union by the Nazis to a plant to be melted down. It was hidden away by German anti-fascist workers and Soviet citizens who had been driven to fascist Germany for slave labour, and preserved intact until liberation day. At the request of the residents of Eisleben the monument was erected on one of the town's squares.

## Meeting of Central Committee, Italian Communist Party

The Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party met in Rome on April 13-15, and discussed two items: the coming elections to the Regional Assembly in Sicily, and the newspaper *Unita* and the Party press.

The first item on the agenda was covered in a report made by Comrade Li Causi, member of the Party Leadership.

Comrade Palmiro Togliatti, General Secretary of the Party, took part in the discussion on this item. Dealing with the political situation in Italy, he particularly appealed to the masses of the people to rally closer in defence of their economic interests and democratic liberties. We know, Comrade Togliatti said, that the Communist Party is the main and, perhaps, the decisive factor in the movement and in the struggle of the masses. The fact that 103,000 Italian citizens applied for Party membership in the past few months is indicative of the strength of the Party.

Concluding, Comrade Togliatti cited the main slogans under which the Communist Party would conduct its election campaign in Sicily: economic development of the region; defence of its autonomy; safeguarding its oil resources from seizure by foreign trusts; defence of democratic liberties.

Comrade Giancarlo Pajetta, member of the Secretariat of the Party, making the report on the second item, stressed that under the conditions prevailing in Italy, the main feature of which was the Government's attack on all democratic liberties, the struggle of the Communists for freedom of the press and information was one of the basic elements of the common struggle for peace, freedom and Socialism. He dwelt on the concrete steps to be taken to ensure further improvement in the work of the Italian Communist Party.



able of leading the struggle of the working people for the seizure of state power and the ultimate victory of Socialism.

Lenin's teachings guided Russia's three great revolutions in the period from 1905 to 1917. The great victory of the October Revolution and the glorious achievement of the Soviet Union in building Socialism are outstanding manifestations of the invincible force of Leninism. The working class and the working people throughout the world look upon Lenin, the experience of the Russian revolutions and of the Soviet people in building Socialism as an inexhaustible fount of knowledge.

The October Socialist Revolution in Russia, carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by Lenin, opened a new era in the history of mankind. Lenin's immortal teachings are the guiding light of the struggle for liberation waged by progressive mankind all over the world. Following the path of Leninism, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries pulled itself out of the mire of the opportunism of the Second International. Inspired by Leninism, the national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries in the East is growing steadily day by day and the forces of the proletariat are playing an ever more important role in it. Leninism links the liberation movement of the oppressed nations with the working-class movement in the metropolitan countries, joining the two into one mighty upsurge against imperialism. No matter what they do, the imperialists cannot prevent Lenin's teaching from having a constantly growing and ever more profound influence in every part of the world.

The decisive contribution of the Soviet Union led to the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism in the second world war. After the war an unprecedented situation was created. The forces of imperialism were greatly weakened and a camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, embracing twelve countries with more than 900,000,000 people, emerged. This shows that the victory of Leninism has entered a new stage. Relations between the countries in the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism headed by the Soviet Union are international relations of a new type, characterised by close and friendly co-operation and mutual assistance for common progress. This is because the countries of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism are all of a socialist type, and have Marxism-Leninism as their common ideological foundation.

Guided by Lenin's teachings on the possibility of peaceful coexistence of the socialist and capitalist systems, the countries in the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism are tireless in the struggle for a lasting peace between all nations, and to defeat the treacherous plots of the imperialist warmongers who are striving to instigate a new world slaughter. All progressive mankind is on our side, because justice is on our side.

## I.

Leninism which generalises the revolutionary experience of various countries in the era of imperialism has become the infallible guide for the working people in every part of the world. Taking full account of the differences between countries and peoples it lays down fundamental principles which are universally applicable to the revolutionary struggles of various countries in the modern world. It is essential that the general principles of revolution, when applied to complex historical conditions, should constantly be enriched by drawing on new experience. Leninism is a creative, militant science.

The leaders of the Second International, by their opportunist distortion of Marxism, tried hard to limit the scope of its applica-

class movement—the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of a Soviet republic and a proletarian dictatorship...” In particular, Lenin foresaw the special features of the countries of the East. He wrote: “Our European philistines never even dream that the subsequent revolutions in the oriental countries, which possess much vaster populations and a much vaster diversity of social conditions, will undoubtedly display even greater peculiarities than the Russian Revolution.”

The Chinese working class began its revolutionary struggles and founded its own Party after the Russian October Socialist Revolution; the Chinese Communists learnt Marxism from Lenin and his followers. That is to say the revolutionary movement of the Chinese working class was guided by Leninism from its very beginning. The Chinese Communists, faithfully following Lenin's teachings, organised their Party and elaborated the principles governing its actions in full accordance with Lenin's principles. The great victory of the Chinese revolution is the victory of Leninism in the East.

True to Lenin's principles, the Chinese Communists, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, are successfully applying Lenin's teachings to the concrete historical conditions of China. They regard the Chinese revolution as a part of the world socialist revolution and firmly rebuff every attempt to divert the Chinese labouring people from the path of Socialism and isolate the Chinese revolution from the accumulated experience of the world revolution. At the same time, they oppose all tendencies to doctrinairism which ignore the concrete historical conditions in China. Doctrinaires who failed to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of the Chinese revolution could bring nothing but failure to the revolution.

The Chinese Communists take it as their primary task to safeguard and creatively apply the principles of Leninism to the concrete historical conditions in China.

China in the past was a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country, oppressed by a number of imperialist powers. Lenin's scientific analysis of imperialism helped the Chinese Communists to understand correctly the internal and international situation of the Chinese revolution. Lenin's advice on how to exploit to the full the internal contradictions of the imperialist world in order to advance the proletarian revolution was a valuable guide in the Chinese revolution. The Chinese Communists headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and guided by the principles of Leninism, recognised the fact that the revolutionary movement in China must pass through two stages—democratic revolution and socialist revolution; and that the Chinese proletariat should, first of all, lead the democratic revolution to complete victory so as to pave the way for smooth transition to the second stage of the revolution.

Lenin's teachings on the leading role of the proletariat were decisive in guiding the democratic revolution in China to victory. Since one of the main tasks of the Chinese democratic revolution was the struggle against imperialism, the Chinese proletariat was not only able to rally together the broad masses of the peasants; it also established, under suitable conditions, a united front with the bourgeoisie. In his “Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Question” written for the Second Congress of the Communist International, Lenin said: “...The Communist International must enter into temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy in colonial and backward countries, but must not merge with it and absolutely must preserve the independence of the proletarian movement even in its most rudimentary form.” The alliance which the Communist Party of China established in 1923 with the Kuomintang headed by Sun Yat-sen was

ence in winning victories under the leadership of the working class, with the peasants as the main force and the countryside as the main field of action.

The Chinese Communist Party has become the leader of the whole nation and led it in the greatest victories of the people's-democratic revolution, precisely because it established correct relations between the working class and the peasantry as well as between the working class and the national bourgeoisie, in accordance with the principles of Leninism. Practice has proved that every deviation from Leninism leads to error.

