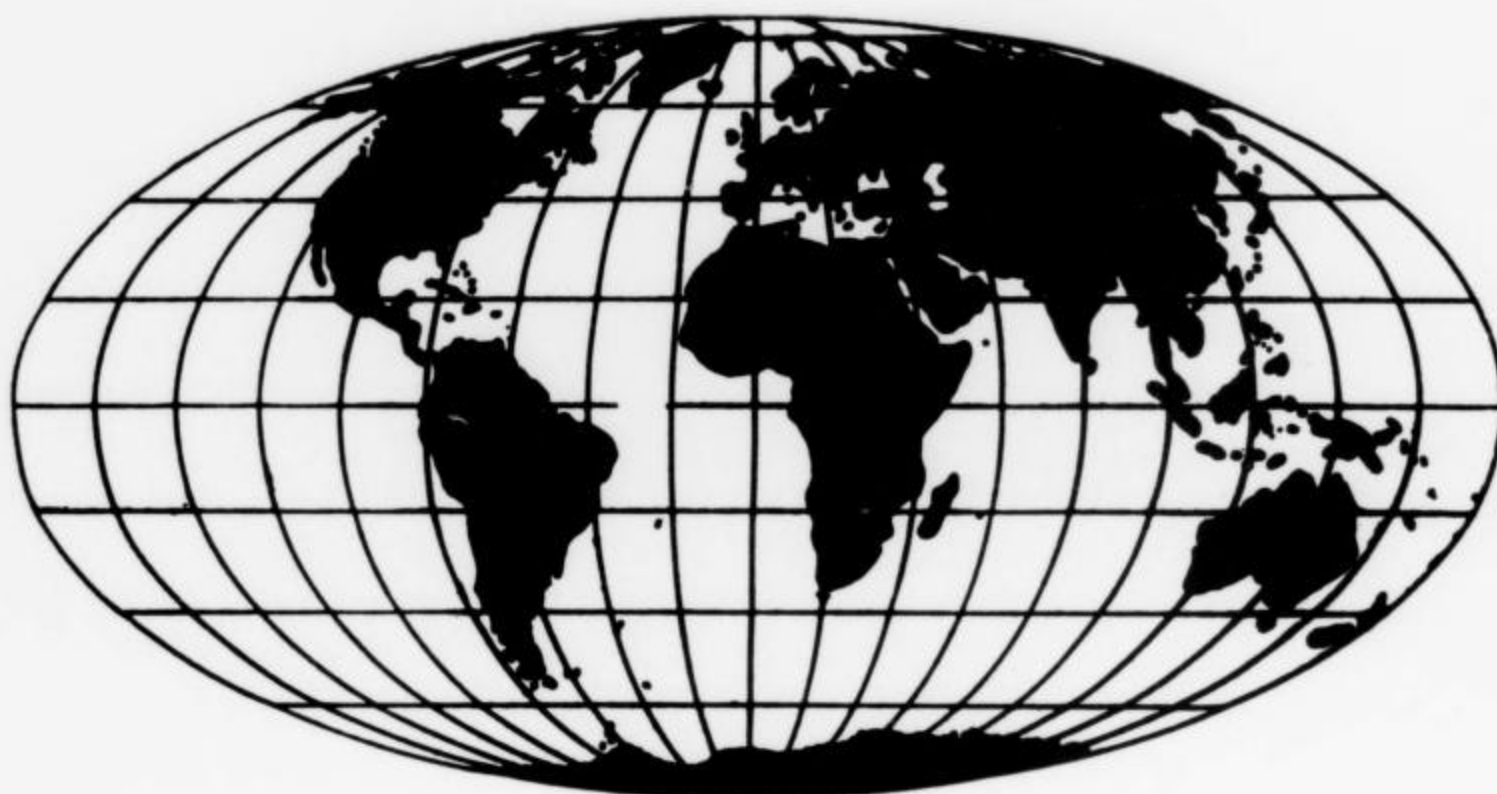


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of peace and socialism



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VOLUME 10, NO. 8

August 1967

35 CENTS



Symposium on the historical significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution held in Prague at the **World Marxist Review (Problems of Peace and Socialism)** conference hall.

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WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

**World Marxist
Review
problems of peace
and socialism**

Theoretical and
Information Journal
of Communist and
Workers' Parties

**AUGUST, 1967
VOLUME 10
NUMBER 8**

Authorized as Second
Class Mail, Post Office
Department, Ottawa and
for payment of postage
in cash. Printed in
Canada.
WORLD MARXIST REVIEW
is the North American
edition of the monthly
journal Problems of Peace
and Socialism published
in Prague. The North
American edition is
published by Progress
Books, 487 Adelaide St.
West, Toronto 2B, Ontario,
Canada.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
\$3.50 a year. Single
copies 35 cents. Bundle
of five or more, 25 cents
per copy. Outside
Canada, add 15 cents
exchange.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE
AND SOCIALISM is also
published in French,
Russian, Bulgarian,
Czech, Dutch, German,
Greek, Hungarian,
Italian, Japanese,
Mongolian, Polish,
Rumanian, Spanish,
Swedish and Vietnamese.
Subscriptions to these
may be obtained through
Progress Books,
487 Adelaide St. West,
Toronto, at \$3.50 a year.

Published by
PROGRESS BOOKS
487 Adelaide St. W.,
Toronto 2B, Ontario,
Canada.

100-100000-100000

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Eliminate the consequences of aggression

EVERY FRIEND of peace and freedom is gravely concerned over the tension in the Middle East resulting from Israel's aggression. The policy of aggrandizement followed by the Israeli imperialist-supported ruling group is a challenge to the peace forces everywhere.

In these trying days the socialist countries have spoken out with firmness and resolution, in keeping with their fidelity to the grand ideas of proletarian internationalism and their policy of unfailing and effective support of nations fighting imperialist aggression, for freedom and a brighter future.

At their Budapest summit meeting (July 11-12), the leaders of fraternal parties and socialist governments reaffirmed their wholehearted support for the Arab countries in eliminating the consequences of the aggression and, primarily, securing an early withdrawal of the Israeli army from occupied Arab territory. The socialist countries, the Budapest communique declares, will make still fuller use of appropriate methods in the interests of combating aggression and restoring peace.

This firmly and fully justified position will help to unite and activate all the forces of peace and anti-imperialism. It will help world public opinion to see in a truer light the many and complex problems posed by Israeli aggression and expansionism.

Very likely these problems will weigh on world affairs for some time to come. For they are not merely local problems: the Israeli aggression is a manifestation of mounting imperialist bellicosity, part of a military, political and economic counter-offensive to arrest the anti-imperialist trend of development and to regain lost positions.

Though Southeast Asia and the Middle East are separated by long distances, and though the wars there differ in pattern and course, these two "local" conflicts are directly

linked. They are a component of imperialism's global strategy of reversing the course of history and preventing the peoples from shaping their destinies in freedom and independence. However, the fact that in Southeast Asia the Americans have had to take over the conduct of the war and bring in a huge army, whereas in the Middle East the war was waged by the Israeli army without direct U.S. involvement, has, for a section of world opinion, blurred the picture of the Israeli aggression, and this complicates elimination of its consequences.

Considering the short time since the ceasefire and the United Nations debate, it is too early to draw any final conclusions. But it can already be said that despite the Arab military setback, the aggressor and his backers have not achieved their main purpose of halting progressive development in the Arab world, of toppling the progressive governments in the United Arab Republic and Syria, isolating these countries from the rest of the Arab community, and discrediting the Soviet Union and other socialist states in Arab eyes.

More, the Israeli attack has produced results the imperialists least of all expected: it has turned the wrath of the Arab masses not only against Israel, but also against the imperialist powers which in one form or another support its aggression. Most Arab countries have retaliated by breaking off diplomatic relations with the U.S. and Britain. All Arab countries, including those that have economic and political ties with the imperialist powers, took economic sanctions and suspended oil shipments to the U.S., Britain and Federal Germany. Of course, this is bound to complicate things for the oil-consuming countries, and the Arab states are still not strong enough to withstand their sustained economic pressure. Be that as it may, the sanctions are evidence of Arab awareness that the ag-

gression, with all its attendant hardship, was engineered not only in Tel Aviv, but also in Washington, London and Bonn. This has drastically affected American and British prestige, and in addition has created a clear threat to imperialist interests in the Middle East.

The Israeli aggression has in many ways exacerbated the international situation.

The occupation of parts of UAR, Syrian and Jordanian territory can only be regarded as a continuation of the aggression. And as long as the Israeli troops remain in these territories, there is always the danger that the war will flare up with renewed force. Israel has unlawfully occupied territories much bigger than its own original area. Furthermore, much of the occupied territory, particularly in Syria, was captured after the cease-fire, in complete disregard of Security Council appeals and in flagrant violation of the United Nations' Charter and accepted standards of international law.

Early on in the conflict, the European socialist countries insisted on an Israeli withdrawal to the armistice line. The Security Council took an indifferent attitude. The socialist countries, supported by the Arab and some other states, thereupon insisted on an emergency meeting of the General Assembly. The importance of this meeting can be seen from the fact that it was attended by 15 heads of state and government and by 30 Foreign Ministers.

The Assembly had before it a Soviet draft resolution calling for condemnation of the Israeli aggression, an Israeli withdrawal, and compensation for the damage caused the Arab states. This was fully in keeping with the spirit and letter of the UN Charter, which requires that in the event of "acts of aggression or other violations of the peace" collective measures shall be taken to terminate the aggression and eliminate its consequences. The Soviet resolution, which had the full support of the socialist and Arab states, was endorsed by India and a number of other countries. The resolution submitted by a number of non-aligned states centered on an immediate and unconditional Israeli withdrawal. Another resolution, tabled by the imperialist powers and supported by Latin-American countries, made an Israeli withdrawal conditional on cessation of the state of belligerency. Considering that Israeli would like nothing better than to dictate terms to the Arabs from positions of strength, this would have been tantamount to direct assistance to the aggressor.

The General Assembly debate revealed why Israel was so anxious to prevent the emer-

gency meeting. Facts cited by delegates from the socialist, Arab and other countries dispelled the myth of Israel as a small country whose existence was menaced and who, allegedly, was compelled to take up arms against its Arab neighbors out of sheer "self-defense." Israel was thus exposed as the aggressor.

Though most of the speakers supported, in one or another form, an Israeli withdrawal, this demand did not obtain the required majority when put to the vote. And so faced with a critical situation, the United Nations failed in its mission. It is hard to say what the repercussions of this failure will be, but U.N. discussion of the issue is by no means closed.

The reactionary ruling faction in Israel has never been overly eager to comply with U.N. resolutions and recommendations. In fact, when Israel was first founded it seized a much larger area than allotted it by the United Nations. After the British, French and Israeli aggression in 1956, Israel refused to allow the stationing of U.N. troops on its territory, though the Arab countries, the victims of the aggression, consented to a U.N. presence. Time and again the Security Council has had to discuss Israeli military provocation against Syria. Last November it censured Israel for its aggressive actions against Jordan. But the Israeli rulers have ignored all Security Council appeals to halt the provocation.

Even more disquieting is the fact that the U.N. majority failed to condemn Israeli aggression and to demand a military withdrawal. Obviously, this is bound to encourage the extremist wing, which now holds the upper hand in Tel Aviv, to be even more contemptuous of the world organization. Israel has refused to comply with the U.N. resolution—the only one to obtain a majority—against occupation of the Arab part of Jerusalem. Israeli newspapers have claimed that annexation of the Jordanian part of the city is "Israel's internal affair" and the U.N. has no right to interfere.

But unless the U.N. takes a more resolute stand, an extremely dangerous situation may arise in the Middle East, for there is no guarantee whatever against the Israelis extending their fait accompli policy. Official Israeli statements indicate that there are plans to annex parts of occupied Arab territory. No one can expect the Arabs to accept Israeli expansion.

