

FORTY YEARS OF SOCIALISM

by

PIETER KEUNEMAN, M.P.

FORTY CENTS

335.430954
KEU -93

PEOPLES PUBLISHING HOUSE

FORTY YEARS
OF
SOCIALISM

BY
PIETER KEUNEMAN, M. P.
General Secretary
Ceylon Communist Party.

Peoples' Publishing House
249, 1ST DIVISION, MARADANA
COLOMBO.

335.4.3095493

KEU

FOUR YEARS
OF
SOCIALISM



over 25% of the world's territory and 35% of its population. Based on the sovereignty of each socialist country, on mutual assistance, on a socialist division of labour and on the co-ordination of economic plans, these countries account for 30% of the world's industrial production and their production is increasing continuously.

Inspired by the October Revolution, which for the first time brought down the power of an empire and liberated its oppressed nations, the struggle against colonialism is advancing from success to success.

Even as late as the end of the Second World War, when the fascist forces were defeated mainly through the heroic efforts of the Soviet peoples and their Red Army, 600 million people in Asia were living under colonialism. Today this figure has been reduced to 18 million. In the Middle East and Africa, the struggle for national liberation from colonialism is reaching new heights.

In these post-war years nearly 80% of the total population of Asia and Africa have won their political independence. The world front of imperialism, which was first breached by the October Revolution, is now in a shambles. The newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa are not only looking to and receiving necessary assistance from the Soviet Union in protecting their independence and developing their economies ;

many of them are also seeking to develop their economies along "socialist patterns."

The strength of the workers' movements against capitalism and imperialism has also increased immensely in the capitalist countries. The Communist Parties of the different countries now unite an aggregate of over 20 million members. Many tens of millions of other workers who also desire socialism are now organised and fighting for their rights.

These tremendous developments have their genesis in the October Revolution. They make the celebration of the 40th Anniversary of this great revolution an occasion of great and powerful significance. For in these forty years, the slogans which the October Revolution proclaimed, the slogans of socialism and of national liberation from imperialism, have become a reality for the vast mass of the people.

III

THE forty years since the October Revolution have proved in practice that Socialism is in every way a superior system to capitalism.

The recent launching of the Soviet satellite, which has stirred the imagination of mankind with its limitless

prospect of knowledge about and conquest of outer space, has thrown the traditional boasters about the technical superiority of the capitalist world into confusion. Instead of rejoicing at this new assertion of man's conquest of nature, these gentlemen can only pull long faces and mutter in their beards.

The apologists of capitalism can no longer make any impression on men's minds. They dare not even call their system by its right name. "Capitalism" has become "Free Enterprise" or even "People's Capitalism." "Empire" has been turned into "Commonwealth" and "Co-prosperity Sphere." "Imperialism" has been disguised as an "Eisenhower Doctrine," as "Point Four Aid," as a "European Common Market" and in countless other ways.

But however hard they try, the apologists of capitalism and imperialism cannot sugar-coat the pill. The peoples of the world have come to recognise the monster for what it really is—a system that breeds war, national oppression, crisis unemployment and grinding poverty for the mass of the people.

In a short space of time, the Soviet Union has been able to show the peoples of the world a practical alternative.

All the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe and America have had well over a century of

economic development of their system and some of them have had considerably longer.

The Soviet Union, on the contrary, has had only 40 years and 18 of these have been spent in wars and recovering from the ravages of wars and military intervention in its affairs. No capitalist country has suffered the devastation that the Soviet Union has endured.

The capitalist countries of Western Europe and America were able to develop their economies by exploiting the raw materials and manpower of their colonial and semi-colonial possessions. Their "prosperity" was built on the robbery and ruin of millions of people in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.

The Soviet Union has developed its economy, not by exploiting colonial possessions, but by liberating the former subject nations of the Tsarist Empire and drawing them into the common task of national development. Moreover, the main capitalist countries have continuously carried out an economic "blockade" of the Soviet Union, thus denying the socialist state the opportunities available to other countries of making up for the deficiencies in her raw material supply by means of international trade.

Despite all this, the Soviet Union has, in a short space of time, been able to surpass the capitalist

countries of Western Europe in all respects and will, in a short-time, surpass the United States of America in all respects. As the well-known British economist, Mr. Thomas Balogh, has admitted, "the Soviet might be able to achieve current American productivity in manufacture in less than a decade."

Apologists of capitalism sometimes try to prove the superiority of capitalism over socialism by comparing the levels of production and consumption in the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. at the moment. This approach is both static and misleading.

Being far from the field of battle, the American economy did not suffer any damage during either of the two world wars. On the contrary, American economy was able to expand considerably during the second world war owing to the fact that the U.S.A. became the quartermaster of the capitalist world. The other capitalist countries of the West, whose territories were either invaded or heavily bombed by the Nazis, placed a large volume of their orders for war material and consumer goods with America, where production could proceed without interruption. They exported their gold reserves and other assets to that country. As a result, American economy expanded.