## II.

With the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the first stage of the Chinese revolution was in the main concluded and the second began.

China has entered the transition period in which the aim is to build socialist society. The general line of the Communist Party of China for the transition period is to bring about step by step the socialist industrialisation of the country and step by step to accomplish the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. The first Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy, drawn up according to the Party's general line for the transition period, has been in operation since 1953. Our general line for the transition period and the actual policies which are being implemented are all based on the principles of Leninism.

It is an extremely difficult task to carry out socialist industrialisation on the basis of a very backward economy. But the help given by the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies has created more favourable conditions for our national construction than those which obtained in the Soviet Union in the early period of its socialist construction.

Lenin put forward the plan for the electrification of Russia at a time when the Soviet Union was still suffering from the ravages of civil war. He wrote at that time: “The only possible economic base for Socialism is a large-scale machine industry. Whoever forgets this is no Communist.” Under the guidance of Lenin's teachings, we have, since the beginning of our economic construction, unwaveringly adhered to the policy of giving priority to the development of heavy industry.

Lenin's teachings on how to link socialist industry with agriculture and to carry out the socialist transformation of the latter in a country where peasants constitute the majority of the population, have been an invariable guide for China. Leninism clearly points out that the working class must help to overcome the strong force of habit among the peasants as a result of which they tend to manage their economic affairs in a petty-bourgeois and bourgeois way, for without this it is impossible to maintain the worker-peasant alliance and to gain victory for the cause of Socialism. At the same time, Leninism also points out that the working class must learn to “get on well” with the peasants and to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, led by the working class, by giving the peasants tangible benefits in the economic field, and that no forcible means should be adopted in relation to the peasants. The large-scale campaign for mutual aid and co-operation in agriculture, which is developing in the rural areas of our country, conforms to this principle laid down by Lenin.

Because of the great number of peasants in China, the low cultural level in the countryside and the fact that the peasants have had no previous experience of co-operatives, it is obvious that the task of bringing about the socialist transformation of agriculture is a great and complex one.

industry and commerce, who in the past were squeezed out of business and oppressed by imperialism and the big bourgeoisie in power and who, up to a point, took part in the national-democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class. In addition there still exist in China tens of millions of small producers. It will take a considerable time before the socialist industrialisation of the country is accomplished. Under such circumstances, therefore, if we try to do away with capitalism simply at one stroke, the result would only be harmful to our national economy. All this makes it possible and necessary to use the form of state capitalism to bring about the gradual transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

Taking into account the conditions prevailing in the Soviet Union at the time, Lenin, in his work “The Tax in Kind”, put forward several possible forms of state capitalism. One form is to “enlist the capitalist as a merchant and pay him a definite commission on the sale of state goods and on the purchase of produce of the small producer”. This is one of the varied forms of state capitalism China has now adopted. Our experience has shown that, whether in the field of industry or commerce, various forms of state capitalism can and should be adopted in order to facilitate the transition to Socialism. A higher form of state capitalism adopted by China is that of joint state and private capitalist ownership of enterprises.

The change over from capitalism to various forms of state capitalism means state supervision and control of capitalism in varying degrees. Lenin said: “Since the workers' state has taken possession of the factories, works and railways, this capitalism has no terrors for us.” In China, the socialist, state economy already plays the leading role in all branches of the national economy and this role is being strengthened day by day. The socialist transformation of agriculture, which is being carried out in a planned way, is winning more and more small peasant producers for Socialism. In view of all this, the state capitalist enterprises of today will certainly be transformed into socialist enterprises in the not too distant future.

During the introduction and implementation of the policy of state capitalism and other economic policies of the transition period, the class struggle in our country is bound to sharpen and become intensified. State capitalism itself is a manifestation of the class struggle. Every advance from a lower to a higher form of state capitalism and the final abolition of capitalist private ownership will necessitate complex political and economic struggle. Lenin said: “The proletariat does not abandon class struggle after it has captured political power but continues it until classes are abolished, of course, under different circumstances, in different forms and by different means.” This is a universal truth. The task of a Leninist is to adopt that form of struggle which corresponds to the relation of class forces and thus achieve complete victory of the proletarian cause.

## III.

The victory of socialist construction, like the victory of the revolutionary struggle, depends on the leadership of the Party. Without a revolutionary working-class party of a new type, the revolution could not have succeeded and it would be impossible to build up socialist society, especially in this great country of ours with a population of 600,000,000 people.

Lenin teaches us that the Party is the organised vanguard as well as the highest form of organisation of the working class; that the Party must maintain the closest ties with the broad masses of the working class and other labouring classes and strata

and struggle to guard and strengthen the militant spirit and to strengthen the unity of the Party. This is necessary because in the circumstances of today there is danger of the bourgeois ideology and alien class elements penetrating our Party, which may cause unreliable and unstable elements in it to degenerate and turn traitor. In his report to the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1921, Lenin pointed out that when the Party becomes the governing party and a party of a mass character, “then it will in part reflect certain things that take place outside its ranks. It is most important to understand this”. A resolution on Party unity drafted by Lenin and adopted by the Congress, stated: “...White guards strive, and manage to disguise themselves as Communists, and even as extreme Left Communists, solely for the purpose of weakening and overthrowing the bulwark of the proletarian revolution in Russia.” What Lenin said is a vivid expression of the law of class struggle and, of course, fully applies to the present day in China.

In the course of its history, the Chinese Communist Party has purged from its ranks such traitorous elements as Chen Tu-shiu, who betrayed the interests of the proletariat, and renegade Chang Kuo-tao who attempted to split the Party at a crucial moment in the history of the revolution. Recently the Party exposed and smashed the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, the object of whose criminal activities was to seize supreme power in the Party and the state. As the resolution adopted in March 1955 by the National Conference of the Communist Party of China states, the smashing of the Kao Kang—Jao Shu-shih anti-Party bloc further strengthened the solidarity and unity of the Party as a whole, and is one of the decisive victories of the Party in leading the struggle for the cause of Socialism in China and in the whole course of the Party's development.

The long-tested leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, guarantees that the Communist Party of China will faithfully follow the path pointed out by Leninism. The broad masses of the Chinese people have the utmost confidence in the Communist Party of China, because the Chinese Communist Party is the Leninist type of Party which is able to vanquish all kinds of enemies both at home and abroad.

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One of the greatest contributions of Lenin is the restoration of unity in the international labour movement and its development on a new basis. Lenin's cause is common to the working class, the revolutionary people of the colonies and semi-colonies and the working people throughout the world.

After Lenin's death, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, under the leadership of the C.C. of the CPSU headed by J. V. Stalin, loyal continuer of Lenin's cause, made a new great contribution to the international revolutionary movement. The victory of the Chinese revolution and the progress of her socialist construction are inseparable from Soviet assistance. The Communists of China commemorate the 85th anniversary of the birth of the great Lenin with deep feeling. They hold that the best way to commemorate the anniversary of the great Lenin is to study his teachings with unflinching zeal so as to speed socialist construction in our country, put forward every effort in the struggle against imperialism and its plans for a new war, constantly improve the education of our people in the spirit of Leninist internationalism, and unceasingly strengthen the friendship between our people, the great Soviet people and working people all over the world.