This penchant for expansion shows up the aggressive nature of the war and should open the eyes of those who have been taken in by the propaganda story that Israel was fighting in self-defense. The Israeli leaders claim that seizure of Arab territory was necessary for

Israel's security. Actually, this will not give Israel any more security—the only result will be to strengthen the Arab will to resist. Israel's policy is not based on "self-preservation." Those who want to justify the aggression on the grounds that the Arabs have been hostile towards Israel, would do well to remember that when the Jews were being annihilated in Nazi-occupied Europe, many sought refuge in Palestine, knowing that there they would be safe.

The Arab attitude towards Israel stems from the fact, first, that Israel is an instrument of imperialism and is being used to hold back progressive development in the Arab world, and, second, that Israel has expelled over one million Palestinian Arabs who continue to live in hardship and misery. The Israeli government has flouted U.N. resolutions and has done nothing to solve the problem. The latest aggression, which has increased the refugee tide by nearly 200,000, is certainly not conducive to normalization of Israeli-Arab relations. Yet without such normalization there can be no enduring guarantee of Israel's existence. This has been stressed by Israeli Communists (Comrade Vilner and others), who have openly stated that the Israeli-Arab conflict cannot be resolved through war, and that the only solution lies in recognizing the right of the Palestinian Arabs. Only in that way can Israel obtain Arab recognition of its legitimate rights.

A disquieting outcome of the aggression is the rapidly mounting influence of the extremist and military faction in Israel, which is hardly likely to seek a reasonable peaceful settlement. It is much more likely that it will continue its reckless policy as a way out of the dilemma that faces Israel only because it has become an imperialist bastion in the Middle East, a vantage ground for renewed aggression against the Arabs. Continuation of Israel's reactionary policy can only further aggravate the Middle East crisis.

Though the U.S. and Britain did not venture directly to support the seizure of Arab territory, their attitude virtually amounts to such support. And not only because they were anxious to repay Israel for services rendered: the imperialists believe that the Israeli occupation of this territory, with its implicit threat to the Arab economy and Arab security, could help them accomplish what they failed to accomplish through outright aggression. Their aim is to divide the Arab community, weaken the progressive UAR and Syrian governments and enable the reactionaries in these countries to redirect policy along pro-imperialist lines.

Arab unity, both during the war and the United Nations' debate, runs counter to imperialist interests in the Middle East. And there need be no doubt that the imperialists will try to exploit their key positions, especially in oil, to break up this unity and hamper joint Arab action against Israel aggressive policy.

Israel aimed one of its main blows at Jordan, a country with a monarchical regime that has always opposed progressive development in the Arab world and unity with its progressive forces. But even Jordan was obliged to join the united front. This was a war between the forces of imperialism and the forces working for national independence and social progress, that is why the Communist and Workers' parties' support of the Arab countries is both necessary and natural.

The battle between imperialism and progress in the Middle East will continue despite the damage done the Arab countries. The U.S. press and some U.S. politicians say that Israel's "success" will strengthen America's Middle East position. That judgment is, to say the least, premature, and might well prove way off the mark. That the area is of exceptional importance for U.S. imperialism everyone knows. U.S. Major-General Johnson, commenting on the strategic implications of the Israeli aggression in *U.S. News and World Report* (June 19), says: "From a military standpoint, the Middle East is of the highest strategic importance to the United States," because it is at the crossroads of Europe, Africa and Asia, and, in addition, is rich in oil.

The growth of the national-liberation movement and the independent, anti-imperialist policy of the progressive Arab countries threaten U.S. control of this crucial area. The Israeli aggression can, temporarily, tip the scales in favor of imperialism, but it certainly cannot halt—indeed it very likely will help—the advance of the anti-imperialist movement. On the other hand, there is the mounting danger of imperialist attempts to use the present situation for fresh subversion against independent nations. This calls for heightened vigilance by the progressive forces of the world.

The USSR and other socialist countries have effectively demonstrated their readiness to help the UAR, Syria and other Arab nations to eliminate the consequences of the aggression, to reinforce their national independence and to continue on their progressive course. The talks N. V. Podgorny, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, had in Cairo, Damascus and Baghdad, and the

visits to the UAR and Syria of envoys of President Novotny of Czechoslovakia, show that this aid will be timely and on an adequate scale.

At their Budapest meeting the socialist countries proclaimed their resolve to continue to render coordinated economic aid to the Arab countries, help them strengthen their defenses and promote long-range economic cooperation.

Socialist policy aims at restoring peace in the Middle East, eliminating the consequences of the Israeli aggression, strengthening in every way the anti-imperialist forces in the

area. That policy, predicated entirely on promoting universal peace, accords with the vital interests of all peace-loving nations. And no one need doubt that, with the comprehensive and disinterested support of the socialist countries, and with the active solidarity of all anti-imperialist forces, the just cause of peoples upholding their independence and following a progressive course, will triumph.

Karel DOUDERA

Political Commentator and Associate Editor, Rude Pravo, the daily of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

Historical significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution

THIS WAS THE SUBJECT of an international seminar held in Prague over June 22-24, under the auspices of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*.

The seminar, attended by representatives from 44 Communist and Workers' parties and national-democratic parties, was addressed by: B. N. Ponomarev, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Jacques Duclos, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the French Communist Party; Vladimir Koucky, secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; R. Palme Dutt (Communist Party of Great Britain); Vincenzo Vitello (Italian Communist Party); Todor Pavlov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party; Friedl Fuernberg, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Austria; Hermann Matern, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Ernesto Giudici, member of the CC of the Communist Party of Argentina; Fuad Nassar, First Secretary of the CC of the Jordanian Communist Party; Witold Jarosinski, secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party; Ib Norlund, member of the Executive Committee and Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Denmark; Gheorghe Unk (Rumanian Communist Party); Dezso Nemes, member of the Political Bureau, CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; Santiago Alvarez, member of the Executive Committee, CC of the Communist Party of Spain; Franco Calamandrei, member of the CC of the Italian Communist Party; Pula Kekhotso (South African Communist Party); N. E. Balaram, member of the National Council of the Communist Party of India; Bernard Combo

(National Revolutionary Movement of the Congo (Brazzaville); Badamyn Lkhamsuren, candidate member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party; Waldo Atias, member of the CC of the Communist Party of Chile; Marenna Javlos Mendes, member of the Political Bureau, CC of the Communist Party of Ceylon; Nelson Clarke, member of the Central Executive Committee and secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Canada; Petros Rusos, member of the CC of the Communist Party of Greece; Josef Angenfort, member of the Political Bureau, CC of the Communist Party of Germany; Mohammed Harmel, secretary of the CC of the Tunisian Communist Party; Pauli Martinmaki (Communist Party of Finland); Jose Manuel Fortuny (Guatemalan Party of Labor); George Savvides, member of the CC of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL); Iradj Iskenderi, member of the Bureau of the CC of the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh); Ramiro Otero, member of the CC of the Communist Party of Bolivia; Victor Joannes, member of the CC of the French Communist Party; Francisco Mieres, member of the CC of the Communist Party of Venezuela; Halis Okan (Communist Party of Turkey); Rodny Oehman (Left Party of Communists—Sweden); Christo Christov (Bulgarian Communist Party); Alvaro Delgado, member of the CC of the Communist Party of Colombia; Mamadou Talla (Sudanese Union—Mali); R. Castellanos, member of the Executive Committee and Political Commission of the CC of the People's Party of Panama; Tsogtyn Namsarai, candidate member of the CC of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party; Mario Soza, member of the Political Commission of the CC of the Communist Party

of Honduras; Carbonel Vargas, member of the Political Commission of the CC of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica; Roque Dalton (Communist Party of El Salvador) and Larbi Buhali (Algerian Communist).

Written papers were submitted by: Sanseviero Gualtierro, member of the Executive Committee of the CC of the Communist Party of Uruguay; Ernesto Cintra, candidate member of the Executive Commission of the CC of the Brazilian Communist Party; Tigani Babiker, member of the Secretariat of the CC of the African Independence Party (Senegal).

The seminar was opened by G. P. Frantsov, Chief Editor of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. For more than fifty years, he said, the question of the historical significance of the October Revolution has been the subject of a bitter class battle on the political and the theoretical front. For to understand the historical significance of October is to understand the world of today, the present world revolutionary process, its course and its perspectives.

The Communist parties are engaged in extensive ideological work in preparation for the 50th anniversary. Bourgeois theorists, for their part, have stepped up their propaganda. Some of them, in a hurry to relegate the revolution to history, have already declared that as a "model" — some speak of it as the Leninist "model"—it cannot serve as a universal one, since the revolution took place in the specific conditions of a country that was economically and technologically backward. These theorists seek to deform the image of the October Revolution as a social phenomenon.

They forget to mention that in Russia capitalism had developed several powerful industrial centers—in St. Petersburg, in the Moscow region and in the South, to mention but a few. These centers developed apace. Powerful monopolies made their appearance. Entire branches of industry were controlled by the banks. In their social and economic structure these industrial areas differed little from the developed capitalist countries in the West. Lenin wrote: "Without certain capitalist development we could not have done anything." The principal gain of the country's industrial development was a working class concentrated in the big centers. This class became an organized and united force, the basis for the Marxist-Leninist party that became tempered in bitter struggle against capitalism and the autocracy.

At the same time, beyond the relatively highly developed industrial centers stretched the area of landed estates and abject peasant misery, the colonies and semi-colonies of

tsarism in Central Asia, and in the Far North the areas of primeval backwardness where the bow and arrow were still in use. The locomotive of capitalism was unable to haul this long train up the gradient of progress.

The existence of highly developed industrial areas, of centers of "capitalist civilization," side by side with areas of appalling poverty and backwardness, with places where feudal and even patriarchal relations persisted, was not a specific feature of Russia only. It applied to the imperialist world as a whole, to world history at the beginning of the 20th century. This sheds light on the real parameters of the October "model."

The course world history would take therefore depended in large measure on how the crucial question of history would be settled; would the working class of Russia be able to take political power into its hands, to rally round itself the non-proletarian sections of the working population, the peasantry in the first place, to reconstruct and use, without the bourgeoisie and despite its intrigues, the industrial base created by capitalism, to expand this base and lift the country out of the slough of backwardness and launch it on the highway of rapid social, economic and structural progress. This was a task of world historic magnitude. This, too, determined the parameters of the October "model" of the socialist revolution.

A favorite argument of the theorists who denigrate the October Revolution was that the "model" for revolution elaborated by Marx could not be applied to Russia since the productive forces there had not reached the level of bourgeois production relations, let alone surpassed them.

The point is that the October Revolution revealed the economic, political and ideological bankruptcy of the bourgeois class, of the entire capitalist system in Russia. Capitalist production relations acted as a brake on the development of the productive forces in one-sixth of the world. This conflict, disclosed by Marx as an immutable sociological law, became acutely apparent in the new historical setting. The capitalist production relations in Russia proved incapable of coping with the tasks set by history, with the inexorable demands advanced by the progressive development of society. The limits of capitalist progress, of its potential in the 20th century, became only too evident in Russia.

The October Revolution led to a new political and social organization of society and confirmed the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, showing at the same time the importance of creatively carrying it forward in the changing historical situation. It demon-

strated also the paramount importance of the international experience of the revolutionary struggle, that creative analysis and application of this experience is a prerequisite of success. It showed—and herein lies its everlasting significance — the immense social energy of the working class, acting in alliance with the non-proletarian sections of the working people, in destroying the old and the obsolete and in building the new society.

Our age is called the age of the harnessing of the energy of the atom. It is even more so the age of the awakening of the mighty social energy of the working masses. And today the problem of accumulating this energy is being discussed within the national framework of the countries concerned, and in the international arena where the socialist world system—the offspring of the international working class—and the proletariat in the capitalist countries are giving every support to the national-liberation struggle in which the non-proletarian masses, and the peasantry in the first place, are playing the main part.