This level of production has been maintained after the war by artificial means. In furtherance of their aggressive and expansionist policies, the ruling circles

of the U. S. A. have kept their level of production going by giving huge war-contracts to American firms, by building up huge "reserves" of farm produce and by penetrating into the economies of other countries through agencies like the Marshall Plan and Point Four Aid. The level of American production is therefore being artificially maintained by the policy of preparing for war and aggression.

The special factors which have influenced the high level of American production have not prevented the U. S. S. R. catching up with the U. S. A. despite the disadvantages which the Soviet Union has had to face.

In 1913 the ratio of U.S. per capita production to that of Tsarist Russia was 21.4 to 1. In 1956 the ratio between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. has been reduced to 2.7 to 1.

This gap is being rapidly bridged as Soviet economy is developing at a much faster rate than that of the capitalist countries. In the period 1951-1955, for instance, the average annual increase in industrial output in the U.S.S.R. was 13.1 per cent while it was 3.1 per cent in the U.S.A. and an average of about 5.5 per cent in the capitalist countries of Western Europe.

The increase in production in the U.S.S.R. has been accompanied by a rapid improvement of the standards of living of its people. Despite the boasts of American "prosperity," 6 million people remain

permanently unemployed in that country. In the Soviet Union unemployment was ended long ago.

In the period 1950-1955 alone the real wages of workers and other employees in the U.S.S.R. increased by 39 per cent, while in the U.S.A. the corresponding increase has been only 3 per cent. Soviet national income is growing five times faster than that of the U.S.A.

On the basis of its confidence in the superiority of the socialist economic system over capitalism, the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has set itself and the Soviet people the task of overtaking and outstripping in the shortest possible time the most developed capitalist countries in per capita production.

It is on this basis that Soviet leaders are able confidently to challenge the leaders of capitalism to prove which system is superior, not by war, but by peaceful economic competition.

To the capitalist slogan "Let's arm", the Soviet Union poses the slogan "Let's trade". While the capitalists seek to prove the superiority of their system by frantically preparing to massacre millions of people in a war fought with nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union is prepared to demonstrate the superiority of

socialism to the world by its peaceful achievements. This fact is alone enough to establish the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

IV

THE superiority of socialism over capitalism is not confined to matters of the economy. It is being demonstrated daily in every sphere of life.

The launching of the artificial satellite by the Soviet Union has strikingly demonstrated the very high standards that science and technique have reached under socialism.

In the fields of culture and sports, too, the socialist country has shown that it can hold its own and surpass the countries of capitalism.

Within the past forty years the educational, cultural and technical standards of the Soviet people have increased at a much faster rate than in any other country in the world.

80 per cent of the people of the Tsarist Empire were illiterate. In the Soviet Union illiteracy was wiped out in two decades.

At present, 50 million persons (one out of every four of the population) is attending a school, a vocational college, an institute or a university. There are 1,733,000 teachers, or nearly one for every 100 of the total population, to cater for their needs. Many nations which did not have a written language 40 years ago now have their own universities and institutes of higher education.

The "golden fund" of specialists, on whose knowledge and skill the technical development of the country depends, is being increased continuously. In 1955 the Soviet Union had 765 institutions of higher learning with an aggregate body of 1,867,000 students. At the beginning of 1956 the U.S.S.R. had at its disposal 5,553,000 specialists in various fields and it is aiming to train a further 4 million in its Sixth Five Year Plan.

334,000 doctors and almost a million junior medical workers look after the health of the population, thus making the U.S.S.R. the country with the biggest number of medical personnel per head of the population.

The general cultural standards of the people are advancing by leaps and bounds,

Prior to the October Revolution, the Tsarist Empire had 1,055 newspapers with a total circulation of

3,300,000. In 1955, in the Soviet Union there were 7,246 newspapers with a daily circulation of 49 million.

20 million wireless sets constitute the "invisible press" This is being augmented by television and by 1960 it is planned to have 75 T.V. broadcasting stations operating in the U.S.S.R., including colour television.

The publication of books far exceeds that of any other country. The Soviet Union publishes books in 122 languages and in 1955 alone, 1,000 million copies of books were published. There are 39,000 libraries to cater to the population's cultural and educational needs.

But most important of all are the high moral and ethical values which this enormous advance in culture and education has inculcated among the Soviet people.

In the Soviet Union, knowledge and education is not used to exploit others, but to improve the common good. There are no "Little Rocks," no discrimination against people owing to their race or the colour of their skins. There are no generals and statesmen threatening the rest of the world with nuclear destruction, as exist in the U.S.A. Indeed, propaganda for war and racial and colour discrimination are penal offences. Unlike Hollywood, which equates "entertainment" with sexual titillation and sordid studies in

crime, violence and pathological abnormality, the Soviet screen and stage uphold the dignity, the indomitable spirit and the triumph of man.