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Concluding, Comrade Togliatti cited the main slogans under which the Communist Party would conduct its election campaign in Sicily: economic development of the region; defence of its autonomy; safeguarding its oil resources from seizure by foreign trusts; defence of democratic liberties.

Comrade Giancarlo Pajetta, member of the Secretariat of the Party, making the report on the second item, stressed that under the conditions prevailing in Italy, the main feature of which was the Government's attack on all democratic liberties, the struggle of the Communists for freedom of the press and information was one of the basic elements of the common struggle for peace, freedom and Socialism. He dwelt on the concrete steps to be taken to ensure further improvement in the work of the Italian Communist press.

At the end of the meeting the Central Committee approved a proposal made by Comrade Togliatti to co-opt Comrade Giuliano Pajetta as a member of the Central Committee.

## Meeting of the Central Committee, S.U.P.G.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany meeting in Berlin on April 13-15, heard and unanimously approved the report of the Political Bureau, made by Comrade E. Honecker, alternate member of the Political Bureau. Comrade Karl Schirdewan, member of the Political Bureau, reported on improving Party work. Willi Stoph, member of the Political Bureau, spoke on measures to safeguard the security of the GDR; Gerhart Ziller, Secretary of the C.C., dealt with the use of advanced science and the profitability of industrial enterprises; Erich Mückenberger, alternate member of the Political Bureau, made a report on expanding the network of MTS and increasing the productivity of livestock. Forty-three people took part in the discussion.

It was decided to co-opt Comrade Albert Norden on to the C.C. and Comrades Norden and Kurt Hager were elected Secretaries of the C.C.

## STRIKE MOVEMENT IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

In the U.S.A. some 25,000 New England textile workers struck work on April 16 in protest against bonus reductions and the plans of the employers to lower the hourly wage rate by ten cents.

In the Piedmont and Lombardy Regions (Italy) some 240,000 agricultural workers held a 24-hour strike, demanding higher wages and the introduction of free medical treatment for their families.

In Belgium 6,000 flax mill workers in East and West Flanders are continuing their strike for higher wages.

In Iceland a stoppage of seamen has brought to a standstill the entire merchant and fishing fleet in Reykjavik. In addition some 7,000 lorry drivers, bricklayers, carpenters and other workers are demanding a 30% wage rise, longer holidays and higher overtime pay.

## Meeting of C.C., Hungarian Working People's Party

A meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party held on April 14 unanimously adopted the following decision:

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party states that Comrade Imre Nagy, both as a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, represented political views which are in sharp contradiction to the whole policy of our Party, the interests of the working class and the working peasantry, and people's democracy. Comrade Nagy sought to retard the driving forces of socialist construction, particularly the development of heavy industry, and in the countryside to hold back the co-operation movement which is the decisive means of the socialist transformation of agriculture. He strove to push to the background and obscure the leading role of the Party and tried to counterpose to it state bodies and to some extent, the Patriotic People's Front. By all this, Comrade Imre Nagy hampered the laying of firm foundations for improving the well-being of the people.

These anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist and anti-Party views of Comrade Imre Nagy represent a whole system and affect various spheres of political, economic and cultural life. Comrade Nagy's activities inflicted heavy damage upon our Party, people's democracy and the entire socialist construction in our country.

To carry out his right-wing opportunist policy, Comrade Nagy resorted to anti-Party and even factional methods, which are incompatible with the discipline and unity of a Marxist-Leninist Party.

Taking all this into account, the Central Committee removes Comrade Imre Nagy from the Political Bureau and the Central Committee and relieves him from all posts to which he had been assigned by the Party.

In view of the fact that Mihaly Farkas for a long time supported the erroneous views of Comrade Nagy, the Central Committee removes him from the Political Bureau and the Secretariat and assigns him other Party work.

The Central Committee unanimously elected Comrades Istvan Kovacs and Jozsef Mekis members and Comrade Laszlo Piros an alternate member of the Political Bureau.

# Leninist Principles of Proletarian Internationalism—the Basis of Fraternal Relations Between Countries of the Socialist Camp

It is with deep love and gratitude that the working people of the whole world are marking the 85th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the greatest genius of revolution, the founder of the Communist Party and of the first socialist state in the world, the immortal teacher and leader of the peoples.

Lenin began his revolutionary activities at a time when world capitalism had entered its last, imperialist stage of development, which is the eve of the proletarian revolution and the beginning of the period of preparation by the revolutionary forces for the direct struggle to overthrow capitalism. The antagonisms of imperialism, by virtue of a number of historical peculiarities, were most manifest in tsarist Russia. A popular revolution was approaching, unprecedented in scale and headed by the working class. Problems of the theory, organisation and tactics of the militant vanguard of the working class of Russia, problems of the Russian revolution, in these conditions, could not fail to become problems of the working-class movement in all countries, they could not fail to be of decisive international significance and influence.

Lenin founded the militant party of the working class of Russia on the firmest basis—that of Marxist theory. Having utterly routed the Narodniks, the reformists, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois agents of all kinds in the working-class movement, he developed and enriched the teaching of Marx and Engels in its application to the new, imperialist epoch. Lenin developed the Marxist theory of the laws of the class struggle, the teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat, the national and colonial question, the hegemony of the working class, and the worker-peasant alliance. He worked out the new theory of the socialist revolution, the teachings on the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country, on building Socialism, and the path of transition from Socialism to Communism. He created a comprehensive teaching on the Party as the militant vanguard of the working class organised on the principles of democratic centralism, with an iron discipline, whose mission it was to guide all the other organisations of the working people—a vanguard capable under all circumstances of correctly finding its bearings, rousing the masses for struggle and leading them to victory.

Leninism is a teaching of world significance, illuminating the path of the struggle of working people in all countries for liberation from imperialism, and of the building of a Communist society. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded by Lenin, is a model for all Marxist Parties.

Slightly more than sixty years have passed since Lenin entered the historical scene at the head of the Russian revolutionary movement. But what vast changes have taken place during this time in the life and development of mankind, and how great has been the role of Lenin and Leninism in these changes! Leninism influenced and to an ever-increasing degree continues to influence the destiny of mankind.

The Communist Party, founded by Lenin and following in his path, led the peoples of the Soviet Union to the victory of Socialism and is now leading them forward to Communism.

For ten years now the peoples of a number of countries in Europe and Asia—Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and the Korean People's Democratic Republic—have been marching shoulder with the

The formation of the socialist camp and the steady strengthening of its might are brilliant testimony and confirmation of the immense vital power of Leninism. Lenin taught us that the Soviet Union was the base and bulwark of the working people in all countries in the struggle against imperialism, that the successes of Socialism in the Soviet Union could not fail to contribute to the growth of the forces of Socialism in other countries. The emergence in Europe and Asia of the people's-democratic countries and their socialist transformation would have been inconceivable had the Soviet Union not been in existence, and without its help. The socialist camp is growing and gaining in strength on the granite foundation of Leninism. The working people of the people's-democratic countries, led by the Communist and Workers' Parties, are marching along the tried and tested Leninist path which the peoples of the Soviet Union have been following under the leadership of the Communist Party founded by the immortal Lenin.

