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## GUIDE to COMMUNIST DISSENSIONS



#45

Commentary

6-19 January 1965

### Principal Developments:

1. Moscow's drive to convene a 1 March preparatory commission meeting brought a noteworthy "act of independence" by another CP which had long been regarded as completely loyal to the CPSU, the small but strategically located CP of Great Britain, one of the 26 named to the commission. Its Executive Committee issued a statement asserting not only that an international conference to resolve differences and promote unity must be all-inclusive but also that a preparatory meeting must include "representatives of the main parties involved" to be effective. Therefore, it "considers it unwise to fix a date for the preparatory committee in the absence of agreement between the main parties." It expresses readiness to "participate in any consultations which could assist in the convening of an agreed representative preparatory committee." The French CP, noting the CPGB statement, immediately reiterated its view that the 1 March meeting should be held on schedule. We have seen no other direct reference to the 1 March schedule during this period.
2. The Sino-Soviet polemical truce continued -- with increasing tendency toward abrogation, especially on the Chinese side. While the Soviets avoided direct attack on the Chinese -- and even heavily edited Chou En-lai's December NPC report to make it appear less opposed to Soviet policies and less militant -- they published in Kommunist their most comprehensive post-Khrushchev attack on Chinese-style "left-wing deviations" and cited Lenin to justify their refusal to conciliate by keeping silent. The Chinese came close to direct polemics as they: (a) named CPSU delegate Ponomarev as having "boosted the Dange group" at the December Congress of the old-line Indian CP, in a comment viciously castigating Dange and the Congress; (b) have thus far not contradicted Japanese reporting of anti-Soviet remarks attributed to Chen Yi in an interview with a Japanese visitor to Peking; (c) made it clear that recent Soviet "tough talk" about the U.S. doesn't satisfy "true revolutionaries"; and (d) republished two Japanese CP Akahata editorials, one from last November, on the need to continue to battle Khrushchevian revisionism despite the fall of K., and long extracts from a 6 January Albanian article which is the most vituperative attack yet on the new Soviet leadership, urging all true Communists to have no illusions and not to fall into the Soviet trap of silence.
3. The period ended with the top leaders of all Warsaw Pact countries convening in Warsaw for a 2-day meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, the first since July 1963. Although Bloc statements depict the secret sessions as devoted to problems of Bloc relations with the Western powers, and although the participation of Rumania's Gheorghiu-Dej indicated that he expected no anti-Chinese action to be taken, most

observers believed that problems of the ICM and the Soviet drive for a world conference would be discussed.

Significance:

Almost half of the additional time won by Moscow's postponement of the 26-party preparatory commission meeting from 15 December to 1 March has passed -- and the prospects are becoming less predictable as time rolls on. The startling new CPGB resolution would appear to be another significant "blow for independence." However, the British statement should probably not be taken at face value: they did not commit themselves not to participate if the meeting is held as scheduled -- and their statement may be intended primarily to appease internal opposition or to help the CPSU get off the hook of the 1 March date.

Pending possible revelation of secret developments at the Warsaw summit meeting, we note two somewhat contradictory trends. Ideologically, the truce between Moscow and Peking keeps weakening and may be entirely broken soon. In the arena of international power politics, however, the new leadership in the Kremlin may be suspected of getting along much better with Mao & Co.: Moscow has endorsed Peking's proposal for a world-wide summit conference for the banning of nuclear weapons (while the Soviets exploded an unusually large nuclear device underground). Both powers see eye-to-eye in supporting the Congo rebels, the Vietcong guerrillas and other subversive efforts. Rumors about covert Soviet military aid for China are being supported by the reported appearance of advanced MIG-21's on Chinese airfields. The free world cannot afford to relax its vigilance.

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CHRONOLOGY -- COMMUNIST DISSENSIONS

#45

6-19 January 1965

December (delayed): No. 18, December, of CPSU theoretical journal Kommunist (not signed to press until 22 Dec.) carries a 7,000-word article by K. Varlamov and N. Slamikhin: "Proletarian Revolutionary Spirit and Petty-bourgeois 'Revolutionarism' -- From the History of V. I. Lenin's struggle against Opportunism 'From the Left.'" Although not naming the Chinese and avoiding acrimonious language, the article is clearly a comprehensive attack on Chinese-style "left-wing deviationism." Citing from Lenin's statements "during the first days of Soviet rule, when he was fighting against a group of 'leftist Communists,'" it claims that Lenin's indictment is of "profound and essential importance" for the present, repeatedly implying the parallel with present Soviet-Chinese differences and attacking a wide range of CCP-supported views.

January 6: Albanian Party organs Zeri I Popullit and Bashkimi publish a harsh, detailed 13,000-word attack on "the entire revisionist and treacherous course of N. Khrushchev followed obstinately by the present Soviet leadership": it concludes with a fervent appeal for M-Ls to "be particularly vigilant before the 'calm' and 'silence' which the Khrushchevite revisionists in power in the USSR strive to maintain" because of their "very difficult position."

"Marxist-Leninists, revolutionary Communists, must not be duped by the new maneuvers and tactics of the Khrushchevite revisionists; must not fall into the trap of 'silence' which they have set; must have no illusions concerning the present revisionist Soviet leadership and not confuse it with the USSR, with the Soviet revolutionary peoples, but must follow in a consequential fashion and without vacillation the principled struggle to unmask modern revisionism...."

January 7: Soviet press publishes a rather warm Kosygin-Mikoyan message of greetings to Chinese leaders on occasion of their "re-election."

January 10: Radio Peking resumed daily re-broadcasting (in Vietnamese) of November Red Flag editorial "Why Khrushchev Fell" (which asserted that the new CPSU leaders could avoid conflict with the CCP only by reversing all policy developments of the past decade -- Chrono #42): earlier heavy re-broadcasting had ceased on 6 Dec.

January 11: In London, British CP organ Daily Worker publishes CPGB Executive Committee resolution which addresses itself to "the decision ... to postpone the preparatory committee for an international Communist conference to 1 March" and "considers it unwise to fix a date for the preparatory committee in the absence of agreement between the main

(Chronology Cont.)

parties on its convocation date." The Executive declares: "Our opinion has always been that an international conference to help resolve differences and promote the unity of the ICM must be all-inclusive." It adds that "a preparatory committee for such an international conference can only be effective... if it includes representatives of the main parties involved in the present differences." It concludes by expressing "readiness to participate in any consultations which could assist in the convening of an agreed representative preparatory committee." (The CPGB is one of the 26 parties named on the preparatory commission.)

In Peking, an "Observer" article in People's Daily pegged to President Johnson's State of the Union message uses the device of a direct, though unattributed, quote from the 6 January Izvestiya comment on the message by "Commentator" to make it clear that even the relatively hard line taken by Soviet media toward the Johnson speech does not satisfy "revolutionary people" such as the Chinese. Peking's "Observer" says:

"... There are people who take Johnson's nebulous words of peace seriously and describe them as 'in accord with the desire of the peoples.' They even hope that Johnson will turn his words into action. In reality, these people are attempting to lead the people of the world astray.... Johnson might be able to pull the wool over the eyes of certain persons, but he can never deceive the revolutionary peoples of the world...." [ Ed: Quote from Izvestiya underlined.]

January 12: Pravda publishes a heavily edited version of Chou En-lai's 21-22 December Peking report to the NPC (Chrono #44), omitting most of the statements showing differences with the Soviet Union and making the speech appear to be much less militant than it was.

January 14: Pravda publishes a brief statement on an 11 January meeting of a top-level delegation from AKEL (CP of Cyprus) with Suslov and Ponomarev in "an atmosphere of friendship and warmth": it was limited to agreement on their mutual opposition to outside intervention in Cyprus and made no mention of affairs of the ICM.

January 16-20: NCNA distributes a series of articles reflecting CCP differences and conflict with the CPSU (all are presumably published in Chinese press on days following NCNA distribution, though we do not yet have confirmation in each case):

--16th, NCNA Peking "reportage" of "the Seventh Congress of the CP of India held from 31 October to 7 November 1964 in Calcutta." (This was the "Congress" of the pro-Chinese dissident left wing which is now referred to in the Indian press as the CPI/L.) NCNA begins by stating that "This Congress of historic significance announced the expulsion of the renegade Dange group from the CPI." It then quotes from "a declaration adopted at the Congress":

"The Seventh Congress of the CPI declares that the delegates assembled here are the true representatives of the CPI and that the Dange group has no right to call itself the CPI. Participating... are 422 delegates representing 104,421 members from all over the country. They represent 60 percent of the total membership.... The leadership of the Dange group... has become out-and-out revisionist and class collaborationist and has resorted to disruptive organizational practices...."

NCNA goes on to quote from "a resolution adopted by the Congress 'on the changes in CPSU leadership'" which says that Khrushchev's rule brought the ICM to "the brink of a split" and "hopes that steps will be taken to overcome the ideological differences."

Immediately following the above, NCNA released another "reportage" of "a 'Seventh Congress' in Bombay from 13 to 23 December 1964" of "the group under the renegade S. A. Dange," "usurping the name of the CP of India." NCNA adds that this meeting was attended by "delegations of the CPs of the Soviet Union, France, and Italy, and of the Tito clique of Yugoslavia" and that the meeting's resolution "parroted the fallacies of the modern revisionists and attacked the correct stand and viewpoints of the CCP on a number of questions. It expressed 'full support' for the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU...." After further castigating the Congress and Dange personally, NCNA points out that, "addressing the meeting, B. N. Ponomarev, secretary of the CPSU/CC, boosted the Dange group.... He assured the meeting that the CPSU would strengthen its 'unity' with the Dange group."

--17th, NCNA distributes a 4800-word report of a 22 November editorial from JCP daily Akahata: NCNA begins by quoting a passage which sums up the gist of the article -- "The question of defeating Khrushchev's policy of peaceful coexistence is not resolved simply with the downfall of Khrushchev." It includes the charge that "Khrushchev and his followers, who had unjustifiably worsened state relations between China and the Soviet Union using the divergence of views in the ranks of the ICM as a pretext, later took further steps to enforce their 'anti-China policy' by concluding with the U.S. and Britain the partial nuclear test-ban treaty whose principal aim was to prevent China from possessing nuclear weapons."

--18th, a 1200-word version of the 6 December Pravda "State of the Whole People" editorial (Chrono #43), an 1800-word summary of the December Kommunist article described at the beginning of this Chrono, and 400-word excerpts from a 20 December Pravda article by Timofeyev, "For Cohesion of the Democratic Forces."

--18th, a 1600-word summary of the 28 December Akahata attack on 30 October Trud article by Soviet Trade Union boss Prokhorov (Chrono #44).

--18th, a brief report of the 11 Jan British CP resolution opposing a 1 March preparatory commission meeting before the "main parties" are in agreement.

--20th, the vituperative Albanian 6 January attack on the new Soviet leadership described in this Chrono.

January 18: Japanese press carries reports from Peking correspondents of a 90-minute talk between Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi and Japanese Diet member Tokuma Utsunomiya (who has championed increased Japanese contacts with the CPR) in which Chen Yi (a) denounced Khrushchev for having wanted to divide up the world with the U.S.; (b) said that he "does not expect much" from the new Soviet leaders but expected that eventually outstanding leaders would appear in the USSR and then relations between the two countries would improve; (c) reiterated Chinese views that the USSR should return the Kurile Islands to Japan, and said that the Soviet Union has taken 500,000 square miles of territory from China (sic).

In Moscow, Tass announces that the Communist Parties and National Liberation Fronts of Latin America met secretly "at the end of 1964" (not indicated where) and proposed formation of united fronts with non-Communists to further their aims.\*

January 19: Top-level delegations of the Warsaw Pact countries assembled in Warsaw for a 2-day meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, the first since July 1963. All Bloc statements emphasize that the secret sessions are devoted to problems in Bloc relations with the West, particularly, NATO, the MLF, and the new West German initiative toward reunification. Most observers, however, believe that problems of the ICM, including the 1 March preparatory commission meeting, will also be discussed.

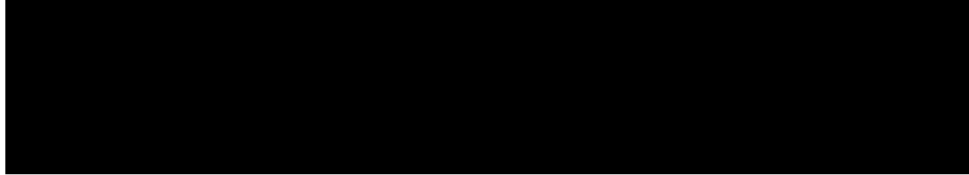
#### ADDENDUM

January 21: The communiqué on the Warsaw Pact meeting treats only of the problems indicated above, proposing "the convocation of a conference of European states to discuss measures insuring collective security in Europe." The next-to-last sentence seems to indicate another motivation for calling the meeting at this time: "The Political Consultative Committee declares that the socialist countries are fully united in the face of the imperialist threat and that the attempts of the imperialist circles to undermine their solidarity are doomed to failure."

\*Subsequent reporting indicates that this meeting also recommended strengthening of the "national liberation movement" in L.A. and urged Communist unity in L.A. based on "the programmatic declarations of the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960."

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TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF WORLD WAR II



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SITUATION: Communists habitually mount heavy propaganda campaigns on those anniversaries which mark multiples of 5 or 10 years -- 15th, 20th, etc. There is every evidence that in 1965 the Soviets will strive for major propaganda gains incident to the anniversary of the end of WW II, i.e., during the period from late April to early September in different parts of the world.

Beginnings of this campaign appeared on 11 January 1965 both in Izvestiya and Radio Moscow, to wit:

"At the cost of huge sacrifices the Soviet Union insured victory over Nazism. A contribution to the defeat of Nazism was also made by our Allies.... The members of the anti-Nazi coalition solemnly proclaimed that German militarism and Nazism would be uprooted and that the necessary measures would be taken to prevent Germany from threatening her neighbors or the preservation of peace throughout the world. -- Yet it is well known that the U.S. and her Western partners acted contrary to the policy they had proclaimed themselves. They took care not to uproot militarism and revanchism in West Germany but to arm that country and to include it in the aggressive NATO bloc. The fostering of militarism and revanchism has gone so far that recently attempts have been made to give the Bundeswehr access to atomic weapons within the Atlantic nuclear forces. And this is happening in circumstances in which Bonn openly demands a revision of the results of WW II."

The above passage from Izvestiya embodies concisely the main themes of an intensive, world-wide campaign which Communist propagandists can be expected to wage. These propaganda themes are:

- a. Germany's war guilt and the alleged recrudescence of militarism and Fascism in West Germany.
- b. The Soviet Union's paramount role in WW II which they allegedly won virtually single-handed.
- c. The U.S.A.'s alleged postwar policy of remilitarizing West Germany for aggressive purposes, including alleged U.S. plans to make nuclear weapons available to West Germany.

This long-range guidance covers general propaganda themes designed to forestall and counteract predictable Soviet distortions of historical

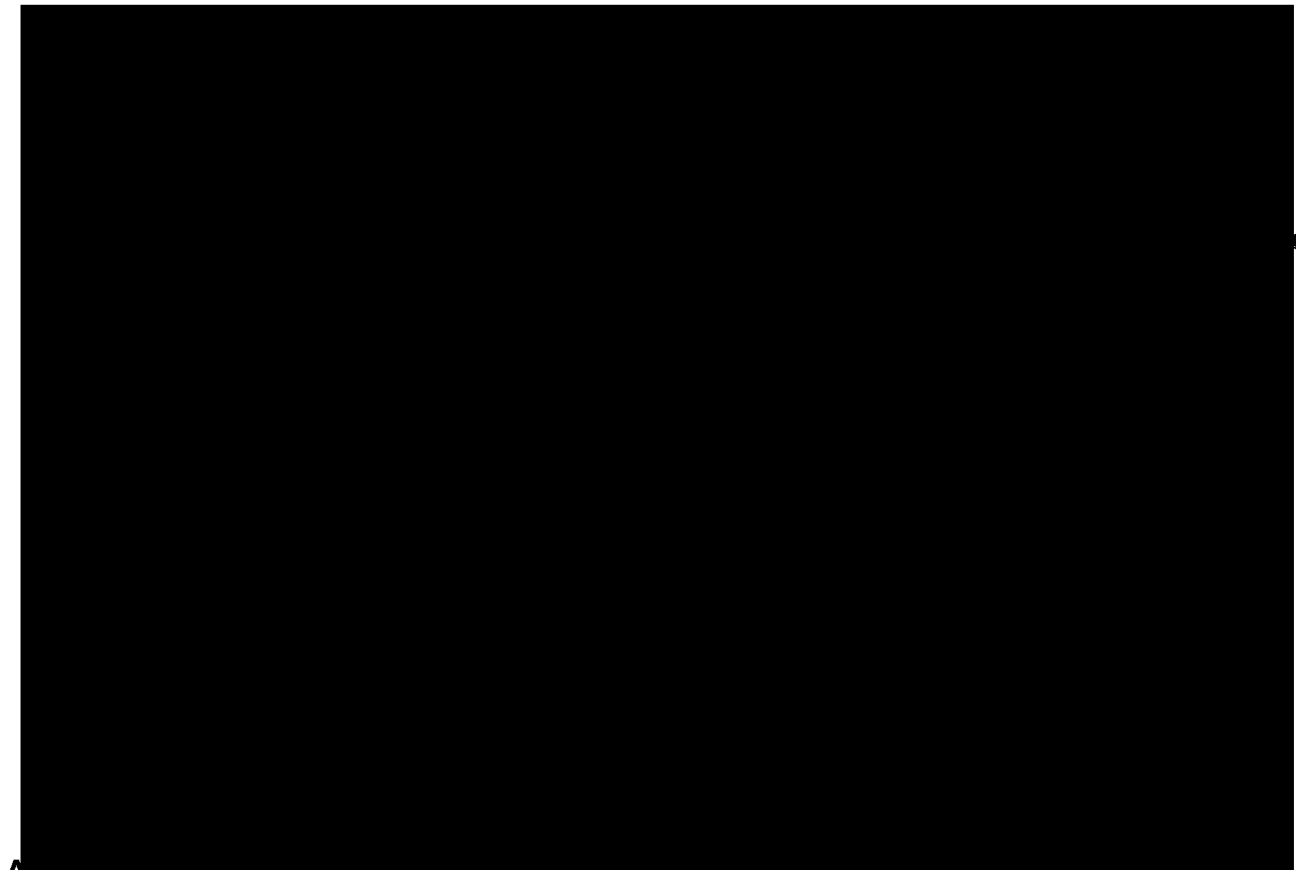


truths and Soviet exploitation of the anniversary for political purposes. More detailed guidance on specific themes in different areas will be by dispatch or cable.

Communist Influences During and Since WW II. It has been amply documented that Hitler came to power with the support of the German Communist Party, acting under directions from Moscow, but that the German Communist underground was unique among European CP's in that it failed totally to contribute anything to the outcome of the war. These events were treated in depth in BPG No. 144, 29 June 64, "3 September: 25th Anniversary of the Outbreak of World War II," which cited four books that add to a true perspective of the events: Soviet Espionage, Dallin; Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin, Kennan; A Century of Conflict, Possony; and The Politics of Totalitarianism, John A. Armstrong. See also the unclassified attachment, Nazi-Soviet Relations in World War II, which cites further documentation on the myth of Soviet "anti-Fascism."

Soviet efforts to subvert other states have been extensive since WW II. But the starting point of these efforts was Eastern Europe which, alone of all the areas directly involved in the war (with the exception now of Mainland China), remains entangled. The territory occupied by Soviet troops when the war ended continued to be occupied by them and the people continued to be dominated by Communist regimes placed in power by Soviet bayonets.

