

it not only follows that Social-Democrats must not confine themselves entirely to the economic struggle; they must not even allow the organisation of economic exposures to become the predominant part of their activities. We must actively take up the political education of the working class and the development of its political consciousness...

The question now arises: what does political education mean? Is it sufficient to confine oneself to the propaganda of working-class hostility to autocracy? Of course not. It is not enough to explain to the workers that they are politically oppressed (no more than it was to explain to them that their interests were antagonistic to the interests of the employers). Advantage must be taken of every concrete example of this oppression for the purpose of agitation (in the same way that we began to use concrete examples of economic oppression for the purpose of agitation). An inasmuch as political oppression affects all sorts of classes in society, inasmuch as it manifests itself in various spheres of life and activity, in industrial life, in civic life, in personal and family life, in religious life, scientific life, etc., etc., is it not evident that we shall not be fulfilling our task of developing the political consciousness of the workers if we do not undertake the organisation or the political exposure of autocracy in all its aspects? In order to carry on agitation around concrete exam-

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NRM. 77

Page 12: (Continued)

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ples of oppression, these examples must be exposed (just as it was necessary to expose factory evils in order to carry on economic agitation

It is possible to "raise the activity of the masses of the workers" only provided this activity is not restricted entirely to "political agitation on an economic basis." And one of the fundamental conditions for the necessary expansion of political agitation is the organisation of all-sided political exposure. In no other way can the masses be trained in political consciousness and revolutionary activity except by means of such exposures. Hence, to conduct such activity is one of the most important functions of international Social-Democracy as a whole, for even the existence of political liberty does not remove the necessity for such exposures; it merely changes the sphere against which they are directed ...

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Working class consciousness cannot be genuinely political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter what class is affected. Moreover, that response must be a Social-Democratic response, and not one from any other point of view. The consciousness of the masses of the workers cannot be genuine class-consciousness unless the worker learn to observe from concrete, and above all from topical, political facts and events, every other social class and all the manifestations of the intellectual,

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NRM. 77Page 12: (Continued)

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ethical and political life of these classes; unless
they learn to apply practically the materialist
analysis and the materialist estimate of all aspects
of the life and activity of all classes, strata and
groups of the population. Those who concentrate 5
the attention, observation and the consciousness
of the working class exclusively, or even mainly,
upon itself alone are not Social-Democrats; be-
cause, for its self-realisation the working class
must not only have a theoretical ... rather it 10
would be more true to say ... not so much a theore-
tical as a practical understanding, acquired through
experience of political life, of the relationships
between all the various classes of modern society.
That is why the idea preached by our Economists, 15
that the economic struggle is the most widely applic-
able means of drawing the masses into the political
movement, is so extremely harmful and extremely
reactionary in practice.

In order to become a Social-Democrat, a 20
workingman must have a clear picture in his mind
of the economic nature and the social and poli-
tical features of the landlord, of the priest, of
the high state official and of the peasant, of
the student and of the tramp; he must know their 25
strong and weak sides; he must understand all the
catchwords and sophisms by which each class and
each stratum camouflages its selfish strivings
and its real "nature"; he must understand what
interests certain institutions and certain laws 30

NRM. 77Page 12: (Continued)

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reflect and how they reflect them. This "clear picture" cannot be obtained from books. It can be obtained only from living examples and from exposures, following hot after their occurrence, of what goes on around us at a given moment, of what is being discussed, in whispers perhaps, by each one in his own way, of the meaning of such and such events, of such and such statistics, of such and such court sentences, etc., etc., etc. These universal political exposures are an essential and fundamental condition for training the masses in revolutionary activity.

Why is it that the Russian workers as yet display so little revolutionary activity in connection with the brutal way in which the police maltreat the people, in connection with the persecution of the religious sects, with the flogging of the peasantry, with the outrageous censorship, with the torture of soldiers, with the persecution of the most innocent cultural enterprises, etc.? Is it because the "economic struggle" does not "stimulate" them to this, because such political activity does not "promise palpable results," because it produces little that is "positive"? No. To advance this argument, we repeat, is merely to shift the blame to the shoulders of others, to blame the masses of the workers for our philistinism ... We must blame ourselves, our remoteness from the mass movement; we must blame ourselves for being unable as yet to organise a sufficiently

EXHIBIT

7005.

NRM. 77

Page 12: (Continued)

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wide, striking and rapid exposure of these de-
spicable outrages

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NRM. 79. Page 36: "The present relation of forces between the 1
camp of imperialism and war and the camp of democracy
and peace makes this prospect quite real. For the
first time in history there is a mighty and united camp
of peace-loving states. The working class in the
capitalist countries is now more organized, and powerful 5
democratic international organizations of workers,
peasants, women and the youth have been formed. The
Communist Parties, which are waging a heroic struggle
for peace, have gained in scope and strength.

"The peoples of all countries are vitally inter- 10
ested in the struggle against the danger of another war,
and this applies also to the broad masses in the United
States, for in the event of war they will suffer no
less than the population of other countries. The war
in Korea, despite the enormous preponderance of American 15
armaments, has already cost the American people hundreds
of thousands of killed and wounded. It is easy to real-
ize what colossal sacrifice the American people will
have to bear if the bloated financial tycoons in the
United States hurl them into a war against the peace- 20
loving nations.

"The task now is to enhance still further the
activity of the popular masses, to strengthen the organ-
ization of the peace supporters, tirelessly to expose 25
the warmongers and to prevent them from enmeshing the
people in a web of lies. Curb and isolate the adven-
turers in the camp of the imperialist aggressors, who,
for the sake of their profits, are trying to draw the
peoples into a holocaust - such is the chief task of
the whole progressive and peace-loving mankind (pro- 30
longed applause.)"

NRM. 79. Page 46: "The Soviet Union is not afraid of the 1
threats of the warmongers. Our people have experience
in fighting aggressors and have learned well how to
thrash them. They thrashed the aggressors during the
Civil War, when the Soviet state was still young and
relatively weak; they thrashed them during the Second 5
World War; and they will thrash them in future if they
dare attack our Motherland. (Loud and prolonged
applause).

"The facts of the past must be heeded. These
facts are that as a result of the First World War Russia 10
fell away from the capitalist system, and as a result
of the Second World War quite a number of countries in
Europe and Asia fell away from the capitalist system.
There is every reason to believe that a third world war
will cause the collapse of the world capitalist system. 15
(Prolonged applause.)

"That, so to speak, is the prospect of war and its
consequences if the warmongers and aggressors force war
upon the peoples.

"But there is another prospect, the prospect of 20
maintaining peace, the prospect of peace between the
nations. This prospect calls for the prohibition of
war propaganda, in conformity with the decision of the
United Nations; it calls for the banning of atomic
and germ weapons and for the steady reduction of their 25
armed forces by the Great Powers; it calls for the con-
clusion of a Pact of Peace between the powers, for the
expansion of trade between countries, for the restoration
of the single international market, and for other measures
of a similar nature aimed at consolidating peace. 30

NRM. 79. Page 46 (cont.): "The implementation of such measures 1
will strengthen peace, will rid the peoples of fear of
the menace of war, will put a stop to the unprecedented
expenditure of material resources on armaments and pre-
paration of a war of extermination and will make it
possible to use these resources for the benefit of the 5
peoples.