A most profound characteristic of Leninist ideas is internationalism. Lenin taught us that the interests of the working class, and of the working people of each country call for solidarity with the working class and the working people of all other countries. "...the interests of labour", wrote Lenin on December 28, 1919, to the Ukrainian workers and peasants, "demand the fullest confidence and the closest alliance among the working people of the various countries and nations. The supporters of the landlords and capitalists, of the bourgeoisie, strive to disunite the workers, to intensify national discord and enmity, in order to weaken the workers and strengthen the power of capital."

"Capital is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood, is needed."

"We are opposed to national enmity, to national discord, to national exclusiveness. We are internationalists."

Lenin taught us that internationalism was inherent in the very nature of Socialism and of the socialist state. The Soviet Union by its existence, its example of the development of society without class oppression, by improving the well-being of the working people on the basis of planned socialist production, by promoting friendship and fraternal co-operation among numerous nations, rallies around itself all peoples fighting against imperialism, and serves them as an example and guide. The Soviet Union is the embodiment of genuine equality and indissoluble friendship between the peoples, and of their moral and political unity.

Lenin taught us that proletarian internationalism was inconceivable without patriotism, without love for one's people; just as patriotism, love for one's people and one's country, is inconceivable without internationalism, without solidarity with the working people of other countries. The Soviet Union shows the whole world an example of combining Soviet patriotism with internationalism, an example of serving the cause of the world liberation movement of the peoples. The Soviet Union's entire foreign policy is evidence of this. Graphic testimony thereto are the relations that have been established between the countries of the socialist camp. These new, unprecedented relations are based on the principles of mutual aid and mutual advantage, on co-operation, complete equality, respect for the unrestricted right of each

## Vylko Tchervenkov

Chairman, Council of Ministers,  
People's Republic of Bulgaria  
Member, Political Bureau,  
Central Committee, Communist Party  
of Bulgaria

new, i.e. socialist, society would be peace, "inasmuch as each people will have one and the same ruler—labour!" The internationalism of the working class arises from its special position in production, from the conditions of its liberation struggle. Internationalism is the essence of socialist society. Lenin substantiated and developed the teaching on internationalism. Lenin and the continuer of his cause, J. V. Stalin, formulated the basic principles of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, which have subsequently become the basic principles of the foreign policies of the people's-democratic countries which came into being after the second world war.

The possibility, basis and inevitability of the closest co-operation between the countries of the socialist camp, the camp of peace, lie in the singleness of aim, community of interests and the complete absence of any antagonistic contradictions among them. The interests of each country fully coincide with the interests of all others, and this is the source of the invincible strength of the camp of peace and Socialism. In this lies the principal difference between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp which is gnawed from within by antagonistic contradictions which are insoluble under capitalism.

The treaties of co-operation and mutual aid between the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy and among these countries themselves are graphic evidence of this. These agreements are based on genuine equality between fraternal countries, for mutual protection from aggression, from the resurgence of German and Japanese imperialism, and for safeguarding peace. They grant no privileges to any one of the contracting countries. They are people's treaties, on the basis of which close political, economic and cultural co-operation is developing between the Soviet Union and the people's-democratic countries and also among these countries themselves.

The treaties concluded among the imperialist states and the countries dependent on them are not at all like this—as is quite natural. The countries concluding such treaties are ruled by exploiting classes whose interests have nothing in common with those of the peoples. On the contrary, their interests are irreconcilably hostile to those of the peoples. What equality can there be between the parties to a treaty when its purpose, however it may be dressed up, is plunder, the seizure of markets, the ousting of rivals, the securing of privileges, the building of war bases and the drawing of this or the other country into the realisation of aggressive imperialist plans? The treaties binding the countries of the so-called NATO, SEATO etc. in which the United States plays the dominant role, are of this type. There can be no unity in the camp of the imperialists, nor can there be equal relations, mutual trust or respect for the national independence and state sovereignty of

the U.S.-Turkish treaty of 1954 that the Turkish Government undertook not to tax U.S. companies and subjects engaged in business and not to apply the country's laws to certain categories of U.S. citizens working in Turkey. This obvious inequality and the subjection of the nation by the "contracting" country to the exploiting, predatory interests of monopolist plunderers is characteristic of all the treaties of the capitalist world.

Relations between the Soviet Union and the people's-democratic countries and among the people's-democratic countries themselves are based on fraternal political, economic and cultural co-operation and mutual assistance and aimed at guaranteeing and steadily strengthening the independence and state sovereignty of these countries, at the advance of the well-being of the peoples and the continued building of Socialism. Here there is no expansionism, drive for markets, rivalry, exploitation of the weak countries, no privileges for this or that country, nor can there be. In the USSR and the People's Democracies there is common ownership of the means of production, the working people are masters of their country and their interests are one. These peoples cannot but work in a collective spirit, in the closest alliance and co-operation, for achieving the great aim they set themselves. They help each other in everything. The source of their strength lies in their community of interests and their common goal. Above all, they are rallied around the Soviet Union—first, mighty "Shock Brigade of the international proletariat". The Soviet Union is the great bulwark of Socialism and peace, the stronghold of mankind in its advance towards progress.

The Soviet Union gives the People's Democracies immense all-round help to overcome their economic backwardness and build Socialism. It gives them up-to-date machinery, including the most complex equipment, affords them technical assistance at the lowest possible cost, grants credits on favourable terms and shares its experience in production. Thanks to the selfless aid of the Soviet Union and mutual co-operation among themselves the people's-democratic countries are being rapidly industrialised and are overcoming their economic backwardness.

Look at the rate of the economic development of the people's-democratic countries, in particular China! What capitalist country can claim such a rate of development? Last year the level of industrial output of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies was 242% over that of 1937, whereas in capitalist countries the increase was only 76%. A number of new industries which did not exist under capitalist rule have been established in the people's-democratic countries. For example, in a matter of a few years a backward agrarian country, such as Bulgaria, has been transformed into an industrial-agrarian country which has laid the foundations of heavy industry. The well-being of the peoples of these countries is improving and their cultural level rising.

Here we see a new international division of labour on the basis of complete equality, differing radically from the division of labour under capitalism. The socialist camp presents a picture of great, ever-strengthening, planned co-operation in which there is division of labour with a view to mutual advantage and the most rational development of the productive forces for carrying

of a country, fraternal trust and unity—on the principles of internationalism. All the nonsense talked about there being special ways for the development of Socialism in particular countries, differing basically from the laws of building Socialism in the Soviet Union, about there being special forms of mutual relations between the socialist countries, allegedly different from relations based on the principles formulated by Lenin and Stalin—such nonsense is alien to Leninism. There can be, have been and will be peculiarities in the development of the revolution and Socialism in individual countries, depending upon the historical, national and economic peculiarities of the given country; but there cannot and will not be any other, special principles and laws in this development, differing from the principles of Leninism, from the laws of the development of the Great October Socialist Revolution and Socialism in the Soviet Union. Anyone who indulges in chatter about there being special ways of advancing to Socialism, quite independently of the existence and the leading role of the Soviet Union in the world liberation movement, does not serve this cause, but is its enemy.