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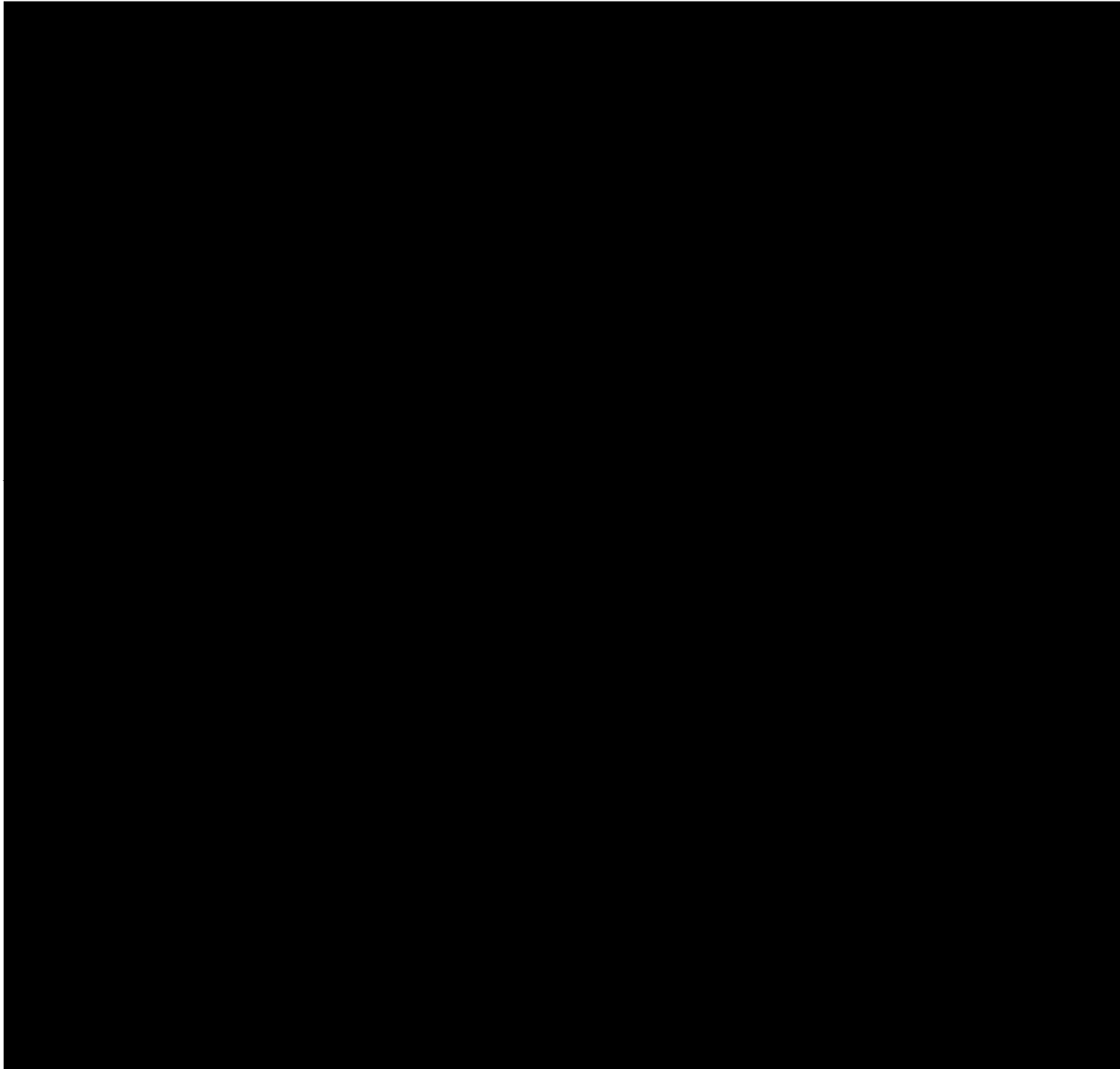
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A New York Times' Moscow correspondent, Henry Tanner, has reported an even more significant case of the "unpersonification" of Khrushchev (New York Times, 12 January 1965; Press Comment, 12 January 1965). Tanner discovered that the first volume of the projected six-volume History of the CPSU, which had only appeared a few weeks before Khrushchev's fall, has now been withdrawn from sale. The main text of this volume covers only early Communist history up to 1903, and it is evidently not the text, but rather the long introduction which offends the new leaders; in this introduction, Khrushchev's name appears five times, including references to him as "the true Leninist" and to his "glorious 70th birthday." Moscow booksellers say that the volume has been "withdrawn for changes," and that a new printing will be out shortly.

[For further background on Soviet treatment of history, see unclassified attachment, "The Soviets Rewrite History Again."]



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The Indonesians are pressing for the Conference to be held as scheduled in March and say that Algeria can find other ways to accommodate it. Algeria is unlikely to accept this suggestion since it would be a blow to its national pride when it is seeking leadership among A-A nations. [ See BPG #156, Item 859, 21 Dec. 1964; #144, Item 802, 29 June 1964; #140, Item 779, 4 May 1964; #135, Item 748, 24 Feb. 1964 ]

Ninth World Youth Festival. Preparations for the Ninth World Youth Festival (WYF), scheduled for 28 July to 6 August in Algiers, have been marked so far by Algerian attempts to remove the evidence of Soviet control and Chicom attempts to gain a decisive influence on the Festival's policies. The sponsor of this year's Festival, the youth movement of the Algerian National Liberation Front (JFLN), is seeking to "legitimize" the Festival as a free world event. The JFLN has consistently reiterated that the Ninth WYF will be "different from all past Festivals" since it is to be held in Africa and hosted by an African youth organization. In November and December, a JFLN delegation toured Western Europe seeking to broaden participation to include non-Communist youth organizations, specifically the World University Service (WUS), the Secretariat of the International Student Conference (COSEC), the World Assembly of Youth (WAY) and the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY), as well as UNESCO.

However, only the actual centers of control of the Festival, the Communist-front World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and International Union of Students (IUS), have pledged support and taken positions on the International Preparatory Committee (IPC). And the communique issued by the IPC, at the conclusion of its 16-17 December meeting (published in the JFLN's weekly organ Jeunesse of 18 December) stated -- quite in conflict with the "new image" to be projected -- that "the Committee is convinced that thus constituted the festival will continue the history of preceding Festivals." That history is one of a Soviet cold war instrument intended to exploit the world's youth.

On 11 December, Premier Ben Bella formed a national preparatory committee of major government officials to "leave no stone unturned to make the Ninth WYF a total success." Algeria has mobilized its resources -- human, financial, and logistical -- behind a mass meeting which is not only a non-Algerian event but is in fact a thinly-veiled mechanism of the Communist world.

Chinese activities indicate that the Festival may become one more international arena for the Sino-Soviet polemic and power struggle. The December meeting of the IPC was dominated by the twelve-man Peking delegation's ill-disguised political demands which would give the Chicoms greater influence on the Festival's policies and proceedings. [ See Briefly Noted in BPG #156, 21 Dec. 1964 ]

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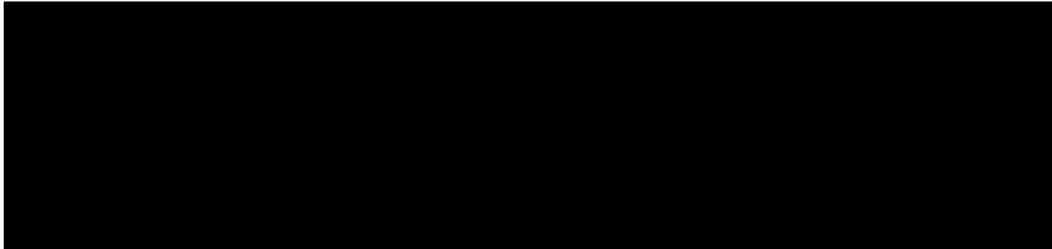
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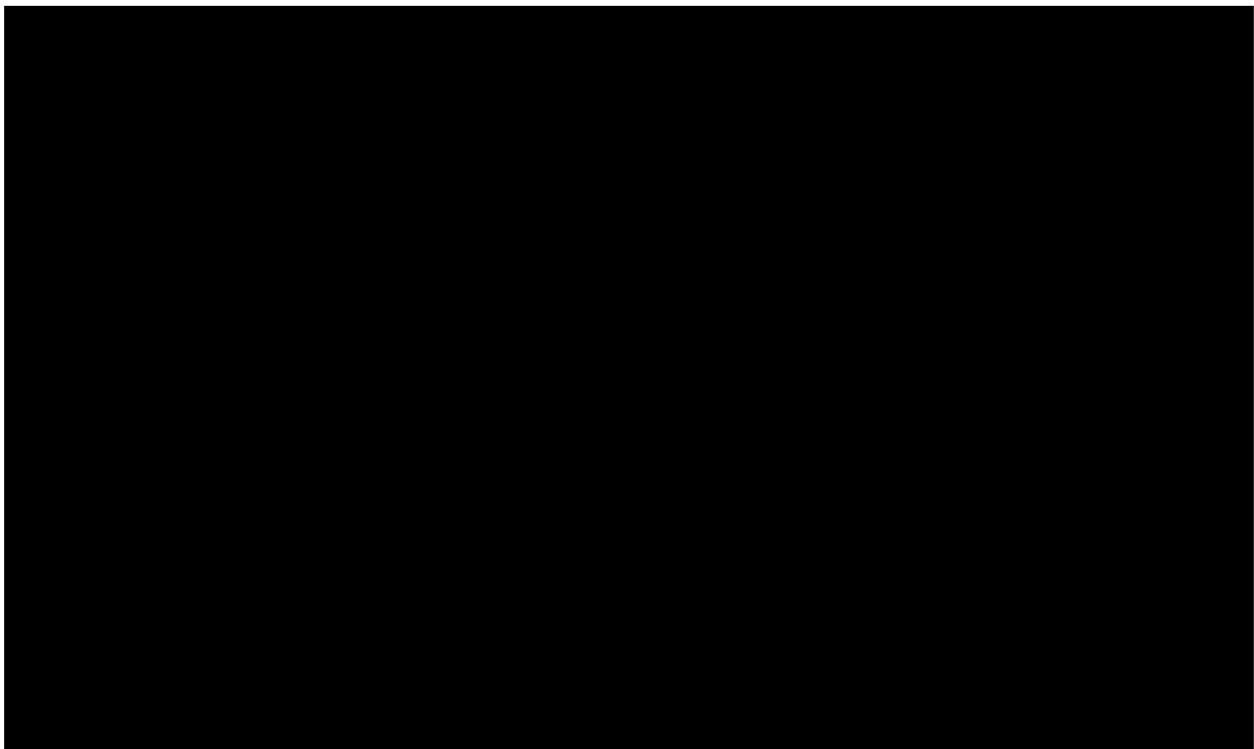
CHINESE COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN BRAZIL

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SITUATION: During the first week of April 1964, in the aftermath of the popular revolt against the Goulart regime and its steady drift toward Communism, Brazilian police authorities arrested nine Chinese Communist (two New China News Agency (NCNA) officials and seven members of Chicom trade delegations) on charges of espionage and subversion. The Chinese Communist government protested the arrests vehemently and made every effort to secure the release of the arrested officials. (See unclassified attachment). They launched a massive propaganda campaign and sought the assistance of legitimate free world trading partners to bring international pressure on the Brazilian government. As it became increasingly clear that they would not succeed, they turned their attention to denigrating the Brazilian government as the flunky of U.S. imperialism. The Brazilian authorities yielded neither to Peking's persuasion nor to its insults and the prisoners were brought to trial, convicted and sentenced on December 22, 1964 to 10 years' imprisonment each. Three Brazilians implicated were given similar sentences.

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AFRO-ASIAN ISLAMIC CONFERENCE;  
BANDUNG, 20 FEBRUARY 1965

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SITUATION: The Afro-Asian Islamic Conference (AAIC), scheduled to open in Bandung on 20 February\* was originally conceived by Indonesian Muslim groups. Sponsored by Indonesian political "moderates," a basic intent was to reduce the prestige of the far-left forces who had gained prominence through the staging of a series of functional Afro-Asian conferences (journalists, writers, etc.). Unlike Communist influenced or controlled Afro-Asian conferences, however, the AAIC received little Indonesian governmental support in its preparatory stages. Only six foreign delegations participated in the preparatory meeting (June 1964), which seemed to have no precise goals, except perhaps for generating propoganda for the main conference (to be held, originally, in December 1964).

Indonesian Aspects. Domestically, however, the June preparatory meeting had some significance: it improved temporarily the self-confidence of non-Communists, and demonstrated that there was a basis for their working together toward a common goal. The forthcoming conference may well be most important from this internal Indonesian point of view since religion is now apparently the last effective common rallying point of moderate forces in Indonesia. Although planning is still largely in the hands of non-political Muslims and other moderate forces, the Indonesian government, -- its Foreign Ministry in particular --, has increasingly injected itself into preparations for the main conference. There are also indications that the progression of political events in Indonesia since last June will make the main conference more avowedly political than the preparatory gathering and Indonesia must be expected to stress hard anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist themes.

Soviet Participation? The Indonesian sponsors planned to invite all Afro-Asian countries which have Muslim populations (including Communist China and the USSR but not Malaysia) as full members of the main conference, with groups from America and Europe to be invited as observers. Communist China and the USSR had been specifically excluded from the preparatory conference in order to avoid a Sino-Soviet confrontation. Indonesian Muslim leaders seek to invite both Communist Chinese and Soviet Muslims to the main conference hoping that Soviet representation would counter balance the influence of the Chicom representatives. The preparatory conference decided to link AAIC invitations to the invitations to the 2nd Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers (tentatively scheduled for 10 March, but likely to be postponed). With the question of Soviet participation at the Algiers Conference still as uncertain as ever, USSR presence at the AAIC has become problematical and controversial.

As of this writing, active interest in the AAIC outside Indonesia is displayed by Pakistan and the Philippines; and by the USSR which is interested in attending to support its contention that it is an Asian country. (The USSR's exclusion would be exploited by the Chicoms as a precedent for all Afro-Asian conferences). The Pakistanis have reportedly protested against the Indonesian organizing committee's intent to invite the USSR. However, President Sukarno is said recently to have endorsed the organizing committee's decision to include the USSR and the organizing committee's secretary general is now seeking Pakistan acquiescence to Soviet participation.

Attendance. Reportedly, possibly as many as 50 nations will be present at the AAIC as full participants, including 24 from Africa, 11 from the Middle East and 15 from Asia (including "Malaya" but not Malaysia). Observers are reportedly to come from such countries as Australia, France, Poland, Yugoslavia, Albania, Austria, the Netherlands, Sweden and the USA.

Permanent Secretariat Planned. In addition to the AAIC's internal Indonesian political significance and Indonesia's general desire to enhance its prestige and to advance the struggle against alleged imperialism and colonialism, the Indonesian sponsors have one specific goal: to obtain an agreement for the establishment of a permanent Afro-Asian Islamic organization with the secretariat hopefully to be located in Indonesia. The Indonesians are preparing draft proposals for a permanent organization which they envisage as semi-political in purpose. Other countries are charged with the preparation of working papers on less controversial topics.

Agenda. The provisional agenda for the main conference includes the following topics:

1. Opinions on the international situation in general and the Afro-Asian situation in particular, based on the principles and purposes of the AAIC;
2. Position of Islamic countries in Africa and Asia and their role in the effort to realize a new world, peaceful and free from imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism in all their forms and manifestations;
3. Protection for Islamic minority groups against discrimination and persecution of human rights, and expulsion from their lands on the basis of religion and so forth;
4. Cooperation between peoples of the Islamic faith to strengthen the solidarity of Afro-Asian peoples in conformity with Islamic teachings;
5. Coordination of all Asian and African Islamic nations' endeavors in the religious, economic, social, cultural, and other fields;
6. Opening of an Islamic information bureau;

7. Initiating an educational exchange program, granting scholarships, and providing an opportunity for advanced Islamic studies in Asian and African countries;
8. Cooperative strengthening of Islamic missions activities;
9. Establishing a permanent cooperative body for the Islamic community in Asia and Africa, promoting the spirit of Islam, and creating organizations for youth and girl movements and social activities.

Working papers for some of the above topics are to be prepared by the following countries: For 3) -- Iraq and Pakistan; for 5) -- UAR; for 7) -- Philippines; for 8) -- Saudi Arabia.

Organizing Committee. Dr. Idham Chalid, chairman of the relatively conservative Muslim party NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) and Vice Chairman of the Peoples Consultative Assembly, is the chairman of the AAIC. He is assisted by vice chairmen from the UAR, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan.

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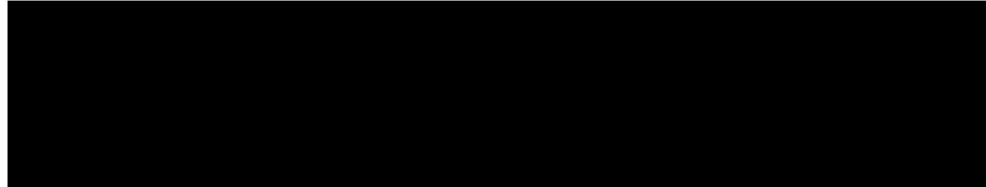
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PANAMA CANAL -- NEW ALTERNATIVES

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SITUATION: President Johnson's speech of 18 December 1964 once again focused world attention on the multiple problem of Panama: the 1903 Hay-Bunau treaty, the growing obsolescence of the fifty-year-old waterway, and the need to build a new canal. The President announced two important decisions: First,... "to press forward, with Panama and other interested governments, in plans and preparations for a sea-level canal in this area... Second,... to propose to the Government of Panama the negotiation of an entirely new treaty..."

Emphasizing that the riots of 9-10 Jan 1964 had not brought about these decisions, he repeated what he had said at that time: "violence is never justified and is never a basis for talks." The real reason behind the decisions is the fact that the present canal has become inadequate for the volume of shipping that passes through it and for the size of the ships. It is estimated that over 300 vessels in service or under construction are too big to go through the locks. These include new tankers, ore carriers, and our own large aircraft carriers. At present the Panama Canal is being used up to its maximum capacity of about 40 ships a day, and some of these have to wait as long as 15 hours for their turn to make the 50-mile transit.

A sea-level canal would solve many problems: it would naturally be constructed to accommodate the largest existing ships; it would require only about one tenth the personnel to operate it, and far less in other operating costs; transit time would be greatly reduced; it would be less vulnerable to sabotage, having only one lock, compared to the six -- three to raise and three to lower -- of the present canal. (A tidal lock would be necessary because the tides on the Pacific side of the isthmus range from 15 to 20 feet, while those on the Caribbean side are barely one foot.)

In his statement, President Johnson revealed that Congress had appropriated \$17 million to study "possible sites and other practical problems of a sea-level canal." He mentioned four possible routes: one through Nicaragua and possibly Costa Rica; two through Panama; and one along the Atrato and Ruando Rivers in Colombia. Except for the present canal, all of these sites are in sparsely inhabited areas, a factor which would make it possible to use nuclear explosions for the major excavation tasks. Costs have been estimated at from one to two or more billion dollars. Given the present technology of the peaceful uses of atomic energy and the protracted nature of treaty negotiations, estimates for the completion of a new sea-level canal run as high as fifteen years.

In the meantime, the United States and Panama will negotiate a new treaty. "Such a treaty," said the President, "would replace the 1903 treaty and its amendments. It should recognize the sovereignty of Panama. It should provide for its own termination when a sea-level canal comes into operation. It should provide for effective discharge of our common responsibilities for hemispheric defense. Until a new agreement is reached, of course, the present treaties will remain in effect."

This initiative, as most observers were quick to point out, has placed the United States in a strong bargaining position vis-a-vis Panama. As negotiations for a new treaty proceed, surveys in other countries accompanied by informal conversations, will undoubtedly serve to temper the nationalism of all but a fanatical minority in Panama. Panama will have to be less intransigent in its demands, both as to details in the revision of the old treaty and in the concessions she will have to make if the site for a new canal is chosen through her territory.

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Nazi-Soviet Relations in World War II

When French-British-Soviet military discussions broke down on 15 August 1939 (following Hitler's destruction of Czechoslovakia), the Nazis intensified their efforts for a settlement with Moscow. The invasion of Poland was planned for the second half of August, and if Hitler wanted to keep to that schedule without risking the dreaded war on two fronts, he had to get the pact with the Russians settled as quickly as possible. The attitude of hostility toward the Soviet Union was being dropped, and mid-August of 1939 became the point of intersection of the various lines of development when the knot for Hitler's war was finally being tied. German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop hurried to Moscow on 23 August with the full authority of the Fuhrer to negotiate with authorized representatives of the Soviet Union a treaty of non-aggression as well as all related matters and to sign both the treaty and other agreements resulting from the treaty and, if possible, to see that the treaty and other agreements came into force immediately they were signed. On 23 August, within hours after Ribbentrop's arrival, the German-Soviet treaty of non-aggression, with its secret appendix, had been negotiated and signed.

