

Ex 2.4.8.1^{XI}

A. G. Dowd

The Theory and Methodology of

COMMUNISM

by

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The references to the works of Lenin are to the
Socinenija, izd. 4-6, 35 vols. Moskva, Gospolitizdat
(Institut Marksa-Lenina pri CK KPSS), 1954 - 1956,
(abbreviated to "Soc") and/or to the "Selected Works",
12 vols., New York 1948, (abbreviated to "SW").

1. Definition of Communism.

The word "Communism" can be used in either a broad or a strict sense. Broadly understood, "Communism" means any system in which collectivization prevails. Taken strictly, the same word means the ideology and organisation which arose out of the teaching and the activity of Vladimír Il'ich Oulianov, called Lenin. In the present paper, "Communism" is always used in this latter sense.

Communism is a highly complex phenomenon; its essential constituent elements are: (i) a doctrine, (ii) an organization, (iii) a method of action. All of these elements are strictly interconnected; the doctrine prescribing the form of organization as well as the aims and methods of its action; the organization existing in order to fulfil the predictions contained in the doctrine by use of the methods there stated - but it tends also to carry the doctrine itself everywhere and teach it to all mankind. According to the doctrine, the method of action prescribed by it can be executed only by the Communist organization.

2. Marxism - Leninism.

a. Its Origin.

That which the Communists call "Marxism-Leninism" is a set of doctrines elaborated by Lenin out of materials taken from the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, especially the latter. Lenin's teaching is considered by all Communists the world over as the authoritative and binding truth. They have always claimed to be his faithful pupils and their devotion received special stress at and immediately after the XXth Party Congress in 1956.

b. Its Importance..

Marxism-Leninism is considered as being of paramount importance for the Party.

Lenin stated that without a theory there can be no revolutionary movement (Sto delat! 1902, Soc. 5, p.341) and that only a Party which possesses a progressive theory may fulfil its tasks (ibid.). He himself devoted astonishingly much attention to theoretical - mostly philosophical - problems; e.g. he wrote a large book in order to refute the "deviations" of some Communist philosophers (Materialism i empiriokriticizm, 1909, Soc. 14). At the XXth Party Congress a resolution was voted in which the Central Committee was asked to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism as the vital core of the Party (XX. Parteitag der Kommunistischen Partei der Sowjetunion, Düsseldorf 1956, p.364). N.S. Chruscev mentioned this importance in nearly everyone of his speeches and papers: e.g. in his speech in Warsaw on April 20, 1955 (Pravda, 21, IV, 1955) and in his paper in the Kommunist (1957, 12, p.11ff.).

A tremendous stress is being laid on the spreading and teaching of Marxism-Leninism by the Communist Parties of all countries. The statutes of those Parties prescribe that members continually study that doctrine (e.g. the statutes of the German Party, 1954, p.5; Statutes of the Soviet Party, par. 2, etc.). As a matter of fact, it is known that between 1945 and 1950 not less than 500,000 Party officials were taught Marxism-Leninism in special Party schools of the Soviet Union (Kultura i zizn, 20, VIII, 1950). We know also that during the year 1948/49 there were about 600 district Party schools and about 100,000 elementary-level Party Schools in the same country (data established on the basis of original Soviet publications, by Boris Meissner, Europa-Archiv 6, 1951, p.3749).

Books on Marxism-Leninism are published in numbers inconceivable in other countries. Thus, according to the Sovetskaja Kniga of October, 1952, not less than 931,536,000 copies of the so-called "classics" of Marxism-Leninism (Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin) were published up to the first of September 1953 (Trud, Moscow, 5, V, 1953). The new "Textbook of Political Economy" has been printed in the first edition in 500,000 copies (Politiceskaja Ekonomija Ucebnik. Politizdat 1955).

Given these statements and facts, the following methodological principle is to be assumed in the interpretation of Communist statements: the meaning of what Communists say is not in opposition to the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism as long as it has not been proved from the text itself that such opposition exists.

c. Its Division.

Marxism-Leninism is divided by Lenin into Philosophy, Political Economy and "Socialism". The last

part comprehends a methodology of conquest and rule by the Communist Party. Philosophy is divided again into dialectical and historical materialism.