The Soviet Union is the classic embodiment of internationalism. The interests of the Soviet Union merge with those of the working people the world over. Strengthening the might of the Soviet Union means strengthening the world liberation movement. No one can be an internationalist if he does not support the Soviet Union with all his strength and in every way possible. Anybody who does not support the Soviet Union in this way is not a patriot of his own country. The attitude towards the Soviet Union is the criterion of internationalism and patriotism. It is in the complete unanimity of the interests of the Soviet Union and those of all peoples that the irresistible strength of the socialist camp, the invincibility of the Leninist concept of internationalism, lies.

Lenin provided scientific proof of the possibility of lasting peaceful coexistence between the socialist and capitalist countries. The camp of Socialism is vitally interested in preserving peace. In the fight for peace the national and international interests of the working people of every country are harmoniously combined, their unity of interest is manifested. The camp of Socialism is fighting for peace because this is essential for the quickest possible building of Socialism in the people's-democratic countries and for the transition to Communism in the Soviet Union. It is not out of weakness that the countries of the socialist camp strive for peace. They are confident of their strength. Working with all the means in their power for peace, they will be able, if compelled to, to deal a crushing blow at imperialists who run amok. By preparing a new war the imperialists are digging their own grave. There can be no doubt about this.

The great banner of life-giving Leninism flies over the world. Under this banner the Great October Socialist Revolution was victorious and Socialism triumphed in the Soviet Union; under this banner the Soviet Army routed the Hitlerite hordes and freed the peoples of Central and South-East Europe from the yoke of fascism. Under



# Lenin's Analysis of Imperialism and the Situation in Canada

April 22 is a significant date in the history of mankind because it is the anniversary of the day upon which the immortal Lenin was born, eighty-five years ago. This anniversary is celebrated more and more widely as the masses of the people come to realize the fact, as they struggle for democracy and peace, that ours is an epoch of far-reaching revolutionary change. Lenin personified as did no other man of his generation the dynamic content of the famous thesis of Marx: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it."

Before 1917 there was little knowledge of Lenin's teachings in North America. The October Revolution stirred the working-class movement of Canada and the United States to its depths. Its inspiring influence, combined with Lenin's teachings, advanced the working-class movement by a whole historic stage in the space of a few years.

Lenin's discovery of the objective character of imperialism as the highest and final stage of capitalism, moribund capitalism, the stage at which advance to a higher social order, Socialism, has become an historical necessity, was a landmark in the development of revolutionary theory. Brilliant conclusions of Lenin that, when the historical necessity of revolutionary change ripens, the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism creates the objective possibility for political advance, provided only that the working class had built a revolutionary party adequate to its task, rapidly transformed the, until then, exclusively propagandist socialist movements of Canada and the United States.

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Lenin's characterisation of the political features of imperialism as "reaction all along the line" is verified in every respect by United States imperialism. The finance-capitalist monopolies dominant in the U.S.A. are striving recklessly to dominate and exploit all the peoples of the world. Today U.S. armed forces to the number of a million and a half occupy nearly a thousand bases on territory outside the United States. If that fantastic dispersal of forces suggests megalomania, it also illustrates how seriously the U.S. expansionists take their own propaganda about making this "The American Century".

But war against the countries of the socialist camp is not the sole aim of the U.S. imperialists. Their aim is to dominate all countries and exact tribute from them—including the imperialist countries which are for the time being referred to as allies.

The truth of Lenin's statement made in 1916 is vividly demonstrated today. He then wrote: "The division of the world into two main groups—of colony-owning countries on the one hand and colonies on the other—is not the only typical feature of the period; there is also a variety of forms of dependent countries; countries which, officially, are politically independent, but which are, in fact, enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence."

A shameful example of the manner in which sections of the bourgeoisie of capitalist countries sell-out to U.S. imperialism is to be seen in Canada. It is also a warning

relations of actual dependence upon the U.S.A.

The pressure of U.S. imperialism and its designs upon Canada are plain for all to see. It should be emphasised that the Canadian capitalists discarded their traditional policy of all-round development of the national economy, which took advantage of the country's vast and varied natural wealth, for the role of "brokers" selling outright to U.S. monopoly interests the most richly endowed areas of Canada.

The policy by which that far-reaching U.S. conquest has been accomplished was the creation of the present Prime Minister of Canada, Louis St. Laurent. He describes it as "Canada—United States Integration". In fact, of course, it is nothing of the sort; it is a policy of systematic subordination of national interests, of making Canada completely complementary to and dependent upon the U.S.A.

To such a length has this pro-U.S. policy been carried that the Canadian Bank of Commerce, one of the biggest banking institutions in Canada, recently stated that eliminating economic intercourse with other countries in favor of increasing dependence upon the export of raw materials to and importing finished manufactured products from the U.S.A., bears within it the threat of "eventual de facto absorption".

Sixty-three per cent of all Canada's exports go now to the U.S. The exports are mainly industrial raw materials or specialties such as newsprint and aluminium ingots. Seventy per cent of Canada's imports come from the United States. The imports are mainly finished manufactured products. For example, for every dollar's worth of products under the heading of iron and its products that Canada exports to the U.S., she imports more than six dollar's worth from the U.S. But the difference in the dollar totals tells only part of the story. Canada's exports of iron and its products to the U.S. consist very largely of iron ore; her imports from the U.S. consist of finished manufactured products.

Such is the trade pattern that the U.S. monopolies and their junior partners and hangers-on in Canada are seeking to establish. *Business Week*, a Wall Street publication, boasted some time ago that Canadian trade with Britain would shrink to a negligible volume by 1970; that during the same period the Canadian economy would be changed until ninety per cent of all Canadian production will be industrial raw materials for U.S. industries, and ninety per cent of all Canadian workers will be working for U.S. employers.

U.S. investments in Canada total nine billion dollars. The total continues to increase rapidly, largely as a result of re-investment of profits in Canada. The U.S. monopolies are directing their investments systematically to the securing of outright ownership and control of the country's resources of industrial raw materials—always on terms that are deliberately designed to prevent the development in Canada of processing industries that might compete with their plants in the U.S.A.

Canada has enormous reserves of rich iron ore, deposits of titanium said to be the biggest known, large and widespread

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Tim Buck  
General Secretary,  
Labor-Progressive Party of Canada  
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produced in the capitalist world, seventy-four per cent of its asbestos, twenty-five per cent of its aluminum, fourteen per cent of its copper, a substantial and increasing percentage of its uranium and nearly all the other essential minerals in smaller percentages are produced in Canada now, under U.S. control either through outright ownership or large-scale U.S. participation. Recently, very large reserves of petroleum and natural gas have been discovered, stretching in an almost unbroken semi-circle from the Manitoba-United States border northwestward up through the Mackenzie River valley to the Arctic. Fifty-six per cent of all investment in the petroleum industry is U.S. investment.