"The Soviet Union stands for the implementation of
these measures, for the prospect of peace between the
nations. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

"The Party's tasks in the sphere of foreign policy: 10

1. To continue the struggle against the prepara-
tion and unleashing of another war; to rally the mighty
anti-war democratic front for the purpose of strength-
ening peace; strengthen the ties of friendship and
solidarity with peace supporters the world over; per- 15
sistently to expose all preparations for a new war and
all the designs and intrigues of the warmongers.

2. To continue the policy of international co-
operation and development of business relations with all
countries. 20

3. To strengthen and develop inviolable friendly
relations with the Chinese People's Republic, with the
European People's Democracies - Poland, Czechoslovakia,
Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania, with the German
Democratic Republic and with the Mongolian People's 25
Republic.

4. Tirelessly to strengthen the defence power of
the soviet state and enhance our preparedness devastat-
ingly to repel any aggressor. (Loud and long continu-
ing applause.) 30

NRM. 79. Page 132: "4. We must put an end to underrating the 1

importance of ideological work, determinedly combat mani-
festations of a liberal attitude or indifference towards
ideological errors and distortions, systematically im-
prove and perfect the ideological and political train- 5
ing of our cadres; we must utilize all our means of
ideological influence, our propaganda, agitation and press,
for the communist education of Soviet citizens; we must
raise Soviet science to a higher level by stimulating
criticism and battles of opinion in scientific work, re- 10
membering that only in this way can Soviet science per-
form its mission of becoming the vanguard of world
science.

"5. We must continue to treasure as the apple 15
of our eye the Leninist unity of the Party's ranks, which
is the basis of the strength and invincibility of our
Party. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

"Comrades, in our epoch the great teachings of
Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are a beacon to all man-
kind, pointing the way to the development of world 20
civilization.

"Our Party owes its strength to the fact that its
activities are guided by Marxist-Leninist theory. Its
policy is based on a scientific knowledge of the laws of
social development. 25

"The historical role of our great teachers, Lenin
and Stalin, is that, having penetrated the theoretical
principles of Marxism and possessing a perfect mastery
of the dialectical method, they championed and upheld
Marxism against all distortions and developed Marxian 30

NRM. 79. Page 132 (cont.): "theory with superb genius. They constantly, at every new turn in history, linked Marxism with the definite practical tasks of the epoch, and demonstrated by their creative approach to the teachings of Marx and Engels that Marxism is not a lifeless dogma but a living guide to action." 1
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Page 145: "The teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin impart to our Party invincible strength and the ability to blaze new trails in history, clearly to see the aim of our forward movement, and more swiftly and securely to win and consolidate victory." 10

"Leninst-Stalinist ideas vividly illuminate with the torch of revolutionary theory the tasks and prospects of the struggle of the masses of all countries against imperialism, and for peace, democracy and socialism. (Loud and long continuing applause.)" 15

"Comrades, the Soviet state is no longer a lone oasis surrounded by capitalist countries. We are moving forward together with the great Chinese people (prolonged applause), together with the many millions of the People's Democracies and the German Democratic Republic. (Prolonged applause). We have the sympathy and support of all progressive mankind. (Prolonged applause.) Together with all these forces we are upholding the cause of peace and friendship among nations." 20
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"Our mighty Country is in the flower of its strength; and is moving forward from success to success. We have everything required for the building of a complete communist society. The natural resources of the Soviet Union are inexhaustible. Our state has demonstrated" 30

NRM. 79. Page 145 (cont.): "their ability to build a new society 1
and look forward to the future with confidence. (Pro-
longed applause.)

"At the head of the peoples of the Soviet Union
stands our Party, tried and tested and steeled in battle,
and unswervingly pursuing the Leninist-Stalinist policy. 5
Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the epoch-
making victory of socialism has been won in the U.S.S.R.
and the exploitation of man by man has been abolished
for ever. Under the leadership of the Party, the peoples
of the Soviet Union are successfully working for the 10
accomplishment of the great aim of building communism
in our country. (Prolonged applause.)

"There is no force in the world that can halt the
advance of Soviet society. Our cause is invincible.
We must keep our hand firmly on the helm and steer our 15
course undeterred by provocation or intimidation.
(Loud and prolonged applause.)

"Under the banner of the immortal Lenin, under the
wise leadership of the great Stalin, forward to the
victory of Communism! 20

"(On the conclusion of the report, all the dele-
gates rise and greet Comrade Stalin with loud and pro-
longed cheers. There are cries from all parts of the
hall: "Long live the great Stalin!" "Hurrah for our
dear Stalin!" "Long live our beloved leader and teacher, 25
Comrade Stalin!")

NRM. 80. Page 40: "It is said that Lenin's thesis that imperialism inevitably generates war must now be regarded as obsolete, since powerful popular forces have come forward to-day in defence of peace and against another world war. That is not true. 1

"The object of the present-day peace movement is to rouse the masses of the people to fight for the preservation of peace and for the prevention of another world war. Consequently, the aim of this movement is not to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism - it confines itself to the democratic aim of preserving peace. 5
In this respect, the present-day peace movement differs from the movement of the time of the First World War for the conversion of the imperialist war into civil war, since the latter movement went farther and pursued socialist aims. 10
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"It is possible that in a definite conjuncture of circumstances the fight for peace will develop here or there into a fight for socialism. But then it will no longer be the present-day peace movement; it will be a movement for the overthrow of capitalism. 20

"What is most likely is that the present-day peace movement, as a movement for the preservation of peace, will, if it succeeds, result in preventing a particular war, in its temporary postponement, in the temporary preservation of a particular peace, in the resignation of a bellicose government and its suppression by another that is prepared temporarily to keep the peace. That, of course, will be good. Even very good, But, all the same, it will not be enough to eliminate the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries generally. 25
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EXHIBIT.

7015.

NRM. 80. Page 40 (cont.): "It will not be enough, because for 1
all the successes of the peace movement, imperialism
will remain, continue in force - and, consequently,
the inevitability of wars will also continue in force.

"To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is 5
necessary to abolish imperialism"..

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LLM 3(a). Page 12: "The people cannot advance to Socialism 1
therefore, without real political power, which
must be taken from the hands of the capitalist
minority and firmly grasped by the majority of the
people, led by the working class. Only by this
means can democracy become a reality. 5

"The enemies of Communism accuse the Communist
Party of aiming to introduce Soviet Power in Bri-
tain and abolish Parliament. This is a slanderous
misrepresentation of our Policy. Experience has
shown that in present conditions the advance to 10
Socialism can be made just as well by a different
road; for example, through People's Democracy,
without establishing Soviet Power, as in the People's
Democracy of Eastern Europe.