The logical structure is the following: the Dialectical Materialism is the theoretical foundation of the whole doctrine. It contains the general principles concerning everything which is and becomes. Historical Materialism is an application of these principles to the fundamental problems of society and history. Political Economy is a theory of production and property, based partly on Historical Materialism and partly on independent economic considerations. Finally, the "Socialism" is derived from the Historical Materialism by the addition of some independent principles stated by Lenin himself.

3. Dialectical and Historical Materialism.

a. Dialectical Materialism.

Dialectical Materialism is a set of philosophical doctrines concerning every being (everything which is). It contains, according to Stalin - who, however, simply copied Lenin in this respect - seven major teachings:

- (i) Everything is connected with everything else and should be considered in its context.
- (ii) Everything constantly evolves towards better states and that evolution is absolutely necessary.
- (iii) The evolution is accomplished, not by slow progress, but by sudden "dialectical" leaps by which new "qualities" arise.
- (iv) The motor of the evolution is the contradiction inherent in each being; due to the contradiction a struggle arises in which the old is finally destroyed by the new.

- (v) There is a real world, independent of human mind.
- (vi) Everything can be known by man; there are no unknowable things.
- (vii) The world is infinite and eternal: there is no God: Everything which is is strictly material: the mind is just a copy, a "photograph", of matter.

There are three remarkable points in this doctrine. The first and most fundamental is embodied in the principle of the inter-connection of all things (i). What is meant by it is the absolute priority of the whole (consequently, also of society) in respect to the individual, who is totally for society.

The second notable point is the "principle of contradiction" (iv) and of "dialectical leaps" (iii) which puts revolution in the essence of being and denies that anything can be achieved by ^{gradual} peaceful evolution. It is the basis of the revolutionary attitude of Communism.

The third is the materialism (vii), according to which mind should be considered as a sort of reflection of matter. This supplies the foundation for the belief that sheer material force is the decisive factor in politics and in the rule of a country.

b. Historical Materialism.

Historical Materialism is, according to the Communists, an application of the principles of Dialectical Materialism to the problems of Society and History. It is, as a matter of fact, derived by the transposition of the principle (vii) above to the social level. As in man, consciousness is a "copy" of matter, so in society, its thought (political structures, law, science, art, religion and so on) is a "copy" of the material conditions of life of the same society. By "material conditions of

life", should be understood economic conditions, and more precisely, the type of tools and methods of production. To each type of these tools and methods and relations of production - called "basis" - corresponds a type of social organization and social thought - called "superstructure". Men are not free to think what they will - their social thought is wholly determined by the mode of production of their existence, i.e. of material goods.

To that, the doctrine of evolution is added according to the principle (ii) cited above. As the "basis" evolves, the social organisation and the social thought evolves with it. However, the Communists teach that this cannot be accomplished peacefully - the "superstructure" persists for a time, hampering the evolution of the "basis". At a certain moment, a "dialectical" leap must occur, namely a revolution, which succeeds in adapting the "superstructure" to the "basis" by violent means.

A third element in the doctrine is the Theory of Classes. A class is a group of men, characterized by its position in production and its participation in the social product. With the exception of the first and last periods of History, there have always been two main classes, the Exploiters and the Exploited. These two classes form the "contradiction" of the society and their fight is the motor of its progress.

The general scheme of History, stated by Lenin, reproduced by Stalin and again by the newest "Textbook of Political Economy", is the following:

Period	Type of Production	Ownership	Exploiting class.	Exploited class.
Primitive	Hunting	Common	None	None
Period of Slavery	Agriculture	Private: of tools and men.	Slave-owners.	Slaves
Feudalism	More refined Agriculture: Handicrafts.	Private: of tools and (limited) of men.	Feudal Lords.	Serfs.
Capitalism.	Factories.	Private: of tools only.	Capitalists (Bourgeois)	Proletarians.
Socialism	Large Industrial Plants.	Common	None	None

c. The Dialectical Unity of Theory and Practice.

A peculiarly Communist doctrine which arises in connection with Historical Materialism and which is of paramount importance for politics, is the doctrine of the dialectical unity of theory and practice. It teaches that the theory, the social ideas, in spite of being a mere reflection of the material "basis" - and also of the situation of the given class - exerts a powerful influence on the basis itself. Thus, the social theories (religion, philosophy, legal doctrines, etc.) of the Bourgeoisie act as a braking factor and tend to preserve the existing social structure. On the contrary, the social theory of the Proletariat - meaning Marxism-Leninism - is a powerful factor preparing the revolution.