The October Revolution showed, moreover, that the Marxist-Leninist parties, which express the main line of the historical process, the objective truth of history, as Lenin said, are the most effective political form of accumulating the mighty social energy of the working people.

Ridiculing the doctrinaires' notion of socialist revolution—or their "model" of revolution, to use the fashionable term—Lenin took issue with the idea that "social revolution is conceivable without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty

bourgeoisie with all its prejudices, without a movement of the politically non-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against oppression by the landowners, the church and the monarchy, against national oppression by the landowners, the church and the monarchy, against national oppression, etc. . . ." "To imagine all this," he went on, "is to repudiate social revolution."* But the unity of these different processes consists in the fact that *objectively* as Lenin stressed, they will attack *capital*, and the class-conscious vanguard of the revolution—the proletariat—will express this objective truth of the variegated and motley mass struggle.

Guided by this splendid Leninist approach, we can say that for all the differences among the individual contingents storming the positions of monopoly capital, the objective truth of the historical process is expressed by the international working class organized as socialist states and as Marxist-Leninist parties functioning in different conditions in practically all countries of the world. This is the objective truth of the present historical process. And this truth will illumine the reports that will be heard at this conference.

* * *

Beginning with this issue the journal will publish abridged versions of the materials of the seminar. The full reports will be put out in a separate volume. The present issue carries the reports on "The October Revolution and the advance of Marxist-Leninist Theory" and "The October Revolution and the World Revolutionary Process."

*Collected Works, Eng. Ed., Vol. 22, p. 355.

Creative development of Marxist-Leninist philosophy

TODOR PAVLOV

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I.

IT IS HARDLY necessary to enumerate the achievements of human genius, some of them bordering on the fantastic, that are part of our age of revolutionary scientific and technological advancement. There have been momentous discoveries in physics, chemistry, physico-chemistry, biochemistry, genetics, astrophysics, mathematics, cybernetics, bionomics and many other fields.

In common with all progressive-minded people, Marxist-Leninists take pride in them. For they have furnished the solutions for formidable and complex scientific and technical problems requiring a profoundly critical and constructive attitude to our accumulated knowledge and to the present state and potentialities of scientific and technical thought.

This is undeniable. And undeniable, too, is the fact that the scientific discoveries of Marx, Engels and Lenin similarly merit our admiration and pride because they provide solutions for exceedingly difficult and complex problems, more difficult, in fact, than those of the natural sciences and technology. That applies to their discoveries in the realm of philosophy and the social sciences, notably economics and scientific communism.

It is extremely difficult to fathom the nature of matter, energy, mass, field, motion — in many cases approximating the velocity of light—of certain elementary particles. But it was no less difficult—after the nature of the proletarian socialist revolution in Russia, its motive forces, program, strategy, tactics and national and worldwide implications had been

theoretically explained and expounded — to draw the logical conclusion that to have fixed the rising for October 24 would have been too early, and for October 26 too late, and that it could only be carried out, as indeed it was, on October 25, 1917.

That prevision of Lenin, as well as the teaching of Marx and Engels and its creative development by Lenin who adapted it to the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, is no less an achievement of scientific thought and practice than, say, the discovery of the neutron, the soft landings on the moon, the theory of relativity, the quantum theory, or cybernetic and mathematical models. For we are here dealing with factors which, though not customarily taken into account, are of vital importance for every scientist, for every proletarian leader, strategist and tactician—in short for every progressive-minded and active person, and for the whole of progressive mankind.

II.

The affirmation that since the sun rises and sets independently of man's will there is no point in organizing political parties and revolutions to make sure that it does rise and set, misses the mark entirely. For it fails to take into consideration the difference between natural and social processes. Marx proved that history is made by people, but only in a given set of objective economic and other conditions and laws. Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, Newton, Descartes all had an active share in the history-making and cognitive

processes of their time, but they did not, and could not, set themselves tasks that did not conform to objective social conditions and laws of development.

Lenin consistently took these into account in building the new kind of Marxist party and preparing and carrying out the Great October Socialist Revolution. But he was never oblivious to the active struggle and creative effort of the class, of the party and each of its members and, consequently, to his own personal participation in the revolutionary process.

He was aware, of course, that the capitalist mode of production alienates the worker from the means, product and purpose of his work, and from the very method of its organization and utilization. The worker is thus turned into an appendage of the machine, deprived of freedom and initiative. However, this capitalist alienation is countered by another process which has escaped the notice of many investigators. The struggle of the Russian working class, its Leninist party, and Lenin and his associates, demonstrate that organization along class and party lines and active revolutionary work can, to a certain degree and in varying forms, restrict or compensate alienation. After the revolution it can be overcome altogether in the course of building socialism and communism.

Underestimating this, or absolutizing alienation, or attempts to discover it in socialism and communism, are bound to rob one of effective freedom, of realistic opportunities for purposeful and constructive effort. This can have what might be described as a dehumanizing effect, and ultimately generates a feeling of hopelessness, unmitigated frustration, pessimism, despair and fear and, as their logical culmination, the belief that death is the only way out. That is the inevitable result of all these "theories" of freedom of the individual divorced from the objective social conditions of the age. He who sets out to "build in a void" or—what amounts to the same thing—to build a reality-world out of his subjective desires and dreams is bound to become the slave of non-humanist, alien forces, not their master.

In contrast, before, during and after the October Revolution Lenin's activity bore the stamp of humanism and genuine freedom (in the real, not absolute sense) in shaping the new history of the world because he lived, thought, worked and fought for and with his people and progressive mankind. And this genuinely free activity found much wider scope and expression after the October Revolution, in the transition from capitalism to socialism, in the economic and political build-

ing of communism and in the scientific, technical and cultural progress of socialist society and its members.

And though this aspect has not always (and this is not accidental) received the attention it merits, it is of vast importance because it strikingly brings out the nature and aims of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the ensuing period of comprehensive building of socialism and communism. This awakening of genuine humanistic activity and freedom is characteristic, of course, also of the subsequent socialist revolutions and socialist changes. They brought to the fore, in the realms of politics and ideology, science and culture, a galaxy of outstanding personalities. Unlike the variegated reactionary and "disintegrated" (to put it mildly) personalities of imperialist society, these revolutionaries stand out as men of constructive thought and constructive action enjoying a high degree of respect and prestige (as distinct from the personality cult which is an ulcer, not the essence, nor even an essential feature, of the communist system and communist ideology). I need only mention Georgi Dimitrov, Ernest Thaelmann, Maurice Thorez and Antonio Gramsci out of a much longer list.

For that matter, we have only to take a rank-and-file worker in the USSR, Bulgaria or other socialist countries active in operating the new system of planning and management to realize that, unlike the businessman in capitalist society, he is motivated both by material and moral incentives. The two are harmoniously and organically combined and intrinsically linked with the communist ideals and the communist ideology and, in the final count, with the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, without which socialist revolution and socialist construction are inconceivable. In this way, the material and moral stimulants of the collective are organically bound up with the interests of the individual. This creates the requisite conditions for his genuine freedom, the conditions needed to shape a genuinely free, active and creative personality. And from this follows not only the need, but also the practical opportunities, for mass constructive effort in the economic, political, scientific and cultural fields—something entirely unknown in the past.

III.

National nihilism and cosmopolitanism are not tantamount to—though to a certain extent kindred with—alienation of the individual. The nation (nationality or tribe) cannot be equated with the individual, but like the latter it can, and indeed has been, oppressed and

economically exploited by other nations. This can assume forms and dimensions which in the end will, to one or another degree, alienate the nation, that is, deprive it of its identity.

The essential similarity between individual and national alienation, or loss of national identity, can be seen in the fact, among others, that national alienation can to a certain extent be restricted and compensated by the fight for independence and freedom. But this implies that a nation fighting for independence, that is, to cast off oppression and exploitation, and consequently overcome its alienation, must maintain friendly relations with nations that have already won freedom or are advancing towards it. From this it follows that in such nations the national question, in differing forms and degrees, becomes part of the bigger question of international cooperation and friendship. For it is only within this pattern that a free or freedom-fighting nation can accelerate the development of its culture, national in form and progressive in content.

The October Revolution did more than solve the national problem in tsarist Russia, a semi-feudal country that had already taken the capitalist and imperialist path: it liberated not only fully-formed nations, such as the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, etc., but also helped several peoples develop into new, socialist, as distinct from bourgeois, nations.

The concepts "bourgeois-type" and "socialist-type" nation should not be interpreted in their rudimentary meaning. I do not propose to discuss this aspect—it could well be the subject of a separate article. But there can be no doubt that the Soviet nations represent a socialist family, a multi-national but integrated and socialist-oriented community with identical economic, political and cultural aims.

In the early days of the October Revolution, along with solving such issues as peace, consolidating Soviet rule, forming the alliance of workers and peasants and preparing for the socialist construction, Lenin and the Communist Party comprehensively studied and, for the first time in history, solved the national question.

And it is important to bear in mind that before and after the October Revolution Lenin and the Party emphasized the dialectical connection between the national question and class and social issues. This is in sharp contrast to the position in the capitalist countries, where bourgeois ideologists have persistently treated national problems in complete isolation from class and social issues. It might be mentioned, in this context, that

while Hitler and his Auschwitz executioners destroyed millions of Jews, West Germany, whose leaders not only tolerate neo-Nazism but actually encourage it, maintains friendly relations with Israel and supplies it with arms and money. In fact, along with the U.S. and Britain, the FRG supported the Israeli aggression against the UAR and other Arab countries. Relevant, too, in this respect is the attitude towards Negroes in the United States and towards South African apartheid in Britain, and of both countries' attitude towards colonialism and neo-colonialism.

And equally relevant is the fact that the more Mao Tse-tung and his group continue their chauvinistic, nationalistic and anti-Soviet "general line," the less is left of their internationalism, so much advertised in the past by Mao and others at Communist Party congresses. This is having an adverse effect on their attitude to the common cultural heritage, and also to Chinese culture, now humiliated and degraded in a way for which history provides few, if any, precedents.

In creatively developing the views of Botev, Levsky and other leaders of the Bulgarian Regeneration, the Bulgarian Social Democrats were always careful to emphasize that their fight was not against the Turkish people, but against the feudal oppression and exploitation of both Bulgarian and Turkish peoples. Dimitrov's stand at the Leipzig trial is another example: his pride in being a son of the Bulgarian working class and people was organically linked with the pride of a devoted and courageous fighter of the Communist International, a champion of proletarian internationalism, which—as Dimitrov stressed in his final speech—would ultimately prevail over capitalism and fascism.

The greater the degree of inter-action between the national form and socialist content of the national cultures in the USSR and in the other socialist countries, the quicker there emerges a genuinely free and creative community capable of eliminating national alienation and every variety of national nihilism and cosmopolitanism.

A narrow nationalism inevitably gives rise to enmity among nations and, consequently, to oppression and exploitation of one nation by another. In contrast, the more resolutely and consistently internationalism is followed, the easier it is to solve the national problem. The community of socialist nations in the USSR, their close friendship and all-round co-operation with each other and with other nations, primarily those of the socialist camp, is conclusive evidence of this.

Bulgaria's friendship with the Russian, and now the entire Soviet people, has at various

times assumed differing forms and significance. In our time, it is based on common interests in working for peace, democracy and socialism and on increasingly closer economic, technical and cultural ties. Far from precluding, this friendship presupposes, indeed requires, that the national cultures of the Soviet and Bulgarian people follow the common path of proletarian internationalism and contribute to human progress.

The October Revolution opened up realistic opportunities for deeper understanding and, at the same time, practical solution of the national problem. All the charges that Communists and Marxists take a negative attitude towards nations and national cultures have been refuted by the facts of history.

IV.