The gangster, the madman and the social misfit are rapidly becoming the "heroes" of capitalist culture. It is natural that a disintegrating society should be obsessed with decay. But it is poor grounds on which to convince the mentally and morally healthy of the superiority of capitalism.

V

The October Revolution and its subsequent developments have not only proved the superiority of socialism over capitalism; they have also marked a radical change in international relations, whose effects are well appreciated today and especially by the newly-free peoples of Asia and Africa.

Prior to the October Revolution, the peoples of the world could see no practical alternative to periodic wars aimed at the re-division of the world between rival imperialist powers. The small nations had no alternative to being pawns in a blood-thirsty struggle for power among the major imperialist powers and to passing from the control of one imperialist conqueror to another.

The people of Ceylon, who passed from Portugese to Dutch and from Dutch to British hands as a result of treaties drawn up in Europe and over which they had no control, know this only too well.

The October Révolution and the 40 years of socialist development thereafter have altered this picture completely.

The Soviet Union is now strong and influential enough to play a pre-eminent and decisive role in the fight to preserve world peace.

It is powerful enough to deter and rebuff aggressors and would-be aggressors and make them take to their heels.

The fascist powers learnt this lesson. So have the imperialists who attacked Egypt and the international counter-revolutionaries who tried to destroy socialism and restore the rule of the landlords and capitalists in Hungary.

At the same time, the moral and political influence of the Soviet Union has grown so greatly that it can continuously advance positive and constructive proposals for reducing international tensions, for disarmament and for the solution of international disputes by negotiation and to have such proposals supported by hundreds of millions of people.

Although the Soviet Union possesses the most modern weapons—intercontinental ballistic missiles and hydrogen bombs—it has repeatedly offered to destroy all these stocks if the other powers will do the same. It has repeatedly proposed both partial and total disarmament and has, in fact, reduced its armies considerably. In place of aggressive regional alliances like NATO and MEDO it has proposed genuine collective security, under the auspices of the United Nations and in terms of its Charter, in which all countries in the region can participate and mutually guarantee each other. Unlike the Anglo-American and Western European powers, it has subscribed its support to the principles of “Pancha Seela” and the Bandung Declaration.

The Soviet Union’s desire for peace stems directly from its socialist structure. It has no private capitalists who manufacture armaments for profit and vastly increase their dividends by war and war preparations. Its system of production for use—and not for private profit—does not require the conquest of foreign territory to which capital can be exported and whose raw materials and cheap man-power can be exploited. On the contrary, to the Soviet Union every rouble spent on defence means less money for economic and social development at home.

Unlike in 1917 and even before the outbreak of the Second World War, the peoples of the world are

now strong enough to impose peace on the imperialist warmongers. The stopping of the aggression against Korea, Viet Nam and Egypt are examples of this fact.

The camp of peace has expanded considerably. It is no longer confined to the Soviet Union but includes all the other socialist countries and the newly-free countries of Asia and Africa which, at Bandung and elsewhere, have played a most valuable role in preserving peace.

But the central fact which makes it possible to maintain world peace today is the existence of a strong and determined Soviet Union at the head of the forces that want peace. The October Revolution has, therefore, paved the way for a new world situation in which a lasting peace has become a practical possibility.

VI

IN the same way, as a result of the triumph of the October Revolution, the smaller and economically weaker nations of the world have been able to assert their independence and develop their economies.

Egypt can now defy the British and French imperialists and maintain its national sovereignty. Ceylon can defy the blackmail and threats of the U.S.A.

and trade with China. Syria and other Middle Eastern countries can stand firmly against the Eisenhower Doctrine which seeks to enslave this area of the world in the interests of the oil kings. The newly-free countries of Asia and Africa can proclaim their "neutrality" and follow an independent line in both world and domestic affairs.

All this has become possible because there are now forces in the world strong enough to defy the aggressive designs of imperialism, to hold the imperialists in check and thus make it possible for smaller and weaker countries to assert their sovereign independence.

And the chief of these forces is the U.S.S.R. whose material and moral strength has been built in forty years of socialism.

The smaller and weaker nations of the world are fully aware that the existence of a strong Soviet Union is the surest guarantee of their own independence.

The people of Ceylon realise this very well.

As a result of their triumph over reaction in the General Election of April, 1956, the people of Ceylon are, for the first time, in a position to exercise and make use of the political independence gained in 1948.

A new course has been set in external affairs. British bases are being evacuated without a struggle.

The demand for the nationalisation of imperialist property has become more intense and has received formal support from the government.

The people of Ceylon know that they need no longer fear the political and economic blackmail and threats of imperialism.

At one time there were people who said: "We cannot afford to displease the British and the Americans or to take an independent line; otherwise they will boycott our exports and smash us."

This cowardly theory held sway at the time when the world market was dominated by the imperialist countries. But times have changed. An extensive socialist market, headed by the Soviet Union, exists as an alternative avenue for our exports. And we have learned in practice that socialist countries trade with us on equal and even generous terms.