The theory and the ideological warfare should, consequently, never be separated from the practice and the revolutionary action. One conditions and carries the other.

The above is a résumé of the teaching of Lenin in his two main philosophical works: Materialism i empiriokriticizm of 1909 (Socinenija 4. izd. 1953, vol.14) and Filosofskie Tetradi (Moskva 1947) first edited in 1930. There is a good résumé by Stalin in Chapter IV, 2 of the Istorija kommunisticeskoj partii Sovetskogo Sojuza first edited in 1938.

Exactly the same doctrine is repeated (with some elaboration of secondary points) in the whole official, Soviet and foreign, Communist literature. To quote only some more recent works of this kind (all of them officially approved) as found in: I.V. BLAUBERG, Okategorijach calogo i casti v marksistkoj filosofii, in Voprosy Filosofii 1957, 4, 41-50. F.I. CHASSCHATSCHIJ, Materie und Bewusstsein, Berlin 1956. Dialekticeskij materializm in: Bolsaja Sovetskaja Enciklopedija, 2 ed. vol.14 (1952) 277-296 G.F. ALEKSANDROV (ed.), Dialekticeskij materializm, Moskva 1954. Filosofskoe voprosy sovremennoj fiziki, (edited by Acad. of Sciences of the Ukrainian SR), Kiev 1956. G. GLEZERMAN, Bazis i nadstrojka, Moskva 1954. Istoriceskij Materializm in: Bols. Sov. Enc., 2 ed., vol.19 (1953), 17-23. F.V. KONSTANTINOV, Istoriceskij Materializm, Moskva 1954. Kategorii materialisticeskoj dialektiki, Moskva 1956. V. KELLE, Istoriceskij materializm kak nauku, Moskva 1956. Kratkij filosofskij slovar (1940), fourth edition 1954 (a fundamental text). H. LEFEBVRE, Le matérialisme dialectique, Paris 1949. M.A. LEONOV, Ocerk dialekticeskogo materializma, Moskva 1948. O dialekticeskom materializme, sb., st., 2 ed., Moskva 1953. G. POLITZER et al., Principes fondamentaux de la philosophie, Paris 1954. Protokoll der philosophischen Konferenz über Fragen der Logik Berlin 1956. V.P. ROZIN, Marksistko-leninskaja dialektika kak filosofskaja nauka, Leningrad 1957. A. SCHAFF, Zu einigen Fragen der marxistischen Theorie der Wahrheit, Berlin 1954. M.Z. SELEKTOR, Princip kommunisticeskoj partinosti v ideologii, in Vopr., Filosofii 1957, 5, 67, -81. HSELSAM, Sozialismus und Ethik, Berlin 1956. I.V. Stalin, Marksizm i voprosy jazykoznanija, Moskva 1950. Ueber formale Logik und Dialektik, Berlin (East) 1954. Voprosy dialekticeskogo i istoriceskogo materializma, Moskva 1953. Voprosy marksistko-leninskoj filosofii, Minsk. 1955.

Note: every book published in the Soviet Union has to be approved by several censors, nominated by the Party. The proof of that fact is given in: B. KALNINS, Der Sowjetische Propagandastaat, Stockholm 1956, p.177ff. and R. MAURACH, Handbuch der Sowjetverfassung, München 1955, p.364. The rule is still more strict in regard to philosophical books as might be seen in the discussion of 1947 (Diskussija poknige G.F. Aleksandrove "Istorija zapadnoevropejskoj filosofii", Vopr. Filosofii 1947, 1, p.5ff).

4. Political Economy and Criticism of Capitalism.

The fundamental doctrines concerning the analysis and criticism of the Capitalist System are taken by the Communist directly from the works of Marx, above all from

"Das Kapital". There are very very few new developments, among which only the Leninist Theory of Imperialism is of relevance. The teachings of Marx are, however, rendered far more absolute in Communism than they were in the thought of Marx himself.

a. The Basic Theory.