The October Revolution and the building of socialism and communism in the USSR continue to exert a powerful influence on Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Marx, it will be recalled, defined ideas as material realities assimilated and refashioned by the mind. Lenin defined ideas as subjective mental images of the objective world. Implicit in both definitions is recognition of the objective factor as the determining one in the process of cognition and practice. But implicit, too, is recognition of the reaction (and, in concrete circumstances, the determining role) of the subjective factor. Leninism attaches great importance (and decisive importance in the transition from socialism to communism) to the active and constructive role of the subjective factor in the cognitive process, which is but the reflection of objective natural and social phenomena. However, the subjective factor has never played a determining role. Without the objective factor in the very content of the mental images given us in the continuous dialectical process of "approximation" or "identity" (but not in the Bazarov sense) and "differentiation" (but not in the Helmholtz-Plekhanov sense), the subjective factor can lead, as it has on many occasions, to subjectivism (voluntarism, adventurism, etc.).

Proletarian partisanship in philosophy and in the ideological sphere generally, including the arts, is inconceivable without recognition that ideas have an objective cognitive substance and value, that they are reflections of reality.

To all intents and purposes, there are two types of ideology: unscientific (religious, idealistic, agnostic, irrational, etc.), in which the subjective factor grows into subjectivism; and scientific ideology, in which the subjective

factor is in dialectical unity with the objective factor and therefore becomes an active element that can acquire decisive importance.

This applies, for example, to the new system of planning and management and its application in all spheres of socialist public life, including cultural life.

Some Western philosophers and sociologists (Raymond Aron, Pitirim Sorokin and others) have proclaimed the "end of ideology" i.e., "de-ideologization." They cannot, or do not want to, understand that there are scientific and unscientific ideologies, that religious and idealistic ideologies are unscientific, whereas Marxist-Leninist ideology is deeply rooted in science.

That applies also to philosophy. Besides the obviously unscientific, idealistic, subjectivist or mystically objectivist philosophies, there are scientific doctrines that have no clear-cut philosophical basis. The Marxist world outlook and its philosophical basis are scientifically objective, but not objectivist, subjectively effective, but not subjectivist. For subjective does not mean subjectivism, just as individuality does not mean individualism, form does not mean formalism, relativity does not mean relativism, and practice does not mean pragmatism. Failing to appreciate this, the "no-ideology" theorists condemn themselves to insoluble contradictions of a logical and practical nature.

Fifty years of sustained constructive effort in building socialism and communism, of continuous political, philosophical, cultural and ideological development of the Soviet people, and the transition from capitalism to socialism in the other socialist countries, effectively refute all these theories about "the end of ideology," "de-humanization," and so on.

In these fifty years the people of Bulgaria and of other socialist countries have learned from the experience of the USSR to take into account (but not mechanically imitate) the laws of development and the ultimate aims of the October Revolution and, on the other hand, the specific conditions and tasks of their own socialist revolution and socialist construction. Our experience has demonstrated anew that these laws and aims are fundamentally the same for all countries. However, there is also a vast diversity in forms, rate of progress, etc. Lenin demonstrated this with consummate logic, and warned against making an absolute or fetish of either specific or general features.

Long before the Revolution he proved that development should not be regarded as quantitative and mechanical movement in a closed circle, but rather as the dialectical unity and struggle of opposites, as movement on an as-

ending line. In this lies the meaning and value of his concept of development, based on materialist dialectics. Idealistic dialectics, as a rule, are quasi-dialectics and, in the end, lead to one or another form of metaphysics—even the great Hegel did not escape that fate.

The numerous attempts to prove that in his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* Lenin reverted to the pre-Marxian Feuerbach materialism and that he adopted a dialectical position only in 1914, in the *Philosophical Notebooks*, are conclusively refuted by Lenin's works and by the half-century record of socialist revolution. Lenin was as much a dialectician as he was a materialist, particularly when he sought, and found, the main source of physical idealism in failure to understand dialectics and the theory of reflection and in the inability properly to apply mathematics in physics. To this might be added that even now some physicists do not realize that "modern physics, in labor, is giving birth to dialectics." In the *Philosophical Notebooks* Lenin stands out both as dialectician and materialist, especially in his emphasis that human thought "creates the world" (in the sense that it creatively changes it, as pointed out by Marx and Engels). But Lenin prefaces this remark with another: "It not only reflects the world." This is exactly what Marx maintained in his *Theses on Feuerbach*, namely, that philosophers have only in various ways explained the world, but the task is to change it.

Can man, however, really change the world (not his perception and image of it), if he does not know its objective laws, relationships, forms and properties? Never, nowhere and to no degree, did Marx and Engels contemplate such a possibility. And the principled and consistent defense and creative development of their doctrine by Lenin and the Leninist party over these 50 years furnishes positive proof that, elevated to a higher level and regarded not only as a granite foundation, but also as a powerful stimulator in the battle for socialism, communism and human progress, Marxism becomes Marxism-Leninism. In other words, Leninism is the creative Marxism of our age.

V.

A few words about the relevance of philosophy to the sciences, and more specifically to mathematics. I hasten to add that I do not consider logic (formal, mathematical and dialectical) to be a non-philosophical branch of learning. No one is likely to deny that law, the arts, social relations generally, are partial or specialized branches, though philosophical

problems enter into them as into every natural, technical and social science. These two aspects should not be confused, though unfortunately they all too often are.

We know that the "operational" philosophers, Bridgeman and others, hold that the substance of any science can be determined by experimental methods, including, and primarily, measurement.

In the first edition of my *Theory of Reflection* and in another of my works, *Information, Reflection and Creation* (a paper read at a symposium in Moscow in 1965) I ventured to expand on Lenin's ideas about the descriptive and analytical role of mathematics. In particular, I dealt with his proposition that when physics ceases to be physics and becomes pure mathematics, that is, when mathematical equations lose their physical content, mathematics can lead (as at times it has) to physical idealism. Unlike all manner of functionalists, positivists and subjectivists, we must never lose sight of the principal question of philosophy. It has been formulated by Lenin in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. Referring to "the degree of precision attained by our description of causal connections," he writes that the really important question is "... whether the source of our knowledge of these connections is objective natural law or properties of our mind, its innate faculty of apprehending certain *a priori* truths, and so forth. This is what irrevocably divides the materialists Feuerbach, Marx and Engels from the agnostics (Humeans) Avenarius and Mach." (*Collected Works*, Eng. Ed., Vol. 14, p. 159).

In my above-mentioned book I tried to illustrate this thought of Lenin, which was directed against Bridgeman, the Rehmke School and all other formalists in mathematics and physics, by citing a simple example of how our notions of the height of a tower undergo change. If we measure a tower we shall find that it is exactly, say, 30 meters high. But no measuring rod will establish whether or not the tower is objective reality. The question of objective reality and its subjective mental image is a philosophical one and no amount of formal mathematics can give us the answer.

That does not detract from the greatness and value of mathematics as such, nor from the value of the symbols and conventional signs it employs. But it does make it incumbent on us to draw a distinction between mathematics and philosophy, form and formation, symbols and symbolism, conventional signs that signify nothing and signs that have a definite cognitive value, between signals that signalize nothing and signals that have a primary and secondary function, etc. No one

will deny that mathematical logics find wide application both in science and technology. But, certainly, that does not give us logical or practical grounds for absolutizing formal methods, nor of extending them to logics and practice and thereby, in one or another way, bringing grist to the mill of contemporary positivism.

The Third International Congress on Scientific Logics, Methodology and Philosophy will be opening in Amsterdam on September 2. Doubtlessly, it will be a landmark in the development of logic, particularly mathematical logic and mathematics itself. We should prepare actively to share in the conference, but if our participation is to be really active and fruitful we must, without the slightest hesitation, but also without any dogmatic deviation from the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, take our stand on the propositions and principles enunciated by Lenin in his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, the *Philosophical Notebooks* and a number of other works.

Lenin was not a professional mathematician, physicist, biologist or physiologist. Yet he left us a consummate scientific analysis and estimation of, and a clear development perspective for, these and all other sciences. His propositions have been fully corroborated and retain their validity. They have been creatively applied in these branches of research at their present stage of development and in a number of new branches, such as cybernetics, bionomics, bio-chemistry, physico-chemistry, and astrophysics.

Seen in this light, one Lenin statement, which is usually either disregarded or wrongly interpreted, deserves special mention. I refer to the concluding paragraph of the introduction to Chapter V of *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*:

"It goes without saying that in examining the connection between one of the schools of modern physicists and the rebirth of philosophical idealism, it is far from being our intention to deal with specific physical theories. What interests us exclusively is the epistemological conclusions that follow from certain definite propositions and generally known discoveries. These epistemological conclusions are of themselves so insistent that many physicists are already almost reaching them. What is more, there are already various trends among the physicists, and definite schools are beginning to be formed on this basis. Our object, therefore, will be confined to explaining clearly the essence of the difference between these various trends and the relation in which they stand to the fundamental lines

of philosophy." (*Collected Works*, Eng. Ed., Vol. 14, p. 252.)

This should make it perfectly clear that the relation of philosophy to the various sciences is not as simple as some representatives of philosophy and the sciences are inclined to believe.

VI.

Many authoritative statesmen and ideologists in the USA and other parts of the imperialist world—I need only mention the late President Kennedy and Walt Rostow—are longing for "powerful ideas." Back in 1960, Kennedy remarked that the United States was in much more need of powerful ideas than of nuclear, air, financial and industrial power, or even just manpower. And in 1962 Rostow, commenting on communist ideological superiority and emphasizing that defeat on this front would prove fatal even for the strongest world power, went on to say that the survival of capitalism depended on it winning the battle on the political and ideological front.

That view is shared, to one or another degree, by many bourgeois ideologists, and they have suggested various solutions. One is to "demolish" the communist ideology in the socialist countries by subversion, by, so to speak, an attack from the rear. That is the counsel of Schlesinger (if I'm not mistaken a member of President Kennedy's "brain trust"). Since NATO—he wrote in an article—cannot guarantee the victory of the capitalist system, all hope should be pinned on the Beatles, Fellini films, pop art, electronic music and, possibly, marijuana. To be sure, Mr. Schlesinger admits that all this has its excesses (as if it were only a matter of excesses and not of substance—T.P.). But the West should not shun these things; they are its strongest weapon.

It could not have been put more precisely. Of course, the Ultras in the U.S., Britain, West Germany and other imperialist countries will readily accept that, along with crude anti-communism and anti-Marxism. They are prepared to use every means—and not always without results—to promote their aggressive and subversive activities. Witness Vietnam, Greece and the Middle East.

Leaving aside the military and economic aspect of imperialist aggressive tactics and strategy, we must always emphasize our unswerving conviction in the historically objective progressiveness of the communist ideal. Rostow and his ilk have nothing with which to match it. The best they can do is to try to maintain capitalism by embellishing it, pre-

senting it as "people's capitalism," as the ultimate in "industrial classless society," and so forth.

The events in the Middle East, Greece and Vietnam, and the present anti-Marxist and anti-Soviet crusade, with its increasingly hysterical overtones, make it necessary to emphasize Leninist fidelity to principle and, at the same time, Leninist flexibility and ability for abstracted scientific thinking, coupled with Leninist ability to concretize even the most abstract propositions in adaptation to the specific conditions, tasks and potentialities of peoples, classes, parties and their leaders in different countries and at different stages of development. We must popularize and creatively apply, in theory and practice, in science and the arts, in education, especially of the youth, Lenin's teaching on the dialectical unity and struggle of opposites: of the general and the specific, collective and individual, national and international, subjective and objective, form and content, material and moral incentives, etc. The history of the October Revolution, of the Soviet state and of the Leninist Communist Party, should make it perfectly clear to everyone who wants to know and appreciate the facts that they have fully confirmed the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the logical and historical nature of development before capitalism and from capitalism to socialism and communism.