The existence of a strong Soviet Union and a camp of socialist countries has also made it possible for us to get the technical and material aid which we need to develop our industry and agriculture.

The "aid" which Ceylon has received under imperialist agencies such as the Colombo Plan, "Point Four" and the World Bank has not been concerned with economic development. It has, in the main, been

concerned with keeping Ceylon as a provider of agricultural raw materials for export and with making the existing import-export economy more efficient.

It is only since the election victory of 1956 that it has become possible for Ceylon to obtain technical and other aid from the Soviet Union for its development. These matters are now being discussed by the two governments but the Soviet Union has already begun to help us in the new sugar project.

The fields in which technical assistance from the Soviet Union can usefully be obtained are innumerable. They are only limited at present by the lack of clarity in the government and the planning bodies of our country on the main lines of development which Ceylon should follow. The Soviet Union possesses the most advanced technique in all branches of industry and science. Its achievements in agriculture and irrigation are immense and can be of special value to Ceylon. Its expert advice is disinterested, as its experts are not the representatives of private firms seeking a market for their products.

Like all under-developed countries, Ceylon urgently needs machines and other capital goods for its development. The imperialist countries have not been anxious to help our industrial development and have actively discouraged and opposed it. Even in the few

cases where capital goods were obtained from the capitalist countries, payment had to be made at once and in precious foreign exchange.

The Soviet Union is now supplying India and other under-developed countries with capital goods, including whole factories, in exchange for their products or on the basis of long-term payment in instalments spread over 10—15 years. In this way the under-developed countries can obtain the factories they need immediately and without an extremely heavy initial capital outlay. They can pay for them in long-term instalments out of the profits earned from the working of the factories.

The question which often confronts under-developed countries—"Where can we get the capital to start industrialisation?"—has, therefore, been concretely answered by the Soviet Union. This policy opens out an easy path for the rapid industrial development of Ceylon.

The October Revolution and the success of 40 years of socialist development in the U.S.S.R. have, therefore, opened up new vistas and opportunities for peoples of Asia and Africa who are now re-emerging as free peoples on the world scene. The path of the October Revolution has not only encouraged and helped them to win their independence; it has also created the conditions in which that independence can be developed and strengthened in conditions of world peace.

VII

THE 40th anniversary of the October Revolution is being celebrated in Ceylon under conditions where friendship for the Soviet Union and a keen interest in its achievements have become a dominant feature among the mass of the people.

In the period of colonial rule, the British imperialist rulers sought to hide from the masses the real facts about the October Revolution and the socialist achievements of the U.S.S.R. But this did not prevent the truth percolating through the barriers of suppression and slander.

The beginning of the modern national movement in Ceylon coincided in point of time with the October Revolution. The first Conference on Constitutional Reform took place on December 15, 1917, five weeks after the October Revolution.

The imperialists lost no time in branding these nationalist leaders as "Bolsheviks." *The Times of Ceylon* accused them of "drifting into Bolshevism," a remark which drew the rejoinder from Ponnambalam Arunachalam that "we are in very good company."

However, of the bourgeois leaders who began the national movement in Ceylon, only Arunachalam gave any indication that he was aware of the new forces in the world unleashed by the October Revolution,

In his speech on constitutional reforms at the Ceylon National Conference on December 13th, 1918, Arunachalam, although deploring what he called the "excesses" of the October Revolution, nevertheless pointed out that it was the inevitable result of the "terrible thralldom of capitalism" which regarded men and women "not as citizens, but as tools of economic power," as "cannon fodder of industry."

While Arunachalam himself could not see the full extent of the change that had taken place, the other bourgeois national leaders remained oblivious to it. They placed their trust in "British justice and fair-play," to which they appealed repeatedly. They were fearful of the implications of a nationalist movement which would solicit the active support of the masses.

This position lasted until the economic crisis of the late 1920's and the early 1930's and the introduction of the Donoughmore Constitution.

A section of the radical intelligensia, disillusioned with the compromising bourgeois national leadership of D. B. Jayatilleke and D. S. Senanayake, began to study the experiences of the Soviet Union and the achievements of socialism.

At the same time, adult franchise, which the working class had won under the Donoughmore

Constitution, ended the monopoly which the bourgeoisie had hitherto enjoyed and for the first time brought the masses into the political scene as a major factor.

These two circumstances led to a radical turn in the political affairs of Ceylon. With the Youth Leagues, the formation of the pre-war Samasamaja Party and the growth of the trade union movement, the national liberation struggle gained a new impetus.

For the first time, the slogan of complete independence was raised in Ceylon. And the movement that raised it was actively inspired by and friendly to the Soviet Union and the achievements of the October Revolution.

This movement grew in strength until 1940 when, under the influence of Trotskyism, certain leaders of the Samasamaja Party, which was at that time a broad united front of all progressive forces, split the developing movement by joining with the imperialists to attack the Soviet Union and by expelling the Communists and other pro-Soviet forces from the organisation.