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Thanks to the solicitude that the present Government of Canada shows for U.S. investors, ownership of Canadian resources gives them real control. How real and as yet unchallenged that is, was demonstrated recently by the U.S. corporation "Gulf Oil of Texas" when it vetoed the construction of a gas pipeline in Canada.

The incident is most revealing. U.S. interests linked with Gulf Oil had secured control of huge reserves of natural gas in the western province of Alberta, and were promoting a company which was to build a pipeline to transport natural gas to the industrial cities of Eastern Canada. In order to own the pipeline without paying for it, the U.S. promoters persuaded the Canadian Government to agree to place 100 million dollars of public funds at their disposal, in the form of a guarantee of the company's bonds. When the Government, in an effort to "justify" such an outrageous abuse of its control of national credit, asked for a deposit of company securities, in the event of unforeseen contingencies—the Texas oil magnates promptly vetoed the entire project. They would not tolerate any arrangement involving the remotest likelihood of "government participation in ownership!" To the ultimatum "Give us the cash on our terms—or no pipeline!" the Canadian Government has as yet made no reply; but a backstairs deal with the Texas monopolists may well be in the making.

Such arrogant domination of Canada's economic development could not be exercised, even by the powerful finance-capitalist monopolies of the United States, without the direct connivance of the dominant circles of the Canadian bourgeoisie and their pro-U.S. governments. Truly did Stalin say: "Now the bourgeoisie sells the rights and independence of the nation for dollars."

The explanation of the ruling groups' betrayal of Canada is that they are hypnotised by U.S. preparations, ideological and material, for war. Their greed to secure maximum profits (as vassals of Wall Street) leads them to surrender the sovereignty of Canada.

In practice, U.S. political domination has been established even faster than was

act or intent, the discipline or morale of United States troops in Canada. (Note that no such legislation was ever suggested through the war-time years when thousands of airmen from various countries were training in Canada).

Recently it has become known that the United States Navy is demanding a special role, amounting to de facto sole authority over a million square miles of the Canadian Arctic and its waters. Canadians learn about all such matters only via United States sources. The *New York Post* published what it claimed were clauses of a secret agreement signed by representatives of the U.S. and Canadian Governments, providing among other things that "The two Governments shall, as it becomes necessary, institute co-ordinated controls over the distribution of scarce raw materials and supplies..."

The authenticity of this report has never been admitted by the Canadian Government—but neither has it been denied. Its authenticity is indicated very strongly by the measures taken to conserve all the uranium produced in Canada for U.S. use, by the strict prohibition of any export of so-called "strategic" goods to any area not approved by the U.S., and by the increasingly close co-ordination of Canadian with U.S. currency and trade measures.

On March 14, 1955, in a speech delivered in Toronto, Lester Pearson, Minister for External Affairs, revealed the completeness with which the St. Laurent Government has betrayed Canada's sovereignty to the United States. Significantly, the speech was made three days before John Foster Dulles was to visit Ottawa to discuss the further political and military integration of the two countries—including a substantial increase in the number of U.S. troops to be stationed in Canada. Declaring blandly that the Canadian Government's oft-repeated assurance that it has no commitments to support the U.S. in the Formosa crisis is not the same as saying that we will not be involved if that crisis results in war, Pearson then announced—for the first time—the real position of the Government: namely, that if the U.S.A. becomes involved in a major war, Canada will be in that war also on the U.S. side. In other words, said Pearson in effect, all the supposedly solemn assurances that the Prime Minister has been giving to the people of Canada have been nothing but misleading propaganda statements.

Canada, a modern capitalist state with a highly monopolised economy, a narrow clique of monopoly capitalists and their political parties in unchallenged control of the Government and the state machinery, has been made subservient to a foreign power by treachery, behind the back of her people.

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On all sides there is rising protest against the sell-out of Canada's sovereignty.

In Canada, opposition to the reckless drive to atomic war is more and more clearly linked with the struggle to free Canada from U.S. domination. This calls for an effective national struggle of the two peoples of Canada, French and English-speaking, against those circles of the Canadian bourgeoisie who are facilitating United States domination of this country.

Workers and qualified technicians resent the growing trend on the part of Yankee corporations, to engage only U.S. citizens, in Canada, for all jobs other than unskilled labor. (In the Province of Alberta, with a total population of slightly over a million, there are at present more than 60,000 U.S. citizens employed by U.S. corporations in the exploitation of Canada's oil).

Canadians are resentful of the extent to which the Canadian economy has been disrupted by subordination to U.S. foreign trade policies. Widening circles are awakening to the fact that U.S. control of the economic life of the country makes talk of Canadian sovereignty a hollow pretence. Even some representatives of the bourgeoisie have evinced concern over the surrender of sovereignty.

Under the accumulating pressure of popular opposition to the policy misnamed "Canada—U.S. integration", the traditional "Two-Party System" is in a crisis in Canada. The monopoly of the parliamentary institutions of the country, which the traditional parties of the capitalist class (Liberals and Tories) have abused for so long, is breaking down. There is the beginning, weak and indecisive but definite, of a popular search for the "way out"; to regain for the Canadian people "mastery in their own house".

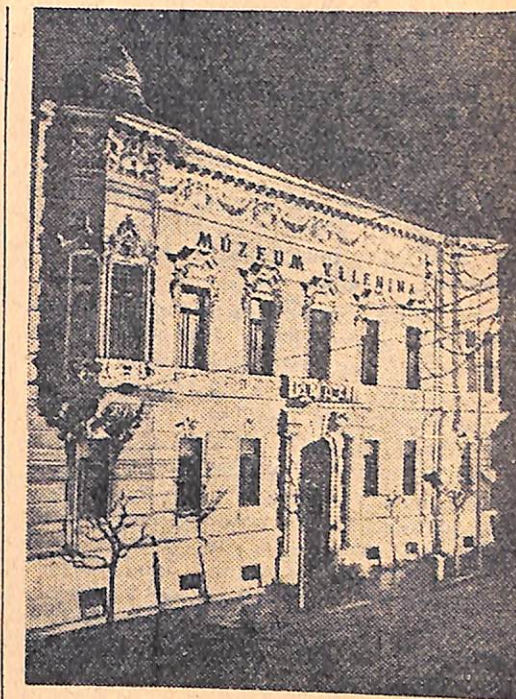
Objectively, the conditions demand development of unity in political action of the forces of democracy, of all patriotic and peace-loving forces, with all those who truly love their country and put the interests of the masses of its people first. Those forces combined can stop U.S. domination, restore Canadian sovereignty and place our country on the path of prosperity through peaceful economic, cultural and diplomatic co-operation with all peoples.