A piece of lead and a feather drop to the ground with differing velocity and follow differing trajectories, but in a vacuum they drop with the same velocity and trajectory. In Volume I of *Capital* Marx treats "expropriation of the expropriators" as a natural law of history applicable to every proletarian revolution in every capitalist society. However, there is this fundamental difference: the speed, trajectory, form, etc., of this historically inevitable overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by communism depend on concrete conditions. Nor is the overthrow of capitalism achieved automatically, spontaneously or arbitrarily; it requires the effort and activity of the masses, of classes, parties and their leaders. Furthermore, this activity must accord with the concrete position, tasks and realistic potentialities which peoples, classes, groups and individuals have to contend with.

In Russia, Lenin discovered the weak link in the worldwide imperialist chain. He mustered the necessary forces, analyzed and defined their revolutionary program, strategy, tactics and organization. He purged revolutionary theory of its revisionist and dogmatic deviations and distortions. He directed the armed rising and the socialist construction that followed.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was truly the starting point of the new, communist era in human history. After it, and with the aid of the first socialist country, revolutions were carried out by other peoples, including the people of Dimitrov and Blagoyev, in conformity with the general laws of socialist revolution, but concretized and adapted to the specific conditions in the countries concerned.

In all philosophical research relating to the various sciences, in the constructive economic and social policy of the USSR and the socialist camp as a whole, and in the present exceptionally complex and tense international situation, we see the accumulation of facts and processes which I would like to characterize by paraphrasing Walt Rostow: the irrefutable fact is that in the coming decades the political and ideological struggle will, by virtue of historical necessity, end in the defeat of the imperialist camp and its economically strongest member, the United States.

Rostow and his associates can rest assured that their apprehensions or fears (to draw on existentialist idiom) are by no means fortuitous and by no means curable. The very logic of history shows that even the economically most powerful capitalist country, the United States, is doomed to defeat.

We know, of course, that history is made by people, that victorious revolution does not come by itself, spontaneously, by sheer accident. It has to be won by the efforts, labor, struggle and heroism of classes, parties, peoples, of progressive mankind. And these heroic feats are performed for the attainment of the communist ideal, and by adherence to the historically tested and creative Marxist-Leninist philosophy, theory and methodology which, in turn, are based on dialectical materialism.

Science can, and should, develop constructively, through discussion, exchange of views, observations, statistical studies, etc. But the very core of science, its soul, its mainspring, its faculty of prevision, its creative ability, can be capsuled into two words: dialectical materialism (or, which is the same thing, materialist dialectics) applied in the natural sciences, technology, the social sciences, culture, the arts and all the political and economic aspects of socialist construction, but with the constant strengthening of democracy and perfection of democratic centralism and by harmoniously combining material, personal and social stimuli.

Lenin and October—they are epochal symbols of the innate truth and grandeur of communism, its realism and romanticism, its unity in diversity and its diversity in unity, so-

cialist patriotism and socialist internationalism, genuine personal freedom and social (national, class, party) discipline and, lastly, of man's cognition of nature and of social reality, his awareness and understanding of natural and social realities through his understanding of himself, as an organically indivisible part of a social and natural whole.

As a modest follower of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and as a disciple of Blagoyev and Dimitrov, I permit myself to say in conclusion that I cannot agree that socialism is an obsolete and antiquated model and that we must now fashion a new model. The idea of

changing the socialist model will no doubt appeal to the Rostows. They will accept it (albeit as a palliative) as a way out of their predicament, of the situation resulting from the obsolescence of their system, which, doomed by history, is becoming more reactionary and ideologically weaker with the passage of time.

And so let us speak out in full voice for Lenin and October, for creative Marxism-Leninism—that is the clarion call of history in this truly new and truly great age with its prospect of hard-fought battles, but also of a radiant future.

The October Revolution and the triumph of internationalism

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THE FEELING of international kinship and militant solidarity goes back to the early formative years of the working class. It found embodiment in the international organizations uniting the workers of various countries for joint struggle under a common program and philosophy. And it was then that the slogan of the Communist Manifesto, "Workers of all Lands, Unite!," began to be translated into a material force, to become an effective weapon of the organized proletariat in its battle against world capital.

In the years preceding World War I, that slogan, and the interests of the world proletariat, were betrayed by the Second International. With very few exceptions, the leaders of its national affiliates backed the jingo policies of their bourgeois governments. Only the Bolshevik Party of Lenin, faced with near isolation and working in painfully complex wartime conditions, remained faithful to proletarian internationalism and unswervingly upheld it in all its practical and theoretical activities.

It gave a new, more militant meaning to internationalism and this was a major factor in the victory of the October Revolution. In its victorious fight against counter-revolution and foreign intervention the Party was guided by the Leninist rule that since the domination of capital is worldwide, the workers' struggle for emancipation can succeed only if it is waged in a united front. The Party rallied the finest sons of the numerous peoples of Soviet Russia, and volunteers from many countries of Europe and the world, in the fight against the combined onslaught of 14 capitalist states.

We are proud that the Red Army included thousands of Czech and Slovak Communists for whom defense of Soviet power in Russia was part of their struggle for a revolutionary perspective in their own country.

The victory of the October Revolution was therefore also a decisive victory for proletarian internationalism, a clear confirmation of its principles and their direct bearing on the international revolutionary movement.

Internationalism acquired a new quality and

orientation with the rise of the world's first proletarian dictatorship. Soviet Russia became the bastion of all the revolutionary forces, the second homeland of every revolutionary worker. Its defense became a matter of proletarian conscience, the supreme expression of international solidarity.

One of the important results of the October Revolution was the inspiration it gave revolutionary workers everywhere, hastening their break with the hopelessly opportunist Social Democratic parties and the founding of new, Communist parties modelled on the victorious party of Lenin. For these parties, joined together in the Communist International, proletarian internationalism, now elevated to a higher level, was the very foundation of their cooperation and their most effective revolutionary weapon.

All that is fully borne out by the experience of our own Communist Party. The moulding of an internationalist outlook was facilitated by the following objective factor, among others. The Czech lands were the most industrially developed part of the multi-national Austro-Hungarian empire and had a numerous and class-conscious proletariat, which included a sizeable number of non-Czech workers.

However, the crucial factor was the formation of the Communist Party at the 1921 unity congress. From the very beginning the Party followed a consistent internationalist course and this enabled it to build up influence among the workers.

I might mention that the prewar Party membership cards were printed in all the languages of Czechoslovakia. And this was no mere formality; it was a token of militancy and of the internationalist duty of each member.

One of the salient expressions of internationalism, doubtlessly, was the struggle of our Czechoslovak comrades in defense of the Soviet Union, conducted throughout all these years in the most diverse, and at the same time, most effective, forms. Our workers prevented the delivery of arms to the intervention armies in Russia. This was followed by a nationwide campaign to help the famine-stricken areas of Russia, by a protest movement against continued imperialist intervention, and by powerful actions to press the demand for recognition of the Soviet Union, which finally forced the then bourgeois government to conclude the 1935 mutual assistance treaty.

All this was an excellent school of international solidarity, and in the 1930's was closely linked with the campaign against fascism and for national independence and peace. In the critical days of Munich this enabled the

Party to convince our people that Czechoslovakia's future lay in close relations with the Soviet Union and the Communist Party. Our campaign in defense of the world's first socialist state largely determined the Party's leading role in later years.

Our Party faithfully carried out its internationalist duty also on other sectors of the front. In 1923 it came out in resolute defense of the German revolution and thwarted the plans of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie directed against the German proletariat. Three years later it organized a massive campaign in support of the British miners. At about the same time it took up the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti and initiated a solidarity movement with the Chinese revolutionaries.

International solidarity played an even bigger part after Hitler came to power in Germany. I would mention our campaign in support of the Austrian workers during the clash with the Dollfuss government in 1934, and the widespread support for the Popular Front in France, which held many lessons for our own labor movement.

But the most outstanding example, perhaps, was the support of the Spanish people's fight to beat off fascism. This took the form of mass demonstrations, material assistance and of thousands of our comrades serving in the International Brigades.

The Party enabled many exiled Communists, including Wilhelm Pieck, Max Reimann and Peter Borila, to continue their political work in Czechoslovakia. The illegal central committees of the Polish, German, Hungarian and other Communist parties operated from Czechoslovakia. Our Communists conducted a powerful campaign for the release of Ernst Thaelmann, Georgi Dimitrov, Gheorge Gheorghiu-Dej and other Communist leaders.

We are proud also of the fact that our Party made a considerable contribution to the new general line adopted by the Communist International at its Seventh Congress, and shared in the subsequent difficult struggle against Nazism.

These facts from the history of our Party—and more could be cited—are a clear expression of its internationalism. All these campaigns and struggles were, naturally, a component of our main activity in promoting the class struggle against capitalism and exploitation, for revolutionary education of the masses, for government by the people, for a socialist society.

And this main task the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was able to carry through only because it grew and developed as a detachment, an organic part, of the international Communist movement.

Historical retrospective is always useful in analyzing the problems of today. But merely analyzing the past will not give us a full understanding of the basic problems and tasks of the international Communist movement in the present-day worldwide class struggle.

The battle against imperialism has in the past half century radically changed the political map of the world. The new alignment of class forces calls for a clear approach and analysis of the present state and structure of the world revolutionary process. It calls, also, for a consistent and comprehensive approach to and appraisal of the basic trends of world development.

And these basic trends, after the October Revolution, are determined by socialism's growth from a system confined to one country into a world system, by the disintegration of the colonial system and the rise of the Third World, and by the new opportunities opened to the international working class in its fight against exploitation, for democratic and social reforms, for a world at peace.

Though the world of monopoly capitalism is shrinking, that should in no way lead us to underestimate its military, economic and technical potential, nor the danger, and possible consequences, of imperialist subversion in the political and ideological fields.

Recent developments provide striking proof of this. They show that the imperialists are engineering conflicts and provocations in an attempt to arrest law-governed development and to export counter-revolution. That is the purpose of U.S. policy in Vietnam, in the Middle East and in Greece, of the artificially induced tension in Europe and the plans for armed intervention in Cuba and other Latin American countries. And in line with that aggressive policy the U.S. monopolies are exploiting the discoveries of world science and technology in their threat of nuclear war. We thus have further proof, if any were needed, that the interests of imperialism and civilization are irreconcilable.

It is in this light that the international Communist movement must regard its revolutionary mission, its struggle for a better future for the world, and insist on international solidarity and joint action of all the anti-imperialist forces and revolutionary trends of our time. This is every bit as necessary today as it was 50 years ago, when we had to unite to defend the first socialist revolution.

If we are to cope with the tasks ahead, our international efforts must be on a scale that accords with the basic fact that the socialist countries and their active impact on the world

balance of forces are the main bulwark of socialism. But the socialist countries operate within a world process that covers various phases of development and revolutionary emancipation, and a wide range of anti-imperialist movements powered by the socialist ideal. This should not be taken to mean that world development follows a smooth course, without abrupt turns and conflicts, temporary setbacks and failures. But the paramount factor is the inherent logic of the process, its overall trend. And the end result of the process will depend on our joint efforts, on our ability purposefully and concretely to apply the principles of international solidarity.

From this point of view, the primary task of each Communist Party is to initiate and pursue a broad internationalist policy, correctly to appraise its distinctive revolutionary features, avoid extremes and over-simplification, avoid absolutizing narrow nationalist viewpoints and concepts.

There is the proof of experience that careful consideration of national features usually increases the effectiveness of international action. But, of course, only if internationalism is understood not as a simple or mechanical conglomeration of viewpoints, but as an entirely new category, as a new qualitative application of the common principles of Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

It is therefore only half true to maintain, as some do, that the home policy of one or another country is the chief criterion of its internationalism, that the home achievements of a Communist Party are its principal contribution to our movement. A correct policy, one that makes for continued progress, adds considerably to the common interests of our movement. That no one will deny, but that is not enough, for if this policy is not based on a conscious understanding of international needs, on a desire, in particular, to work out a united policy and united action for the whole movement, then that leaves the door open to uncoordinated, unagreed actions and, all too often, to subjectivism. Even the greatest achievement of socialism in one or another country cannot be considered final if it is not backed by achievement in joint international struggle against imperialism.