The Soviet leaders proclaimed the "peaceful" purposes of the new pact and stated that it differed in no way from treaties which the Soviet Union had concluded with other Powers, including Poland. To put it mildly, this assertion was a downright lie. The German-Soviet agreement was not conceived within the normal framework of international treaties as understood theretofore: it represented a completely new type of non-aggression pact, the nature of which had been revealed years before by a man whose qualifications and intentions should be beyond all doubt: Litvinov, Molotov's predecessor as Soviet Foreign Minister. In a speech before the Assembly of the League of Nations on 14 September 1935 he clearly expounded the differences between the two types of treaty:

"We know of another political conception that is fighting the idea of collective security and is advocating bilateral pacts, and this is not even between all States, but only between States arbitrarily chosen for this purpose. Not every pact of non-aggression is concluded with a view to strengthening general peace. While non-aggression pacts concluded by the Soviet Union include a special clause for suspending the pact in cases of aggression committed by one of the parties against any third State, we know of other pacts of non-aggression which have no such clauses. This means that a State which has secured by such a pact of non-aggression its rear or its flank obtains the facility of attacking with impunity, third States."

Molotov's predecessor thereby made it quite clear that in the Soviet mind, a pact of the type concluded between Germany and the Soviet Union is not likely to serve the cause of peace. Such pacts are rather an



instrument of naked and self-seeking power politics which does not shrink from making common cause with the aggressor. Despite Moscow's peaceful protestations, the so-called non-aggression treaty proved to be what it was in fact intended to be: a purely business transaction - a tactical expedient for dividing up and controlling the Eastern European world between Russia and Germany.

Even more important than the publicized parts of the non-aggression pact was its secret protocol which was not exposed until after the war. This protocol demarcated exactly the Russian and German "spheres of interest" in a wide area extending from Finland to the mouth of the Danube. The great significance of the pact and the secret agreement as a factor in the causes of the Second World War raises questions as to the motives which induced the two dictators to agree at the eleventh hour. That a treaty of "friendship" was concluded at all between the two systems, deadly enemies ideologically though they were, has been described as a "triumph of political expediency over ideological antitheses." Churchill said that it was questionable "whether Hitler or Stalin regarded the whole affair with greater loathing." A search for German motives throws light on the genuineness of the anti-Communism which Hitler had theretofore preached so zealously. Hindsight reveals that his intensive anti-Communist activity was a purely tactical expedient, intended to help justify rearmament and mask his lust for conquest. The Soviets' abrupt withdrawal from the fight against Fascism which, according to the Comintern, was the most evil and dangerous breed of capitalism and imperialism, was an equally wrenching about-face. In an effort to parry the criticism on ideological grounds which came from its own rank and file as well as from the Western Allies it had spurned, the Soviet Union tried to portray its foreign policy as a peace policy and the pact as an instrument of peace. The true Soviet motives emerge quite clearly from the published German Foreign Office documents\* on the negotiations: on the one hand, the reduction of hostility toward Germany and the desire to carve up Eastern and Central Europe in co-operation with Germany; on the other hand, the achievement of better relations with Japan, aided by Germany. Some historians have argued that the British-French-Soviet negotiations were doomed by the mutual suspicions which dogged them. Be that as it may, it is clear that the all-important reason for Stalin's decision to come to terms with Hitler was not his mistrust of the Western Powers, but the unexpectedly generous offer made by the Nazis.

In order to reconcile the German-Soviet pact with revolutionary ideology, the Kremlin revived Lenin's slogan that the Soviet Union was "surrounded by hostile capitalist states." According to official Soviet interpretations the second imperialist war had already begun with Ethiopia, Spain, etc., and world revolutionary aims clearly required that the Soviet Union keep out of it and let the imperialists weaken one another. How the Soviets managed to deceive their allies about this fixed

\*Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941, (Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Office), Dept. of State Publication 3023, 1948.

long-term goal was to be learned first by Nazi Germany and later by the Western democracies. In the eyes of the Soviet leaders the two basic elements of Soviet foreign policy, the national interest of the sovereign State and the goal of world revolution both demanded the conclusion of a pact with Germany to support that policy. Needless to say, the Soviet purpose contained not a trace of the kind of ethical motive generally associated with the concept of peace in the Western world. Like their Nazi partners, the Soviet leaders boasted about the durability of the pact with Germany and the finality of the new orientation. At the close of negotiations with Ribbentrop, Stalin himself stressed explicitly how seriously the Soviet Union took this pact, and he gave his word of honor that the Soviet Union would not betray its partner. Two years later, however, after Hitler had violated the pact by attacking the Soviet Union, a very different tune was heard from Moscow. Stalin then gave the following interpretation of the motives on which he alleged the pact with Hitler had been based:

"One might ask: How was it possible for the Soviet government to embark on a pact of non-aggression with such treacherous monsters as Hitler and Ribbentrop? Did not the Soviet government make a mistake? Of course not! A non-aggression pact is a peace pact between two States. That was precisely what Germany offered us in 1939 - a peace pact. Could the Soviet government refuse such an offer? I think that no single peace-loving State can reject a peace agreement with a neighboring State even if such monsters and cannibals as Hitler and Ribbentrop are at the head of it. But of course the indispensable condition is that the peace agreement shall not impair the territorial integrity, independence and honor of the peace-loving State, directly or indirectly. It is well known that the non-aggression pact between Germany and the USSR was just that kind of pact. What did we gain by concluding a non-aggression pact with Germany? We secured one and a half years of peace for our country and the chance to prepare our defensive forces, in case fascist Germany invaded our country in spite of the pact. That was a definite gain for us and a loss for fascist Germany."

Here Stalin keeps to the interpretation of the German-Soviet pact as an instrument of peace. He speaks of the territorial integrity and independence of his own country, but he completely ignores the fact that the pact cost Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland their territorial integrity and political independence.

The pact's secret agreement to which the Eastern European States fell victim is completely hushed up and regarded as nonexistent not only by Soviet politicians but also by so-called Soviet historians. This is a prime example of tendentious Soviet handling of historical facts. In reply to the published documents of the German Foreign Office concerning origins of the German-Soviet treaty and its secret protocol, the Council of Ministers of the USSR issued a publication entitled The Falsifiers of History in which the documents from the German archives were branded as

biased and unauthentic. The Western Powers as well as Hitler are blamed for causing WW II because they made Nazi aggression possible through their appeasement. But in this apologia not a word is breathed about the secret agreement of 23 August 1939. Obviously the Soviet conception of historical scholarship is bound up with Marxist-Leninist ideology, according to which the historian must be free from "an exaggerated love for the facts." His ideological is far more important than his methodological training. "The real Soviet historian must be warlike and aggressive, his evaluation of historical facts is a political decision dictated by political motives." Against such lies the objective observer is bound to state that the real motives behind the Soviet leader's desire for an agreement with Nazi Germany were the prospect of destroying the Eastern European States and the hope of helping to touch off a war which was in the interests of the Soviet Union as much from a power-political as an ideological point of view. The fact that the power of the Soviet Union now extends to Central Europe is an historical consequence of the secret German-Soviet agreement of 23 August 1939.

(For further material on the myth of Soviet "anti-Fascism" and Communist performance in WW II see: Soviet Espionage, David Dallin, Yale University Press, 1955; Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin, Kennan; A Century of Conflict, Stefan T. Possony, Henry Regnery Co., 1953; The Politics of Totalitarianism, John A. Armstrong, Random House, 1961; France Against Herself, Herbert Leuthy, Frederick A. Praeger Inc., 1955; France, A Communist Party in Action, Angelo Rossi (pseud.), Yale University Press, 1949; The Soviet History of WW II: Myths, Memories, and Realities, Matthew P. Gallagher, Praeger, 1963; The Strange Alliance, John Russell Deane, Viking, 1947.)

## Introduction to New Six-Volume History of the Party

REVOLUTIONARY PATH OF THE LENINIST PARTY. (Pravda, Sept. 21, pp. 3-4; Sept. 22, pp. 2-3; Sept. 23, pp. 2-3. Complete text:) The first of six volumes of "The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" is to appear shortly. The "History" is being prepared by the Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the decision of the Party Central Committee. Publication of the six-volume work is to be completed by 1967, for the 50th anniversary of the Great October. This work will provide a profound scientific generalization of the historical experience of our party and the Soviet people, who were the first to blaze the path to socialism for mankind and who are now successfully building communism.

Pravda is printing the Introduction, which appears in the first volume.

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"In rearing the workers' party, Marxism is rearing a vanguard of the proletariat capable of taking power and LEADING THE WHOLE PEOPLE to socialism, of directing and organizing the new system, of being teacher, guide and leader of all the working and exploited people in the cause of establishing their public life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie."\*—V. I. LENIN.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has traversed a difficult and glorious path from small Marxist circles and groups to an army of many millions, the vanguard of the builders of communism. Lenin's party was tempered in the fire of three revolutions; its selfless, heroic struggle and tireless creative work played the decisive role in the historical destinies of our motherland and exerted tremendous influence on all of world development. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the working people of Russia freed themselves from the age-old oppression of Tsarism, landowners and capitalists, created a multinational socialist state, lifted their country out of backwardness, ignorance and lack of rights to the heights of human progress, and made it one of the most powerful and advanced in the world. By wholehearted service to the working people, the Communist Party won the love and confidence of Soviet people and the respect of working people of the whole world. Its historical experience is an inestimable contribution to the international treasure trove of Marxism-Leninism, to the theory and practice of the international workers' movement, to the socialist revolution and the building of socialism and communism.

Under the leadership of Lenin's party our people were first to open up for mankind the previously untrod path to socialism and are now blazing the way to communism, inspiring the working people of all countries by their example and by the majestic program of building a communist society, the Program adopted by the 21st Congress of the C.P.S.U.

Reviewing our party's historical path, N. S. Khrushchev pointed out in his speech at the June, 1963, plenary session of the Party Central Committee: "The strength of the Party, of its Marxist-Leninist ideology, has been tested by life. For 60 years now the Party has been fighting for the cause of the people and, guided by the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism, has been winning. Under the leadership of its great founder and head, V. I. Lenin, the Communist Party led the working class and the working people to the very great victory in October, 1917; it organized the people for the defense of the Soviet motherland during the Civil War and during the war against Hitlerism, and it has achieved successes in peaceful creation that amaze the whole world!"†

"The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" in several volumes, published by decision of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee, has the aim of illuminating the Party's whole

historical path, from the birth of Bolshevism to our times; of showing, on the basis of extensive factual material, the triumph of Lenin's doctrine of the new-type party, of generalizing the Party's many-sided experience of revolutionary struggle and its transforming work, its organizational construction in various historical conditions, and the laws of its development. The work comprehensively studies V. I. Lenin's revolutionary activity as organizer and leader of the Communist Party, as founder of the Soviet state, as inspired thinker and proletarian revolutionary; it discloses V. I. Lenin's fresh contributions to the teaching of Marxism and the tremendous significance of Lenin's theoretical heritage and of the many-sided theoretical and practical activity of the Party's leading bodies.

One of the basic requirements of a scientific treatment of the history of the C.P.S.U. is that it profoundly disclose the creativity of the working masses and, above all, of the working class, as the motive force of man's progressive development, and the guiding and directing role of the Communist Party. The activity of the Party cadres trained by V. I. Lenin, of active participants in the revolutionary movement, of leading revolutionary workers, of leaders of the Party and the Soviet state, is extensively shown.

The compilers of "The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" have been guided by the Leninist principle of Party outlook, organically combining the strictest scientific approach, objectivity, principle and Bolshevik consistency. Another important principle underlying the multivolume work is the principle of historicity, requiring that facts and events be viewed in accordance with concrete historical reality, in their mutual interrelationship and mutual conditioning, with regard for the array and balance of class forces. "The whole spirit of Marxism, its whole system," wrote V. I. Lenin, "requires that each proposition be viewed only (a) historically; (b) only in relationship to others; (c) only in relation to the concrete experience of history."\*

"The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" is based on the works of the founders of scientific communism, K. Marx and F. Engels; of V. I. Lenin—the creator and leader of the Party; and of his comrades-in-arms and disciples, as well as on the tremendous documentary archives of the Party.

Despite the mistakes and distortions connected with the Stalin cult, which fettered the development of Party historical science, Soviet historiography has made a substantial contribution to treatment of the history of the C.P.S.U. A new stage in the development of the science of Party history began after the 20th Party Congress. In these years the historians have brought forth much documentary material, studied many key problems, and written a number of sketches and monographs on the history of local Party organizations. The work on the history of the C.P.S.U. is a summation of all the previous scientific research by Soviet scholars. It makes use of all the best that has been created by Soviet historiography and other social sciences. Carefully studying the totality of documents relating to this or that historical period, the compilers of the multivolume work consider one of their most important tasks to be that of presenting the facts and events in strict accordance with historical truth, not falling into oneness of subjectivism, and overcoming all the encrustations to which the cult of the individual gave rise in the science of Party history.

The whole world has become convinced of the huge influence of the Communist Party and its founder and leader, V. I. Lenin, on the course of social development. Hence the growing interest of progressive mankind in the history of the C.P.S.U. and in the life and work of V. I. Lenin. On the other hand, the opponents of Communism are attempting to present the history of our party in a false light, to blacken it and to represent the Bolsheviks as "a handful of conspirators" who were divorced from the working class and from the people. The bourgeois falsifiers of history, relying on the memoirs and "works" of Trotskyites

\*V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol. XXXIII, p. 26.

†N. S. Khrushchev, "Marxism-Leninism Is Our Banner, Our Fighting Program," Central Committee June 21, 1963 [in Russian], Moscow, 1963, p. 9. [Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. XV, No. 24, p. 4.]

\*V. I. Lenin, "Works," fourth [Russian] ed., Vol. XXXV, p. 200.

and other defectors to the enemy camp—are trying to represent the October Revolution as an “accidental” seizure of power by the Bolsheviks. In their opinion, it was just as “accidental” that the Soviet people defeated the interventionists and White Guards during the years of the Civil War, and the world’s first socialist country “accidentally” routed German fascism during the years of the Great Patriotic War.

The multivolume “History of the C.P.S.U.” will help to satisfy the interest of all the progressive people of today in the history of our party and will be an exposure of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois falsifiers, revisionists and dogmatists who deny the historical logic of our victories and maliciously slander the C.P.S.U., trying to belittle its authority and its revolutionizing influence on the working people of the whole world.

Lenin’s party began its militant path at the dawn of our century by leading the strike struggle and the barricade battles of the workers. Today it leads the Soviet people, who are building communism, and is the acknowledged vanguard of the international Communist and workers’ movement. Its seething and multifaceted historical activity is an unparalleled feat for the sake of the people, for the sake of the happiness and well-being of all people on earth.

Lenin’s party, which arose from the combination of scientific communism and the workers’ movement, has based and continues to base its program, policy, strategy, tactics and organization on the Marxist-Leninist teaching, on the indissoluble unity of revolutionary theory and practice.

The purpose of a fundamental scientific work on the history of the C.P.S.U., timed for the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, is to help in mastering the world-historic experience and theoretical wealth that the Party has amassed during its existence, to apply them creatively in solving the urgent tasks of the struggle for democracy, socialism and communism. By reminding people of the revolutionary traditions of the working class and its vanguard, the study of the history of the C.P.S.U. will contribute to the formation of the new man, the active fighter for communism, and to the rearing of Soviet people in a spirit of noble patriotic pride in the great revolutionary accomplishments of the Party and the people. The publication of “The History of the C.P.S.U.” will contribute to the present-day Communist and workers’ movement’s assimilation of the wealth of experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The outline of the multivolume history was worked out in accordance with Lenin’s instructions on the basic periods in the history of Bolshevism and with due regard for the periodization that has become established in our historiography.

The entire historical path of the Communist Party is divided into three major stages that differ from one another in the nature of the objective socioeconomic and political situation, the correlation of class forces in the country and, accordingly, in the basic programmatic tasks of the Party, as well as in the organizational forms and the methods of its activity.

“The working class and its Communist Party,” N. S. Khrushchev has said, “pass in their struggle through three world-historic stages: the overthrow of the rule of the exploiters and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the building of socialism; and the creation of a communist society.”\* Each of these stages is divided into shorter periods in the life and activity of the Party, and these have been taken as the basis for the structure of the multivolume “History of the C.P.S.U.”: (1) the founding of the new-type Marxist party (1883-1903); (2) the struggle to overthrow the Tsarist autocracy (1904-February, 1917); (3) the Communist Party as the inspirer and organizer of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and of the defense of the socialist homeland (March, 1917-1920); (4) the Communist Party in the struggle to build socialism in the U.S.S.R. (1921-1937); (5) the Communist Party during the period of the consolidation of socialism, during the years of the Great Patriotic War and the post-war restoration and development of the national economy (1937-1952); (6) the Communist Party in the struggle to build

communism in the U.S.S.R. and to strengthen peace (1953-1967).

A big place in the work has been given over to the illumination of questions linked with the formation of Bolshevism as an ideological trend and as a party: the laws and the objective necessity for the rise in Russia of a new type of party; its predecessors; the role of V. I. Lenin and Lenin’s Iskra in the struggle to consolidate the revolutionary forces in Russia into a united Marxist party of the working class; the world-historic significance of the rise of Bolshevism and the Bolshevik party.

The Communist Party emerged in the political arena at the beginning of the 20th century. This was a turning point in the history of mankind. Capitalism, which had entered its final, imperialist stage, had brought the peoples incalculable burdens, an intensification of political and economic oppression, reaction in all fields, the squandering of productive forces on colonial adventures, and bloody wars for the redivision of the world. But this same capitalism, in entering its highest and final stage, created broader objective prerequisites than ever before for the transition to the new social system, socialism, and riper subjective prerequisites for this transition: a growth of protest and resistance by the many-millioned masses. A new historical epoch had begun, the epoch of revolutionary storms and social upheavals, in which the proletariat was to say the final word.

History entrusted the working class with a great mission—to be the leader of the working people in their liberation struggle and in the creation of the socialist society. At the same time, the lessons of the revolutions and of the liberation struggle of the masses showed that the proletariat can fulfill its historical mission only if its actions are illuminated by a correct theory and if its forces are united in a revolutionary organization. This theory—scientific communism—which was born of the genius of K. Marx and F. Engels, was developed in the new conditions by V. I. Lenin, his comrades-in-arms and disciples, and by the collective efforts of all Marxist-Leninists and outstanding leaders of the world Communist and workers’ movement. The founders of Marxism-Leninism summoned the working class to the creation of its own political party that would express the vital interests of the proletarian movement, which coincide with the interests of all exploited people, and they set forth the basic paths for the building of the new, socialist society.

All the activity of K. Marx and F. Engels in the League of Communists and the First International was devoted to the struggle to create a proletarian party. The traditions of the great teachers of the proletariat were continued during the epoch of the Second International by its revolutionary, Marxist wing. But the weakness of the West European Social-Democratic Parties, which had formed in the conditions of the disintegration of the revolutionary movement after the suppression of the Paris Commune, in conditions of relatively peaceful development, had begun to appear by as early as the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The influx of petty-bourgeois elements into these parties intensified opportunist vacillation and gave birth to the illusion that complete victory could be achieved within the framework of the existing structure. As time went by, many of the ideologists and leaders of the Second International became increasingly inclined toward peace with the revisionists at the expense of ideological and political concessions to them. The reformist, opportunist wing in the West European parties of the Second International gained more and more strength, and the spirit of struggle and devotion to the great ideals of socialism and internationalism died down.

Reformism, which was nurtured by the growth of the labor aristocracy, extended its positions and finally destroyed the Second International. The lessons of history showed that in the new epoch it was necessary “to go fearlessly forward from preparatory, legal, opportunism-snares organizations of the working class to the revolutionary organizations, capable of not being restricted to legal action and capable of protecting themselves from opportunist betrayal—organizations of the proletariat, entering upon the ‘struggle for power,’ the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie.”\*

In order to defeat the enemy, which possessed enormous economic might and political dominance, in order to break the mili-

\*22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: Stenographic Record [in Russian], Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 148. [“Current Soviet Policies—IV.” Columbia University Press, 1962, p. 49.]