Only the working class headed by its Party of Communists will carry such a struggle through to victory for all the people. At the head of all whose patriotism expresses genuine Canadianism, love of country and concern for its people and for the sort of future to be offered to its youth, the working class must win national independence. That is the path by which people's democratic action will develop and become unified. That is the path to a People's Democratic Government.

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In the struggle for our Program, wider and wider circles of democratic Canadians will grasp the historic fact upon which it is based, and of which it is the theoretical generalisation: namely, that we have entered the epoch of profound world change, in which genuine patriotism, that is to say true love of Canada, must sooner or later merge with the militant defence of democracy to put an end to foreign domination of our country, to develop its splendid resources under the control of, and for the benefit of its people, to establish trade and friendly relations with all peoples in all countries, to keep our own country at peace. That is the path to a socialist Canada.

Developments in Canada today fully confirm the



The Lenin Museum in Bratislava.

## Tenth Anniversary of the National Uprising in Italy

Ten years ago, on April 25, 1945, when the victorious Soviet Army was approaching the heart of fascist Germany, the masses of Italy, supported by hundreds of thousands of partisans who had already been valiantly fighting for 20 months, rose up against the German forces of occupation and their henchmen—the Italian fascists—and liberated Milan, Turin, Genoa and other large cities in the north.

In celebration of this anniversary a big demonstration was held in Turin on April 16, in which men prominent in political affairs and representatives of all the anti-fascist parties which contributed to the war of national liberation took part. The demonstrators were addressed by Comrade Luigi Longo, Deputy General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party and former commander of the Garibaldi Brigades, who said: "We must fight for the Resistance Movement to continue and bring its work to completion, as is recorded in our republican constitution."

Speaking in Milan on April 17, Comrade Palmiro Togliatti declared: "The Resistance Movement did not stop with the victory of 1945; it must and will continue as long as the democratic system born of the war of national liberation stands in danger."

## NEWS IN BRIEF

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romania, it also illustrates how seriously the U.S. expansionists take their own propaganda about making this "The American Century".

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The truth of Lenin's statement made in 1916 is vividly demonstrated today. He then wrote: "The division of the world into two main groups—of colony-owning countries on the one hand and colonies on the other—is not the only typical feature of the period; there is also a variety of forms of dependent countries; countries which, officially, are politically independent, but which are, in fact, enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence."

A shameful example of the manner in which sections of the bourgeoisie of capitalist countries sell-out to U.S. imperialism is to be seen in Canada. It is also a warning example of the dire consequences of such sell-out, for the country and its people. Within the past nine years the main political content of governmental policy has been changed decisively from relations of rapidly maturing sovereignty through assertion of independence from Britain, to

arrangement involving the remotest likelihood of "government participation in ownership!" To the ultimatum "Give us the cash on our terms—or no pipeline!" the Canadian Government has as yet made no reply; but a backstairs deal with the Texas monopolists may well be in the making. Such arrogant domination of Canada's economic development could not be exercised, even by the powerful finance-capitalist monopolies of the United States, without the direct connivance of the dominant circles of the Canadian bourgeoisie and their pro-U.S. governments. Truly did Stalin say: "Now the bourgeoisie sells the rights and independence of the nation for dollars."

The explanation of the ruling groups' betrayal of Canada is that they are hypnotised by U.S. preparations, ideological and material, for war. Their greed to secure maximum profits (as vassals of Wall Street) leads them to surrender the sovereignty of Canada. In practice, U.S. political domination has been established even faster than was economic control. Naval and air bases were leased to the U.S. from which its forces dominate the strategic areas of Canada. At the behest of the U.S. Government its forces enjoy a special status, and Canadians are forbidden by law, under threat of 14 years imprisonment, to influence unfavourably, by

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On all sides there is rising protest against the sell-out of Canada's sovereignty.

In Canada, opposition to the reckless drive to atomic war is more and more clearly linked with the struggle to free Canada from U.S. domination. This calls for an effective national struggle of the two peoples of Canada, French and English-speaking, against those circles of the Canadian bourgeoisie who are facilitating United States domination of this country. That combined class and national character of the struggle is evident in the struggle for jobs, for democracy, and for the re-establishment of Canadian sovereignty.

With the growing mass unemployment, the struggle for jobs becomes more and more a struggle against U.S. imperialist domination.

is the path by which people's action will develop and become unified. That is the path to a People's Democratic Government.

In the struggle for our Program, wider and wider circles of democratic Canadians will grasp the historic fact upon which it is based, and of which it is the theoretical generalisation: namely, that we have entered the epoch of profound world change, in which genuine patriotism, that is to say true love of Canada, must sooner or later merge with the militant defence of democracy to put an end to foreign domination of our country, to develop its splendid resources under the control of, and for the benefit of its people, to establish trade and friendly relations with all peoples in all countries, to keep our own country at peace. That is the path to a socialist Canada.

Developments in Canada today fully confirm the analysis of imperialism made by Lenin. It is a striking illustration of how profound and creative was the guidance that he gave to the world working class and its Communist Parties. Today, as when they were written, Lenin's Works illuminate the path forward in the struggle for peace and national salvation.

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★ In Prague, Czechoslovakia, four 11-grade secondary schools are under construction and nine 8-grade schools will be started in the immediate future. In addition 90 small schools will be built this year for pupils of the first and second classes.

★ In Hungary, in 1954, the retail trade turnover of the consumer co-operatives increased 34%, compared with 1953. In the same period the sale of manufactured goods increased more than 60%, and that of agricultural machinery, implements, and mineral fertilisers 291%. As many as 2,200 new shops and canteens have been opened.

## Inexhaustible Source of Victories of Albanian People

(Continued from page 5)

than 160 agricultural producer co-operatives were formed in our country, uniting 8,562 households (51,184 peasants) or 5.3% of all the peasant households. These co-operatives cover 32,253 hectares, or 9.27% of the country's total cultivated land.

The socialist sector, including the state farms, now accounts for 15% of the total cultivated land. As you see, the share of the socialist sector is still slight as compared with that of the individual sector, but our Party is guided in this matter by the precepts of Lenin and the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, from which it follows that collectivisation—the unification of small individual farms in collective farms—must proceed only on the basis of complete conviction on the part of the peasants that collective farming is the better way and that they will receive state assistance in the form of the required agricultural machinery.

In view of this, our Party took a definite line that the collectivisation of agriculture must neither be rushed nor allowed to mark time. Thanks to this the agricultural co-operatives have been able to grow quite strong and their example is now winning the peasants over to the path of collectivisation. Last year the share of the socialist sector in our agricultural output constituted: wheat—13.1%, maize—6.3%, rice—22.8%, cotton—25% and sugar beet—64%. In 1953 the co-operatives averaged 330 kg. more wheat per hectare than the individual peasants, 160 kg. more maize, 280 kg. more cotton, 11.4 tons more beet.

Bearing in mind the fact that the mechanisation of agricultural processes with the aid of modern machinery represents an important factor in the collectivisation of the countryside, our Party is increasing the degree of mechanisation appreciably with

every passing year. This year agriculture will be supplied with nearly 400 new tractors.