"Britain will reach Socialism by her own road, 15
Just as the Russian people won political power by
the Soviet road which was dictated by their his-
torical conditions and background of Tsarist rule,
and the working people in the People's Democracies
and China won political power in their own way in 20
their historical conditions, so the British Commun-
ists declare that the people of Britain can trans-
form capitalist democracy into a real People's
Democracy, transforming Parliament, the product of
Britain's historic struggle for democracy, into the 25
democratic instrument of the will of the vast majority
of her people.

"The path forward for the British people will
be to establish a People's Government on the basis
of a Parliament truly representative of the people. 30

LLM 3(a). Page 12 (Cont.): "Such a People's Government would: 1

Break the power of the millionaire monopolists and other big capitalists by socialist nationalisation of large-scale industry, the banks, big distributive monopolies, insurance companies and the land of the large land-owners, and introduce a government monopoly of foreign trade. 5

"Introduce a planned economy based on socialist principles aimed at fundamental social change.

"Transform the existing unequal imperialist Empire into a strong, free, equal association of peoples by granting national independence to the colonies. 10

"Make Britain strong, free and independent with a foreign policy of peace.

"Break the political hold of the capitalist class by democratic electoral reform, democratic ownership of the press, the people's control of the B.B.C., and the democratic transformation of the Civil Service, Foreign Office, Armed Forces and Police, the Law Courts and the administration of justice. 15 20

"The essential condition for decisively defeating the Tories and rightwing Labour leaders and establishing such a people's power is the building up of a broad coalition or popular alliance of all sections of the working people; of the organised working class, of all workers by hand and brain, of professional people and technicians, of all lower and middle sections in the towns, and of the farmers in the countryside. 25 30

LLM 3(a). Page 12 (cont.): "This broad popular alliance of 1
all sections of the people determined to end the
arbitrary power of the rich over the future of
Britain can be built only on the basis of a united
working class as its decisive leading force - the
class that is most concerned in the struggle for a 5
new order of society.

" The Labour Party, with its present policy
and under its present leadership, is preventing the
building up of such an alliance and splitting in-
stead of uniting the working-class movement. 10

"The right-wing Labour leaders act as the main
supporters of capitalism, and are doing their best
to safeguard the privileges and profits of the
capitalists, and provide them with opportunities to
continue their exploitation of the British and col- 15
onial peoples. As a Government they refused to
carry out those decisive measures which were urgently
needed in the present and future interests of the
British working people. Having thus prepared the
way for the victory of the Tories, they have become 20
Her Majesty's "loyal opposition" in Parliament,
supporting the Tories in the application of this
policy, and, in the trade union movement, assuring
the Tory Government of "amicable" working relations.

"The present leadership of the Labour Party, 25
both in Government and in opposition, is disrupt-
ing and demoralising the Labour Movement by its
poisonous propaganda preaching collaboration with
capitalism and capitulation to capitalism, It
has betrayed every principle on which the British 30

LLM 3(a). Page 12 (cont.): "Labour Movement was formed. 1

"In order, therefore, to bring about a decisive change in Britain, the millions of workers in the trade unions, co-operatives and individual members' sections of the Labour Party will have to use their political and industrial strength to make it impos- 5 sible for either the right-wing Labour leaders or the Tories to carry on their present pernicious policy. They will have to rouse all the working people and progressive sections for active struggle against the present policy of surrender to American political 10 and economic interests, against the war preparations and the wars in Malaya, Egypt and Korea, against the two years' conscription and the calling-up of reservists . Such a struggle is also necessary to defeat the Tory attacks on wages and the social 15 services and to secure higher wages and salaries, more houses, schools and hospitals, the raising of benefits and pensions, and on all issues which affect the people. It is through this struggle that the unity of all workers by hand and brain, of profession- 20 al people and farmers can develop into a movement strong enough to bring down the Tories and to defeat the right and their defenders in the Labour Party and to ensure peace and a future for all working people. Because of this working-class unity, the 25 united action of all sections of the working-class movement - Labour, trade union, co-operative and Communist - is the vital need. Only by united action between all sections of the Labour Movement can the working class rally all its forces and all 30

LLM 3(a) Page 12 (cont.): "its allies for decisive action to 1
win a Parliamentary majority and form a People's
Government.

"A People's Parliament and Government which
draws its strength from a united movement of the
people, with the working class as its core, will be 5
able to mobilise the overwhelming majority of the
people for decisive measures to break the economic
and political power of the big exploiters. The
whole legislative and executive machinery of the
country will be made continuously responsive to the 10
democratic will of the people, and the whole of the
people will be drawn into active participation in the
control and administration of every sphere of nation-
al life.

"A key role would be performed by the trade un- 15
ions, without which no People's Democracy can func-
tion. National arbitration would be abolished and
full powers of collective bargaining on wages and
conditions restored, the socialist economic plan en- 20
suring the basis for steadily advancing wages and
conditions. The trade unions would participate in
drawing up the economic plan and in the administrat-
ion of the nationalised industries, nationally, re-
gionally and in every factory. They would partici-
pate in the work of the Ministries of Labour and 25
National Insurance and ensure the operation of the
labour laws.

"Similarly the co-operative organisations with
their accumulated experience would play a respons-
ible part in the organisation and control of 30

LLM 3(a). Page 12 (cont.): "distribution and supplies. 1

"The electoral system would be democratically reformed with proportional representation and votes at eighteen, and the House of Commons would be made the sole national authority, freed from the restrictive influences of the House of Lords and the Monarchy. 5

"Men and women who are determined and loyal advocates of the people's power will replace those who uphold the old system in all positions of authority in the Civil Service, the Armed Forces, the Judiciary and the Diplomatic Service. 10

"The millionaire-owned newspapers will be taken over and placed at the disposal of the working class and democratic organisations, so that the policy expressed in these journals is that of the working people, and their influence can strengthen the determination of the people to carry through the decisive changes in the social order. 15

"The B.B.C. will be similarly transformed into an instrument expressing the interests of the people in every aspect of its work. 20

"Freedom of religious worship will be guaranteed, and all religious creeds and beliefs respected.

"In carrying through these decisive measures to implement the democratic will of the people, every effort of the capitalist class to defy the People's Government and Parliament will be resisted and defeated. 25

"The great broad popular alliance, led by the working class, firmly based on the factories, which 30

LLM 3(a). Page 12 (cont.): "has democratically placed the 1
People's Government in power, will have the strength
to deal with the attacks of the capitalist warmongers
and their agents.

"The Government will rely on the strength of the
organised workers to ensure that the programme de- 5
cided upon by Parliament is operated in practice,
and that all attempts to resist or sabotage it are
defeated, and the enemies of the working class
brought to justice.

"It would be wrong to believe that the big 10
capitalists will voluntarily give up their property
and their big profits in the interests of the British
people.

It would be more correct to expect them to offer
active resistance to the decisions of the People's 15
Government, and to fight for the retention of their
privileges by all means in their power, including
force.

"Therefore the British people and the People's
Government should be ready decisively to rebuff 20
such attempts.