\*V. I. Lenin, “Complete Collected Works [in Russian], Vol. XXIV, pp. 235-236.

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tary and bureaucratic machine of oppression and violence, the proletariat needed a party that would embody unity of theoretical thought and revolutionary action; a party consisting of disciplined fighters, strong of spirit and will, who understood the objective laws of the development of human society, were convinced of the correctness and invincibility of their cause and were intimately linked with the masses; a party that was organically hostile to all sectarianism, that rested on deep revolutionary traditions and was based on the principles of consistent proletarian internationalism. The proletariat needed a party that was irreconcilable toward the bourgeoisie and alien to appeasement and dogmatism, bold and flexible, capable of waging a struggle in any conditions—in the periods of revolutionary upsurges and also during the lulls, the abatement of revolutionary will, the temporary triumph of reaction; a party that possessed a diversity of tactical means and organizational forms to achieve the chief goal—the proletariat's conquest of power, the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into socialist.

Marxism-Leninism places a high estimate on the importance of the revolutionary Marxist party as the leading force of the historical process, a force that relies on knowledge of the actual course of economic and political development and takes correct account of the balance of class forces and the special features of each historical moment.

The rise of the new, Leninist type of party in Russia had not only national but enormous international importance. Bolshevism was brought into being by the entire course of the Russian and international workers' movement.

It cannot be considered an accident that it was our country that became the homeland of the new type of party, the homeland of Leninism. It happened according to objective, historical laws. History had evolved in such a way that in the new epoch it was left to the Russian working class to open the first round of social revolutions, to pave the way to socialism for all mankind. As far back as in the preface to the Russian edition of "The Communist Manifesto" in 1882, K. Marx and F. Engels wrote that "Russia represents an advanced detachment of the revolutionary movement in Europe."\*

Objecting to the historical pessimism of the liberal Narodniks [Populists], F. Engels, in a letter to N. F. Danielson on Oct. 5 (17), 1893, gave a penetrating appraisal of the vital force of the "great and highly gifted people" of Russia and its revolutionary prospects. Pointing to the negative aspects of capitalism and the enormous suffering it had caused the masses of the people, Engels at the same time noted its progressive role in the development of a country. "Capitalism," wrote F. Engels, "opens up new prospects and new hopes. Look at what it has done and is doing in the West. A great nation such as yours experiences every kind of crisis. There is no historical calamity so great that it could not be offset by some kind of historical progress. Only the method of action changes. May the design be accomplished!"†

Russia, in V. I. Lenin's expression, "truly gained Marxism through suffering." Progressive thought in Russia searched for the correct theory for almost half a century, and paid for its mistakes and blunders with heavy losses. A whole pleiad of fearless revolutionaries—the predecessors of Marxism—gave their lives for the cause of the people. The revolutionary democrats of the sixties, seventies and early eighties inflicted palpable blows on the autocracy, but they could not conquer the mighty enemy. They did not achieve their goal of a people's revolution, for at that time the historical conditions for this revolution had not completely ripened and the correct path to it had not been found.

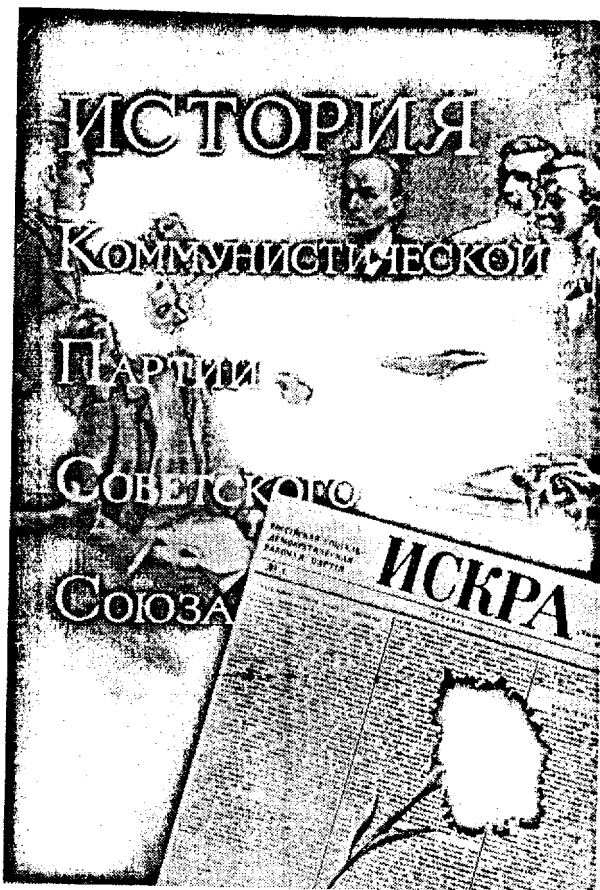
The multivolume history of the C.P.S.U. restores Lenin's appraisal of revolutionary Populism, which V. I. Lenin did not at all identify with the later liberal Populism. "Marxists," V. I. Lenin pointed out, "must carefully separate the husk of the Narodnik utopias and the healthy and valuable kernel of the sincere, resolute and militant democratism of the peasant masses.

"In the old Marxist literature of the eighties one can find a

systematically pursued effort to pick out this valuable democratic kernel. Historians will someday systematically study this effort and trace its connection with what was given the name 'Bolshevism' in the first decade of the 20th century."\*

While giving due credit to the merits of the revolutionary Narodniks as revolutionary democrats, V. I. Lenin at the same time offered thorough and well-founded criticism of their utopian theory, their anarchistic, petty-bourgeois "revolutionism," their desire to "skip over" an inevitable stage of historical development.

At the beginning of the 20th century the center of the world revolutionary movement moved from Western Europe to Russia. The phase of bourgeois democratic revolutions in the largest West European countries was already ended by this time, but they had not yet approached socialist revolutions. But in Russia the first great people's revolution in the epoch of imperialism was maturing against Tsarism, against the remnants of serfdom, which had become interlaced with capitalism in all its forms, right down to the latest, monopoly capitalism. Hence the



[Cover of "The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The newspaper is No. 1 of Lenin's Iskra. Pravda, Sept. 21, p. 3.]

unprecedented sharpness of the social contradictions that objectively created the conditions for the unification around the proletariat of all the peasantry and the oppressed peoples, for the hegemony of the proletariat in the general democratic movement, and, finally, for the immediate transition from the bourgeois democratic to the socialist revolution.

In 1902 V. I. Lenin wrote: "History has now set before us an immediate task which is the most revolutionary of all the immediate tasks of the proletariat, no matter of what country. Carrying out this task, the destruction of the most powerful bastion of not only European, but also (we may now say) of

\*K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works" [Russian ed.], Vol. XIX, p. 305.  
†"Correspondence of Marx and Engels with Russian Political Figures," second [Russian] edition, Moscow, 1951, p. 179.

\*V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol. XXII, p. 121.

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Asiatic reaction, would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat."\*

The proletarian party in Russia took form under the aegis of executing this world-historic task of preparing the democratic and the socialist revolutions. An enormous stride was made in the short period between the middle of the 1880s and 1903—the stride from Marxist circles not yet linked with the workers' movement to a political party that relied on the upsurge of revolutionary activeness of the proletariat.

K. Marx said that ideas become a great material force when they take hold of the masses. But ideas cannot take hold of the masses by themselves. There must be vigorous activity by the party of the working class, activity which alone can bring about the unification of revolutionary theory with the mass proletarian movement.

In examining the basic stages of the formation of Bolshevism, the authors have sought to show as completely as possible the activity of the St. Petersburg Alliance for the Struggle to Liberate the Working Class. The foundation for combining scientific socialism with the mass workers' movement was laid, under V. I. Lenin's guidance, by the Alliance for the Struggle to Liberate the Working Class, which was the embryo of the revolutionary Marxist party of the new type. This organization had outstanding historical significance because the sources of Lenin's party derived from it. A worthy place has been allotted to illumination of the role of the First Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party, which proclaimed the formation of a Social-Democratic party in Russia and issued a Manifesto whose basic provisions V. I. Lenin supported. The First Congress entered the history of the Party as an important event.

The multivolume work shows the strenuous struggle waged by V. I. Lenin and the newspaper *Iskra* against the opportunism of the "legal Marxists," "Economists," Bundists and other nationalists, the struggle to overcome ideological and organizational disorder and to prepare the Second Congress. It was during the years 1900 to 1903, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, that the heroic efforts of the advanced workers "laid the foundations for a mass party of the revolutionary proletariat in Russia."†

The Bolshevik party was set up by the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party on the basis of the principles and along the organizational lines that *Iskra* had advanced and worked out. "Bolshevism," wrote V. I. Lenin, "has existed as a school of political thought and as a political party since 1903."‡

The First Program of our party, which was adopted by the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party, was a consistently revolutionary program of a Marxist proletarian party. It alone of the programs of the Social-Democratic Parties clearly and definitely posed the task of winning the dictatorship of the proletariat as a necessary condition for the socialist revolution and for the suppression of the exploiter classes' resistance. The Program also spoke of the Party's immediate political tasks—the overthrow of Tsarism and the achievement of democratic gains. The Program of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party was a powerful weapon of the Party in the struggle for the victory of the bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions.

All the subsequent development of our party confirmed the great value of the Lenin-*Iskra* organizational principles that had been placed at the foundation of the construction of the new type of Marxist party. These principles were steel armor against opportunism, and at all the historical stages they strictly protected the unity of revolutionary-Marxist views and actions within the ranks of our party, strengthened its iron discipline—the Party's fighting weapon in the struggle against disorganizers and splitters.

The rise of the first Marxist-Leninist party in the world signified a radical turn in the history of not only the Russian but the international workers' movement. A powerful force

had appeared that was capable of surely leading the working people along the path of the revolutionary transformation of society and personified the "wisdom, honor and conscience of our epoch."

Not only outright opportunists, but even some of the best people in the Second International did not at that time understand the outstanding role that the Marxist party had been called upon to play in the historical process. Even Left elements in the Second International followed the Mensheviks in accusing Lenin and the Bolsheviks of "ultra-centralism," of "Blanquism," of overestimating the role and the importance of the proletarian party. If the Leftists in the Second International had taken timely account of the historical experience of the Bolsheviks, it is possible that the West European workers' parties would have been more prepared to meet the First World War. It is possible that the course of events in Germany during the period of November, 1918, revolution would also have been more favorable to the German proletariat.

Lenin's party arose on the very firm basis of the theory of Marxism and became the legitimate heir and successor to all the best that had come out of the socialist movement in the West, as well as the revolutionary-democratic and workers' movement in Russia. In unfolding their revolutionary activity in a multinational country, V. I. Lenin and the Russian Marxists followed with enormous attention the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Russia and the whole world, and used its historical experience.

From the very beginning of its existence, the Bolshevik party was prepared for revolutionary action most of all because it was armed with advanced scientific theory that illuminated the laws of social development and the paths and tasks of the proletariat's class struggle.

From the first steps of his revolutionary activity, V. I. Lenin held aloft the importance of theory as a guide to action. He passionately defended Marxist doctrine from the open and hidden sallies of the revisionists, who attempted to extract the revolutionary spirit from Marxism under the false slogan of "freedom of criticism." V. I. Lenin was also implacable toward lifeless pedantry and pseudo-Marxist doctrinairism in the resolving of vital questions of the developing workers' and revolutionary movement. He saw the root of dogmatism in the divorce of theory from practice, from reality. At the very dawn of his revolutionary activity V. I. Lenin wrote that the combination of theory with practice "guarantees Social-Democracy from the shortcomings from which groups of socialists so often suffer—from dogmatism and sectarianism."\*

V. I. Lenin and his associates—the builders of the Bolshevik party—saw their task in answering the most burning questions of Russian reality, guided by a Marxist world view and the Marxist dialectical method. But the problems of Russia, its workers' movement, the deployment of class forces in the Russian revolution were connected by a multitude of threads with the world situation, with the questions of the development of world capitalism and the prospects of the liberation struggle of all the peoples. This is why the First Party Program said: "Regarding itself as one of the detachments of the worldwide army of the proletariat, Russian Social-Democracy pursues the same final goal toward which the Social-Democrats of all other countries are striving."† In solving the problems of the Russian revolution, V. I. Lenin advanced Marxist theory as a whole. The theoretical and practical activity of V. I. Lenin opened a new stage in the history of Marxism. Leninism is the Marxism of the 20th century, the epoch of the downfall of the capitalist system, the epoch of the social revolution of the proletariat and the national-colonial revolutions, the epoch of the victory of socialism and communism.

The Party inherited from its leader and teacher a creative approach and care for revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory. The Party was born in an irreconcilable struggle on two fronts—against open opportunism in the person of the revisionists, and against opportunism concealed by loud "leftist" phrases, against petty-bourgeois "revolutionism." The Party has always unhesitatingly championed and continues to champion the purity

\*V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol. VI, p. 28.

†V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol. XLI, p. 15.

‡V. I. Lenin, *ibid.*, p. 6.

\*V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol. I, p. 309.

†V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol. I, p. 309.

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of Marxism-Leninism, rebuffing any attempts to vulgarize or distort it, regardless of where these attempts may originate—from the right or from the left.

A characteristic feature of our party, the party of a new type, is its constant tie with the people. Having arisen as the vanguard of the proletariat, the most revolutionary class of modern society, and reflecting its ideology, the Leninist party posed the great task of leading the entire people to socialism, of summing the masses of the people to the conscious creation of a new life.

The Populist and Socialist-Revolutionary theory of active "heroes" and a passive mob has always been alien to the Leninist party. It saw the people as the chief motive force of the historical process. This, of course, does not mean that the Party underestimated the importance of outstanding personalities; on the contrary, it always condemned the anarchistic denial of the importance of the authority of leaders, who can play an enormous role in history if they correctly express the urgent demands of historical development, the interests of their class, and are not divorced from the masses.

"Marxism," wrote V. I. Lenin, "is distinguished from all other socialist theories by the remarkable combination of complete scientific sobriety in analysis of the objective state of things and the objective course of evolution with the most resolute recognition of the importance of the revolutionary energy, the revolutionary creativity and the revolutionary initiative of the masses—and also, of course, of the individuals, groups, organizations and parties that know how to discover and effect the link with this or that class."\*

The very rise of the Bolshevik party was an indication of the high political maturity of the Russian working class, of its readiness to enter the vanguard of the revolutionary battles of the oppressed masses for their liberation. Our party was born and grew up in the workers' quarters, in the factories and plants of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Yekaterinoslav, Sormovo, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, the Donets Basin, the Urals, Baku and other industrial centers. What deep roots it had in the proletarian movement is testified to by the whole history of the Russian working class, including the first proletarian organizations at the end of the 1870s, the activity of such outstanding worker-revolutionaries as P. A. Alexeyev, S. N. Khalturin, V. P. Obnorsky, P. A. Moiseyenko, V. A. Shelgunov, I. V. Babushkin, M. I. Kalinin, G. I. Petrovsky and many others.

Progressive workers played an important role in organizing Lenin's Alliance for the Struggle to Liberate the Working Class, and they were active in Lenin's Iskra. From the beginning of the 20th century revolutionary workers began to replace the old generation of revolutionaries from the ranks of the intelligentsia. Workers began to occupy first place among the participants in the revolutionary movement who were subjected to the repressions of the Tsarist government.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is truly the offspring of the heroic working class of Russia.

The Rightist leaders of the Second International and the Russian Mensheviks felt that the workers' party should take no interest in the peasantry, which, in their opinion, represented completely a reactionary mass. They did not intend to lead the working people to revolution and were therefore unconcerned about alliances of the proletariat. The Communist Party, the party of a new type, is the party of the masses. V. I. Lenin called upon its members to go to all strata of the population, to educate and rally them around the working class and its vanguard. The first Russian revolution brilliantly confirmed V. I. Lenin's prediction that the role of the working class would prove to be immeasurably more substantial and important than its proportion in the total population.

Attentively studying and properly evaluating the legacy of the predecessors of Russian Social-Democracy, V. I. Lenin invariably emphasized the continuity of the "democratic thread" in the Russian revolutionary movement.

He pointed out that the proletariat, never forgetting for a moment its special position in modern society and its special world-historic tasks of liberating mankind from economic wage-slavery, "will at the same time hoist the whole people's

banner of struggle for freedom"\* and come forth as a progressive fighter for democracy.

An extremely important feature of the Leninist Party also consists in its recognition of the exceptional importance of organization for the working class's fulfillment of its historical mission of liberation. V. I. Lenin raised organizational questions to the level of a science of party construction, and called for the bold creation of new forms of organization. Beginning with the Alliance for the Struggle to Liberate the Working Class, the organization of the Marxist vanguard of the proletariat was shaped and reorganized over the years so as to adapt to the tasks of the revolution. A type of proletarian revolutionary in constant contact with the working people was formed—a people's tribune, a propagandist and organizer of the masses. At each stage of the revolutionary struggle a new influx of forces from the heart of the working class came into the party. Iskra-ites, Pravdists—these glorious names symbolize the coming of a new generation of fighters to the revolution, their close interconnection and their succession. Having accumulated enormous experience, the Party came forth as the unsurpassed organizer of the masses, storming the bastions of capitalism.

One of the outstanding features of the Leninist Party is consistent proletarian internationalism, which stands in opposition to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois chauvinism, national narrowness, reactionary ideology and the policy of racial and national exclusiveness. From the outset, the Bolshevik party took shape as the party of the progressive workers of the Russian empire's multitudinous nationalities. While setting the social liberation of all the working people as its chief task, it never lost sight of the task of national liberation, of eliminating the Tsarist prison of peoples.

From the very start, Lenin's party came forth as one of the detachments of the international workers' movement. Throughout its history it has been guided by K. Marx's doctrine: "The experience of the past has shown that a neglect of the fraternal alliance that should exist among the workers of different countries and should rouse them to stand firm for each other in their struggle for liberation carries the penalty of general defeat of their separate efforts."†

The Communist Party indissolubly links service to the working people of its country with fulfillment of its international obligations. In struggling against the autocracy, the Party clearly understood that thereby it facilitated the development of the liberation movement throughout the world. V. I. Lenin said with pride: "The Russian proletariat did not stop at any sacrifices to liberate all mankind from the shame of Tsarist monarchy."‡ The working class and the peoples of our country, taking capitalism by storm and then building the new society and heroically defending it from world imperialism during the years of intervention and civil war, from the invasion of German fascism, did not stop at any sacrifices for the sake of socialism and the progress of mankind.

The country of victorious socialism, which became the indestructible fortress of the world socialist system, could withstand all the trials and build up gigantic forces only under the guidance of the new type of Marxist-Leninist party, which knew how to convince the people of the correctness of its policy, a party intimately linked with the people. The political and practical activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the ruling party of the first socialist state in the world was invariably organized with due regard for the interests of the world liberation movement. True to the behests of V. I. Lenin, the Party pursued and continues to pursue genuinely internationalist tactics, "doing the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries,"\*\*\* choosing the form of aid appropriate to its forces and the concrete historical conditions.

\*V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol. V, p. 334.

†K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works" [Russian ed.], Vol. XVI, pp. 10-11.

‡V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol. XXVI, p. 18.

\*\*\*V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol. XXXVII, p. 304.



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It is precisely for this reason that our party has always enjoyed the sympathy and active support of the world proletariat and its vanguard, the international Communist movement, as well as the national-liberation movement on all the continents of the earth.