The Albanian Party of Labour has always been governed by Lenin's thesis that the socialist revolution cannot be complete without a cultural revolution. This teaching is of vital significance to our country as well, for the feudal-bourgeois regimes and the foreign invaders kept our culture in an extremely backward state, as may be seen, for one thing, in the fact that 80% of the population was illiterate. Today, in the new Albania, with the advance of socialist industry and the socialist reorganisation of agriculture, there has been created a material base, which is steadily gaining in strength, for the development of culture and the improvement of the cultural standards of the working masses. One of the cardinal tasks of the cultural revolution—the abolition of illiteracy among men and women up to 40 years of age—is being brought to completion. Compulsory elementary education has been introduced in full and seven-year schooling in part. In 1954 the number of elementary schools was 335% higher than in 1938, and the number of pupils rose by 263% as compared with 1938. The number of seven-year and complete secondary schools has increased from 11 to 345, and enrolment in them from 6,315 to 48,340 pupils. For the first time in the country's history 6 higher educational establishments have been opened; they are now attended by 1,200 students and this year the first group of specialists trained in Albania will graduate from them. Some 900 engineers, doctors, agronomists and other specialists have been educated in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, and at present there are hundreds of other students studying abroad. Thousands of working people are attending evening schools, advanced training courses, voca-

tional schools etc., or taking correspondence courses.

The fact that operas and ballets are now being produced in Albania, where formerly there was not a single theatre, that novels and poems are being published and symphonies and distinctly national operettas composed, testifies to the flourishing development of the culture of the Albanian people.

We owe all these changes and the progress made in socialist construction in our economy and culture primarily to the fact that we have persistently followed Lenin's teaching on strengthening the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, which constitutes the foundation of the people's-democratic system. The Party laid the groundwork for this alliance in the course of the struggle for national liberation. It strengthened it in the period of the revolution; all our economic plans and measures have been directed towards continually strengthening this alliance. The Second Party Congress designated the consolidation of the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry and the strengthening of the leading role of the working class in this alliance as the principal political tasks of our first Five-Year Plan.

Lenin's teachings on this alliance and the rich experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union illuminated the way for all the Communist and Workers' Parties. Defining the character and significance of the new economic policy, Lenin said in his report to the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets: "The problem we are tackling now—so far and temporarily alone—seems to be a purely Russian one, but in reality it is a problem that will face all Socialists... The new society, which will be based on the alliance of the workers and peasants, is inevitable. Sooner or later, whether twenty years earlier or twenty years later, it will come, and it is for it, for that society, that we are helping to work out the forms of the alliance of workers and peasants... We will solve this problem and weld so strong an alliance

of workers and peasants that no force on earth will be able to dissolve it."

History has fully confirmed this brilliant prediction by Lenin.

There can be no building a socialist economy or developing a new culture without overcoming obstacles, without difficulties and struggle. The transition from capitalism to Communism, said Lenin, represents an entire historical epoch. Until it is completed the exploiters will inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope will be converted into attempts at restoration. Guided by the teachings of the great leader, our Party is educating the working masses in the spirit of revolutionary vigilance and irreconcilability towards class enemies, teaching the masses to overcome the difficulties confronting them.

In our country, where society is accomplishing a tremendous leap from feudal-bourgeois relations to socialist relations, one of the most important and urgent tasks is to combat bourgeois ideology and culture, to combat feudal-bourgeois morality and psychology, backward customs, superstition etc. Consequently, our Party has always attached great importance to the dissemination of socialist culture and Marxist-Leninist ideology among the working masses and to the necessity of arming the Communists, above all, with this culture and this ideology, with the genuine science of the laws of development of society.

As a party of the Leninist type, the Albanian Party of Labour functions and develops on the basis of Lenin's counsel on consolidating the unity of the Party and strengthening collective leadership, on encouraging the creative initiative of the masses to the utmost and strengthening the Party's ties with them. It is on these teachings that the decisions of the July meeting of the C.C. are based.

The Albanian Party of Labour day by day educates the masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and of deep gratitude to and eternal friendship for the great Soviet Union, the glorious liberator and defender of our own and other peo-

ples, in the spirit of fraternal friendship with all the People's Democracies, in the spirit of solidarity with peoples and individuals who are fighting for peace, freedom and democracy.

Day in and day out the People's Democracies are strengthening their political, economic and cultural ties with each other and, primarily, with their great defender—the Soviet Union. The Declaration of the Moscow Conference is a vivid expression of these new relations, which are founded on the policy of peace and the security of the peoples that was proclaimed by the great Lenin in the earliest days of the Soviet state. The Albanian people welcomed this Declaration as an initiative of immense international significance, designed to ensure the preservation of peace and the security of the nations, including the freedom and independence of the Albanian People's Republic.

Early this month the second session of the People's Assembly of the Albanian People's Republic endorsed the Declaration of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on February 9 this year. The session heard a report on the foreign and domestic policy of our people's Government and on the budget for 1955, which, besides providing increased appropriations for economic development and for the cultural needs of the people, also allocates increased expenditure to strengthen our country's defensive power. The Albanian people give their full support to this policy of the Party and the Government, for they remember Lenin's warning that for countries building Socialism under conditions of capitalist encirclement there is the danger not only of reactionary elements at home attempting to restore capitalism, but also of intervention by imperialist countries with the object of overthrowing the power of the working people by force.

Lenin pointed out that one of the chief functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat was to organise the defence of the socialist homeland. This pronouncement is of great significance to our countries, especially in the present international situation, when the American and British imperialists and their lackeys are preparing

another world war and seeking at all costs to revive a revenge-seeking Wehrmacht in Western Germany, thereby threatening the peace of Europe and the whole world. Despite the peaceable policy of the Soviet Union, despite its efforts to secure the prohibition and destruction of weapons of mass annihilation and a reduction in armaments, despite the proposals the Soviet Union has put forward with the aim of ensuring peaceful coexistence and economic and cultural co-operation between countries with different political and social systems, the United States and her satellites are following the path of provocation and war preparations, are carrying on an arms race and taking the course of inciting enmity towards the camp of Socialism and the peoples of the peace-loving countries, the course of enslaving and intensifying the exploitation of the colonial peoples and the peoples of the capitalist countries.

We stand for the Leninist principles of coexistence. We stand for these principles because we are confident of the strength of Socialism, confident that we have chosen the right road, the road towards Communism. The struggle the Soviet Union and all the countries in the socialist camp are waging for lasting peace throughout the world is not a sign of their weakness; on the contrary, it is an expression of their confidence in a happy future and of their desire to live and work in peace.

Aware of their tasks and their responsibility for preserving peace and strengthening the camp of Socialism, the Albanian people are resolutely advancing along the Leninist path, following the example of the Party formed by Lenin and in eternal friendship with the state he founded. Now, as they celebrate the 85th anniversary of Lenin's birth with boundless love and profound gratitude, the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people are ever more closely uniting and more energetically mobilising their forces to achieve fresh successes in laying the foundations of Socialism and strengthening their People's Republic.

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