"The power of the working people, uniting all
those sections who recognise the need for social
change and participate in carrying it through, as
expressed and laid down through the elected Parlia- 25
ment, is alone capable of securing peace, high wages
for working people, raw materials for the British in-
dustry and markets for British goods, and creating
the conditions for the establishment of Socialism in
Britain. 30

LLM 3(b). Page 13: "Why, then, has the Tory Party, represent- 1
ing the handful of exploiters, been able to maintain
its malign influence and grip on British political
life between the wars, and after a six years' inter-
lude of Labour Governments, why is it now back in
the saddle? 5

"As we have seen it is because this potentially
mighty political force is split, divided and misled
by the propaganda of the ruling class and the policy
and outlook of the right-wing Labour leaders, who in
practice, in or out of Government, support the rul- 10
ing class.

"To build this broad people's alliance, therefore,
is the pre-requisite for the advance to a People's
Government and it can only be built on the basis of
a united working class as its decisive force - the 15
class that is most concerned in the struggle for a
new social order.

"Comrade Pollitt in his report has shown the
way forward. The call of the Communist Party is
to raise the developing powerful mass movement to 20
new heights in a united anti-Tory struggle that can
make its influence felt inside the Labour Party and
help bring about serious changes in its policy and
leadership. Not only can this mass movement success-
fully defend living standards, it can also force a 25
General Election, crushingly defeat the Tories and
return a Labour Government which would be compelled
to carry through an entirely new policy.

"The unity of the working class is in the first
place that vital link in the chain which can bring 30

LLM 3(b). Page 13 (cont.): the Tories down, and as it grows 1
in strength draw together the great new alliance of
all working people that in the near future can elect
a People's Government.

"The necessary objective political conditions
for the creation of this alliance are daily maturing 5
as the crisis deepens, the war danger grows, and
the American domination of our country increases.
The possibilities will grow of uniting the majority
of the British people in the struggle for peace and
to rally all honest patriots to break the Yankee 10
grip. Enormous opportunities are being created
to draw in the mass of the teachers, doctors, health
workers, architects and technicians to save the
social services.

"Our socialist Programme to solve Britain's 15
economic problems will attract still wider sections
as it becomes increasingly clear that it offers the
only way out of the impasse.

"Increasingly they will realise that there is 20
no future for the professions and the arts under
capitalism, Toryism and rearmament. The working
farmer, the small shopkeeper and the small business
man, already under attack by the monopolists, will
be further squeezed. The developing slump brings
the menace of professional unemployment and the 25
bankruptcy of the small man. But a People's Govern-
ment, freed from the restrictions of capitalism,
with its vast socialist programme of economic de-
velopment, its great social plans, has a future to
offer such people in co-operation with the working 30

LLM 3(b). Page 13 (cont.): "class, such as could never be
dreamt of under the present social order". 1

Page 17: "Along with all these changes the Govern-
ment would carry through the democratic transform- 5
ation of the state apparatus. It would begin with
the civil service, the armed forces, the judiciary
and the diplomatic service. All the leading figures
in these services, correctly observed Laski, "...come
in fact, from an extraordinarily narrow class within
the community. With individual exceptions they 10
bring to their work an attitude which accepts the
fundamental assumptions of the present social order
as outside the realm of controversy". (Parliament-
ary Government, p. 321.)

"In the civil service is it the higher adminis- 15
trative class, the advisers of ministers and the
makers of policy, which is the key. Most of them
come from the ruling class circles and were edu-
cated in the public schools and Oxford and Cambridge.
Sixty-five per cent. of the leading personnel in 20
the Foreign Office came from eleven public schools.

"Capitalist in social outlook and training,
Toxy in politics, it is idle to think that such
elements would be friends of a People's Government.
On the contrary, they are part and parcel of the 25
class enemy, bound up with the capitalist system by
a hundred ties.

"The whole tradition and outlook of the Foreign
Office since 1917 is based on enmity to the Soviet
Union and the maintenance of the most reactionary 30

LLM 3(b). Page 17 (cont.): "feudal regimes throughout the world. 1
Its role during Munich was notorious, and since 1945
its main concern has been to re-establish imperialism
in South-East Asia, put a fascist king back on the
Greek throne, sabotage the development of the People's
Democracies, re-establish relations with Franco Spain, 5
rebuild German and Japanese militarism, and cement
the war alliance with the United States and generally
obstruct the United Nations.

"The General staff at this moment is engaged on
perfecting plans for war on the Soviet Union in 10
association with their American opposite numbers.
And they bring to this task an enthusiasm they never
displayed for the opening of the Second Front. Even
bourgeois constitutional authorities, with the exper-
ience of the army leaders during the Ulsterrebellion 15
and their general conduct during the First World War
question their political impartiality. "There is
evidence that senior military officers ... cannot be
trusted", writes Jennings. "Their 'discipline' may
stop short at the highest military rank, and their 20
'loyalty' may not extend to the politicians who are
in control."

"And most important, the leadership and direction
of the police, the C.I.D., Special Branch and M.I.5.
make these bodies the direct oppressive instruments 25
of the ruling class against the Labour and progress-
ive movements. They are a Government within a
Government, and one Labour leader related in his
memoirs how M.I.5 simply refused to disclose to the
first Labour Government any details of its work. 30

LLM 3(b). Page 17 (cont.): "Finally, the penetration of the United States into the higher organs of the British State is an alarming new factor in the situation. Its influence through the E.C.A. on the Treasury and the Board of Trade, the control exercised over our armed forces through the Atlantic Pact organisations, the influence of the G-man in M.I.5 and the Secret Service are all additional, urgent reasons for sweeping changes. 1 5

"It was commonplace in the Labour movement to say in earlier days that the people in these key positions would be changed. No such steps were taken in the Labour Governments of 1924, 1929 or 1945. Carrying out capitalist policies they felt no need to change the capitalist personnel. 10

"Any People's Government serious about fundamental change would have to clear out those who uphold the old system in all positions of authority in the state apparatus and replace them by men and women who are determined and loyal advocates of the people's power. It would welcome the assistance of all those officials who genuinely wished to serve the People's Government. In Ministries such as the Treasury, the Board of Trade, Labour, Education, Health, Works, etc., new leading forces would be found from the factories and the organisations of the Labour movement, the progressive sections of the professional people, economists, scientists, etc., and progressive elements already in these Ministries would be promoted. At the same time steps would be taken to train the best young people for state administrative work. 15 20 25 30

LLM 3(b). Page 17 (cont.): "The main diplomats and section 1
heads of the Foreign Office would be replaced by
men and women who could truly reflect the entirely
new era in British foreign relations which a People's
Government would usher in. Above all, action would
be taken to democratise the armed forces and police, 5
to extend their democratic rights and establish full
opportunities for promotion from the ranks and train-
ing for the highest positions. Those who served
with distinction in the anti-fascist war and who
sympathise with the People's Government would occupy 10
the highest positions in the services. After all,
the Soviet Armed Forces and the new Chinese Army
operating on this basis do not work so badly, as the
fascists learned to their cost. We have faith in
the British people and its youth that such a system 15
won't work badly here also.