It was left to the Communist Party, which was established as a separate party afterwards, to carry forward the traditions of the earlier movement, while the Samasamajist leaders degenerated more and more into active anti-Sovietism.

Although, at this stage, an understanding of the role of the Soviet Union and the importance to Ceylon of friendly association with the new civilisation born out of the October Revolution was largely confined to the Communist Party, the working class and radical sections of the youth, it began to spread among other sections of the population.

This process was continuously resisted. It was opposed by the imperialists and by the reactionary U. N. P. Government which, under the orders of the American imperialists, erected a "Cadjan Curtain" and banned any contact between Ceylon and the U.S.S.R. The reactionary capitalist press and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church also fought against this development.

These reactionaries, who were anxious only to defend their vested interests, were aided by the Trotskyist leaders of the N.L.S.S.P. who sought to confuse, demoralise and divide the anti-imperialist movement by slanders and attacks against the first land of socialism. They ran close to the bourgeois press and the American propaganda agencies in Ceylon as the purveyors of such slanders.

But the truth about the Soviet Union prevailed over the slanders of the reactionaries.

In April, 1956, the people of Ceylon defeated the reactionaries and threw the representatives of the

compradore section of the Ceylonese bourgeoisie out of power. The new nationalist government which took their place has, in response to the demand of the people, opened diplomatic relations and exchanged diplomatic representatives with the U.S.S.R.

In the past year, increasing numbers of Ceylonese have been able to see for themselves the truth about the Soviet Union.

Both the Parliament of Ceylon and the Municipal Council of Colombo have sent official delegations to the U.S.S.R. Many representative delegations of trade unionists, teachers, dancers, writers, artistes, religious leaders and distinguished public personalities have visited that country. It was only recently that a 250-strong delegation of Ceylonese youth visited the Soviet Union to attend the VIth World Festival of Youth and Students.

All these delegations have returned to tell their fellow-countrymen, through the medium of the Press and at public meetings and private conversations, the truth about what they saw in the U.S.S.R. The picture they paint is in direct opposition to the lies and slanders that had been spread by the reactionaries.

The vast majority of the persons on these delegations were not Communists. Some of them have never had, and still do not have, any sympathy with Communism. But all of them have testified to

the remarkable advances made by the Soviet people since the October Revolution. They have spoken of a free, happy and prosperous people, filled with patriotic zeal to develop their country still further and sincerely devoted to peace and friendship with all nations.

This fact has thrown the reactionaries into confusion and alarm.

Mr. Dudley Senanayake, on behalf of the U.N.P., wants these delegations stopped as he is clearly discomfited by the glowing reports given by certain members of his own party who have visited the U.S.S.R.

The "Ceylon Daily News" which has bitterly opposed both the Soviet Union and every progressive movement in Ceylon, in a recent article said that Ceylon-Soviet friendship was being 'overdone', and urged that the celebrations in connection with the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution should be curtailed.

The N.L.S.S.P. has engaged in a new frenzy of anti-Soviet slander and is vilifying the Soviet Union up and down the country for saving socialism in Hungary.

The mass of the Ceylonese people, however, are not taken in by these antics of desperation. They have learnt in practice that friendship with the Soviet

Union is in the best interests of Ceylon and that the enemies of the Soviet Union in this country are the same forces that oppose and try to impede the advance of the Ceylonese people.

VIII

THE October Revolution and the forty years that have followed it have brilliantly vindicated the ideas and teachings of the organiser of the October Revolution and the founder of the Soviet State, V. I. Lenin.

Lenin was the outstanding figure of the twentieth century and the greatest leader that the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world have known.

Basing himself on the teachings of scientific socialism, which Marx and Engels had developed in the nineteenth century when capitalism was still a growing force, Lenin continued and developed these teachings in the twentieth century when capitalism had entered its imperialist phase, when it had become moribund and when the replacement of capitalism by socialism had become both practical and inevitable.

Lenin revived the revolutionary essence of the teachings of Marx and Engels which had been obscured and hidden after their death by opportunists and right-wing Social Democratic leaders. He applied

Marxism in the most masterly way to the concrete conditions of the situation in Russia. But, above all, Lenin developed and enriched Marxism in an era of imperialism and socialist revolution, deduced new conclusions and theses of universal significance and thus armed the working people of the entire world with new knowledge and understanding which they can use—and have used—to liberate themselves.

The forty years since the October Revolution have been marked by the growing triumph of the ideas of Marxism - Leninism, which has proved itself to be superior to all other forms of philosophy and social theory.

Marxism - Leninism helped the Soviet workers to understand and control the social processes at work at every stage of their long struggle. It taught them to understand the new phenomena which arose at each stage and how to take these new factors into account in determining their strategy and tactics.

Marxism - Leninism gave the workers of the Tsarist Empire the first scientific understanding of imperialism. It showed them the changes which this new stage in the development of capitalism had brought about in the relations of class forces and in the affairs of the world and of their own country. It enabled them to discard obsolete theories which fettered the development of their movement. It gave them a new orientation and initiative,

The opportunists and right-wing socialists had contended that Russia was too backward a country to be the first in which socialism would be established. They argued that socialism would come first in one or more of the advanced capitalist countries of the West.