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Great importance attaches to the generalization and illumination of the experience of the Party's activity in the first stage of its history, its leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the masses in the bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions. During this comparatively short span of time, encompassing about one and a half decades, the Party, headed by V. I. Lenin, accumulated an enormous wealth of theory, worked out and tested in the fire of revolutionary battles the strategy and tactics of the proletariat's class struggle, and learned to develop Marxist-Leninist theory creatively and to apply it in practice. The Party had to perform its vanguard rôle in the class battles of the proletariat in an unusually difficult and complex situation. The years of peace were replaced by the years of war, the periods of upsurge of the revolution by periods of lull, and the more or less legal conditions of work by conditions of harsh police repression. The greatest perspicacity was required of the Party, the ability to orient itself in the situation quickly and to find correct solutions; it needed unusual flexibility and at the same time unswerving firmness in carrying out the Party line, and selfless revolutionary heroism. And if the Party proved to be up to its historical mission, if in these highly complicated conditions of political and military storms, among the numerous reefs, it was able to hold a correct course, this is explained above all by the fact that it was guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory, creatively developed in the works of V. I. Lenin during the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Carrying out strenuous practical work in guiding the Party and the revolutionary movement of the masses, V. I. Lenin organically combined this practical work with no less strenuous theoretical work. In his works he provided clear answers to all the urgent questions of the proletariat's class struggle and a profound scientific foundation for the policies of the Party and the forms and methods of its work. During the period of the first Russian revolution, V. I. Lenin worked out the proletariat's tactics in a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Rebuffing the Mensheviks, who ignored the real situation and dogmatically followed West European examples, V. I. Lenin presented in a completely new way the question of the motive forces of the revolution: the rôle of the proletariat as the predominant force of the revolution, of the peasantry as the ally of the proletariat.

Criticizing the Mensheviks' eagerness to seek answers to concrete questions of Party tactics in simple logical development of the general truth of the bourgeois nature of the first Russian revolution and criticizing the Mensheviks' argument that the liberal bourgeoisie should exercise hegemony if a revolution is bourgeois in its fundamental nature, V. I. Lenin pointed out that these Menshevik views were "vulgarization of Marxism and a complete travesty of dialectical materialism." \*

The course of the 1905 revolution confirmed the correctness of the Leninist tactics of the Bolsheviks. The hegemony of the proletariat in a democratic revolution was an incontrovertible historical fact. Although the first Russian revolution was bourgeois-democratic in its social content, it was proletarian in its means of struggle and in the guiding rôle of the working class. Lenin therefore called it great and mighty. As early as the 1905 revolution, the Russian proletariat set mankind examples of struggle for freedom and socialism. The first Russian revolution was truly a "dress rehearsal" for the October Revolution. The year 1905 saw the birth of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, in which V. I. Lenin, with brilliant perspicacity, saw the embryo of the new revolutionary authority. The glorious revolutionary traditions of 1905 were one of the most important factors in the working class victory in October, 1917.

V. I. Lenin's teaching about the evolution of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution was a very great contribution to the theory of the socialist revolution. This doctrine delivered a crushing blow to Trotsky's "theory" of a permanent revolution, which originated in denial of the revolutionary potential of the peasantry and regarded the vic-

tery of the revolution in the West. Also rejected was the Mensheviks' obsolete idea that a prolonged historical period of capitalist development of a country must necessarily exist between the bourgeois-democratic and the socialist revolutions.

Attaching enormous importance to the peasant movement as one of the mighty streams of the revolutionary process, V. I. Lenin paid great attention to the agrarian question, scientifically validating the Bolshevik program of nationalization of all the land. Lenin's agrarian program was indissolubly linked with the theory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution's growth into a socialist revolution, and it played a great rôle in the revolutionary mobilization of the peasantry as an ally of the proletariat at both stages of the revolution.

During the years of fierce reaction that followed the defeat of the first Russian revolution, and then in the years of the new revolutionary upsurge and the world imperialist war, Lenin's theoretical thought did not overlook any more or less important question of the ideology, program, policies and tactics of the Party or its organizational foundations; it not only did not lag a step behind the quickly changing situation, it even far out-distanced events, predicting their future course and outcome. During these years V. I. Lenin defended the theoretical principles of Marxism from the sallies of bourgeois ideologists and revisionists and further developed the Marxist philosophy of materialism on the basis of the latest achievements of the natural sciences. He gave a profound theoretical foundation to the national program of the Bolsheviks, delivering merciless blows at bourgeois nationalism, which had disunited the proletariat and weakened its efforts. The working class needs not nationalism but proletarian internationalism for the victory over imperialism—such was the basic conclusion of Lenin's teaching on the national question.

During the years of the temporary triumph of reaction, when various "fellow-travellers" left Marxism, when bourgeois liberals such as P. Struve openly defected to the counter-revolution and began to bless Tsarist rule and to mock the concepts of "service to the people" and "the public welfare" and to defame the revolution and everything revolutionary in every way, the task of preserving and strengthening the Party as the militant vanguard of the proletariat, the task of strengthening and increasing the Party's ties with the masses, arose with especial sharpness.

V. I. Lenin had to conduct a sharp struggle for the Party against the Menshevik-liquidators, who denied the possibility of a new revolutionary upsurge, repudiated the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat and demanded the liquidation of the illegal Marxist party.

No less a danger for the revolution were the liquidators on the "left," the liquidators from the inside, the group of so-called Otzovists, who demanded the recall (otzyv) of the workers' Deputies from the State Duma, the abandonment of various forms of legal work that had enabled the Party to strengthen its ties with the masses. The Otzovists sought to apply the tactic of boycotting the Duma, a correct tactic during the period of the sharp upsurge of the revolution, to a completely different situation, when a combination of all the forms of struggle, legal and illegal, was an essential requirement for preservation of the Party and gathering together the revolutionary forces. V. I. Lenin later pointed out that the Bolsheviks would not have been able to maintain the firm core of the revolutionary party of the proletariat and strengthen it in the years from 1908 to 1914 if in the bitter struggle against the "petty-bourgeois revolutionism" of the Otzovists they had not defended the tactic of combining different forms of struggle. The Otzovists supported the schismatic policy of Trotsky, which suffered defeat. Within the workers' movement in Russia both the liquidators from the right—the Mensheviks—and the liquidators from the "left" were squeezed out by supporters of Lenin's line, around which the enormous majority of politically aware workers rallied.

Lenin's Pravda played an important historical rôle in preserving and strengthening the Bolshevik party. Whereas thousands of progressive workers supported Lenin's Iskra during the period of the rise of Bolshevism, "tens and hundreds of thousands of workers, who, with their collections of kopeks, and the competition

\*V. I. Lenin, "Course of the Revolution in Russia," 1905, p. 100.

of the petty-bourgeois traitors to socialism, the Mensheviks, supported Pravda.

Pravda and Lenin's articles in it were a great school for the ideological tempering of the majority of the politically conscious proletariat of Russia and for their internationalist upbringing on the eve of World War I. Thus was forged the indestructible proletarian base of our party—the most important condition for the victory of the October Revolution.

During the imperialist world war V. I. Lenin devoted a number of his works to problems of war and peace, defined the attitude of the working class and its party to just and unjust wars and revealed the class essence and the causes of war in the epoch of imperialism.

V. I. Lenin worked out the tactical line of the proletarian party in the imperialist war. The slogans he advanced on defeating one's own government and turning the imperialist war into a civil war, slogans not only for our party, but for all the workers' parties of the world, were permeated with consistent proletarian internationalism.

The betrayal by the parties of the Second International threatened to compromise socialism in the eyes of the people as a force indissolubly linked with the struggle against imperialist war and for peace among the peoples. By their selfless stand against social chauvinism the Russian Bolsheviks saved the ideals of socialism. Our party was the only party that not only resisted the wave of chauvinism and betrayal but also boldly went against the tide and thereby championed the cause of socialism and proletarian internationalism, which had been shamefully betrayed by the leaders of the parties in the Second International.

Lenin's teaching on imperialism was an important stage in the development of Marxism. In the book "Imperialism—the Highest Stage of Capitalism," Lenin, using an enormous amount of factual material, investigated the basic features of imperialism and its essence as rotting, dying capitalism on the eve of the socialist revolution.

Showing that the economic and political development of capitalism takes on a very uneven and spasmodic character in the epoch of imperialism, V. I. Lenin drew the extremely important conclusion that the victory of socialism was possible first in one country alone or in several countries, but impossible in all countries simultaneously. This was a major step in the development of the theory of socialist revolution; the workers' movement and its vanguard gained clear perspective and broad horizons for unfolding revolutionary initiative.

During the war years, especially during the stormy months between February and October, 1917, Lenin's genius worked tirelessly at developing the theory of the socialist revolution, enriching it with new ideas and postulates: on the revolutionary situation; on the need for the proletariat's guidance in all the revolutionary battles of all the classes and social groups opposing various forms of oppression, in order to direct them toward a single goal—the overthrow of imperialism; on national-liberation movements as a reserve for the socialist revolution; on the Soviets as a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat; on the various ways of carrying out the socialist revolution; on uprising as an art, and others. The Marxist teaching on the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and on the two phases of communist society, received further development.

The chief strategic task of the Party throughout the entire stage of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat consisted in securing the hegemony of the proletariat as the decisive condition for the overthrow of Tsarism and capitalism, in enlisting on the proletariat's side the broadest sectors of the working people and the oppressed peoples of the national outskirts of Russia. V. I. Lenin believed that the social revolution could not be anything but an outburst of the mass struggle of all the oppressed and discontented. The politically conscious vanguard of the revolution, the progressive proletariat, expressing this objective truth, could unite the mass struggle and direct it toward the conquest of power and the victory of socialism. This task was accomplished in a sharp and implacable struggle against the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois par-

ties, particularly against the Cadets, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

Exposing the treacherous, antirevolutionary position of the Menshevik-liquidators, who stood for preservation of the capitalist wage slavery system, V. I. Lenin pointed out that the proletariat "should be the leader, should exercise hegemony in the struggle of the entire people for the democratic revolution, in the struggle of all the working people and the exploited against the oppressors and exploiters. The proletariat is revolutionary only inasmuch as it recognizes and translates this idea of hegemony into life. Proletarians who have recognized this task are slaves who have rebelled against slavery. The proletariat who does not recognize the idea of the hegemony of his class or who rejects this idea is a slave who does not understand his enslaved condition; at best he is a slave who is fighting to improve his position as a slave, and not for the overthrow of slavery.\*\*

Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory and in daily contact with the masses, the Party boldly and confidently accomplished the most complex historical tasks and gave the workers' movement a correct orientation. It quickly grasped the changes in the situation, in the balance of class forces, and worked out its tactical line accordingly, creatively approached the organizational forms and the methods of its work and rightly timed the shift from peaceful forms of developing the revolution to nonpeaceful ones. It grew and was tempered as the party of creative Marxism and was enriched with practical, revolutionary experience.

The tactic of the peaceful development of the revolution, which was brilliantly developed by V. I. Lenin in his world-famous April Theses and other works, was tested in practice by our party and helped it to gather its revolutionary forces. V. I. Lenin highly cherished the possibility of peaceful conquest of power by the proletariat, even granting a temporary compromise with the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries for the sake of this. He wrote: "Only for the sake of the peaceful development of revolution—a possibility that is extremely rare in history and extremely valuable, a possibility that is exceptionally rare—only for the sake of such a possibility can and should Bolsheviks, advocates of world revolution, advocates of revolutionary methods, accede to such a compromise, in my opinion."† But the peaceful path of developing the revolution was blocked by the bourgeoisie, which, in an alliance with the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, resorted to violence against the working class and forced it to respond in kind. The Party placed preparation for an armed uprising on the agenda.

The full unsuitability and anti-Leninist nature of the one-sided tactic that the modern splitters are trying to thrust upon the international Communist movement are especially sharply apparent in the light of Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the historical experience of our party. They recognize only the tactic of armed uprising, essentially rejecting such forms of class struggle as the parliamentary struggle, work in the trade unions, and so on, which have gained new content in the new historical conditions. Their adventurist policy of immediate revolution everywhere, without regard for the real situation, for the readiness of the masses for revolutionary action, has nothing in common with the teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

During the period of preparing for and carrying out the Great October Socialist Revolution, especial importance attached to the dispute over the two lines of the revolution—the Bolshevik and the Menshevik. The Mensheviks asserted that Russia, by virtue of the inadequate development of productive forces and the small size of its proletariat, had not matured enough for a socialist revolution, that the revolution should occur first in the West, in the more developed capitalist countries. The Mensheviks were echoed by certain opportunists within the ranks of the Bolshevik party.

V. I. Lenin completely demolished these arguments of the Mensheviks and their colleagues in the Second International. He castigated them for their political cowardice, the fear of breaking away from the bourgeoisie, for the lifeless dogmatism

\*V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol. XX, p. 308.

†V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol.

\*V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol. XLV, p. 17

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that was passed off as genuine Marxism but that actually bore an antirevolutionary nature. Later, in the famous work "About Our Revolution," V. I. Lenin wrote that the Mensheviks "understand Marxism in an impossibly pedantic way. They have not at all understood the decisive thing in Marxism: namely, its revolutionary dialectic."\*\*

The conquest of political power in Russia by the proletariat under the leadership of Lenin's party opened a new era in the world history of mankind and was the beginning of the downfall of the capitalist system and the formation of the new world of socialism and communism. The Great October Socialist Revolution was prepared by the decades of selfless, heroic struggle on the part of the working class of Russia—from the famous speech before a Tsarist court by the worker Pyotr Alexeyevich Alexeyev, from Lenin's Alliance for the Struggle to Liberate the Working Class to the shots by the "Aurora" and the storming of the Winter Palace. In no other country in the world were the great revolutionary traditions of the working class, of the masses of the people, so strong and vital.

The October Revolution most clearly manifested the basic law of the revolution that V. I. Lenin had formulated: The revolution takes place when the "have-nots" of society do not want the old and are ready to go into battle to change the old ways and when the "haves" can no longer rule in the old way; when there is a general national crisis that affects all classes, exploited and exploiters.

The October Revolution expressed the desire of the Russian working people for a just social system. It rested on objective historical conditions: the most revolutionary working class in the world—concentrated at the large and largest enterprises, which immeasurably increased its might; the alliance of the working class with the revolutionary peasantry, which made the Russian working class the voice of the will of the majority of the people; the people's hatred for the imperialist war and those responsible for it, and the desire of the masses for peace. The guiding force of the victory of the October Revolution was the ideologically tempered, organized and disciplined party of Bolsheviks, which already numbered about 400,000 members.

The C.P.S.U. Program gives a Marxist explanation of why Russia was the first to break the front of world imperialism and open the path to socialism for mankind:

"Russia was the weakest link in the imperialist system and the focal point of all its contradictions. At the same time, it had all the conditions necessary for the victory of socialism. The working class of Russia was the most revolutionary and best organized in the world and possessed considerable experience of class struggle. At its head stood a Marxist-Leninist party armed with advanced, revolutionary theory and steeled in class battles.

"The party of Bolsheviks brought together in one revolutionary stream the struggle of the working class for socialism, the country-wide movement for peace, the peasants' struggle for land and the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of Russia, and directed these forces toward the overthrow of capitalism."†

The Great October Socialist Revolution saved our country from national catastrophe and plunder by the mighty imperialist states.

The First Program of our party was carried out by the overthrow of the rule of the exploiter classes and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The victory of the October Revolution was a radical turning point in the history of mankind. The old world was destroyed; out of the suffering and torments caused by the war and its consequences arose a new world, against which all the reactionary forces, the whole of domestic and foreign counterrevolution, took up arms.

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The multivolume work devotes special attention to the post-

\*V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol. XLV, p. 378.

†"Twenty-second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: Stenographic Record" [in Russian], Vol. III, Moscow, 1962, p. 234. ["Current Soviet Policies—IV," Columbia University Press.]

October period of the history of the C.P.S.U. and generalization of the creative work of the Party as the ruling party, as the guiding and directing force of Soviet society.

In treating the events of the second historical stage of the activity of the C.P.S.U., the authors consider their task to lie in broadly showing the role of the working masses in the construction of socialism—showing not only the successes but also the difficulties, in combating which the Party and the people erected the first socialist society in the history of mankind.

With the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, the Party entered a new period of its activity, even more magnificent in its scope and in the scale on which the working masses were enlisted in historical creativity. Relying on its Second Program, adopted by the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the Party organized the rebuilding of the entire economic structure on socialist principles. In the conditions of peaceful creative activity by the Party, questions of economic and cultural construction moved into the foreground, and this found reflection in its Program. V. I. Lenin pointed out that the Party Program "should be turned into the program of our economic construction, otherwise it is not fit to be the Program of the Party."\*

Carefully studying and analyzing the creative activity of the masses in creating the new social system, V. I. Lenin developed and concretized Marx's teaching about socialism and communism, drafted the great plan for socialist construction in our country, the fundamental links of which were the industrialization and electrification of the country, the reorganization of agriculture and the cultural revolution.

The works of V. I. Lenin substantiated the fundamental principles of the socialist economy, and under his guidance they were first applied: the planning principle in development of the economy, calculating and controlling the measure of labor and the measure of consumption; preponderant development of heavy industry; steady growth in labor productivity; the strictest thriftiness; and democratic centralism in administration of the national economy. Ever wider enlistment of the working people in the management of state and economic construction, comprehensive development of their labor and political activity, and consistent and unswerving development of Soviet democracy are essential Leninist principles of directing the socialist economy.

V. I. Lenin worked out and translated into life the New Economic Policy of the proletarian state, which replaced the policy of "war communism" that had been made necessary by the war and the destruction in the country. The application of the New Economic Policy ensured strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, development of the productive forces, steady growth of the socialist sector of the economy, the crowding out of capitalist elements by socialist ones, and liquidation of the exploiter classes. Under the guidance of the Party, headed by V. I. Lenin, a multinational Soviet socialist state of a new type, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, was created on voluntary principles, and it became a mighty lever in the building of socialism.

V. I. Lenin determined the basic conditions for the victory of socialism in our country, both internal and external. They include: strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and the guiding role of the working class; strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the Communist Party; ensuring collective leadership; preserving peace as the chief prerequisite for the creative activity of the working people and the successful construction of the new social system.

The Party's role as the organizer of the masses; its fidelity to Marxism-Leninism; its ability to apply revolutionary theory creatively in its practical activity, to rely on the people and to express their vital interests were displayed with especial force in the struggle to carry out Lenin's plan for socialist construction.

The question of the destiny of socialism in Soviet Russia, its future and, in the last analysis, the perspectives of world

\*V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol.

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development was resolved in a difficult intra-Party struggle. The petty-bourgeois environment that prevailed in the country's economy and could not fail to influence the Party gave birth to many anti-Leninist factions and groupings, both rightist and leftist. Particularly strong efforts were needed to overcome the leftist vacillations of a petty-bourgeois nature.

Soon after the seizure of power the Party had to fight against such an anti-Leninist deviation as the "Left Communists," headed by Bukharin and operating in concert with Trotsky and the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries. They waged a fierce campaign against the conclusion of peace, viewing this as an "impermissible," from their point of view, compromise with the imperialists. Ignoring the fact that our country had suffered severe devastation and did not actually have an army, they proposed waging "revolutionary war" against German imperialism, which was armed to the teeth. They came out with the "strange and monstrous" statement that for the sake of the victory of the world revolution it would be worth while even to go so far as to lose Soviet rule. The left-opportunist faction prodded the Party and the country toward political adventure. If the Party had not withstood the attacks by the "Left Communists" at that time, Soviet rule would certainly have perished. V. I. Lenin, addressing the heroes of the "leftist" phrase, said: "By your objective role you are the tools of imperialist provocation. But your subjective 'psychology' is the psychology of an infuriated petty bourgeois who swaggers and boasts but senses perfectly well that the proletariat is right."\*

V. I. Lenin noted later that the tradition of merciless struggle against petty-bourgeois "revolutionism" had long existed among the revolutionary Social Democrats, and that Bolshevism had adopted this tradition during its formation in 1903 and had continued it in all the subsequent years. In the Russian revolutionary movement, "left" opportunism had been represented chiefly by the Socialist-Revolutionaries, as well as the anarchists. As V. I. Lenin pointed out, the petty bourgeois infuriated by the horrors of capitalism and inclined to turn to being extremely revolutionary, but incapable of restraint, organization, discipline and staunchness, and also able to swing easily to the side of reaction, constituted the social basis of this phenomenon. The same features were inherent in both the "left" and right opportunists: distortion of Marxism-Leninism, dogmatism, and the inability to take stock of the real situation and the balance of class forces.

V. I. Lenin sarcastically mocked the "left" phrasemongers in our party and in the international arena for their reluctance to reckon with a changed situation, for their arrogant rejection of any compromises and their desire to "spur along" the revolution in other countries by means of war. Opposing the "left" Communists and Trotsky, V. I. Lenin said: "Of course, there are people who think that the revolution can arise in another country upon order, by agreement. These people are either mad or provocateurs."† The "leftists" did not understand that the revolution is possible only if a revolutionary situation has become ripe, when this situation has turned into an all-national crisis.