"The judiciary and the judicial system would be
changed. Dr. Jennings has said that the law is for
the most part a legacy of the day when the country
was governed by a small section of the population 20
and when the "lower orders" had no function but to
obey. It was long ago admitted by Professor Dicey
that, as the law now stands, normal political con-
trovery is only permissible because the Government
does not seek to endorse the law. He might have 25
added, and because the people will not let them.
Its bias against the trade unions and progressive
movement is notorious. Sir Walter Citrine observed
in a letter to The Times in 1927: "The trade union
movement has little faith in either the competence 30
or the impartiality of the courts in matters affecting

LLM 3(b). Page 17 (cont.): "organised labour." So did such 1
an outstanding legal authority as the late Professor
Geldart. In general, in every great period of
social reform in Britain, notorious judicial con-
servatism has been a stumbling block to social pro-
gress. 5

"Of exceptional seriousness, with the develop-
ment of the crisis and the increasing war danger, is
the vicious ruling class attack on the civil liber-
ties of the people. In the years immediately be-
fore the war, the Sedition Act and the Public Order 10
Act were passed; the 1381 legislation was used against
Tom Mann and the hunger marchers. Since the war we
have seen the repeated use of the Emergency Powers
Act of 1921 against the workers, and the use of
troops in industrial disputes, National Arbitration 15
Order 1305, the system of purges, espionage and
forced marking in the Civil Service, and the new Re-
serve (Auxiliary Forces) Act for the call up of Z
men, which makes the most serious inroads into long-
established British democratic rights. These 20
measures have nothing to do with security. They are
an attack on liberty and to their eternal dishonour
the Labour Government is mainly responsible for the
use of them.

"Finally, the British judges are recruited from 25
the ranks of successful lawyers who have spent the
major part of their lives serving the interests of
property. Of the 24 Queen's Bench Judges, 15 came
from Public Schools, 19 are members of West End clubs.
Is it any wonder that the attitude of the courts has 30

LLM 3(b). Page 17 (cont.): "reflected the general atmosphere 1
in which British society has functioned these past
hundred years? There is no such thing as passion-
less and objective justice.

"The People's Government would sweep away all the
old legislation which infringes the basic liberties of 5
the people. It would recast the law of Sedition and
the Emergency Powers Act and all such measures, so that
all menaces to the people's liberty were removed. It
would appoint the High Court Judges from the ranks of
progressive lawyers and take steps to ensure entry into 10
the legal profession and progress to its highest ranks
from the sons of the people. Keeping the best of
English law, it would overhaul the whole legal code to
conform with the aims and objects of a Socialist State .

"A People's Government would end the power of 15
the millionaire press. We cannot have a real demo-
cracy or a genuine free press while the bulk of the
newspapers are in the hands of a dozen capitalist com-
bines and press lords. How can we expect anything else
than what we have got? Anti-Soviet, anti-trade-union, 20
anti-Labour, sensational newspapers, monuments of bias,
suppression, misrepresentation and misinformation. The
millionaire-owned newspapers will be taken over and
placed at the disposal of the working class and de-
mocratic organisations. 25

"Of crucial importance for the working of any de-
mocracy is the broadcasting system. The B.B.C. is
probably the most potent instrument of the ruling class
to-day for waging the cold war. Real working-class
expression is frozen out. The whole ideological 30

LLM 3(b). Page 17 (cont.): "content of its work serves to main- 1
tain capitalism and capitalist institutions. It will
be transformed into an instrument expressing the in-
terests of the people in every aspect of its work.

"A key role would be performed by the trade unions,
without which no People's Democracy can function. 5
National arbitration would be abolished and full powers
of collective bargaining on wages and conditions re-
stored. They would participate in the work of the
Ministry of Labour and National Insurance and ensure
the operation of the labour laws. Similarly the co- 10
operative organisations with their accumulated ex-
perience would play a responsible part in the organ-
isation and control of distribution and supplies.

"By all these measures the position within Britain
would be radically transformed. Power would be trans- 15
ferred from the hands of an insignificant group of
monopolists, as at present, to the hands of the over-
whelming majority of the people headed by the working
class, bringing about the radical reconstruction of the
whole state structure. Long ago, Lenin observed 20
"the proletariat alone is capable of bringing about the
complete democratisation of the political and social
system because such democratisation would place the
system in the hands of the workers". The People's
Government would do just that. 25

"Thus after the People's Government comes to power,
the radical transformation of the State structure and
the democratic reconstruction of the State institutions
will be carried out in the interests of the people.
Parliament will be preserved, but it will be transformed, 30

LLM 3(b). Page 17 (cont.): "and in this new form included in the 1
state structure of people's democracy.

"In carrying through these decisive measures to
implement the democratic will of the people the utmost
resistance of the capitalist class can be expected.
If there is one thing that the history of the class 5
struggle teaches, it is that the capitalist class never
commits suicide. It will fight to the bitter end to
try to keep its power, and when it loses power, it will
in every possible way try to regain it.

"All the experiences of the People's Democracies 10
in Eastern Europe prove this; the class struggle will
sharpen in every way. Our Programme, therefore,
makes the most categorical warning:

"It would be wrong to believe that the big
capitalists will voluntarily give up their pro- 15
perty and their big profits in the interests of
the British people. It would be more correct to
expect them to offer an active resistance to the
decisions of the People's Government, and to fight
for the retention of their privileges by all means 20
in their power, including force".

"To all such efforts, which would be the uncons-
titutional flouting of the nation's democratic decision,
the reply of the People's Government will be, and must
be, unhesitating and effective. The People's Govern- 25
ment will rely, above all, on the strength of the or-
ganised working class to support it in all the necessary
measures to overcome any effort to overthrow it and
thus wipe out the democratic verdict of the people".

LLM. 3(e). Page 13: "VI. CONCLUSION. 1

"(i) There is no such thing as democracy in the abstract. Under capitalism, democracy can only be a form of rule of the capitalist class over the working people. The Communist Party to-day stands for the defence of all the rights and liberties achieved with- 5
in the framework of capitalist democracy, whilst leading the fight for a higher type of democracy - People's Democracy and Socialism.

"(ii) Capitalist democracy - democracy for the minority, can become democracy for the majority only 10
when political and economic power is taken out of the hands of the monopoly capitalists and transferred to the hands of the people, i.e., by the advance to People's Democracy.

"(iii) The state machine is not an impartial 15
piece of administrative apparatus but a machine of coercion operating to impose the rule of the capitalist minority on the majority of the people.

"(iv) People's Democracy can only be achieved through the constant and active struggle of the people 20
both inside and outside Parliament, led by the Communist Party."

FURTHER READINGS.

Lenin and Stalin on the State. Little Lenin Library,
Vol. 23.
Lenin: State and Revolution. Little Lenin Library, 25
Vol. 14.
Stalin: Concluding Speech at the 19th Congress.
John Gollan: The British Political System.
The British Road to Socialism.