Basing himself on the teachings of Marx and on his own understanding of the new features in the world situation, Lenin asserted correctly that imperialism would first snap at its weakest link and that it was precisely in a country like Russia that socialism would first be established.

The opportunists and right-wing socialists asserted that, after the overthrow of the Tsarist autocracy, Russia would inevitably have to go through a long period of capitalist development before socialism could become a practical possibility.

Lenin took a contrary view. He showed the working class that, by placing itself at the head of the struggle against the Tsarist autocracy and for political reforms, it could rapidly lead the oppressed masses of the Tsarist Empire from one stage to another and pass over to socialism without a long intervening period of capitalist development.

The opportunists and right-wing socialists asserted that socialism could not be built in a single country and that the socialist revolution in Russia must wait

until the workers in other countries were ready to establish socialism.

Lenin showed that, on the contrary, the unequal rate of development of capitalism throughout the world made it possible for the workers to establish socialism in one country, even if the workers of other countries were not yet ready to make the change in their own countries. He asserted that the victorious establishment of socialism, even in a single country, would provide an inspiration and a rallying centre for the workers of other lands in their struggle for socialism.

The opportunists and right--wing socialists regarded the peasantry and the oppressed colonial peoples as strategic reserves of capitalism.

Lenin, on the contrary, proved that, in the new conditions caused by imperialist development, the peasantry and the oppressed colonial peoples could and should become allies and strategic reserves of the revolutionary proletariat.

It was, therefore, the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism over those of the opportunists and dogmatists that gave the Russian workers the understanding, initiative and skill to carry through the October Revolution.

The same guiding theories of Marxism-Leninism enabled the Soviet workers, once they had obtained power, to transform society, build socialism and start the transition towards communist society in which they are at present engaged.

On the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet workers were able to build a new form of state power, more democratic than any known under capitalism. They were able rapidly to develop their country through successive Five-Year Plans and to bring about the socialist transformation of agriculture through collectivisation. They were able to turn a "prison house of nations" into a free, equal and unshakeably united family of free socialist nations. They were able to create a new culture and a people with a new, responsible and socialist outlook on life.

Marxism-Leninism also enabled the leaders of the Soviet Union to analyse the new features in the world situation and thus help the workers and progressive forces of all countries to deal with them.

In the period after the First World War, when capitalism was able to achieve a temporary stability and American imperialism was seeking to dazzle the world with the achievements of its mass-production methods, the apologists of capitalism, including the Social Democratic leaders, confidently asserted that capitalism had overcome its contradictions and that "Ford had disproved Marx".

Basing themselves on Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet leaders showed the working people that the stabilisation of capitalism was only temporary and could not last. They pointed out that, following the October Revolution and the First World War, capitalism had entered a stage of general and permanent crisis from which it could never recover and that a major economic crisis was inevitable.

In the world crisis of capitalism of 1929-1933, only the Soviet Union remained unaffected. Only the Communists and the followers of Marxism-Leninism were equipped to meet the needs of the new situation. The workers who had placed their faith in the Social Democratic leaders were left helpless and disarmed in the face of mass unemployment and poverty.

Following the economic crisis, when fascism emerged as a major force on the world scene, the Soviet leaders and the Communists of other countries were helped by Marxism-Leninism to understand the true meaning of this new phenomenon and to take appropriate steps against it.

The ideologists of capitalism, including the right-wing socialist leaders, depicted fascism as a "middle class revolution," as a movement standing "above classes."

Guided by their Marxist-Leninist understanding, the Soviet leaders and the other Communists showed

the workers that fascism was the "open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist, most imperialist sections of finance capital"; that it represented a paramount danger to the working class movement of all lands, to the independence of all countries and to the peace of the world; and that it should be resisted unitedly.

If the warnings of the Soviet leaders and the Communists had been heeded early enough, the Second World War might have been averted.

In the forty years since the October Revolution, Marxism-Leninism has illuminated every aspect of human thought and endeavour. It has given the workers and the progressive forces of every country a great and continuously expanding treasury of knowledge and experience to guide and assist their efforts to change their own countries and the world.

Despite the striking advances made by science in the period, the last forty years have seen the disintegration and collapse of capitalist ideology in all spheres.

The great schools of bourgeois philosophy, which developed in the nineteenth century alongside the advance of capitalism, have disappeared. In their place, all that capitalism has been able to produce is a futile apology for philosophy called "logical positivism." Whether based on the "English School" of Bertrand

Russell and F. Ayer or the "Vienna School" of Wittgenstein and Carnap, all that "logical positivism" has sought to do is to deny the great, fundamental problems of philosophy, to dismiss them as products of an imprecise use of language and logic and to brand as "philosophically impermissible" any attempt to advance new hypotheses on the basis of existing knowledge.