The heritage of October is of vast importance in this respect. A few months after the Revolution Lenin set out the binding principles of internationalist policy in these words: "... Soviet power, which has valiantly fulfilled all the obligations of the international solidarity of the workers of all countries in their struggle for socialism against the yoke of capital, will in future do everything possible to promote the international socialist

movement, to secure and shorten the road leading mankind to deliverance from the yoke of capital and from wage slavery, to the creation of a socialist society and to an enduring just peace between the peoples." (*Collected Works*, Eng. Ed. Vol. 27, p. 201.)

It is the inalienable right of each Communist Party independently to formulate its strategy and tactics in keeping with prevailing conditions, and each Party is responsible to its working class for the results of its activity in revolutionary struggle and socialist construction.

But each Communist Party is not only the vanguard of its people; it is also a participant in the revolutionary struggle of the international working class, an integral part of the international Communist movement, which is destined to play a vanguard role in world progress. And this presupposes joint responsibility for international obligations voluntarily assumed by the Communist parties in the revolutionary struggle and in building socialism.

Hence, independence, sovereignty and non-interference in the affairs of other parties should not be seen merely as the sum total of the primary elements of a party's international activity. For in addition to these there are other criteria that follow from the international struggle against imperialism and for the socialist perspective.

This makes it incumbent on the Communist parties to concert their efforts for joint action on basic international issues. To this end, they must make creative use of all the time-tested opportunities for collective study and analysis of the issues facing the entire movement. The result of such analysis is unity of views and action, both of which are vitally essential if our common struggle is to be effective.

This purpose is served by diverse forms of contacts, consultations, bilateral, multilateral, regional and world conferences, which fully answer the requirements of Communist unity and solidarity.

And it is useful, in this connection, to recall Lenin's attitude, formulated in the draft reply of the Russian Communist Party to a letter of the German Independent Social Democratic Party early in 1920: "The RCP does not reject *conferences* with all parties that desire to confer with it and to know its opinion."

The equality of all fraternal parties in all such contacts and in all the work of their preparation, is, of course, self-understood. And there are no grounds whatever for the assertion that international Communist conferences are meant to serve as centers issu-

ing organizational directives. Their principal, indeed sole, object is to devise and employ methods to promote international Communist solidarity and a united front of the Communist movement, differentiated, of course, but solidly united on principles.

The sovereign interests of the international Communist movement, while allowing ample scope for each Party to conduct its work, also determine the framework of its sovereignty and independence in keeping with national conditions. Any distortion of this dialectical relationship leads either to restricted nationalistic conclusions or to mechanical interpretation of international principles.

Marxism-Leninism is nourished and developed by the theoretical and practical efforts of all the Communist parties and other revolutionary movements. Its conclusions cannot be measured by subjective criteria; the criterion must be living reality and the movement's generalized experience. That is the test of the effectiveness and international application of Marxism-Leninism.

We cannot, therefore, accept the view that each Party can itself make the final decision on what does and what does not accord with Marxism-Leninism, of what is and what is not beneficial to the movement, of what does and does not damage it internationally, and so on. Toleration of these views is bound to loosen the movement, is bound to lead to a relativist approach and undermine its principles, criteria and values. For, surely, we cannot take the view that an opinion, on a major issue, which ignores and contradicts the opinion of dozens of fraternal parties can lay claim to be the only correct and binding opinion. That would be cultivating exceptionalism, not collective solidarity.

Effective application of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism requires comradely consultation and agreement as the prelude to concrete action. It requires, also, voluntary assumption and voluntary fulfillment of obligations. That is what makes internationalism the motive force of a single Marxist-Leninist policy and gives that policy strength and mobilizing power, without which internationalism loses its revolutionary substance. For there can be no internationalism that is neutral and not binding on the parties. Nor is internationalism compatible with empty phrasemongering; it must always be synonymous with action, vitality and revolutionary daring.

That is why we can hardly agree with the view that the complexity and multiformity of the conditions in which the parties operate (and which, incidentally, we always take into account) preclude elaboration and application

of obligatory standards for individual detachments of the world Communist movement. That approach, which can only produce and harden disunity, would place national considerations above international and sheer subjectivism above objectively-conditioned laws of development.

In common with many other fraternal parties, we in Czechoslovakia believe that we cannot afford to look on placidly at the existence of serious differences within the movement. We should not reconcile ourselves to that, but rather seek to resolve the differences by actively promoting unity of the movement and working out constructive Marxist-Leninist solutions for the problems confronting it.

Development of the world revolutionary process has of late become the subject of serious discussion. I refer in particular to different concepts of the nature of the Third World and its contradictory trends, which, on the one hand, make it accessible to capitalism, and on the other prompt it to follow a socialist-type path. There is no concealing the fact that very often these are spontaneous discussions with a strong element of voluntarism and without a proper analysis of social phenomena in individual developing countries as the basis for an understanding of interrelated problems and for correct solutions.

The recent events in the Middle East are a fresh reminder of that; they point up the shortcomings in our activity and the vital need to eliminate them by collective effort.

Much the same applies to the differing views on the forms of anti-imperialist struggle, the concepts of peaceful and non-peaceful transition to socialism—which are not infrequently regarded as irreconcilably antagonistic—the connection between succeeding stages of the liberation movement. And there have been some very strange suggestions on how the revolutionary vanguard should act on these issues. Some even question the need for a revolutionary political party in an armed clash with imperialist reaction, suggesting that the Party be replaced by a military command.

There is no room here for a detailed analysis of these problems, separately or in toto. Nor do I believe that the differences—at times wide—on some aspects of the struggle are in themselves very tragic. But I do believe that we should give serious thought to these problems and carefully differentiate between wrong, one-sided, or ill-considered views and views that are incompatible with our scientifically-based philosophy.

We should concentrate on discussing problems that are ripe for solution and urgently

require joint action by all the socialist countries and all the revolutionary forces. And one of these problems is the fight against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Unfortunately, it has to be said that these vital issues have not been the subject of serious discussion. What we have, instead, are parallel monologues that cannot lead to joint action, though they do produce, haphazardly, a crop of problems with no attempt to find constructive answers. Real progress can be made only through a purposeful effort towards a multilateral confrontation of views, which could be corrected chiefly through scientific understanding of the tasks facing the various detachments of the world anti-imperialist front. Only in that event shall we be able to advance along the international path started by the October Revolution.

If we work on the premise that the common interests of the oppressed classes and peoples constitute the material foundation of internationalism, then, obviously, we must consistently and purposefully search for ways and means of joint action and promote comradely contacts. We must give concrete meaning to the slogan "Workers of All Lands, Unite!" by strengthening the alliance and militant solidarity of all our forces—from the Communist Party in the United States and the Parties in all the other capitalist countries to embattled Vietnam, from the workers and peasants successfully building socialism to the progressive forces of the Afro-Asian national-liberation movement, from the Cuban revolutionaries to all anti-imperialists in Latin America. The combined financial might of imperialism, inveterate enemy of all men of labor and ever-present menace of nuclear destruction, must be countered by a close-knit international force of peoples and movements upon whom rests the responsibility for man's peaceful and progressive development.

And in that meaning, Lenin's appeal: "Workers of All Lands and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!" acquires ever more urgency.

In the early years of the revolution, Lenin emphasized that "the socialist revolution will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle for the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie—no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism." (*Collected Works*, Eng. Ed. Vol. 30, p. 159.)

These insoluble contradictions are worldwide. They cut across continents, but are operative on each continent; they cut across North and South, but are operative within countries. To negate that basic truth is to separate the class from the national element

in the anti-imperialist struggle, or to see them as opposites and, consequently, to substitute chauvinism for communism. That is precisely the stand of Mao Tse-tung and his group and it must be countered by joint and resolute effort, for it is doing grave damage to our movement and our international aims.

Of course, on a wider scale, too, we must always carefully study and take into account the just national demands of peoples who only a short while ago were oppressed and are now experiencing a phase of tempestuous advance. We must elaborate the new aspects of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the national question. But at the same time we should, with all the energy and conviction at our command, expose the dangerous chauvinistic distortions of these national aims and aspirations, which have found such negative expression in the recent stormy events.

A consistent internationalist policy calls for principled, but at the same time flexible, reaction to all the changes taking place in the world. We must always be frank, always striving for a constructive attitude to all the elements of the anti-imperialist struggle, particularly in areas where the Communist parties have not yet become the organized vanguard of the exploited masses. We must be able to speak in friendly terms with the masses still strongly influenced by Social Democratic or Christian ideology. We must react, constructively and without general and rigid formulas, to everything that is new, everything produced by the processes at work within these areas.

It is especially important that our efforts lead to a comprehensive strategy and tactics that would stimulate interaction and alliance of all progressive and democratic forces and encourage a leftward orientation of trends now plainly discernible in a number of capitalist countries. Nothing will be gained by well-meaning declarations. The need is to translate our principles into a program of action. That is especially necessary in view of the imperialist plans to prevent progressive development by implanting dictatorial regimes patterned on the Greek and similar models.

Imperialist pressure on the progressive Arab countries, which only recently led to a flare-up of hostilities, underscores the urgency of working out international solutions that would strengthen the solidarity between the Communists and progressive people in the developing countries. Events in the past days and weeks have clearly demonstrated the nature of this solidarity.

That makes it all the more necessary clear-

ly to define the inter-connections and dynamics of the class and anti-imperialist aspects of peaceful coexistence, notably the means and forms of active opposition to paralyze the imperialists' tactic of local wars, which figure so prominently in their policy. Needless to say, we must not for a moment forget the grave danger of a world nuclear conflict, a danger that advances or recedes depending on the situation. This calls for vigorous measures to carry out the historic Communist mission of preventing nuclear destruction of civilization. And this can be done only through a consistent, purposeful and revolutionary policy of peaceful coexistence that will make it impossible for imperialism to plunge the world into war.

All this should make it perfectly clear that, simultaneously with intensifying joint action against imperialism, the conditions are ripe for a confrontation of views of the Communist parties at a broad international conference. We in Czechoslovakia agree with the dozens of fraternal parties that a start should now be made in preparing such a world forum of Communist and Workers' parties. We also believe that, even in the initial phase, we should draw on the constructive experience of regional conferences and of the recent meeting at Karlovy Vary.

For Karlovy Vary, we think, dispelled certain doubts and preconceived notions that no international conference could satisfy the diverse interests of its participants and provide the basis for their joint action. But Karlovy Vary has shown that, given free expression of views on concrete political problems in which the parties concerned have a direct interest, we can always find a common language and agree on a uniform program of action, which, furthermore, will stimulate the initiative of the parties, with due account to their national and international interests.

A number of urgent and very important international problems can now be resolved only through a world conference of the fraternal parties. This does not imply drawing up an all-embracing program for the movement, or solutions for purely theoretical and controversial problems. However, there will probably have to be a good deal of theoretical discussion as the groundwork for a clear-cut political line on pressing issues.

Far be it from me to prejudge the concrete program and agenda of the international conference. These will have to be hammered out in extensive consultations between all the parties concerned. But we believe that such questions as all-round support for, and solidarity with, embattled Vietnam; ways and means of promoting united anti-imperialist

action; active support of the national-liberation movement (which will necessitate examining the problems of the Third World) provide a concrete agenda for the conference and make its preparation a matter of urgency.

Naturally, the conference cannot be expected to adopt ready-made decisions, nor does anyone want it to. It will draw up joint conclusions and leave it to the various parties constructively to interpret and apply them in their specific conditions. The only criterion of the conclusions reached will be whether or not they help to strengthen the international unity and viability of the movement.

However, it is equally true that we cannot place on one and the same level conclusions discussed and agreed upon by fraternal parties and the isolated policy of one party, which can express only its own views and its own experience.

We feel sure that other fraternal parties will work for an international conference embracing a maximum number of Communist parties, and that in the course of its prepara-

tion there will be worked out a platform acceptable to all parties desirous of joint and genuinely international action.