EXHIBIT - "LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM: - An Infantile Disorder.A popular essay in Marxist strategy & Tactics -V.I. LENIN.LIM 14 Page 31:

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"In its work the Party relies directly on the trade unions, which, at present, according to the data of the last Congress (April, 1920), have over 4,000,000 members, and which, formally, are Non-Party. Actually, all the controlling bodies of the overwhelming majority of the unions, and primarily, of course, the all-Russian general trade union centre or bureau (All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions) consist of Communists and carry out all the instructions of the Party. Thus, on the whole we have a formally non-Communist, flexible, relatively wide, and very powerful proletarian apparatus, by means of which the Party is closely linked up with the class and with the masses, and by means of which, under the leadership of the Party, the dictatorship of the class is effected. Without close contact with the trade unions, without their hearty support and self-sacrificing work, not only in economic, but also in military construction, it would, of course, have been impossible for us to govern the country and to maintain the dictatorship for two months, let alone two years. Of course, in practice this close contact calls for very complicated and diversified work in the form of propaganda, agitation, timely and frequent conferences, not only with the leading, but also with influential trade union workers generally; it calls for a determined struggle against the Mensheviks, who still have a certain, though very small, number of adherents, whom they teach all possible counter-revolutionary tricks, from the ideological defence of (bourgeois) democracy and the preaching of the "independence" of the trade

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LIM.14 Page 31: (Continued)

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unions (independent of the proletarian state!) to the sabotaging of proletarian discipline, etc., etc."

Page 41:

"In Russia - where the extremely fierce and savage yoke of tsarism, for a particularly long period, and in particularly varied forms, produced revolutionaries of diverse shades, revolutionaries who displayed astonishing devotion, enthusiasm, heroism and will power - we watched this mistake of the revolutionaries particularly closely, we studied it with particular attention, became particularly familiar with it, and hence, we can see it with particular clearness in others. For the Communists in Germany, parliamentarism is, of course, "politically obsolete"; but - and this is the whole point - we must not regard what is obsolete for us as being obsolete for the class, as being obsolete for the masses. It is precisely here that we see that the "Lefts" do not know how to reason, do not know how to conduct themselves as a party of the class, as a party of the masses. You must not sink to the level of the masses, to the level of the backward strata of the class. This is incontestable. You must tell them the bitter truth. You must call their bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices - prejudices. But, at the same time, you must soberly observe the actual state of class consciousness and preparedness of the whole class (not only of the Communist vanguard), of all the toiling masses (not only of its advanced elements).

"Even if not "millions" and "legions" but a fairly

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LIM. 14 Page 41. (Continued)

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significant minority of industrial workers follow the Catholic priests, and a like number of rural workers follow the landlords and kulaks (Grossbauern), (Capital-farmers. - Ed. Eng. ed.) it undoubtedly follows that parliamentarism in Germany is not yet politically obsolete, that participation in parliamentary elections and in the struggle in parliament is obligatory for the party of the revolutionary proletariat precisely for the purpose of educating the backward strata of its own class, precisely for the purpose of awakening and enlightening 10 the undeveloped, downtrodden, ignorant peasant masses. As long as you are unable to disperse the bourgeois parliament and every other type of reactionary institution, you must work inside them, precisely because in them there are still workers who are stupefied by the priests 15 and by the dreariness of village life; otherwise you run the risk of becoming mere babblers."

Page 66:

"The fundamental law of revolution, confirmed by all 20 revolutions and particularly by all three Russian revolutions in the twentieth century, is as follows: it is not sufficient for revolution that the exploited and oppressed masses understand the impossibility of living in the old way and demand changes; for revolution, it 25 is necessary that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule in the old way. Only when the "lower Classes" do not want the old and when the "upper classes" cannot continue in the old way, then only can revolution conquer. This truth may be expressed in other words: 30

LIM. 14 Page 66: (Continued)

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revolution is impossible with a national crisis affecting both the exploited and the exploiters. It follows that for revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the class-conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand that revolution is necessary and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling classes be in a state of governmental crisis which draws even the most backward masses into politics (a symptom of every real revolution is: the rapid, tenfold and even hundredfold increase in the number of representatives of the toiling and oppressed masses - who hitherto have been apathetic - capable of waging the political struggle), weakens the government and makes it possible for the revolutionaries to overthrow it rapidly." 15

Page 78:

"It is not difficult to be a revolutionary when the revolution has already flared up and is raging, when everybody joins the revolution simply because he is carried away by it, because it is the fashion, and sometimes even because it might open the way for a career. After the victory, the proletariat has to exert extreme effort to suffer pain and one might say martyrdom to "liberate" itself from such sorry revolutionaries. It is much more difficult - and much more useful - to be a revolutionary when the conditions for direct, open, really mass and really revolutionary struggle do not yet exist, to be able to defend the interests of the revolution (by propaganda, agitation and organisation) in non-revolutionary 30

LIM. 14 Page 78: (Continued)

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bodies and even in downright reactionary bodies, in non-revolutionary circumstances, among the masses who are incapable of immediately appreciating the need for revolutionary methods of action. The main task of contemporary Communism in Western Europe and America is 5 to acquire the ability to seek, to find, to determine correctly the concrete path or the particular turn of events that will bring the masses right up to the real, decisive, last great revolutionary struggle."

"Take England, for example. We cannot say, and no 10 one is in a position to say beforehand, how soon the real proletarian revolution will flare up there, and what will most of all serve as the cause to rouse it, to kindle it, and to push into the struggle very wide masses who are at present dormant. Hence it is our duty to 15 carry on our preparatory work in such a manner as to be "well shod on all four feet," as the late Plekhanov was fond of saying when he was a Marxist and a revolutionary. It is possible that a parliamentary crisis will cause the "breach," will "break the ice"; perhaps it 20 will be a crisis caused by colonial and imperialist contradictions becoming hopelessly entangled and increasingly painful and acute; perhaps some third cause, etc. We are not discussing the kind of struggle that will determine the fate of any proletarian revo- 25 lution in England (not a single Communist has any doubts on that score; as far as we are concerned, this question is settled, and definitely settled). What we are discussing is the immediate cause that will rouse the ? at present dormant proletarian masses and bring them right 30

LIM.14 Page 78: (Continued)

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up to the revolution. Let us not forget that in the
bourgeois French republic, for example, in a situation
which, from both the international and national aspect,
was a hundred times less revolutionary than the present
one, one of the thousands and thousands of dishonest
tricks the reactionary military caste play (the Dreyfus
case) was enough to serve as the "unexpected" and "petty"
cause which brought the people to the verge of civil war.

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EXHIBIT - SPEECH BY A.I. MIKOYAN, at the 20th Congress of
the Communist Party of the Soviet Union - Feb. 16, 1956.

LJM.78 Page 11: "THE POSSIBILITY OF PEACEFUL SOCIALIST
REVOLUTION IN INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES". 1

"Comrades, the most acute and most important of
the theoretical problems on which the central committee's
report has dwelt is the question of whether it is
absolutely necessary for the socialist revolution al- 5
ways, in all countries and under all conditions, to
take place through an armed uprising, or whether peace-
ful revolution is also possible."