As in the last days of the Roman Empire, capitalist "philosophy" has been reduced to abstract emptiness or mysticism. Despite the prattle about the "organicism" of Whitehead and the "pragmatism" and the "behaviourism" of Dewey and Watson, capitalism has nowhere been able to produce an intellectually reputable system of thought which deals with the things about which people are vitally concerned and which has gained widespread adherence and is serving as a guide to action.

Bourgeois philosophy to-day is confined to a few polite and totally ineffectual theories which are taught in universities, while the mass of the people are subjected to all forms of irrationalism and mysticism, ranging from astrology and spiritualism to the bestialities of Nazi race theory and "apartheid." It is no accident that leaders of the new "philosophical schools", like Bertrand Russell, should have become advocates of the use of nuclear weapons to settle international isputes.

The same crisis and collapse can be seen in economic theory. The bourgeois theories of "laissez faire" and "marginal utility," which held sway before the First World War, were unable to outlast the war and the October Revolution. In their place arose several theories of "organised capitalism," the foremost of which was that of J. M. Keynes who argued that the natural forces of capitalism should be interfered with and controlled by a government-guided investment and financial policy and by controlling or reducing real wages instead of cutting money wages. These theories coincided with the growth of monopoly capitalism which advocated "interference" in the economy in its own interest.

In the last forty years, the theories of "organised capitalism" have produced many "solutions" to the constant crises of capitalism. Some (Hawtrey and Irving Fischer) have argued that crisis can be explained and overcome by controlling the availability of money. Others (Hayek and Robbins) argue that crisis is due to *over-investment* and can be cured by lower wages and higher rates of interest. Still others (J. A. Hobson and, to some extent, Keynes) say that crisis is due to *under-consumption*. And Jevons has advanced the theory that crises are due to sunspots every ten years which cause bad harvests !

All these attempts to explain and control capitalism have failed. Not one of them has prevented an economic crisis or explained the real causes of mass unemployment,

exploitation, the frenzied war preparations or the other diabolical features of capitalism which are so well known to the masses.

A similar crisis has developed in bourgeois political theory. The restricted forms of bourgeois Parliamentary democracy, which were for so long held out to the peoples of the world, including the people of Ceylon, as the acme of democratic perfection, are steadily losing their prestige and influence in the light of the challenge of real, Soviet democracy and the forms of people's democracy which are being developed in Eastern Europe and China.

In Western Europe and America, the capitalists are steadily destroying the democratic liberties and even the democratic forms about which their theorists boast so much. They are turning towards fascism in order to meet the challenge of the working class movement and the needs of their drive to war.

In the newly-free countries of Asia and Africa, where capitalism still exists, the people are realising that the "British models" and other forms of capitalist "democracy" are an impediment to their rapid development and the more forward-looking nationalist leaders, like President Sukarno of Indonesia, are already searching for new "conceptions."

Over the last 40 years, bourgeois art has abandoned the great traditions of the past and has degenerated into different schools of formalism and subjectivism. Cubism and its allied schools divorced art from its content and concentrated almost exclusively on form. Surrealism, which flourished before the Second World War, retreated still further from reality and regarded only the sub-conscious and the nightmare as fit subjects for art. Existentialism, the current "rage," propounds an abject nihilism, born in guilt, nurtured in anxiety and leading only to despair.

Even in the field of science, where the advance has been most striking over the past forty years, bourgeois science has, in general, been left bewildered and helpless in the face of the need to revise its basic concepts as a result of the revolutionary new discoveries in physics and astronomy.

The complacent and determinist physical picture which had dominated nineteenth century science, has been broken by a series of discoveries starting with X-rays and radio-activity and culminating with the quantum theory and the splitting of the atom. Sharp contradictions between theory and observation have arisen in the field of cosmic rays, the expanding universe and the relation between fundamental physical units.

Capitalist science has, on the whole, reacted to these developments in two main ways. One section has dismissed these new problems as the concern of philosophy, not science, and has concentrated on specific experiments. Another section, led by Jeans and Eddington, has retreated into mysticism, revived all sorts of vitalist theories and sought to deny the materialist basis of science.

In contrast to the disintegration and decline of capitalist ideology, Marxism-Leninism is developing and constantly expanding the frontiers of human knowledge. It unites theory with practice and is fearlessly grappling with all problems on the basis that there is nothing fundamentally unknowable but only things that are not yet known. It has become a mighty force, inspiring the lives and actions of millions and increasingly attracting to its banner the best minds of our time.

IX

THE victory of the October Revolution and the triumphant building of socialism thereafter would not have been possible without the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was conceived and founded by Lenin.

In their long and arduous struggle, the Soviet workers and peoples were able to overcome all difficulties and obstructions owing to the wise, correct and militant leadership of the Communist Party which, at every stage of the struggle, showed them the main tasks ahead and organised and led them to fulfil these tasks.