It is along these lines that we can today realize the principles of proletarian internationalism and wage an active struggle, jointly with the revolutionary forces, against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, socialism and communism.

It is from this standpoint—and with full support for the Soviet Union and its Communist Party—that we regard the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and its international mission, which today acquires special meaning in the light of the battles waged and the victories won by the international working class over the past half century. To remain true to the principles of October implies a creative and bold Leninist approach in cementing the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. That is the earnest of our future victories.

The dialectics of fifty years

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WE ARE CELEBRATING the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution almost simultaneously with the 100th anniversary of Volume I of *Capital*. Once again the names of Marx and Lenin stand side by side. On the historical plane this is unity between scientific charting of revolution generally and the concrete realization of a revolution in one country.

The latter revolution marked a new phase in history, the phase which saw the end of a society divided into classes. In addition, this half century which has been marked by a struggle between communism and class society, offers exceptionally rich and complex material for theoretical study. The social revolution has produced a man of a new type. The

scientific and technological revolution is accelerating the rate of man's evolution. Man is breaking through into outer space.

The purpose of this meeting in Prague is to give a synthetic picture of the changes that have taken place in the world since the October Revolution or, to put it methodologically, to produce a dialectical synthesis of the half century under review. This will enable us—abstracting ourselves from analyses and detail, but using them nonetheless—to overcome partiality and narrowness of any kind and to draw the necessary theoretical conclusions. In other words, it is a question of examining and elucidating the fundamental theoretical questions of Marxist-Leninist development itself.

I.

As in 1917, the problem of revolution remains the basic and decisive theoretical and practical problem. Throughout the fifty years beginning with the October Revolution and including all other revolutions that have taken place since then, the vital thing has been the revolutionary process—single and multiform but always integral.

The revolutionary process is many-sided. Diversity is an expression of a creative approach in general theory, conditioned by historical reality. Lenin brilliantly teaches us this creative approach. He shows that diversity should be seen as different viewpoints within the framework of a single whole, of a common theory and common revolutionary process. If we approach our divergences in this manner we will be able to bridge them. Revolution without Marxism-Leninism is not revolution, but new and original situations may contribute to its development.

It can therefore be said that the most significant feature of the revolutionary process of the past fifty years has been the rise and consolidation of the socialist world system—with the Soviet Union as the center—the emergence of diverse ways and means, the extension and enrichment in a variety of ways of working-class, popular and democratic unity based on proletarian internationalism. All this has created a new situation.

In these past fifty years the world has undergone profound changes. Its content and forms have changed owing to the very existence of socialism, of the new relations between the socialist and imperialist camps and within capitalist society itself. We are now looking at a new world, the world of dialectical reality, and not simply at a capitalist and socialist world. A new unity of opposites, a new dialectics is taking shape: the dialectics of the two systems and not only of two classes. The general should be seen from the viewpoint of a single entity. And since dialectics signifies antagonism and interaction, the opposed systems exert an influence on each other.

As a consequence, the socialist system makes the capitalist system constantly aware of its existence. This is evident not only in what concerns world strategy, and hence, international relations. It is evident in the capitalist system itself—witness the changes taking place there. It is now obliged to reckon with the existence of the working class, to make social and political concessions and in some cases even to use "revolutionary" terminology. As a result it has to submit not only to its own laws of development.

The new developing reality is cutting into the old world, splitting and weakening it. This is the revolutionary process in new forms. The scientific-technological revolution in the capitalist world serves not only the interests of capitalism; it also represents a world revolutionary force and a new way to the inevitable socialization of production. Hence, in the antagonistic demarcation of the two irreconcilable ideologies, the two ways of life, we should single out what is of objective and universal, scientific-technological and even methodological value. Science is increasingly freeing itself from the influence of bourgeois ideology which oppresses and deforms it. A universal science is coming into existence. Thus, the capitalist world, too, is exerting an influence on world reality. The dialectical picture is composed simultaneously of antagonism at one end and inevitable cooperation at the other.

Such, then, from the standpoint of dialectics, is the new that has set in in the world since the October Revolution—the simultaneity and interdependence of the two sides of the nexus. That aspect of the antagonism associated with socialization gains the ascendancy, furthering the advance of socialism. Imperialism is powerless to prevent this process which, historically, spells its doom.

This, then, is the focus of all contradictions, is the basic contradiction in both its aspects.

All manifestations of dogmatic sectarianism can be combated once cognizance is taken of this process. To reveal the dialectics of the revolutionary process, which is becoming wider and more diverse, we must examine all the aspects of the process. Dialectics implies seeing a phenomenon in all its aspects and manifestations. Unity in theory does not imply, therefore, dogmatism with respect to the new. Unity develops in diversity and through diversity. But the new should be assigned its proper place. Otherwise there is the danger, if left to itself, of opportunism rearing its head and with it a new source of sectarianism.

Given a creative approach, any new, original situation resolved within the framework of Marxism-Leninist theory, is a contribution to this theory. It may be a new point of departure, but speaking in terms of revolution it is merely a form of the basic and essential content. Generalization of any new experience should not, therefore, be carried beyond certain bounds. The new way and the new form cannot necessarily be applied in all situations. One cannot speak of inevitable continental or regional forms, of absolute simultaneity in revolution. Each national form should be considered first against the background of world reality and in the light of

the basic contradiction and only then on a continental or regional plane.

Marxism, like any other theory, develops as unity in the multiform. This development is historical. Not only does Marx interpret Hegel from the materialist standpoint. He also believes that apart from the logic that limits history there is a logic which, within the framework of a system, is the result of history.

Thus the need to pin-point uniformity is followed by the need for multiformity. In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels trace a theoretical pattern of class society and outline the revolutionary object of the proletariat. But living analysis of concrete situations is the underlying feature of Marx's approach. He proceeds from facts, not from conclusions. The conclusions follow from the process itself.

When the Third International was formed it was necessary to establish its general norms. Later, when Communist parties had been formed in most countries, it was necessary to give scope to diversity in identity. Marxism-Leninism is enriched by the concept of diversity, but the time has come when general conclusions must be drawn. Theory always unites. Diversity of ways and forms calls for greater unity. Differences likely to arise when discussing the multiform should not give rise to theoretical divergencies. On the contrary, they should lead to theoretical creativity. Meetings like the present one, sponsored by the journal, make this possible.

Revolution has been carried out in different ways within the framework of one Marxist theory. The different ways are not an eclectic sum of parallel positions. They are, we repeat, diversity in unity. Nor are they the result of chance, but of a concrete complex of situations taken in space and time. There can be as many different ways as there are countries. But this probability is limited by the resemblance between groups of countries by virtue of their historical resemblance. Thus, diversity is not something governed by caprice. It corresponds to objective and subjective conditions.

Differences, historically conditioned by a single process, are not mutually exclusive. But they cannot be aggregated. They constitute a new entity.

Hence, joint action, or coordinated action, is not enough, although Communists are guided by this principle when it is a question of establishing unity of action with allies. But in the framework of Marxism there must be unity of theory and of aims.

Proceeding from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of

Argentina notes with satisfaction the diversity of ways and in this diversity defines its own path. At the same time, it calls on other fraternal parties to discuss the significance, degree and impact of differences on issues that are common to all of us. This will enable us to approach the specific with a broader mind and greater firmness. We might say that what we are doing is defining the methodology of revolution.

The "model" of the October Revolution while retaining its validity in its general outline, cannot be repeated in form historically. Form is conditioned by the historical period.

National development proceeds unevenly within the framework of the general uniformity of every historical period. In the era of imperialism this unevenness becomes more pronounced.

A distinction should be made between the stages of revolution and the national forms of revolution. The stages enable us to differentiate between countries according to the degree of their development. The national forms are more diverse and original. The difference in stages is of a relatively historical character. The stages can be accelerated or retarded, or combined. It is essential therefore, to consider every process of development and every peculiarity first as an integral part of the world process of today and then as an integral part of the capitalist and the socialist world. This, in the final analysis, is decisive.

From the Marxist standpoint, class analysis, the fight for power and the building of socialism are common to us all. In other words, common to all of us is theory and its aims.

Taking this as our premise, we see that from the day the *Communist Manifesto* appeared and up to the present, theory develops alongside the historical process.

Marx stressed that the first thing was to have an aim, and that to realize it it was necessary to proceed from immediate demands. Marx and Engels reaffirmed this in the First International.

Reformism was a revisionist trend not so much because it put the accent on strikes, but because it isolated the strike movement, setting to it no revolutionary aim.

Lenin waged a fight against reformism and anarchism. When the question arose of the European Social Democrats participating in bourgeois governments Lenin took issue not with participation as such, but with the collaborationist nature of the participation. He was not opposed to diversity of forms and ways, provided that the class position and aim were preserved. Method and strategy allow for different tactics.

As regards the question of the violent or peaceful way, there is an element which enables us to waive false antinomy. From the viewpoint of aims, it is the creation of force. The concept of force is not synonymous with violence. Force, which is a decisive factor, can be peaceful or violent. Hence, the creation of a revolutionary force is of decisive importance. And force is unthinkable without the mass movement. Herein lies the strength of the Party and of organization.

Marx anticipated that revolution would take place in the more developed countries, and specifically in Germany. Subsequently, however, he turned, together with Engels, to the less developed countries. Lenin saw the whole process of the maturing of the revolution in the era of monopoly and underscored that the chain could be snapped in its weakest link. Being in a position to observe the whole he was able the better to assess its various parts. It was clear to him that the revolution would not take place in all countries simultaneously, but in the countries best prepared for it objectively and subjectively. Consequently, he was able to head the revolution in Russia.

Lenin defined the new stage in the historical process and elaborated the theory of this new stage. This, continuity in Marxism also implies further theoretical elaboration.

The revolution in Europe was crushed. Then came the counter-revolution in the shape of fascism. The defeat of the proletariat in 1933 predicated the change in policy made by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. Other sections of the population, including the bourgeoisie, began to be drawn into united action. It was imperative to oppose all that was fascist by all that was democratic—even the democratic element in the bourgeoisie. The extension of democratic unity split the bourgeoisie politically.

From the viewpoint of the entire process these changes in policy were not purely tactical. The defense and extension of democratic freedoms which a group of the bourgeoisie had abandoned, acquired a new content when the proletariat took matters into its own hands.

The Left extremists assessed this very differently. But the political demarcation between fascist reaction and democracy was drawn, and fascism was isolated and vanquished. In one of the most titanic battles in history practice reaffirmed the theory of historical necessity.

Although the battle was fought ultimately on the fronts of war, it was also fought during and even after the war on the political front.

War, too, is an historical process with dialectics of its own. The Second World War was waged in conditions very different from those of the First World War, conditions which changed its very character as it was being waged. The broadening of the anti-fascist front led to a weakening of imperialism as a whole and the strengthening of the Soviet Union, to the spread of socialism and the national liberation of many peoples, to the upsurge of the popular and democratic forces.

The world found itself divided into two systems (we have already analyzed the content of this dialectical connection). This made it possible to effect new forms of popular and national democracy. New ways opened before the revolutionary process.

A new stage in history began. Peace was possible. The fight for peace made for still greater democratic unity and caused a further split in the capitalist camp, isolating the real and potential aggressors. Theory became a new historical reality. The issue of war and peace was approached in a new way. If the peoples were mobilized in local conflicts and the mechanism of negotiation and arbitration was set in motion, imperialism would be defeated.

Should the Soviet Union and the Communists precipitate world war in order to accelerate revolution?

To begin with, it would be a mistake to make war a condition of revolution. Revolution may take place, naturally, during a war, if the war cannot be averted, or after a war, or as a result of war, but it can take place also in times of peace. World developments since 1945 bear this out.