"Is the view which is being circulated that a
socialist revolution always involved a bloody civil 10
war correct?"

"These questions are important if only for the
reason that capitalist ideologists and propagandists
represent the Communists as bloodthirsty creatures who
strive for violence always and everywhere, whose aim 15
is to unleash civil war at any cost. They claim that
all these ideas are inherent in the dictatorship of the
proletariat, are inevitable concomitants of the
struggle for communism. Out of this they have tried,
and are still trying, to build up a gruesome bogey 20
to frighten the masses of the people who are spon-
taneously and consciously reaching out towards the ideas
of socialism."

"What are our views on these questions? Comrade
Khrushchov's report gives a clear answer." 25

"As you know, before the First World War the
Bolsheviks regarded an armed uprising as the path to a
victorious revolution in Russia. At the height of the
First World War the Bolsheviks put forward the slogan of
turning the imperialist war into a civil war. Our stand 30

LIM.78Page 11: (Continued)

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was correct and realistic, for the only way to stop the world slaughter and achieve peace and freedom for the peoples was by turning the imperialist war into a civil war."

"As a result of the February Revolution the working people of Russia gained democratic freedoms that did not exist even in the United States, which was then regarded as the most democratic country. Lenin took the changed situation into account, and in his famous April Theses he put forward the slogan of seizure of power by the working class and accomplishment of the socialist revolution by peaceful means, through the winning of a majority in the Soviets."

"Only after the events of July, 1917, when the Provisional Government shot down a peaceful demonstration of workers in the streets of Petrograd, was the slogan of peaceful revolution withdrawn, for the situation had changed. The violence of the bourgeoisie plotting the Kornilov conspiracy had to be answered by violence, and power had to be taken through an uprising."

"Actually, however, the October Revolution was accomplished almost peacefully, because by that time the majority in the Congress of Soviets as well as in many Soviets had become revolutionary. This enabled the Soviets to take power without much bloodshed."

"Lenin, the Bolsheviks, did not urge civil war and violence after the October Revolution either. No, the party immediately outlined a path of peaceful development for Russia. Furthermore, Lenin urged

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LLM.78 Page 11: (Continued) 1

that an agreement be made in the economic sphere with Russian and foreign capitalists who might want to work under the supervision of Soviet power. He proposed granting concessions to foreign capitalists and having enterprises of a state capitalist type." 5

"How, then, did the civil war, which brought such suffering to our people, begin?"

"The whole world knows that the civil war was started by the imperialist powers, that this bloody civil war was brought about not by the revolution but 10 by the counter-revolution, not at the will of the Bolsheviks but against our will."

"What conclusions can be drawn from this? When, in which cases, was Lenin right?"

"When, before and during the First World War, 15 he called for an armed uprising and demanded that the imperialist war be turned into a civil war? Or when, in the months immediately following the February Revolution, he put forward the slogan of a peaceful revolution? Or when, after the July events, he 20 again put forward the slogan of an armed uprising?"

"When, in which cases, was he right? There can only be one answer: Lenin was right in all these cases."

"In all these cases he did not guide himself by 25 dogma, he did not cling to slogans which had lost their validity, but proceeded from the demands of life, which cannot be immutable. In formulating the slogans of the day he took precise account of the real relation of the class forces and displayed a deep understanding of its 30

LIM.78 Page 11: (Continued) 1

trends of further development. That is the only way the Marxists should act, for otherwise slogans become dead dogmas which hinder the proletarian party in guiding the movement. Lenin was always concerned with this aspect, and he emphasised that "every slogan acquires the property of becoming more rigid than necessary" (Works (Russian edition), Vol.28, p. 203). 5

"That is how the matter stood in our country. In principle, Marx, Engels and Lenin had the same approach to this question in the case of different countries: they always emphasised that everything depends on the period, the relation of class forces, the concrete situation". 10

"In the seventies of the last century, Marx held that a preliminary condition for any real people's revolution in Europe was "to smash the bureaucratic-military state machine". He made an exception for Britain and overseas countries where the working class could at that time come to power by peaceful means, by gaining a parliamentary majority. At a meeting in Amsterdam in 1872, Marx said the following about the capture of power: 15 20

"..... We have never affirmed that absolutely the same means lead to this goal."

"We know that the institutions, customs, and traditions of the individual countries have to be taken into account; and we do not deny that there are countries like America and Britain - and, if I knew your institutions better, I might add Holland to them - in which the workers can achieve their goal by peaceful 25 30

LIM.78 Page 11: (Continued) 1

means."

"But if that is so we must also admit that in the majority of the Continental countries, force must serve as the lever of our revolution; force is what we shall have to resort to at a certain moment in order to 5 completely establish the rule of labour" (Marx and Engels, Works (first Russian edition), Vol.13, Part II, p.669).

"That was how Marx understood the paths of development of the revolution in different countries". 10

"In 1917 Lenin wrote that in the new conditions of monopoly capitalism, owing to the growth of the police-bureaucratic machine in Britain and the United States, this reservation expressed by Marx had lost its validity; he sharply criticised Kautsky and the other 15 renegades who tried to cling to the aforementioned statements of Marx, to raise the "peaceful path" - which, moreover, they interpreted in their own way, in a reformist way - into a principle for all countries and all periods of development, and to divert the 20 proletariat from a revolutionary struggle for power."

"The method of gaining power can thus not be the same for different countries, in different periods, in different international situations. Everything depends on the concrete relation of class forces, on 25 the degree of organisation of the working class and its opponent, on the ability of the working class to attract allies to its side, above all, the peasantry; the institutions, customs and traditions in individual countries also have to be taken into account." 30

LIM.78

Page 11: (Continued)

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"In this connection Lenin directed attention to the following".

"Marx did not commit himself - or the future leaders of the socialist revolution - to matters of form, to methods and ways of bringing about the revolution; for he understood perfectly well that a vast number of new problems would arise, that the whole situation would change in the process of the revolution, that it would change often and considerably in the process of revolution" (Works (Russian edition). Vol. 32. p. 316.)

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"That is Lenin's understanding of, and Lenin's approach to, the tactics of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle".

"Historical development was such, in the views of Marx and Lenin, that armed uprising would be the rule, the chief method, by which the proletariat came to power in the decisive majority of countries. As for the peaceful path, they regarded it as an exception advantageous to the working people, and they never ignored the possibility of the peaceful path. Lenin always emphasised that "the working class would prefer, of course, to take power into its hands peacefully" (Works (Russian edition). Vol. 4. p. 254.)

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"It is very important to note in this connection that Lenin maintained that even in the cases where the proletariat is compelled to resort to force, the chief and constant characteristic of the revolution and a condition of its victory is organisational, constructive work, and not destructive work."