Criticizing the anti-Marxist position of the opponents of peace, V. I. Lenin wrote:

"Do the authors perhaps suppose that the interests of the international revolution demand that it be spurred along, and that the spur could be only war, and not peace, which might give the masses the impression that imperialism is somehow being 'legitimized.' Such a 'theory' would lead to complete divorce from Marxism, which has always rejected the 'spurring' of revolutions, which develop as the class contradictions that give rise to revolution become more acute. Such a theory would be tantamount to the view that armed uprising is a form of struggle that is always mandatory in all conditions."‡

Lenin's tenets retain their theoretical and political significance today too, convincingly exposing all the inanity and peril of the modern neo-Trotskyite concepts of "spurring" the revolution by war.

\*V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol. XXXVI, p. 290.

†V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol. XXXVI, p. 457.

‡V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol. XXXV, p. 403.

Lenin's line won in the struggle against "left" opportunism. The country got the necessary respite and began to take the first steps toward socialist reorganization of the economy. The base of the world socialist revolution was preserved.

The imperialists did everything to destroy the Soviet state or at least to ruin or hinder as much as possible its progress toward socialism. The imperialists did not give the Soviet state the opportunity immediately to take the quick strides toward socialism that would have justified the Marxists' predictions about the superiority of the socialist system. But as early as the beginning of the 1930s, against the background of the unprecedented world economic crisis that shook the foundations of the entire capitalist system, the successes of the First Five-Year Plan, as a result of which the technical and economic backwardness of our country was largely eliminated, convincingly demonstrated the advantages of the socialist economic system.

The enemies of socialism and their echoes (the Mensheviks and Trotskyites) predicted the failure of the five-year plan; they were incapable of appreciating the tremendous creative power of the new system that had been born of the revolution, the creative power of the masses guided by Lenin's party. The bourgeois economists and politicians are incapable of understanding the historical role of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the first socialist state in the world, which, as F. Engels had predicted, exerted enormous accelerating influence on objective economic development, facilitating rapid growth of the productive forces.

The genius of V. I. Lenin, with its inspired power of scientific prophecy, clearly discerned in the vistas of the future how the brilliant possibilities of our country would develop when freed of the exploiter classes and having incalculable natural wealth, an enormous reserve of manpower, the great energy of the people that had been aroused by the revolution and a party capable of directing the collective will of the people toward the single goal.

Exposing the dogmatic, stereotyped, antirevolutionary conclusions of the Mensheviks and the leaders of the Second International, who had asserted that Russia did not have the objective economic prerequisites for socialism and that, therefore, socialist construction was impossible, Vladimir Ilyich wrote:

"\*\*\*Why were we at first unable to create such prerequisites of civilization among ourselves as the expulsion of the landlords and the expulsion of the Russian capitalists and then begin the movement toward socialism?"\*

V. I. Lenin pointed out that after the Soviet Union had won for itself the opportunity of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist world, our economic successes exerted and would continue to exert the chief influence on the development of the international revolution, that on the basis of worker-peasant rule and the Soviet system our country would overtake other countries, that in time there would come an acceleration of our progress that could not have been dreamed of in the 1920s.

In socialist industrialization, in electrification and in the creation of advanced heavy industry V. I. Lenin saw the salvation of our country, in view of the prospect of a possible new attack by the capitalist world; he saw in them the strongest guarantee against a return to capitalism.

Vladimir Ilyich envisioned a Soviet Russia covered with a dense network of electric power stations and technically modern and powerful enterprises; he confidently predicted that the time would come when "our communist economic construction will become an example for the future socialist Europe and Asia."†

The following remarkable fact indicates how the pace of our development quickened during the full-scale construction of communism. New electric power stations with a capacity of more than 10,000,000 kw. were put into operation in the Soviet Union in 1963. This means that in one year the U.S.S.R. fulfilled almost seven GOELRO [State Plan for the Electrification of Russia] plans; the GOELRO plan was originally intended to take ten to 15 years.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union defended Lenin's

\*V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol. XLV, p. 381.

†V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol. XLII, p. 161.

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program for the building of a socialist society in sharp struggle against persons of little faith and capitulationists, against Trotskyites, right opportunists, great-power chauvinists, local nationalists and other hostile groups. It roused the whole Soviet people to the struggle to carry out Lenin's designs.

Under a cloak of "left" phrases the Trotskyites sought to disarm ideologically the working class of the Soviet Union, asserting that the technical and economic backwardness of our country was an insurmountable obstacle to the building of socialism, that the victory of socialism was impossible unless world revolution and direct state support by the proletariat of other countries came to our aid in the more or less immediate future.

A capitulationist conclusion followed from the Trotskyite conceptions: A return to capitalism was inevitable unless world revolution took place in the immediate future. Trotsky claimed that the Soviet state would always be "under the control" of the world capitalist economy. Just as in 1918, the Trotskyites in effect called for the adventurist tactic, which V. I. Lenin had condemned, of "spurring" the revolution in other countries by means of war.

Trotskyism, which, like "Left Communism," expressed the pessimism and despair of the petty bourgeois frightened by the difficulties of socialist construction, attempted to thrust upon the Party and the international workers' movement a line ultra-revolutionary in form and capitulationist in fact. The characteristic traits of Trotskyism are lack of principle in policy, factionalism, schismatism and rejection of Party allegiance. It joined with all kinds of turncoats and renegades who had been thrown out of the ranks of the fraternal parties. While hiding behind ringing "leftist" phrases, Trotskyism actually stood on the positions of Menshevism, of denial of the possibility of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., and was therefore quite correctly condemned by our party as a Social-Democratic deviation. The Trotskyites subsequently turned into a malicious anti-Soviet group of splitters and traitors, resoundingly named the Fourth International, that for a number of years has been attacking the C.P.S.U. and the other Marxist-Leninist parties, the Soviet Union, and the socialist camp, at the social order of international imperialism.

The ideological root of Trotskyism—a component part of international opportunism—was a service not only of our party but of all the fraternal parties united in the Third, the Communist International. Founded in 1919 by V. I. Lenin, the Communist International adopted and developed the glorious revolutionary traditions of the International Working Men's Association that had been led by K. Marx and F. Engels.

The Third International played an important historical role. It carefully raised international Communist movement cadres that were faithful to Marxism-Leninism; it helped to rear the parties themselves and to spread the experience of the Bolshevik party, the party of a new type; and it contributed to the transformation of the young Communist Parties into mass organizations.

Marxist-Leninists, united in the Third, Communist, International, waged a constant struggle against revisionism, right opportunism and "left" opportunism, cloaked in revolutionary phrases. V. I. Lenin's famous work, "Leftwing Communism, an Infantile Disorder," had great importance for the education of the parties of the Third International. It illuminated the historical experience of the Bolshevik party, profoundly presented the principles of Marxist strategy and tactics, showed the need for a principled and at the same time flexible tactic, capable, when necessary, of resorting to compromises, taking correct advantage of the conflicts of interest among the imperialist states and among the different groups of bourgeoisie within the individual countries, and, at the least opportunity, able to get a mass ally, albeit temporary, unreliable and arbitrary.

"Whoever has not understood this," V. I. Lenin wrote, "has not understood an iota of Marxism or of modern scientific socialism in general."\*

This classic work by V. I. Lenin delivered a serious blow to the revolutionaries of the phrase, the dogmatists, sectarians and splitters.

The Party defeated all the anti-Leninist factions and trends

the "Left Communists," and the bourgeois nationalists—preserved and strengthened the unity of its ranks and defended the course toward the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. It emerged from this struggle even more tempered and wise with experience. Relying on this experience and together with the other Marxist-Leninist parties, it has always waged and continues to wage an implacable struggle against right and "left" opportunism in the international arena. The desire of the modern splitters to revive and thrust upon the international Communist movement the concepts of the Trotskyites and "Left Communists" that our party shattered long ago and their adventurist policy and practice is a manifestation of "left" opportunism and great-power chauvinism.

Under the guidance of the Communist Party, the Soviet people overcame all the difficulties and obstacles in their path and in a short historical time achieved the complete and final victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. Extremely complicated tasks of world-historic importance were carried out in the course of socialist construction. They include:

—the socialist industrialization of the country, which created a firm foundation for the development of all branches of the national economy and for ensuring the country's economic independence and defensive might;

—the collectivization of agriculture, which was a great revolution in economic relations and in the whole way of life of the peasantry;

—the cultural revolution, which led the working masses out of spiritual slavery and darkness, introduced them to the riches of culture and science, elevated the Soviet state to the heights of civilization, and created numerous cadres of people's and Soviet intelligentsia in all areas of science, technology and culture;

—the liquidation of the exploiter classes and the elimination of the causes of exploitation of man by man—of private ownership of the means of production;

—the solution of the national question: the provision of complete political equality of peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the elimination of their economic and cultural inequality;

—the transition of many previously backward peoples to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development; the mighty upsurge of their economy, science and socialist culture;

—the consolidation of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. into a single monolithic family, the strengthening of their indestructible friendship and fraternal cooperation;

—the creation of conditions for the steady growth of the well-being of the people;

—the development of socialist democracy—the first genuine democracy in history, which has been providing all citizens with broad political liberties and social rights and ensuring their active participation in the administration of the state and in economic and cultural construction.

The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is a triumph for the deathless ideas of Marxism-Leninism and is a great patriotic exploit of the Soviet people and their guiding force—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The socialism built in the U.S.S.R. was a big international contribution by our party and the working people of the Soviet Union to the cause of the international revolutionary and liberation movement, to the cause of the struggle for peace and socialism throughout the world, the struggle for the social progress and national independence of the peoples. The C.P.S.U. Program says:

"As a result of the self-sacrificing labor of the Soviet people and the theoretical and practical activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, mankind has received an actually existing socialist society and a science of socialist construction that has been tested in practice. The highroad to socialism has been built. Many peoples are already traveling along it. Sooner or later it will be taken by all peoples."\*

But the historic successes of the Party and the people would have been even greater, the accomplishment of the tasks of socialist construction would have proceeded with fewer sacrifices and losses, were it not for a phenomenon so alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism as the Stalin cult, which did great damage to our country. This phenomenon stood in deep contra-

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duction to the nature of the socialist system, the nature of Lenin's party, socialist democratism and humanism.

The initiative of the people was fettered and the role of the working masses as the makers of history was reduced in the atmosphere of the cult of the individual. Leninist norms of Party life and the principle of collective leadership were trampled. Ways that were uncharacteristic of socialist society, such as toadying and servility, suspicion and distrust of one another, were cultivated. Dogmatism and scholasticism, a gap between theory and practice, were widespread. Socialist legality and Soviet democracy were violated especially grossly.

The thesis, contradictory to Leninism, that Stalin advanced after socialism had already triumphed and that stated that the class struggle would become increasingly acute as the positions of socialism solidified and the Soviet state progressed served as a theoretical foundation and justification for the mass repression of and arbitrariness toward absolutely innocent people, Leninist Party cadres and Party, state and military personnel. The enormous loss suffered by the military cadres, as well as the gross mistakes and errors that Stalin made before and during the war, led to a number of serious failures and heavy defeats for the Soviet Army in the first stage of the war, cost many extra lives and put the country in an extremely dangerous situation.

But the cult of the individual could not stop the progressive development of Soviet society, change the nature of the socialist system or shake the organizational, political and theoretical foundations of the Party, which had been created and fostered in the revolutionary spirit of the great Lenin.

During the terrible war years, in the difficult single combat with German fascism, which had spilled blood over all Europe and covered it with its monstrous death camps, the vitality and invincibility of the socialist system and its great superiority to the capitalist system made themselves felt very strongly. The Leninist course the Party had set toward industrialization of the country and collectivization of agriculture, toward the victory of socialism, was graphically proved to have been correct and timely.

The war demonstrated not only the economic and military-technological superiority of the socialist state, but also the immeasurable superiority of the socialist ideology of Soviet people, who had been educated by V. I. Lenin's party, the superiority of this ideology was expressed in their high moral qualities, their matchless heroism, staunchness and fiery Soviet patriotism and internationalism.

The Soviet people, defending the freedom and independence of their country, endured great losses for the sake of the liberation of all peoples who languished in fascist slavery.

One of the decisive conditions for the victory of the Soviet Union over Hitler's Germany was the leadership of the Communist Party, its selfless and multifaceted activity at the front and in the rear. The unbreakable link between the Party and the people was displayed with especial force during this difficult and dangerous time, and the Party's role as the leader and organizer of the working people was raised still higher. The Party received a great deal of tempering and acquired new experience of work among the masses.

The Soviet Union's victory in the Great Patriotic War saved mankind from the threat of fascist enslavement, radically changed the picture of the world and the balance of forces in the international arena. A new situation took shape, one more favorable for the creative activity of our party and the Soviet state and for the successes of the world Communist, workers' and national-liberation movement. The victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism by the first socialist country in the world facilitated the success of the socialist revolution in a number of countries of Europe and Asia. A world socialist system, the foundation of which had been laid by the Great October Socialist Revolution, arose. This is the second most important event after the victory of the socialist revolution in the U.S.S.R. Now no longer our country alone, but one third of mankind is traveling along the path of socialism.

In today's conditions the chief direction of the progressive historical development of mankind is determined by the world socialist system—the offspring of the international working class—and the forces fighting against imperialism for the socialist reorganization of society. Imperialism has entered

a period of decline and downfall. The rate of world social progress has been accelerated unprecedentedly.

A very important turning point in the history of the C.P.S.U. is the period of its activity that began in 1953. It has been filled with glorious and heroic feats by the Party and the people, with the lofty enthusiasm of communist construction. The 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stand as unfading beacons in history.

This period receives broad illumination in the multivolume "History of the C.P.S.U."

At the 20th and 22nd Congresses the Party, on its own initiative, subjected the Stalin cult to principled and resolute criticism and completely exposed the big mistakes Stalin had made, his gross violation of intra-Party democracy and socialist legality and the arbitrariness and repressions against many honest people, including outstanding leaders of the Party and the state. Grave consequences of the cult of the individual were revealed in the area of economic construction, particularly in agriculture during collectivization and in the postwar period.

Following Lenin's traditions, the Party told the truth about the abuses of power during the period of the cult of the individual, resolutely condemned the ideology and practice of the cult of the individual, which were alien to Marxism-Leninism, restored and developed Leninist norms of Party life and principles of leadership, and devised safeguards against relapses of the cult of the individual, so that such phenomena would never again arise in the Party and in the country. The decisions of the 20th and 22nd C.P.S.U. Congresses on overcoming the Stalin cult have enormous importance for the life of the Party and the development of Soviet society, for the entire cause of the struggle for communism. In this way, the C.P.S.U. has demonstrated to the international Communist and workers' movement and to the working people of the whole world its Leninist adherence to principle and justice, its consistent struggle for the purity of the theory and practice of socialist construction.

The Statement of the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, which was held in Moscow in November, 1960, says that the decisions of the 20th C.P.S.U. Congress "not only are of great importance for the C.P.S.U. and for communist construction in the U.S.S.R. but also initiated a new stage in the international Communist movement and contributed to its further development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."\*

The decisions of the 20th and 22nd Party Congresses creatively developed Leninism in application to the new historical conditions.

The 20th Congress's theoretical analysis of vital questions of principle in contemporary international development—the questions of the possibility of preventing a world war, of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and of the variety of forms for the transition to socialism—played a colossal revolutionizing role, changed the political climate of the world and delivered a serious blow to the imperialist warmongers.

In sweeping the impeding consequences of the cult of the individual from its path, the Party is giving a decisive rebuff to the enemies of socialism, who are trying to use the shadow of the cult of the individual to hide the long years of our party's activity and the historic importance of its struggle against anti-Leninist factions and trends and to blacken and cross out the world-historic successes of the Party and the people in the struggle for socialism.

The Party also considers incorrect the views of those people who deny the importance of leaders' authority. Petty-bourgeois-anarchistic denial of authority has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. "The working class, which is waging a difficult and persistent struggle for complete liberation throughout the world, needs authorities,"† V. I. Lenin pointed out.

\*Program Documents of the Struggle for Peace, Democracy and Socialism" [In Russian], Moscow, 1961, p. 84. [Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. XII, No. 49, p. 8.]  
†V. I. Lenin, Complete Works, Vol. 22, p. 226. [Russian], Vol. XIV, p. 226.

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The Party's application of the Leninist course of the 20th C.P.S.U. Congress has opened unbounded horizons for development of the creative activity of the working people, for a new rapid upsurge in the country's productive forces, for science and culture and for multiplication of the material and spiritual wealth of the people. During the historic decade (1953-1963) our country has taken a giant step along the path of economic, scientific and technical and cultural progress and has emerged at new frontiers. Having completed the building of the first phase of communism, having ensured the complete and final victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., the Soviet people, headed by the Communist Party, have set about the full-scale construction of communism.

In its Third Program, which was adopted by the 22nd Party Congress, the Party drafted a magnificent scientific plan for the construction of a communist society in our country and gave it a profound philosophical, historical, economic and political foundation. The basic interconnected elements of this plan are: the creation of the material and technical base of communism, the formation of communist social relations, and the rearing of the new man—the man of the communist epoch. The new C.P.S.U. Program generalizes the experience of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and in the people's democracies and the experience of the international workers' and national-liberation movement and scientifically illuminates the prospects of peaceful development. It opens the road to a happy future for all mankind.

In the new historical stage a further rise has taken place in the Communist Party's role as the guiding and directing force of Soviet society, and the scale of its activity has been enormously enlarged. The unprecedented scope and complexity of the tasks of communist construction, the headlong growth of the creative activity of the people, the further development of socialist democracy, the increasing importance of the theory of scientific communism and its development and propaganda—all this has required the Party to raise the level of its leadership and to improve constantly the forms and methods of its work.

With the victory of socialism and the entry of the U.S.S.R. into the period of full-scale communist construction, both the domestic and the foreign situation in which the Party fulfills its role as the guiding and directing force of Soviet society have changed substantially. During the period of socialist construction it operated in the conditions of class struggle and was the party of the proletariat, effecting a dictatorship over the exploiter classes. The class domination of the proletariat was needed to suppress the resistance of the exploiters, to organize socialist construction and to ensure the victory of socialism. V. I. Lenin pointed out: "Marxism, which recognizes the need for class struggle, says: Mankind will come to socialism by no other way than through a dictatorship of the proletariat."\*

After socialism had won completely, the exploiter classes were liquidated and Soviet society was left with only friendly classes, joined by ideological and political unity, and the state turned from an instrument of class dominance into a state of all the people. The working class, as the most advanced, linked with the highest form of socialist ownership, preserves its guiding role even in the conditions of communist construction, but it no longer requires class domination inasmuch as only friendly classes remain.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, while remaining the party of the working class, at the same time turned into the vanguard of the Soviet people and became the party of all the people, who had taken up the world view of the working class and the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. This was the result of all the Party's previous activity in the socialist transformation of society and the ideological upbringing and unification of the people.

In its policy and its practical activity, in determining the forms and methods of its work, the C.P.S.U. bases itself on a precise inventory of the real situation, on the objective processes taking place in the development of Soviet society and in international life. Only such an approach, which is mandatory for a Marxist-Leninist party, ensures the elaboration of a cor-

rect political line and its successful implementation. The deviation of the modern splitters of Marxism, incidentally, consists in their consigning of the creative, dialectical method to oblivion, and this has led to their loss of the Leninist course, to dogmatism, nationalism and adventurism in their policy.

The transformation of the C.P.S.U. into the party of all the people multiplied its forces, further expanded the social base on which it rests and strengthened its ties with the people.

The changes that have taken place in the class structure of society have contributed to the ideological solidarity of the Party itself. Never before has it been so united and monolithic as it is at the present time. In the conditions of class struggle, while the question of "who [defeats] whom" was being decided, ideological struggle against the anti-Leninist factions and groupings was the law of Party development. Now there is no longer any social base for the rise of any opportunist trends, there is no danger, such as once existed, of a split in the Party. But this does not mean that individual persons or even groups are now incapable of embarking on a path of struggle against the Party line. There may be people who have fallen under the influence of bourgeois propaganda or hardened conservatives who still cling to the old. It is known that the Leninist course of the 20th Party Congress evoked fierce resistance from the anti-Party factional group that tried to return the Party to the vicious methods that had been engendered by the cult of the individual. The Party routed the factionalists and splitters and rallied its ranks even more closely around the Leninist Central Committee.