The basic doctrine is that of Plus-Value. According to it, the value of goods produced by men is composed of the value of the raw materials, of the depreciation of tools and of the value of the work of the workers. The price of the product cannot be higher than the sum of these three elements. This being admitted, Marx asks, whence draws the Capitalist his income? Obviously neither from the value of raw materials nor from that of the machinery consumed in the process; consequently, his profit is a part of the value of the work of the workers. It has been stolen from them. The Capitalist pays the worker just what is needed for his sustenance (that he might work) and his reproduction (sustenance of his family) exactly as he does with his machinery. The rest - which is the plus-value - he takes away. This is the form the exploitation of the workers takes in the Capitalist System.

Alongside of this basic criticism of Capitalism, Communists, following Karl Marx, offer a number of other objections against it which are partly moral, partly economic.

b. Moral Objections.

- (i) The worker is considered in a Capitalist system, not as a man but as an object. He is deprived, by the very constitution of the system, of his human dignity; his work is

reduced to the status of a material good.

- (ii) The worker is held in great and ever increasing misery; this also is the result of the immanent laws of Capitalism (Verelendungstheorie). He is thus deprived of the possibility of enjoying culture.
- (iii) He is practically reduced to the status of a slave because, being poor and dependent, he cannot use his democratic rights; all power in the capitalist country belongs to the Capitalists and all capitalists are oppressors.
- (iv) All other evils - crime, prostitution, degradation of arts and sciences, etc. - are also a result of capitalism. The power of the owners forces women to sell themselves, poor workers to steal, artists and scientists to pervert their art or science, according to the commands of the ruling men. But Capitalists themselves also suffer morally from the system which turns them, even against their will, into "predatory beasts".

c. Economic Objections.

- (i) Capitalism means competition and competition means anarchy. It is impossible to proceed according to a general plan and a considerable waste of human energy and of goods results.
- (ii) Capitalism leads, in force of its own immanent laws, to chronic crises, accompanied by great distress and enormous loss of production.

It follows that Capitalism is the one dreadful

Evil. The root of that evil is private ownership of the tools of production. It is, consequently, a sacred duty of every man to try to suppress it by destroying Capitalism.

d. Class Struggle.

The result of Capitalism is a division of the society into two main classes - that of the exploiting Capitalists or Bourgeois, and that of the exploited workers of Proletarians. Men belonging to one of these classes are completely alienated from those who belong to the other. They have nothing in common, as each class has its own social thought, i.e. its own law, morals, art, philosophy, etc. In particular, no moral allegiance to bourgeois ideals is possible with a thinking proletarian. He has no motherland, recognizes none of the moral rules of the bourgeois society and, far less still, feels bound by the laws ruling that society.

In fact, the only relation between the class of Capitalists and the class of Proletarians is the class-struggle. That struggle is the result of necessary social laws and is independent of human will. It must go on until Capitalism is completely destroyed. It is a duty however, of every man to support the struggle of the Proletarians and to wage war on Capitalism by all available means, legal and illegal. Everything which helps the final victory of the Proletariat is, in itself, lawful and moral.

Yet, the victory of the Proletariat and the destruction of Capitalism must necessarily come sooner or later, because it is an immanent law of History, prescribed by the Historical Materialism (see 3.,b.).

e. Imperialism.

The above Marxian teaching has been complemented by Lenin (1915) who followed J.S. Hobson (1902) and R. Hilferding (1910). According to Lenin, Imperialism is the last stage of Capitalism and is characterized by two kinds of properties; the properly economic and the socio-political.

- (i) The properly economic aspect of Imperialism consists in the suppression of free competition in favour of monopolies and in the melting together of bank and industrial capital, the former becoming more and more important.
- (ii) The socio-political issues are mainly two. On one side, the world is divided into spheres of influence which are assigned to different groups of Capitalist trusts for exploitation. On the other hand, something like Capitalist and Proletarian nations arise out of the process. This means that the rulers of great monopolistic trusts treat the workers better in their own country, forming thus a sort of "worker aristocracy", and use them as tools for the exploitation of other nations.

This again causes the world to be divided into imperialist and colonial nations - their mutual relation being similar to that existing between the Capitalists and the Proletarians inside a single country. The bourgeois exploit and oppress not only the toilers in their own countries but, above all, the workers in colonial countries. This can be seen in Lenin's report to the 2nd CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN (Soc. 31, 215-22). Between such nations struggle, analogous to the class-struggle, is necessary and,

as the class-struggle, it must be conducted by all available means and cannot cease until Imperialism is destroyed.