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LIM.78 Page 11: (Continued)

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"In his speech honouring the memory of Y. M. Sverdlov, Lenin said:-

"There is no doubt that without this feature - without the revolutionary use of force - the proletariat could not have won, but there is also no doubt that the revolutionary use of force was anecessary and legitimate method of the revolution only at definite moments in its development, only when definite and specific conditions existed, whereas a much deeper and constant characteristic of this revolution, and a condition of its victory, was, and remains, organisation of the proletarian masses, organisation of the working people. It is in this organisation of the working millions that lie the best conditions for revolution, the deepest source of its victories" (Works (Russian edition), Vol. 29, p.70)

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"Since Lenin's day the situation in the world has changed fundamentally. In view of this, our central committee is able, in the new conditions, guiding itself by the same Marxist and Leninist principles, to put the question of the forms of transition of various countries to socialism in a new light."

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"The chief factor of the radical changes in the international situation is the birth, growth and consolidation of the powerful camp of socialism. The Soviet Union has built a socialist society; great China and the people's democracies are moving rapidly along the path of building socialism. The socialist world system has established and consolidated itself and is developing, while the capitalist world system is in a

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LIM. 78 Page 11: (Continued) 1

state of crisis, has grown weaker, is losing one position after another".

"The colonial system, which was an important reserve of capitalism, is disintegrating more and more. The peoples of India, Burma, Indonesia and Egypt have taken the path of free development; all the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are striving for freedom and complete independence. The level of organisation and class consciousness of the working class in the capitalist countries has grown." 5 10

"Examining the question of the paths of revolution in the present-day period, we too must guide ourselves, as Marx and Lenin did in their time, by an exact account of the relations of the class forces in each individual country and on a world-wide scale. It is clear to all that in our day not a single country can develop in isolation, without being influenced by other countries to a certain degree." 15

"Lenin himself foresaw that the transition to socialism could take place peacefully in a small bourgeois country, given the existence of socialist countries as its neighbours. He implied that not only the relation of the class forces in one separate country but also the existence of victorious socialism in neighbouring countries should be taken into account." 20 25

"It is in this connection that the central committee's report draws the conclusion that under the present conditions individual countries have the real possibility of going over to socialism peacefully. In 30

LLM.78 Page 11: (Continued) 1

other words, in individual countries by virtue of the relation of the class forces in those countries and thanks to the favourable general situation already described, the working class obtains the possibility, in alliance with the peasantry, of uniting the majority of the people under its leadership and coming to power peacefully, without an armed uprising, without civil war employing the existing parliamentary institutions. A peaceful revolution is possible, of course, only if the working class is strong, well-organised, and class-conscious. 10

"In other cases, when the bourgeoisie possesses a strong military and police machine, it will undoubtedly force an armed struggle on the proletariat in order to maintain its domination. The proletariat must be prepared for this beforehand." 15

"That the central committee's presentation of the question is correct is shown by life's confirmation of the theoretical propositions of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. Since Lenin's day the socialist revolution has been victorious in more than ten countries. How has this taken place?" 20

"Let us take China. A civil war went on for decades in that great country. Over a long period the revolutionary armies fought bitter, bloody battles against the foreign imperialists and the counter-revolutionary forces of the landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie. The proletariat and its Communist Party, having taken a leading position and gained victory, by armed struggle, in the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist 30

LIM. 78 Page 11: (Continued) 1

revolution, ensured the possibility of going over to socialist transformations by peaceful means."

"Leninism has gripped the minds and hearts of millions of the finest sons and daughters of China. Pointing out to the Chinese people the true road to socialism, Leninism has flowered on Chinese soil as well, and has been enriched by the experience of the great Chinese revolution." 5

"So let us wish the Chinese Communists complete success in building socialism in that great country of the East". 10

"In Yugoslavia the revolution took a specific course. When fascist Germany launched war against the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia rose to the leadership of the uprising against the fascist yoke; one section of Yugoslavia's bourgeoisie emigrated, keeping apart from the struggle against fascism, while the other section joined the fascists, becoming accomplices of the occupation regime. That is why the Yugoslav partisan war against fascism merged with the civil war against the bourgeoisie and landlords who had betrayed Yugoslavia." 15 20

"The victory of the Yugoslav revolution is a source of our growing friendship and fraternal alliance with the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Yugoslav people, who are successfully building socialism." 25

"In Czechoslovakia the revolution took a different course. Thanks to the favourable situation which took shape in Czechoslovakia after the war, the socialist revolution was accomplished peacefully; the Communists 30

LIM.78

Page 11: (Continued)

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came to power after having concluded an alliance not only with the working people's parties that stood close to them but also with the bourgeois parties which supported the common national front. The people of Czechoslovakia won victory in a peaceful revolution." 5

"The working class in Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland and other people's democracies achieved the victory of the socialist revolution each in its own way, but also without civil war."

"The course of history has thus irrefutably demonstrated that the teachers of communism were right when they foresaw not only the path of armed uprising but also the path of peaceful revolution." 10

"The fraternal Communist Parties in the capitalist countries have an inexhaustible treasury of knowledge: 15 the theory of Marxism-Leninism, their rich school of practical experience, and the lessons of the historic victories recorded by our country, by China and by the other people's democracies."

"There may be some would-be theoreticians, doctrinaires, or people not versed in politics who might ask: How does Marxism differ from reformism in this presentation of the problem, and isn't this a descent to the path chosen by the revisionists of Marxism?" 20

"The reformists and revisionists have always, now 25 as in the past, worked only to restrict the struggle of the working class to minor reforms, to petty concessions by capital to labour; to bring about merely a slight improvement in the living conditions of the working class under capitalism, while preserving intact 30

LIM.78 Page 11: (Continued)

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the domination of the capitalist system. They were and are, in essence, apologists of capitalism; they are not revolutionaries but evolutionaries who reject revolution and the seizure of power by the working people, and who believe that small and miserly "gains" over the course of many years can bring them some day to socialism. Perhaps some of them do not really believe this, but they are deceiving the people in that spirit."

"There are cases of Socialist Parties having won a majority in parliament; Socialist governments have even existed, or exist to-day, in a number of countries. But in these cases, too, things have been limited to individual petty concessions in favour of the workers, and no socialism is being built. What is needed is that the working class should take over the government of society, that the working class should be prepared not only organisationally, but politically and theoretically as well, to fight for socialism, that it should not be content with crumbs from the capitalist table but, having obtained a majority, should take power into its hands and abolish private ownership of the basic means of production."

"Historical materialism teaches that the replacement of capitalism by socialism, the replacement of class society by classless society, is a revolutionary leap. Essentially, this transition is the revolutionary replacement of one social system by another. Hence, every transition from capitalism to socialism, every fundamental change in social relations, is a revolution, in some cases more acute than in others, but a revolution

LIM.78 Page 11: (Continued)

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with all peoples will accomplish. The capture of power by the people, the transition of the ownership of the means of production from a private to a social form, is the greatest revolution in history."

"That is why the question of the possibility of peaceful revolution in individual countries should not be confused with reformism. It should be remembered that revolution - whether peaceful or not - will always be revolution, while reformism will always remain a fruitless marking time. Hence, in order to win, the working class must wage a ceaseless struggle against reformism and the illusions which reformism engenders in its ranks".

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