Never since the death of V. I. Lenin has the Party's work of leadership been so intensive, creative and fruitful as it has been in recent years. There stand out in it particularly sharply the features that are characteristic of the Leninist style of work: the organic combination of theory and practice, collective leadership and constant reliance on the masses, the strengthening of ties with them and concern for their well-being. There is not a single area of life in which the Party has not achieved big, truly historic successes.

Creatively developing Marxism-Leninism in the new historical situation and in application to the new tasks of social development, the Party has formulated very important new conclusions and tenets that give a theoretical foundation to its domestic and foreign policy and its plans: conclusions and tenets on the transformation, in present conditions, of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. into a state of all the people; on the Party's growing role during the period of full-scale communist construction; on the laws of socialism's evolution into communism; on the methods of creating the material and technical base of communism; on the formation of communist social relations and the education of the new man; on the variety of forms of the transition from capitalism to socialism; on the possibility of preventing a world war in our time; on the nature of the present epoch; and others.

The Party sees its chief task in ensuring the accelerated development of all branches of the national economy and in creating the material and technical base of communism. This is the foundation of foundations for steady growth of the people's well-being and the strengthening of the defensive might of the Soviet state. Concern for the good of the people, for their happiness, is the supreme law of the Party, the fulfillment of Lenin's behests. A rapid rate of development of the socialist economy is the earnest of victory in the peaceful economic competition with capitalism and a major international contribution to the cause of the world liberation movement.

Relying on Marxist-Leninist theory, the Communist Party has drafted and carried out a number of major, truly revolutionary measures, both in industry and, particularly, in agriculture, which had lagged behind for a long time.

Technical reconstruction of the entire national economy on the basis of modern technology has been carried out. The Party has taken energetic measures for the rapid development of the most progressive branches of industry, such as power, chemistry, electronics and machine building. Lenin's idea of the country's complete electrification, the pivot of communist construction, is being translated into life, and the chemical industry is developing.

\*V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works" [in Russian], Vol. XXXVIII, p. 350

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tral Committee, N. S. Khrushchev said: "If Vladimir Ilyich Lenin were alive today, he would obviously say something like this: Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the entire country plus the chemicalization of the national economy."<sup>\*\*</sup>

Labor productivity, the chief and decisive condition for the victory of the new social system, will grow quickly on the basis of scientific and technical progress.

Thanks to the measures the Party has taken, radical improvements have taken place in agriculture—a vitally important branch, without whose development the victory of communism is inconceivable. These steps include: the mastering of enormous tracts of virgin and long-fallow lands; intensification of the principle of giving agricultural workers a material interest in the results of their labor; strengthening of the material and technical base of the collective and state farms; the reorganization of the Machine and Tractor Stations and sale of the machinery to the collective farms; increasing the state farms' role in communist construction; improving the practice of planning on the collective and state farms; reorganizing Party and state control over agriculture. The Party drafted and is now successfully carrying out a great program for the chemicalization of agricultural production, its intensification on the basis of large-scale application of fertilizers, the development of irrigation, integrated mechanization and the introduction of the discoveries of science and advanced experience.

The Party is constantly improving the forms and methods of its guidance of the national economy, and in doing so is strictly following Lenin's traditions. The reorganization of Party guidance of the national economy is aimed at making this guidance more concrete and purposeful, strengthening it with qualified personnel and enlisting the broadest possible sectors of the working people in active participation in production matters.

In the conditions of communist construction the Party attaches enormous importance to the ideological and political upbringing of the working people, especially all the young people, and to the propagation of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. In this sphere the Party sees its chief task in ideologically ensuring the translation of the C.P.S.U. Program into life, the creation of the material and technical base of communism, the formation of communist social relations, the rearing of the new man; in heightening political vigilance and conducting a full-scale offensive against imperialist ideology, against survivals of the past in people's minds. The Party has focused attention on the labor education of active and conscientious toilers of communism, the formation within Soviet people of a scientific world view and a communist morality. The Party is waging a resolute struggle against the pernicious influence of the reactionary ideology of anticommunism, and is rebuffing the false and treacherous propaganda of peaceful coexistence of the two ideologies.

The growing influence of the Soviet Union and the entire world socialist system on international development has posed new tasks for the Party's foreign policy and has presented new opportunities for its successful activity in the world arena. The first and most important task of the Party's foreign policy, which has the function of ensuring favorable international conditions for new victories of communism, is to care for the development and success of the world socialist system. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, together with the other fraternal parties, has comprehensively defined the principles, based on proletarian internationalism, for the mutual relations among socialist countries: complete equality, mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, fraternal mutual aid, and cooperation. The C.P.S.U. and the Soviet state are making a big contribution to the cause of strengthening the economic and political might of the socialist camp—the chief force opposing world imperialism.

Our party and people are fulfilling their international duty to the fraternal family of socialist countries and to the working people of the entire world primarily through the enormous

successes of communist construction in the U.S.S.R., as well as by the ever-expanding economic and political cooperation with the countries of the socialist camp and by giving them comprehensive and unselfish aid.

Aid to the national-liberation movement occupies a big place in the Party's foreign policy. It is thanks to the selfless aid from the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries that the young national states which have arisen in the place of the former colonies and semicolonies are successfully developing their economies, achieving economic liberation after the political. Profound democratic socio-economic changes that contribute to the transition to socialist development are being carried out in many of these countries.

The Party sets as its task the rendering of the utmost assistance to the objective process of the fusion into a single stream of the great revolutionary forces of modern times: the world socialist system, the international workers' movement and the national-liberation movement. This mighty stream, which is turning into a great flood of world revolution, is capable of sweeping away imperialism and establishing socialism and communism on earth. There is no more important or noble task than the struggle for unity of the great revolutionary forces of modern times. This makes all the more intolerable the conduct of the modern splitters, who have openly set a course toward disuniting the revolutionary forces, divorcing the national-liberation movement from the world socialist system and the international working class, and placing them in opposition to each other. Such a course could bring enormous harm to the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

The struggle for peace and the security of the peoples, the struggle to prevent a thermonuclear war that might bring death and torment to millions of people, is an object of constant concern and of the greatest efforts of our party. The C.P.S.U. Program points out: "The chief thing is to prevent a thermonuclear war, not to allow it to break out.\*\*\*A world war can be prevented by the united forces of the mighty socialist camp, the peace-loving nonsocialist states, the international working class and all the forces championing the cause of peace. \*\*\* To abolish war and establish eternal peace on earth is a historical mission of communism."<sup>\*\*</sup>

In fighting for the victory of the cause of peace and communism, for mankind's salvation from the catastrophe of a thermonuclear world war, our glorious party and its Leninist Central Committee, headed by the true Leninist N. S. Khrushchev, rely on the entire historical experience of Bolshevism and the world revolutionary movement and on the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Communists and genuine Marxist-Leninists continue today to personify the wisdom of the epoch by coming forth as the most consistent and resolute fighters for mankind's progress. Employing wise and flexible Leninist strategy and tactics, our party is doing everything possible to fulfill this world-historic task. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union strengthens the defenses of the U.S.S.R. for no other reason than the interests of the peace and security of the peoples. Today all progressive mankind acknowledges that the nuclear might of the Soviet Union, which is standing guard over the peace, has bound the hands of the imperialist forces of war.

The peace-loving foreign policy of the C.P.S.U. and of the Soviet state, based on the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, is a most humane policy. It attracts the sympathy and support of all progressive mankind. The Soviet state and the entire socialist camp stand before the peoples of the world as a reliable shield against aggression and war. Together with the other fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, the C.P.S.U. is waging a tireless struggle against revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism, which split and weaken the workers' movement and objectively help imperialism; it is constantly concerned for the solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist parties of all countries and sets an example of discipline, proletarian solidarity and faithfulness to its international duty.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Dec. 9-13, 1963: Stenographic Record" [in Russian], Moscow, 1964, p. 12. [Current Digest of the Soviet Union, Vol. 8, No. 22, p. 102.]

<sup>\*\*</sup>Twenty-second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: Stenographic Record" [in Russian], Vol. III, pp. 270, 271. ["Current Soviet Policies—IV," Columbia University

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Our party is unswervingly guided by the thesis adopted by the 1960 Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties: "The success of the cause of the working class in each country demands the international solidarity of all Marxist-Leninist parties. Each party is responsible to the working class, the working people of its country and to the international workers' and Communist movement as a whole."\*

The monolithic solidarity of the countries of the socialist camp and of the entire world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is a most important requirement for the victory of peace and socialism on earth. The strength and power of the socialist camp, of the international army of Communists, and the chief source of their victory lie in their unity.

Soviet Communists can take pride in the high appraisal of the Leninist course of our party's Central Committee and the activity of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev that was given by the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties on his glorious 70th birthday, when N. S. Khrushchev's role in exposing the cult of the individual, in the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory and in carrying out great revolutionary transformations was noted. The Statement of the 1960 Conference of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties says: "The Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been and continues to be the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement, being the most experienced and the most thoroughly tempered detachment of the international Communist movement."<sup>†</sup>

The entire glorious historical path of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union confirms the victory of Marxism-Leninism, which has won the minds and hearts of millions of people and has become a powerful material force transforming the life of all mankind.

The heroic history of our party and the history of our country brilliantly reflect the great dialectical law of the progressive development of mankind, the law that is paving a path for itself through all retrograde movement, through all the zig-zags of history and through all obstacles and difficulties.

Who can now deny the importance of the experience of the Soviet Union, which has demonstrated that socialism contains gigantic strength, that mankind has actually made the transition to a new stage of development that holds brilliant possibilities? The Soviet economy, having overcome incredible difficulties of reconstruction after the most destructive of wars, has achieved rates of development of productive forces that are much higher than those of the U.S.A. and is succeeding in catching up to this richest country of capitalism, which has not suffered from wars but has waxed fat on them. The Soviet Union was the first to pave the way to outer space.

Even the opponents of socialism, those who "refute" Marxism, have been obliged to acknowledge this indisputable fact and its decisive influence on the minds of hundreds of millions of people. They see that the prestige of Marxism is growing in parallel with growth of the strength and prestige of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist system, with the growth of the well-being of the peoples of the Soviet Union. They are obliged to admit that Marxism is winning the battle for men's minds.

\*"Program Documents of the Struggle for Peace, Democracy and Socialism" [in Russian], p. 83. [Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. XII, No. 49, p. 7.]

<sup>†</sup>Ibid.

The history of the C.P.S.U. shows that the Party has always vanquished the various anti-Leninist, schismatic trends, factions and anti-Party groups through its fidelity to Leninist principles of Party unity and thanks to the correctness of its policy, which conforms to the objective laws of social development.

There is no doubt that even today Lenin's party, together with the other Marxist-Leninist parties, will be able to overcome the difficulties that the Chinese leaders are causing through their schismatic, adventurist activity. The historical need for unity of the world revolutionary process, with the world socialist system and the international working class playing the decisive role, is paving a way for itself through all the revisionist and schismatic activities of defectors from Marxism-Leninism.

In 1964 the Chinese leaders openly proclaimed their renunciation of the jointly adopted Statement of the 1960 Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. They subjected to outright revision not only the joint decisions of principle that they had adopted together with the other parties, but even their own resolutions of their own Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China, acknowledging the positive importance of the Leninist course of the 20th Congress and pursuing a friendly line toward the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Union. The Chinese leaders have embarked on the dangerous path of nationalism and schismatic activities, resorting to methods that recall the worst tactics of Trotskyism.

Relying on Leninist principles, our party is waging an implacable struggle against revisionism, dogmatism, sectarianism and neo-Trotskyism, for the purity of Marxism-Leninism and for strengthening the ranks of the international Communist movement.

Our party, in its new Program, which creatively develops the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, has shown the real, concrete prospects that communism offers mankind. Each new success in our economic construction and in the development of socialist democracy strikes another blow at anticommunism and multiplies and will continue to multiply the ranks of the supporters of socialism and communism.

The entire history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union convincingly testifies that the inexhaustible sources of the vivifying strength of the Party, which overcomes all difficulties and obstacles, are: fidelity to the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism; the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory in the new historical conditions; the struggle on two fronts to defend the purity of revolutionary theory—against reformist revision of Marxism-Leninism and against dogmatism, sectarianism, and pseudorevolutionary adventurism in policy; correct strategy and tactics—a scientifically based Party policy; the Party's indissoluble tie with the people; the ability to convince the masses of the correctness of the Party's political line; and the people's support of the Party.

Through its glorious deeds the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has set lofty examples of firm faithfulness to the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, of deep understanding of the spirit of Marxism—of its revolutionary dialectic, which is the methodology of the proletarian revolution—and examples of fidelity to the principles of proletarian internationalism. The history of the C.P.S.U. is Marxism-Leninism in action, in creative development.

The great, international, eternally vital, creatively developing teaching of Marxism-Leninism is invincible.

The cause of Lenin's party is invincible.

1 February 1965

The Soviets Rewrite History Again

Russischer Tod

Um 13 Uhr vier wurde der Name getilgt. Das Komitee beschloss Nichterwähnung.

Breit grinst die Erinnerung. Das Komitee hat Nichterinnerung beschlossen.

Nur Köpfe sind konterrevolutionär. Das Kollektiv blickt vorwärts.

Die Welt weiss so viel, wie sie fragt. Die Welt fragt nicht.

Die Welt fragt nicht -- das Komitee gilt als sensibel. Es tagt um 13 Uhr.

Den Vorsitz führt einer, dessen Name getilgt sein wird. In vier Minuten.

Hans Kasper

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 23 November 1964)

Russian Death

At 1304 hours the name was stricken out. The Committee resolved on nonreference.

Memory grins broadly. The Committee has decided for nonmemory.

Only persons are counterrevolutionary. The Committee turns its eyes forward.

The world knows as much as it asks. The world does not ask.

The world does not ask -- the Committee is considered sensible. It meets at 1300 hours.

The chair is occupied by someone whose name will be stricken out. In four minutes.

A news report from Moscow states that the first volume of a projected six-volume history of the Soviet Communist Party has been recalled, and that a revised version will be issued. Copies of the book have disappeared from bookstores, and those which were carried out of the USSR will doubtless become collectors' items. The trouble with the original version (which only went on sale last September) appears to be that the introduction contains favorable references to N.S. Khrushchev;

the text itself of the volume only covers the period before 1903, and is probably "safe" as it stands. Even if the Introduction had not called Khrushchev "the true Leninist," the Soviet authorities would probably have withdrawn the volume to remove any trace of him. For the official policy on Khrushchev is clearly to erase him from the record. His picture has been removed everywhere, and since his fall, Khrushchev's name has been publicly mentioned in the USSR in only one speech -- he was condemned for lack of stability by a minor official at the December meeting of the Supreme Soviet. The Soviet press did not publish this reference. Officially, Khrushchev's name is stricken from history.

Rewriting the record is no novelty in the USSR. Although in Marxist-Leninist theory, history is supposed to be a science, actually it serves the Soviet leaders as a myth. Marxist-Leninist history provides a single, well-organized picture of the world, and the Soviet public is supposed to accept this in place of a less inspiring, more confusing reality. Soviet leaders not only want to make people believe in the inevitable progress of Communism, they as individuals want to be awarded exclusive credit for this progress. If these men have had rivals, those rivals are either to be labelled as the enemies of the revolution, or else forgotten. Aside from the vanity which makes them (like many non-Communists) wish to "go down in history" in the most flattering way, Soviet leaders also want -- for the sake of control -- to show their legitimacy, their right to be on top. Kings are legitimized by tradition and Presidents are legitimized by free elections; Communist leaders are not really legitimized at all, and so they have to invent a fictional justification.

In the 1920's and early 1930's individual historians wrote a succession of at least five official histories of the CPSU, none of which satisfied Stalin. So a "collective" of writers was formed, led by B. N. Ponomarev and under the political guidance of W. Knorin; its product appeared in 1935. But most of the revolutionaries in its pages became traitors in the blood purges, and by 1938 a new version was needed. This was the famous History of the CPSU (b): Short Course. Whether or not Stalin actually wrote it himself, as he claimed after World War II, the book was written precisely as he wished, and since this at last was a history which satisfied even Stalin's desire for adulation, it remained in use until his death. Party members literally memorized it, and 50,000,000 copies were printed. If the Short Course was unbelievable, at least it made clear what people were expected to believe.

In July 1953, a stopgap capsule history, the 7,500-word "Theses on Fifty Years of the CPSU," was published in Pravda. Significantly it contained only four references to Stalin, as compared with 83 to Lenin. The Short Course disappeared from bookstores and libraries in 1954-5. Khrushchev denounced the Short Course in his 1956 Secret Speech, and called for a new history, "edited in accordance with scientific Marxist objectivism." So a new History of the CPSU appeared in 1959, edited by Ponomarev, who unlike Knorin and many other historians of the Party, had survived the Stalin purges; this may be referred to as "Khrushchev's History." The new version exalted the Party, reinstated Lenin as the central

figure, treated Stalin in a gingerly way (the old leader, while criticized for the error of the cult of personality, was credited with annihilating party enemies, building the economy, and conquering new territories), and in its later pages, devoted much attention to N. S. Khrushchev.

Khrushchev apparently did not find this sufficient; perhaps he was less interested in a textbook, in something to be memorized, than in a monument worthy of the Sputnik, the 20 Year Program, and the party official's dacha. In 1960, a decree (not widely publicized until 1962) directed the Institute of Marxism-Leninism to complete a six-volume history of the CPSU by 1965. Later the time allowed for completion was extended to 1967, the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution, and it was the first volume of this history which appeared just before Khrushchev's fall, and which has now been recalled. In it, B. N. Ponomarov is still listed among the editors, as is I. I. Mintz, a historian who has specialized in the mythology of the Civil War. The volume is illustrated with color pictures and photographs, and has colored maps showing the progress of the revolutionary movement. By Soviet standards, this is a handsome book.

Possibly the whole project may now be reorganized, or even dropped. If a new printing does appear, Khrushchev's name will probably vanish from the introduction, and references to the Party's achievements in the decade after Stalin's death may also be made less glowing. There may be less said about the 22nd CPSU Congress and the CPSU Program. Kremlinologists will compare the new introduction with the old to see whether the new version contains the same condemnations of petty bourgeois leftist deviations (where Trotsky is named, Mao is often meant), the same emphasis on economic factors as the "chief influence" on the development of the international revolution (a Khrushchev slogan presented as Lenin's), the same treatment of the 1957 anti-Party group, the same explicit references to the schismatic, adventurist activity of the Chinese leaders, and the same exaltation of peaceful coexistence. Advance publicity had indicated that the later volumes would go into the details of Stalin's "repressive measures" and mistakes, and it will be interesting to see whether this is done. While the new leaders now seek to dispel fears of a return to Stalinism, they do not have the same personal interest in attacking Stalin that Khrushchev had, and their version may be a compromise between Stalinism and Khrushchevism.

Quite possibly, there may be no new first volume until after the present "collective leadership" has been replaced once again by a single dictator. During the last period of "collective leadership," following Stalin's death, the leaders seem to have agreed that the Short Course was deplorable, but they also seem to have been unable to agree on a real substitute. If a new first volume does appear at an early date, it may soon become outdated and again be recalled. The history of Soviet history suggests that such a recall will occur eventually in any case, since Soviet leaders cannot stick to one story and cannot tolerate old stories which do not agree with the current legend.

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Fact Sheet

1 February 1965

Chinese Communist Espionage in Brazil

On 3 April 1964 Brazilian police officials arrested two New China News Agency (NCNA) representatives and seven members of Chinese Communist trade delegations and charged them with subversion and with dealing and conspiring with an illegal political group -- the Brazilian Communist Party, which has been outlawed since 1947.