At every stage of the struggle, the Communist Party maintained the closest links with the masses. It did not grow dizzy with success or whine and falter in defeat. It was not afraid openly to admit and discuss its mistakes. It regarded such frankness as a means of educating the masses and improving the Party's style of work.

Lenin led the Communist Party in the conquest of power and the establishment of the Soviet state. On his death, the leadership of the Party passed to Stalin who, despite certain mistakes committed in the last years of his life, led the Party and the people in the building of socialism. With the death of Stalin, the Communist Party has corrected the mistakes that he made and at its 20th Congress has chartered new paths for the further development of Communism.

Although the Soviet Union and its Communist Party have been fortunate in the outstanding individuals they have had as leaders, their real strength has depended on the nature of the Communist Party itself and the collective experience of its members.

The Communist Party which Lenin fashioned is a party of a new type, different in quality from the type of worker's party that had existed earlier and fully equipped to lead the workers' movements in these turbulent times.

The earlier workers' parties, which had grown up in a period of relatively peaceful development when capitalism was still an advancing force, had performed the useful service of making the workers conscious of their separate political interests as a class and in uniting them in broad-based political organisations.

After the death of Marx and Engels, the leadership of these parties passed into the hands of opportunists and right-wing Social Democrats who sought to convert these parties into instruments of co-operation with capitalism. Their main function was to get their members elected to bourgeois Parliaments and there wring concessions from the capitalists.

These opportunist leaders denied the need for a scientific and revolutionary theory to guide the workers in their struggle. Instead, they accepted the fundamental assumptions of capitalist ideology. They denied the need to organise mass struggles to end the capitalist system and concentrated entirely on trying to bring about reforms within the framework of capitalism.

These facts made the old type of workers' party totally unfit to lead the workers in the struggle for socialism and called for a new type of party.

The Communist Party, which Lenin founded, acts as the vanguard of the working class. It is guided by the advanced theory of Marxism-Leninism which it applies creatively to the concrete conditions of the political situation in its own country. It is a united, compact organisation based on the principle of democratic centralism and with a single programme, a single set of rules and single discipline to which all members voluntarily submit themselves.

In the words of Stalin, the Communist Party is :

“ a militant party, a revolutionary party, one bold enough to lead the proletarians in the struggle for power, sufficiently experienced to find its bearings amidst the complex conditions of a revolutionary situation and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of all submerged rocks in the path to its goal.”

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is not a political party in the bourgeois sense of the term. It is an organised political leadership of the people, distinct from their representation through the trade unions and the state. By means of political foresight and personal example, it provides a consistent, persuasive, ubiquitous and continuous guidance to the manifold organisations of the people, co-ordinates their work and directs their energies towards the common goal—the building of Communism.

In the words of Lenin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is "the mind, the honour and the conscience of our epoch."

The "party of a new type" which Lenin created in Russia has become the prototype of similar Communist Parties in over sixty countries of the world. These parties have already proved their superiority over all other types of working class parties.

It is only in countries where the working class has been led by Communist Parties based on the principles of Lenin that it has been able to end the rule of capitalism and to begin the building of socialism.

Although the Social-Democratic parties have held political power in Britain and in the countries of Western Europe—sometimes for years at a stretch—they have been unable to end the capitalist system and establish socialism.

This striking fact is being rapidly understood by all forces who seriously want socialism. Increasing sections of them have already realised that the surest way of winning socialism and social advance is to build and strengthen the Communist Party of their own country.

In their advance towards socialism, the Communist Parties of the world have also taken into their hands the banner of the national independence of

their countries. which the bourgeoisie of so many capitalist countries have cast aside in their greed to serve the American dollar.

The Communist Parties seek unity with all genuine anti-imperialist and nationalist forces. They seek unity with the mass of those workers who are still under the influence of the Social Democratic parties. By their own example and by their efforts at unity with other progressive forces, the Communist Parties play their part in the defence of peace and in the struggle for social progress and the independence of all countries.

X

THE victory of the October Revolution ended, to use the words of Marx, "the pre-history of human society." It opened a new, true history of mankind where, guided by Marxism-Leninism and the experience of 40 years of victorious socialism, humanity can be the conscious agent of its own destiny, the creator of its own fate.

The course of development which mankind has pursued in the first half of the 20th Century under the influence of the October Revolution has already pre-determined developments in the second half.

However hard they try, the forces of the old, doomed world cannot prolong their rule. They have been undermined by the whole course of history and the majority of mankind is turning against them.

In his television interview, N. S. Khrushchev told the people of America, the last stronghold of capitalism, that their grandchildren would be living under socialism.

This is the prospect for the second half of the 20th Century—the prospect of the triumph of socialism in all countries of the world; the prospect of the end of wars and of all forms of exploitation; the prospect of a new, creative future for mankind.

It is in this spirit of confidence that the people of the world celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution which first opened up this glorious vista for mankind.



LANKA PRESS
91, COTTA RD.,
COLOMBO-8 (CEYLON)