The above is a résumé of Communist teaching. It is formulated above all in the recent "Textbook of Political Economy" (Politiceskaja Ekonomika, Ucebnik, Moskva 1954, 2 ed. 1955), which is now the most authoritative book in the Soviet Union, after the "classics". It takes over most of its materials either from Marx' Das Kapital, or from Lenin's writings, above all from Imperializm kak novejsij etap kapitalizma, Soc. 22, 173-290. The following important, official or semi-official, books contain exactly the same doctrine: A. ARAKELJAN, Die lebendige Kraft der Leninschen Ideen über die Arbeitsproduktivität, Berlin (East) 1955. Ekonomika pro/myslennosti, Ucebnik, Moskva 1956. P.I. LJASCENKO Istorija narodnogo chozjastva SSSR, t.III.Socjalizm, Moskva 1956. N.S. PSIRIDONOVA, Die Oekonomie der Uebergangsperiode, Berlin, 1956. S. TJALPANOV, Das ökonomische Grundgesetz des modernen Kapitalismus, Berlin (East) 1955. Ueber einige Fragen der Politischen Oekonomie des Sozialismus, Berlin (East) 1952.

In regard to class struggle, Lenin said: "Civilised society is divided into antagonistic and, indeed, irreconcilably antagonistic classes." (State and Revolution, SW 7, p.11). "...the existence of the state proves that the class antagonisms are irreconcilable." (ibid. p.8). "The proletariat seeks its salvation not by avoiding the class-struggle, but by developing it, by extending its scope, its own class consciousness, organisation and determination." (Two Tactics SW3. p.121)."

5. Political Theory and Eschatology.

The political theory of Communism is broadly speaking Marxian. It has been, however, changed in some important respects by Lenin whose major work on this point is "State and Revolution" (1917) (Gosudarstvo i revolucija, Soc. 25, 353 - 462). Both Stalin and Mao Tse-tung only commented on Leninist theories and developed them incidentally. The doctrine is still hailed by all Communist leaders as being the foundation of their politics.

a. The State as Instrument of Oppression.

According to Marx and Lenin, the State and all its forces (Army, Police, Bureaucracy, etc.,) are simple tools

of oppression of one class by the other, such oppression being exercised, in the last analysis, by brute force. In a capitalist system, the State serves the Bourgeoisie to keep the Proletarians in obedience, and therefore each bourgeois state is, to a Communist, a police state. Consequently, Marx thought that the Proletariat should destroy the State. But Lenin, who in that respect followed the Russian revolutionary thinkers, especially Necajev and Tkacev, was of another opinion. The Proletariat should not destroy the State but take over command in order to use the State machinery as a tool of repression against the Bourgeois and Capitalists. The reason for this, according to Lenin and especially Stalin, is that the Bourgeoisie will not disappear after the Proletariat takes over the power, but will still persist as a dangerous adversary during an indeterminate time. It follows that not the destruction but a considerable strengthening of the State is needed, once the Proletariat assumes power.

Not the same state machinery

A result of this theory is an opposed moral and political appreciation of the State, according to what State it is. As long as the State is Capitalist, it is completely wrong and every effort should be made to weaken and to hamper it. The same applies, consequently, to all organs of the State, such as the Army, the Police, etc. But, once the State has been taken over by the Proletarians, it becomes a good and useful institution which should be supported and strengthened by all possible means.

b. The Suppression of the State.

According to Marx, the Proletariat will dissolve the State immediately or soon after the Capitalist regime has been put out of action. As a matter of fact, if the State is just a tool of oppression of one class by the

other, there is no need for a State when there are no more classes and no oppression at all. But, once the Proletariat has obtained power, the classes will be suppressed.

This ideal has not been rejected by the Communists, but has been relegated into a hazy future and is actually little more than a sort of social myth, which plays a large role in propaganda.