Chinese authorities in Peking reacted immediately to the arrest of their officers in Brazil and overnight initiated an elaborate campaign to pressure the Brazilian government into withdrawing the charges and releasing the prisoners. The massive Chinese propaganda effort strove to convince the world that their trade delegations and journalists perform the same legitimate functions as such representatives from other countries and that they would never engage in espionage and subversion. Typical of the messages sent all over the world in this propaganda barrage was a letter from 12 Chinese Communist "international trade corporations," which said:

"The development of trade between various countries ... is helpful in promoting economic and cultural exchanges and enhancing friendship between peoples.... With a view to protecting the proper rights and interests of international trade personnel and newsmen, we, the twelve China National Foreign Trade Corporations hereby make an urgent appeal to the fair-minded people in international trade in the hope that the various trade organizations and colleagues of different countries will ... exercise their influence and take every possible step to stop the barbarity of the Brazilian military junta and help us get the nine Chinese personnel released. We are convinced that this just demand of ours will receive your full support."

Over 30 different Chicom organizations sent messages such as the one quoted above to at least 60 different countries urging some 2,200 groups or individuals to demand the release of the arrested Communist Chinese officials on the grounds that they had been illegally detained, that the evidence against them had been fabricated, and that the Brazilian police had tortured them to force false confessions from them. Implicit in all of these "just demands" was the threat that any firm that expected to do much business with Communist China had better bow to Communist China's demands.

As part of the campaign to prove that evidence against their representatives had been fabricated, the Peking Peoples Daily on 30 May 1964 published a long "critique" of the contents of a letter that Brazilian authorities had found. In the course of this "critique" of the damaging letter, the Peoples Daily manufactured its own discrepancies in order to

try to discredit the original letter. The fact that Peking manufactured discrepancies in its attempt to discredit the letter showed the extent Peking was willing to go to denigrate the Brazilian action.

The Brazilian authorities refused to submit to the pressure and, carefully adhering to internationally accepted rules regarding the treatment of prisoners, continued their investigation of the charges against them and their Brazilian accomplices. After extensive investigation, the Chicom journalists and trade officials were brought to trial and found guilty as charged. On December 22, 1964 the Brazilian court sentenced each of them to 10 years' imprisonment.

Col. Luiz Franca, who headed the commission that investigated the charges against the nine Chinese Communist representatives, reported that they had managed to burn many of the compromising documents before they were apprehended, but sufficient incriminating evidence had nevertheless been collected to assure conviction.

The convicted Chinese Communist officials are:

1. Hou Fa-tseng, Head of the advance group to prepare a Chinese Communist economic and trade exhibit in Brazil.
2. Wang Chi, who served as Second Secretary in the Chicom Embassy in The Hague (Netherlands) from June 1959 to July 1962. He served in Switzerland from April to June 1963 and then went to Brazil as a member of Hou's staff.
3. Su Tsu-ping, staff member in Hou's trade group; earlier traveled in Malaya, Australia, and New Zealand.
4. Chang Pao-sheng, staff member of Hou's group.
5. Wang Yao-ting, Deputy representative of Chinese Council for Promotion of Trade in Brazil and Deputy Director of Chinese National Textile Import and Export Corporation. He was in Copenhagen until June 1963, went to Mexico City in November 1963 and then to Brazil in January 1964.
6. Mao Yao-tseng, served in Egypt from 1956 until 1963 (traveled some in Sudan during this period), went to Mexico with Wang in November 1963, and accompanied him to Brazil in January 1964.
7. Sung Kuei-pao, served in Switzerland from 1956 to 1959, and like Mao Yao-tseng, went to Mexico City with Wang in November 1963 and also to Brazil in January 1964.
8. Wang Wei-chen, NCNA representative in Brazil since December 1961; traveled to Mexico in January 1963.
9. Chu Ching-ping, NCNA staff in Brazil from December 1963 until arrested in April 1964.

CPYRGHT

BALTIMORE SUN  
15 January 1965

## The First Round in Panama

By DANIEL JAMES

*Panama City.* The maintenance of relative order during the four days that marked the first anniversary of the Canal Zone riots was a triumph for President Marco Aurelio Robles. He has proved himself to be "strong," as Panamanians are happily putting it, and both they and many Americans here now are convinced that he has a firm grip on the country.

That is of crucial importance at this particular time, since Panama and the United States are on the verge of opening negotiations concerning a new Panama Canal treaty and a new sea-level canal.

By this weekend two members of Panama's three-man negotiation team are expected to arrive in Washington for the talks. The two departing negotiators are Roberto Aleman and Diogenes de la Rosa, the second of whom was denounced by speakers at the Tuesday night rally on the anniversary of the riots. So was the third member of the team, who is already in Washington. He is ex-President Ricardo Arias, Panamanian Ambassador to the United States.

Arias is the particular target of extremists here, who call him a "traitor" and demand his removal. They also demand the removal of the new Foreign Minister, Fernando Elea, on the same ground. By "traitor" the students who use the term mean one who is willing to negotiate a new treaty with "Yankee imperialism." They demand an end first to the old treaty, signed in 1903, before a new treaty or a sea level canal is discussed.

Although the Government has triumphed over the extremists so far, this is only the first round in what promises to be a long and difficult fight. It is still possible that at some stage or other the fight will degenerate into violence. For what Robles—and also the United States—are up against here are not students off on a peculiar kind of Latin American binge, but Castro-type Communists. They are manipulating the student body for destructive ends, and using the University of Panama as a "Sierra Maestra" from which they rally forth against the Government.

I have spent a lot of time with the top student leaders this past week and can report soberly that they are a dangerous lot who have no interest in either a stable and prosperous Panama, or in successful canal negotiations with the United States. What they seek, as they sometimes confess frankly, is a drastic revolution here like Castro's and the ouster of all Americans from this area.

In an interview with the president of the Federation of Students of Panama, 25-year-old Victor Avila, I heard the full Castro line. It was summed up in the phrase Avila frequently used: "the Panamanian revolution."

Both Avila and a federal deputy who addressed Tuesday's meeting, Virgilio Schuverer, urged the audience to follow the "road of the takeover of power by the Panamanian people," in the deputy's words. Schuverer came as close as possible to preaching outright armed revolution when he added:

"The sovereignty of a country can-

not be discussed. It must be defended with arms."

Inflammatory statements such as that were greeted by cries of "Viva Fidel Castro" from a claque surrounding the speakers' stand.

Making clear that continued agitation is in store for Panama, Avila told me that his forces were entering a period of "political education." He meant that they would go among the masses and indoctrinate them with the Castro ideology.

The problems involved in the canal treaty negotiations, which affect the fate of a proposed sea level canal somewhere in the isthmian region as well as the existing Panama Canal, are awesomely complex and would challenge the best minds on both sides under the best of circumstances. But if negotiations are going to be conducted against a backdrop of political agitation and tension in Panama, forcing negotiators always to have one eye on that as they study the treaty questions, it is hard to see how such negotiations can lead to a mutually satisfactory culmination.

The heart of the matter, as this observer sees it, is that Panama must resolve permanently the problem of her extremists. President Robles has made a good beginning these past days. But it is only a beginning. The task he faces ahead is that of maintaining order throughout four years, not just four days, and of giving Panama the stability she needs not only to insure a just canal treaty but her own happiness and prosperity.

An Interview

# What Panama Wants to Negotiate

By DANIEL JAMES

**Panama City.** The Panama Canal Zone will virtually cease to exist as a United States enclave, and both it and the canal itself will be jointly administered by the United States and Panama, if the Panamanian viewpoint is sustained in bilateral negotiations on the whole canal problem which are about to resume in Washington. Such is the essence of Panama's position as described in an interview by that country's youthful new Foreign Minister, Fernando Eleta.

Two Panamanian negotiators, Roberto Aleman and Diogenes de la Rosa, will leave here for Washington on January 25, announced Eleta, to join the Panamanian Ambassador, Ricardo Arias, in talks with American officials. These will be the first conversations since President Johnson's statement last month offering fundamental concessions to Panama and proposing that a sea-level canal be built either there or in Colombia or Nicaragua.

Although the present canal and a sea-level canal are often linked in speculation here, Foreign Minister Eleta insisted that they are separate questions. Panama's negotiators, he continued, "may discuss the two canals simultaneously but deal with them separately" in the event of any agreement. Panama, in other words, wants a new treaty on the existing canal first, before concluding agreements about anything else. The basis for that attitude was enunciated by Eleta in these words:

"The Panamanian position is that, in order to avoid further friction, and to afford Panama treatment in keeping with contemporary thinking, we should eliminate the more obvious evidences of the overwhelming presence of the United States within the territory of the Republic of Panama."

"Does that mean that Panama seeks joint administration of the canal and the Zone?" he was asked.

"Panama will definitely seek participation in joint administration of the canal and the Zone," he replied.

And what about such matters as the Canal Zone police (who played such an ambiguous role in last year's flag riots)?

"Those are details to be worked

Panama will also seek participa-

tion in income from operations of the canal," Eleta continued. In that connection he advocated raising shipping tolls, which he said were at about the same level as in 1915 when the canal was opened to world commerce. That, he hinted, would obviate the need to seek an increase in the just under \$2 million which Panama receives annually as a "rental" for the canal site.

The issue of who is "sovereign" over the Canal Zone has been a sore one since the original treaty was drafted in 1903, and is at the bottom of the riots last January and all agitation here over the years. As the Panamanians see it, it will remain a cancer until the Zone is "integrated" into the Panamanian Republic, as Eleta put it.

What is necessary is the "integration of the one area into the other," he said, speaking of Zone and Republic. "After all, many Americans are living among us in the Republic happily and in good health," he added.

The question of a sea-level canal, which Panama wants to deal with separately, will not be raised by her negotiators, the Foreign Minister pointed out. It is purely President Johnson's idea, and they will wait for his representatives to introduce it. So far, the United States has made no formal sea-level canal proposal to Panama.

"It is not in Panama's best interests to have a sea-level canal," was, as a matter of fact, the Panamanian Foreign Minister's somewhat surprising statement. The chief reason, he explained, is that it would cause "economic repercussions" for Panama. As one example, he said that perhaps only 400 Panamanians would be needed to help operate a sea-level canal, compared with about 10,000 working on the present one. With an unemployment rate that is already very high, the throwing out of work of some 9,500 more workers could conceivably precipitate a deep crisis here.

But Panama is open-minded about the sea-level canal, Eleta added, and her negotiators have been instructed "to hear whatever American officials have to say about it."

It was this reporter's impression that canal in Panama it will have to be

part of a package including probably forms of technical and financial aid designed to cushion any adverse impact upon the Panamanian economy.

When asked whether Panama would agree to permit the United States to maintain whatever military bases might be needed in the area, in connection with a new treaty, Eleta preferred not to speak for publication. Since our military presence here is regarded, even in non-Communist circles, as an uncomfortable reminder of American tutelage if not of downright imperialism, Eleta felt that he might in some way jeopardize the negotiations if he discussed the bases at this time.

However, the writer has reason to believe that Panama would be amenable to granting us base privileges once the fundamental canal treaty is worked out to everyone's mutual satisfaction. She apparently prefers to deal with it separately, as she does the sea-level canal.

Thus there arises the possibility that three distinct arrangements may result from the negotiations between Panama and the United States: a treaty on the present canal, a treaty on a new sea-level canal, and a treaty or convention on military bases.

Above all, it was clear from the interview with Eleta that Panama is most anxious to resolve the whole canal issue amicably and constructively.

"We will not make arbitrary or capricious demands," the Foreign Minister stressed. "We are thinking of the best interests of both countries, which are interested in eradicating perennial sources of friction." He referred to the joint communique of last April 3, when diplomatic relations were renewed, in which the latter point was stressed.

It was equally clear that neither Eleta nor President Marco Aurelio Robles is in a position to settle for less than "integration" of the Canal Zone into Panama and similar points which all add up to recognition, in practical terms, of her national sovereignty and to the satisfaction of the popular demand for such recognition. Anything less could mean either continued political instability or the eventual overthrow of the Government.



El Porvenir, Monterrey Mexico  
31 December 1964

## Comprensión, Equidad y Paz

José Castellot Jr.

En este mes de diciembre de 1964, se han acumulado síntomas categóricos de que nuestra AMERICA ha madurado lo bastante para escoger, como normas de sus relaciones intercontinentales, el buen entendimiento y la recíproca equidad, que contribuyen a una paz efectiva; la consagración de aquel austero principio de convivencia que Benito Juárez formuló con clara precisión: "El respeto al derecho ajeno es la paz".

El Presidente Lyndon B. Johnson anunció ante las cámaras televisoras, en el teatro de la Casa Blanca, que los Estados Unidos proyectan definitivamente construir un nuevo canal al nivel del mar en Centroamérica; y que la Zona del Canal de Panamá podría ser devuelta a ese país, una vez que la nueva vía acuática fuese terminada. Reveló también que ha propuesto "la negociación de un Tratado totalmente nuevo respecto a dicho Canal de Panamá, que "debe estipular su propia terminación cuando comience a funcionar ese otro canal al nivel del mar".

El Tratado que determinó la construcción del Canal y ahora rige su manejo y explotación fue firmado el 18 de noviembre de 1903, quince días después de que Panamá se declaró independiente de Colombia; concedió "en perpetuidad para el uso, ocupación y predominio" de los Estados Unidos, una faja territorial de 16 kilómetros de ancho y 80 kilómetros de longitud; y además del pago de 10.000.000 de dólares a Panamá por esa concesión territorial, se convino en pagarle una cantidad anual, acordando entonces 250.000 dólares, que en el curso de los años fue aumentando hasta 1.930.000 dólares. El costo de la construcción fué de 380.000.000; y los ingresos anuales de la explotación llegan alrededor de 60.000.000. La Panamá Canal Company administra con unos 14.500 empleados y obreros, de los cuales 11.000 son panameños, que perciben los mismos salarios que los norteamericanos, pero a éstos se abona un 25% adicional, por trabajar en el extranjero. Panamá y los Estados Unidos se han visto envueltos en conflictos, desde que el Canal fue inaugurado en 1914; el más reciente ocurrió el 9 y 10 de enero último, originando 20 muertos y más de 200 heridos.

Al comentar en febrero tan deplorable suceso, lo consideramos derivación de las realidades injustas que regían la vida continental, hasta que otras realidades hemisféricas o mundiales impusieron cambios más o menos radicales y acelerados; expresando nuestra convicción de que el Tratado de 1903 debería ser renovado equitativa y oportunamente, para establecer una nueva situación que devuelva los derechos territoriales de Panamá y reconozca las aspiraciones legítimas del pueblo panameño a una mayor participación en las utilidades efectivas de la explotación,

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pero, al mismo tiempo, asegurando la continuidad operante de esa vía interoceánica, con fuerzas militares, expertos técnicos y recursos financieros, suficientes para frustrar cualquier intrusión ostensible o subrepticia de quienes sólo tienen interés en anular o reducir los servicios que el Canal presta a las Américas. Y citábamos el emocionado llamamiento a la alianza para la paz, en que el escritor N. Viera Altamirano exhorta: "La unidad de todos los pueblos de América constituye el mayor interés, la causa suprema de todos los americanos. Si la Providencia nos ha dado este sitio, nuestro deber es volverlo el hogar de una comunidad de naciones comprometidas para la Paz."

Y en subsiguiente comentario pedíamos que los dirigentes de la política hemisférica de los Estados Unidos —aunque se crean sostenidos jurídica e indefinidamente por el Tratado de 1903— y los defensores de los derechos e intereses de Panamá —aunque se admita que la perpetuidad no puede ser pactada por los hombres, ni por las naciones— si no hacen a un lado las exigencias apasionadas o interesadas de sus respectivos extremistas y no reanudan los esfuerzos leales por llegar a una solución realmente equitativa, con un mínimo de perjuicios directos para la otra parte contendiente, serán responsables del debilitamiento y la desorganización de las fuerzas que defienden y consolidan la seguridad, la libertad y la prosperidad en nuestras Américas.

A nuestro juicio y quienquiera obtenga beneficios nacionales o individuales, lo más significativo y trascendental son los términos con que el Presidente Johnson ha expuesto las razones de la intervención de su autoridad nacional, para proponer una pacífica conciliación de intereses: "En enero pasado hubo violencia en Panamá. Como dije entonces, "la violencia es injustificada siempre y nunca puede ser base de conversaciones. —Así, desde el primer día dejé establecido bien claro que estábamos listos para discutir y encontrar una fórmula justa, sin prejuicios ni condiciones previas de ninguna de las partes. —Hoy informé al Gobierno de Panamá que estamos dispuestos a negociar un nuevo Tratado... que substituya al de 1903 y sus enmiendas".

Coincidiendo con esta constructiva actitud del Presidente de los Estados Unidos, la Organización de Estados Americanos resolvió por voto unánime, con abstención de Guatemala, poner en vigor el "Acta de Washington", estableciendo que cualquier Estado americano independiente que quiera ser miembro de la Organización deberá manifestarlo por nota dirigida al Secretario General y aceptar todas las obligaciones que entraña la condición de miembro, especialmente las referentes a la seguridad colectiva; y que el voto de las dos terceras partes de los Estados miembros decidirá su admisión.

Este ambiente en las relaciones intercontinentales nos induce a creer que vamos llegando a la madurez por el camino de la comprensión, la equidad y la paz.

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**Bargain With U.S. or Go Broke**

# New Canal Plan Puts Squeeze On Panama

By Dan Kurzman  
Staff Reporter

The Administration's strategy in linking the issue of a new sea level canal in Central America with the question of a new treaty to replace the 1903 Panama Canal treaty places the United States in a strong bargaining position in its negotiations with Panama.

One U.S. official familiar with current developments agreed yesterday that Panama has the best chance of being selected as the site of the new canal—if it does not insist on unreasonable terms in the drawing up of new treaties for the present and projected canals.

Full-scale surveys will be conducted in Colombia, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, as well as Panama, to determine the technical problems involved in the various possible canal ventures. But as of now, U.S. officials appear to have little doubt that Panama would pose the fewest engineering problems at the least cost, leaving the political problem as the real question.

Officials have indicated that the United States is willing to make very substantial concessions to Panama in the new treaty envisaged for the present canal. It will probably agree to eliminate the controversial clause that leases the canal to the United States in perpetuity and to make clear, as the current treaty does not, that Panama is sovereign over the whole of its territory, including the Canal Zone.

It is also certain to increase the Panamanian share of canal profits. And in some form of international control of canal operations.

## News Analysis

But these officials have stressed that the United States will not give in to such demands as that recently advanced by a high Panamanian figure, that Panama split gross receipts with the United States even though the Americans are meeting all operational expenses.

Thus, Panama is by no means in the position of Egypt vis-a-vis the Suez Canal. The Egyptians had only to throw out the British who had been operating Suez and run the waterway themselves.

Panama is in a much weaker position. It can no longer afford to take an extreme nationalistic position, or even threaten to do so—at least not before the U.S. decides on the site for a new canal. For such behavior could well result in either Columbia or Nicaragua and Costa Rica reaping the profits from a new sea-level waterway.

That would have a catastrophic effect on Panama's future. By far its most important resource has been the Panama Canal, a resource that will soon be

obsolete, and, in any event, economically unsound when the new canal is built.

From the political viewpoint, the other three countries under consideration would probably be more acceptable to the U.S. They have long depended for their livelihoods on other resources, and the benefits of a new canal would be "gravy" to them, a U.S. official pointed out.

As a result, it is argued, these countries might tend to be less nationalistic in their approach than Panama, which unhappily finds itself almost completely dependent on a resource controlled by a foreign nation.

But the linking of the two canal issues has not left Panama bereft of advantages or bargaining pressures of its own. For one thing, it appears to have extracted from the U.S. at least tacit agreement to build the new canal through Panama, the only condition being that the country be moderate in its partnership approach.

For another, the United States is aware that a decision to build a new canal outside Panama could create economic and political panic in Panama that might well lead toward communism, or at best, bitter anti-Americanism. Such a development would be particularly dangerous from the time that the decision is made to the time, perhaps 15 years later, when the new canal can replace the old one.

And in the end, the U.S. might have to compensate for losses with untold millions in economic aid.

This is aside from the likelihood that the U.S., as estimates stand now, would have to spend much more money building a canal through another country—though possible use of nuclear explosive could bring the cost down—and undergo more technical difficulties as well.

In a sense, therefore, the U.S. and Panama appear to have each other by the tail.