The process of the dissolution of the State is conceived as follows. Once the Capitalist rule is destroyed and the power transferred to the Proletarians, they will expropriate the Capitalists, reducing them by this method to the status of Proletarians. This being done and Capitalist prejudices being eradicated during the intervening period (by the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, see 5,) the very root of every evil, namely private property and greed, will be suppressed. Then there will be no need for any coercion. It is true that, once in a while, isolated crimes may still happen - but the indignation of law-abiding citizens will be enough to counteract them in the same way as it now suffices in a civilized country to prevent violation of a woman by a gangster in the street of a town.

c. The Leap into the Realm of Freedom.

By the same suppression of private property, men will acquire complete freedom and happiness - there will be a paradise on earth. This will be accomplished as follows. As long as there is private property, men are subjected both to the tyranny of other men (the State) and to that of natural laws which rule the Economy. But, once private property is suppressed, men will be able to plan their production and thus dominate the laws of

Economy. This is freedom. Also, liberated from the anarchy of the Capitalist system and of the perversion it induces in science, they will be able to produce plenty of goods for everybody. Freed from overwork and misery, they will enjoy cultural goods in perfect happiness.

The eschatological doctrine has been completely developed by Engels who followed Marx (Anti-Dühring in MEGA, Sonderausgabe, Moskau 1935, p. 294ff. and Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft in Marx-Engels, Ausgewählte Schriften, Berlin 1953, p. 143ff.). We find in Lenin only one more extensive text referring to it, namely in Gosudarstvo i revoliucija (p. 367ff.). However, the doctrine is occasionally restated by communists - e.g. we find it in Mao Tse-tung (Mao Tse-tung on People's Democratic Dictatorship, Peking, Foreign Language Press 1950, p.3). Both Lenin and Mao link it always with the necessity of strengthening the Proletarian Dictatorship (e.g. Lenin in Soc. 12, p.369 and Mao loc. cit.).

The theory of the State as a tool of oppression, which has been originated by Marx, took its full shape in Lenin's work "State and Revolution" (1917) (Gosudarstvo i revoliucija, Soc. 25, pp. 353 - 462). Very little has been added to it by later Communists who, however, constantly recall it as an essential part of Leninism.

6. General Methodology.

Communist ideology comprehends not only a descriptive theory of what will happen, but also a Methodology of the means which lead toward the future paradise on earth. Both elements are strictly interconnected, in force of the principle of the unity of theory and practice (3,c). Most of the Methodological doctrines of Communism were formulated by Lenin, who took some of them, deeply transforming them, from Marx. Stalin and Mao Tse-tung adapted the Leninist theory in some minor respects to the circumstances.

The main points of the Communist General Methodology are:

- (a) the doctrine of the Revolution

- (b) the doctrine of the Party
- (c) the doctrine of the means to be used
- (d) the doctrine of the dictatorship of the Proletariat.

a. The Revolution.

The abolition of Capitalism cannot be accomplished, according to Communism, by pacific means: it needs a violent revolution. That it must be so results (i) from the theory of the "dialectical leaps" (3,a) which teaches that every true progress in the world is accomplished by violent breaks and by the destruction of the old by the new; (ii) from the fact that Capitalist exploiters are not willing to give up their power and wealth peacefully.

Both essential

The necessity of a revolution in order to destroy Capitalism has been emphatically stated by Marx, Engels and, above all, by Lenin in his "State and Revolution" (Soc. 25, p.372f. and passim): "We have already stated above and shall show it again that the teaching of Marx and Engels about the necessity of a violent revolution refers to the bourgeois state. It cannot (italics in text) change into a proletarian state (i.e. the Dictatorship of the Proletariat) by the "dying away", but can, as a rule do so only by a violent revolution." (p. 372). "The change of the bourgeois state into a proletarian state cannot be ACCOMPLISHED WITHOUT A VIOLENT REVOLUTION." (p. 373).

Stalin suggested that "in a far-away time" the situation may change so much so that some Capitalists will find it profitable to give their power away without struggle; and, during recent years, a great stress has been laid on that possible "pacific transition to Socialism". But violent revolution is still considered as absolutely unavoidable wherever a strong opposition to Communism is met. This is the explicit teaching of the resolution of the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

E.g. British Road to Socialism.

This resolution states: "It is not absolutely required that the accomplishment of the transition to Socialism be linked, under all circumstances with civil war. Leninism teaches that the ruling classes do not give up their power willingly; but, a greater or lesser sharpness of the class struggle fought for the transition to Socialism, the application or non-application of violence during that transition, does not depend so much on the Proletariat as on the opposition of the exploiters.... There is no doubt that in a number of Capitalist countries, in which Capitalism is still strong enough, in which it controls a tremendous military and police apparatus, a radical intensification of the class struggle is unavoidable". (Resolution of the XXth Party Congress, Part One; quoted after the German (Communist) edition; XX. Parteitag der Kommunistischen Partei der Sowjetunion, Düsseldorf, Das Neue Wort, 1956, p.353.)

The above statement and similar ones could be - and often are, as a matter of fact - construed as meaning that revolution should only be used if the Capitalists oppose the majority of the population. It must be, however, realized that the Party is according to Communist teaching, the only legitimate expression of the will of that majority. As a result, "the will of the majority" means here "the will of the Communist Party". It

follows that revolution should be applied everywhere where a State and a nation oppose the introduction of Communism.

That this is not only a theory but also a constant practice can be seen in the case of most countries which communists conquered or tried to conquer from 1917 to 1945, above all by that of Finland (Finland reveals her documents, Official Blue-White Book of Finland, New York 1941) and of Hungary (Was in Ungarn geschah, Der Untersuchungsbericht der Vereinten Nationen, Freiburg i/B.1957). For other countries see: J. LIBRACH, Die Expansion des Reiches, in: Das Parlament, Beilage, 14, IX, 1957, p. 493 ff.

b. The Party.

However, according to Lenin and all his followers the Revolution cannot succeed unless it is prepared and guided by the Communist Party. The reason for this assertion is that the masses of workers do not have a sufficient degree of consciousness; they follow the "spontaneity" of their instincts instead of following reasonable principles (consciousness). It is necessary

Too wide.
Doctrines of
rev. situation

to have a group of men who possess full consciousness. That group is the Communist Party. The Party is, consequently, the "Vanguard" of the Proletariat, its conscious part and leader. It embodies the true will of the masses. To be democratic means, consequently, according to Communism, to obey the Party which is the People.

The Party itself is a party "of a new type", namely organized on the basis of the principle of "democratic centralism". This means that, once the leaders of the Party have been elected by universal vote, every member of the Party is bound to obey them blindly with "iron discipline". Every member has also to devote not only his free time but all his time to Party work, if he can do so. He should continuously train himself for the only goal, that of accomplishing the Revolution.

The doctrine of the Party as "Vanguard" has been developed by Lenin, above all in his work "What is to be done?" (Cto delat', Soc. 5, p.347ff.). This teaching is still authoritative, as can be seen from N.S. Crusev's report at the XXth Congress of the CP of the SU (op. cit. p.117) and from that of W. Gomulka at the IXth Congress of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party (Kommunist, 7,1957, p.64ff.). The last quoted, as coming from a supposedly "liberal" Communist, is a most characteristic statement.

The principles of the "democratic centralism" developed by Lenin have been incorporated into the (in force at the present time) Statutes of the CPSU (of 1952), par. 21 (see: Pravda 14,X,1952).

The primary meaning of "people", in Communist terminology, is the same as that of "working people", "toilers", i.e. the word denotes all proletarians. Sometimes it takes a somewhat broader meaning and includes also small farmers, small shopkeepers, etc. However, as the will of the people is represented by the Communist Party alone in practice the "people" becomes nearly always identified with those who stay with the Party. Whoever opposes the Party is an "enemy of the people", while a man who supports it becomes a member of the "people".

Thus, according to the report (of 1924) of President Stucka of the Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR, among those shot as "enemies of the people", 70 % were workers and peasants, and only 8.5% bourgeois.

c. The Methods of Action.

The methods of the action, lead by the Party, are defined as "concrete" and "dialectical". By this the following is meant:

- (i) There are no absolute standards of action; everything is good or bad according to its usefulness for the victory of the Party.
- (ii) There should be no static, unchangeable methods - the Party should use all methods available and useful in a given situation. Consequently, there may be periods during which it would not foster revolution but oppose it: in some countries it would support national feelings, in other it will fight them: here the Party will make alliances with other Parties, there it will destroy them, and so on.
- (iii) In particular, both legal and illegal means should always be combined, as far as the state is not yet Communist. This is an explicit teaching of Lenin and has always been recognized by the communists as a valid one, both in theory and in practice.

Only where a purpose is served by illegal methods.

The principle (i) has been emphatically stated by Lenin: "good and moral is what serves the destruction of the old society of the Exploiters" (Speech at the Third All-Russian Congress of the Russian Young Communist League, SW 9, p.47). This principle is emphasized by all Communist writers on Morals - e.g. M. Kalinin (O kummunisticeskom vospitanii, Moskva 1947). The authoritative Kratkii filosofskii slovar (2 ed. Gospolitizdat, 1940) even says: "only what" (p.177).

The second principle (ii) is entailed by the general doctrine of dialectical materialism (3 a i) and has been constantly emphasized by all communists both in theory and in practice.

The third principle (iii) is also an explicit Leninist

teaching, as can be seen from the following quotations:

"Revolutionaries who are unable to combine illegal forms of struggle with every form of legal struggle are very poor revolutionaries." (Left-wing Communism,.... SW 10, p.140.) "Communists must everywhere create a duplicate illegal apparatus which, at the decisive moment, could help to perform its duty to the revolution." (The conditions of AffiliationSW.10. p.202). "..... legal publications must learn, without calling themselves Communist and without announcing their affiliation with the Party, to utilize every scrap of legality." (Left-Wing Communism, SW 10, p.174). ".....it is absolutely necessary for every Communist Party systematically to combine legal with illegal work, legal with illegal organization..... all legal Communist Parties to form illegal organizations for the purpose of systematically carrying on illegal work ... it is also necessary, in all cases without exception, not only to restrict oneself to illegal work, but also to carry on legal work." (ibid. p. 172ff.)

- (iv) Once the legal work is rendered impossible by law, the Communists will simply concentrate on illegal work. They will, of course, strive for the abolition of the proscription, because legality offers them more means for action.

d. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

One major method which is always recommended in the course of the revolution is the establishment of the so-called dictatorship of the Proletariat. It seems that Marx, who invented the term, understood by it a real democratic dictatorship of the masses, which was, in a short time, to break the opposition of Capitalists who, according to his view, would be very few. Lenin introduced into that concept two changes. First, he conceived the Dictatorship as being exercised by the Party, not by the masses - this in force of his principle of "Vanguard" (see par. b above). Secondly, he thought that the period of the Dictatorship would be a long one. This doctrine has been enlarged by Stalin and other Communist leaders - e.g. recently by Gomulka.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a ruthless fight against the Bourgeoisie and, in general against everybody who opposes the Party. It is conducted without any

for Communist Manifesto or "Proletarian" + Communist

limitation by any laws, moral principles, etc. and uses terror, which has been highly recommended by Lenin himself.

"Between the Capitalist and Communist societies lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the State can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." (Marx Critique of the Gotha Program, Selected Works 2, p. 577).

"The dictatorship of the Proletariat is the most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate war of life and death." (Lenin, Left-wing Communism, SW 10, p. 60).

"We must emphasize the protracted nature of this process and its dependence upon the rapidity of development of the higher phase of Communism; and we leave the question of length of timequite open." (Lenin, State and Revolution, SW 7, p.88).

(The general laws of the struggle for socialism are:)
 "1. The organisation of the Marxist-Leninist Party which, being lead in its activity by the principles of the democratic centralism, effects the political alliance of the working class with the working peasants. 2. The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat"
 (W. Gomulka, Speech at the IXth Congress of the Polish United Workers Party, May 15, 1957, in: Kommunist 1957, 7, p. 45ff.).

Concerning the last quoted statement, it must be again remembered that Gomulka is said to be the most "liberal" among Communist leaders and the text quoted has been published by the "Kommunist" which is the "Theoretical and political review of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the SU."; it is, consequently, an authoratative statement.

7. Principles of Foreign Policy.

The Communist policy in regard to countries which are not yet Communist (termed here "foreign policy") is based on Marxian principles, but has been mostly elaborated by Lenin and Stalin. Its main points are: the theory of Communist internationalism; the doctrine of the role of the Soviet Union; the theory of wars; and, that of the combination of all weapons.

a. Internationalism.

Communism is an international movement which aims at the transformation of the whole of humanity, of every country, in accord with its principles. The slogan "Proletarians of

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TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961

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