Furthermore, it has never been a principle of Marxism to precipitate war, to unleash it for the sake of revolution. Peace does not retard the advance of revolution. The revolutionary process is continuing in the present conditions of peaceful coexistence. It is continuing in new forms. Those who maintain that revolution is possible only through war do not, in effect, believe in the proletariat, in the working masses. In the face of any act of revolutionary desperation, Marxism-Leninism unequivocally declares that reaction can be destroyed in the conditions of peace which, despite its precariousness, spells the doom of imperialism.

But along with bellicose, Left extremism we also reject Right opportunism which makes revolution dependent on coexistence. These extremes can be overcome dialectically through revolution carried out in the conditions of peaceful coexistence.

Coexistence and social revolution are categories relating to two different groups of con-

traditions: to international in the one case and to class, in the other. Peaceful coexistence between states with differing systems does not, therefore, necessarily imply that the peaceful way is obligatory. Mechanical interpretation of the ideas of peaceful coexistence can only lead to idealization of the peaceful way to revolution as a complement to these ideas. But this would mean imposing a dogma on Marxism. The peaceful or violent way is decided by the country concerned; furthermore, in the event of it choosing the second way, this would not be tantamount to unleashing a world war.

Mao and his group attack the idea of peaceful coexistence. Preaching the inevitability of war, they accuse the Soviet Union and the Marxist-Leninist parties of identifying peaceful coexistence with class peace. This is an utterly false charge. The Soviet Union and the Communists support in the conditions of peaceful coexistence all peoples who are battling in one way or another for their national and social liberation.

Distinguishing between the two, Marxism-Leninism applies and develops dialectics historically. Maoism, on the contrary, reflecting dogmatic, extremist and sectarian one-sidedness, gives a distorted picture of the real contradictions of the present stage. Its hypocritical and unsubstantiated postulates are accompanied by divisive and provocative activity against the USSR and the other socialist countries, and against the Marxist-Leninist parties.

In these circumstances there can be no question of a neutral attitude. In his report to the recent Seventh National Conference of the Communist Party of Argentina, Victorio Codovilla stressed that "the conditions are ripe for holding an international conference and taking decisions which will make it clear to the working class and the peoples of all countries who is who at the present time, and thus expose the intrigues and lies of the bourgeois governments and the bourgeois press."

The national-liberation revolutions are taking place today in a new situation—that of the existence of the socialist system. Individually and in the aggregate these revolutions are an integral part of the revolutionary process headed by the camp of socialism, and socialism is the ultimate goal of this process.

The level of a country's development should not be the determining factor in deciding what path of revolutionary action to follow. It would be incorrect to lay down that the most developed countries — the European — must follow the peaceful path, and the less developed countries—the non-peaceful path. It

should be borne in mind that every revolution is a component of the world revolutionary process. The question of what path to take is a secondary one, and is a matter for each country. It may be the non-peaceful way in Europe and the peaceful one in the dependent countries.

While we accept the concept of the two paths it is most important to recognize the historical possibility of the peaceful path. In relation to this general dominant fact, the non-peaceful way is particular. The general does not rule out the particular. However, there is no need to accentuate the particular.

Such, in broad outline, are the changes that have taken place since the October Revolution. In the intervening years the determining factor of development, a zigzag process, is the advance to power of the masses and their growing role in bourgeois society, the consolidation of unity and the expansion of the base of the revolutionary process.

The new in this revolutionary process is the result of great battles. The peaceful way is therefore, relatively historical. The possibility of the peaceful way was the result of the violent way. Violent was the struggle of the working class in the past and in the present century. Violent were the wars, dictatorships and repressions. Violent remains the present international situation. But in this situation of violence it is, speaking abstractly about the peaceful and the non-peaceful way, what we have defined as force that increasingly counts. The force of the masses is the dominant factor. Even if a third world war were to break out and violence became the general way to revolution, the gains won up to now would become the base of the revolution.

The revolutionary process has brought democratic gains. Everything that the bourgeoisie has consigned to oblivion has acquired new meaning in the revolutionary process. The power of the bourgeoisie is shrinking, while the sphere of our activity is expanding. A new internationalism and new forms of solidarity have emerged. A new humanism is emerging. The scientific-technological revolution is, as noted earlier, extending the sphere of revolutionary activity. In the onward march of society all revolutions and progressive movements are interdependent.

Social development is cleaving the forces and the parties of the bourgeoisie into two distinct wings — the Right and the Left. A democratic process is also underway in Catholicism.

Today democracy is a new force.

All these factors which in their aggregate define the world situation should be taken

into account when assessing the Latin American scene.

II.

I should like to dwell on the question of the ways and forms of the revolution in Latin America which, as a theoretical issue, is very much to the fore.

I began with the general and the concrete in the world arena for this is how Latin American reality should be approached. Unless we are in accord on the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism we shall not be able to resolve the specific issues. I shall confine myself to the more general ideas related to the fundamental problems debated here.

We must define the character of the process which, beginning with the October Revolution, has led to the present stage of the mass movement, has imparted a new content to democracy. This is essential if we are to define, in particular, Latin America's path. And voluntarism, no matter how sincere, will have to take objective reality into account.

With the victory of the Cuban revolution there began in Latin America the second stage of the struggle for the independence of our countries. But like any other revolution, it is the revolution of one country and not of the entire continent. It is a new integral part of the world revolution and of the socialist system.

Cuba relies on the support of the Soviet Union, the socialist camp, the European proletariat, the working peoples and popular masses, and particularly on Latin America. It is the special duty of the working people and popular masses of Latin America to defend the Cuban revolution from our common enemy—Yankee imperialism which also the enemy of all mankind.

The Cuban revolution is the offspring of a creative approach. Like any other revolution it is original. Other Cubas will appear in Latin America. Their content may be the same, but their forms will be determined by the concrete conditions in the countries concerned. History does not know of revolutions repeating themselves in identical forms, although there have been certain similarities. The very important thing is not the formal repetition of revolutionary ways and methods, but, as was the case in Cuba, the accomplishment of the revolution itself.

The countries of Latin America are much more different from each other than might appear from their common and increasing dependence on U.S. imperialism. The revolutionary process in each country will evolve in its own particular way. The concept of continentalism and simultaneity has, therefore,

no practical foundation. It is a purely theoretical one. Simultaneity might occur as a formal resemblance, but it is not an absolute condition.

The dissimilarity between the countries of the continent is very apparent. Spanish and Portuguese feudalism did not unite the indigenous tribes who were at different levels of development. On the contrary, it kept them divided. Later, imperialist domination was exercised in various forms; there is a vast difference between, let's say, the ore mines of Bolivia and the estancia (big farms) of Argentina, although both represent one and the same form of property. Also, the political, juridical and military set-ups are very different. All this, needless to say, determines the national direction of the revolutionary process.

Argentina, like other countries, has its specific features which distinguish it historically from the other countries. The revolutionary situation in Argentina will be resolved by the proletariat and the popular masses. Our Party's line is: "Through mass action to the conquest of power." The Party links the development of the subjective conditions and also the material and organizational preparations needed to attain its objective with mass action. Having defined the main line of mass activity, our Party does not rule out the possibility of the non-peaceful way. But it is concentrating on developing and organizing the unitary force capable of effecting the change. Without this force we shall not be able to achieve anything in either the peaceful or non-peaceful way.

On the other hand, the guerrilla movement is usually mechanically opposed to the movement of the masses as the peaceful path. The mass movement as a force always encounters violence and itself carries out violence. The mass movement is not a passive movement, and the guerrilla movement is not the only form of armed struggle.

The Communist Party of Argentina respects the political and tactical line of the other fraternal parties. It is in full solidarity with the struggle of the Latin American peoples, no matter what form this struggle takes. This solidarity is a mutual obligation in the fight for common aims and against a common enemy.

While we respect all forms of struggle, we firmly believe in defending our own form. We are not eclectics. As earlier noted, we do not consider the guerrilla struggle to be the one and only form of revolutionary action, or armed action obligatory for the entire continent. Even less so do we accept the theory that the guerrilla movement replaces the Party.

The Party is the lasting, central and decisive factor. And we firmly adhere to the Marxist concept of the hegemony of the proletariat, a concept which is part of the broader concept of proletarian internationalism. Other classes and social sections may come to the fore in the struggle. But the proletariat, particularly in countries like Argentina, is the force that will decide the issue of change and bring it about.

At its Seventh Conference our Party, recognizing all forms of struggle chosen by the one or other Party, called for redoubled efforts to establish a broad national and continental front of struggle against U.S. im-

perialism. It expressed its solidarity with the struggle being waged by the fraternal party of Bolivia. All these actions should be coordinated and simultaneous, particularly today when military repressions are being organized on a wide scale, repressions which are directly related to U.S. intrigues and the exacerbation of the international situation.

Mutual understanding and unity of the Latin American Communist parties are part of the essential unity of the international Communist movement.

Diversity in unity. It is along this path that every Party can make its contribution to further enriching an integral theory.

The October Revolution and the rise and role of the Communist Parties

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THERE IS NO overestimating the international impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It led to the rise of parties of a new type, Communist and Workers' parties, founded on the principles formulated by Lenin.

Their origin should be seen against the background of specific national conditions, which laid a definite imprint on their activities and growth. But all Communist parties have been guided by the principles embodied in the Bolshevik Party, which carried out the world's first successful socialist revolution.

In the early 1900's, and especially after the death of Engels, the Second International parties shifted to an opportunist policy. This, combined with crisis, as distinct from evolutionary, development of capitalism posed the urgent problem of setting up political organizations capable not only of directing the struggle to curb capitalist exploitation, but of devising and pursuing a policy that would eliminate this exploitation through revolution and pave the way to a society functioning on

behalf of the working people, a socialist society. However, at first this was appreciated only by the most revolutionary and forward-looking representatives of the international working class. It required the October Revolution and the work of the party founded by Lenin to bring out the realistic perspective of working-class rule and give the idea wide understanding and realization.

Thereafter, in keeping with social and revolutionary developments, Communist parties were founded in Europe, North America, Latin America and East Asia, and later in other parts of the world. The process has continued throughout the past 50 years, and today there are Communist parties in about 90 countries with a total membership of some 50 million.

Their origins are closely linked with the conditions obtaining in the various countries, with the peculiarities of their social and economic development, the successes and features of their labor movements, and with the chang-

ing trends among intellectuals and the peasantry.

Some European Communist parties owe their origin to majority acceptance of Leninism by traditional workers' parties which then joined the Communist International. France is probably the outstanding example. In other countries (Germany, Italy) Communist parties emerged out of the split in the old labor parties, whose leaders were no longer able or willing to direct the revolutionary struggle for power. In still other countries, where there were no workers' parties, the initiative came from Left groups.

In most parts of Latin America the pattern was somewhat different. Here many of the Communist parties developed out of the trade union organizations, or out of radical anti-imperialist intellectual groups.

Both in Europe and Latin America young workers and students played a conspicuous part in organizing Communist parties. And this, I think, should impel us more profoundly to analyze why today the Communists in some capitalist countries have been unable to win over the youth, despite its natural desire for progress, its clear manifestation of non-conformism and vigorous protest against capitalism.

In many countries outstanding intellectuals played a big role, together with the proletarian vanguard, in organizing Communist parties. I need only mention Antonio Gramsci in Italy, Julio Mella in Cuba, Mariategui in Peru. I hardly need add the names of the Russian revolutionary intellectuals who joined the Bolshevik Party. Much the same applies to the French and to our own Party, which during its rapid growth in the heroic 1930's was joined by a number of outstanding intellectuals. This shows that the Marxist-Leninist ideology met with a ready response among intellectuals and in the early days of the international Communist movement many of them sided with the revolutionary proletariat.

The flow and ebb of the Communist movement is closely associated with the state of affairs in capitalism, with the periods of relative stabilization and aggravation of its crisis. But also with the flow and ebb of the working class, democratic and revolutionary movements in different parts of the world. However, it should be borne in mind that at times of a general decline of the revolutionary and democratic struggle, some powerful upsurge in one or another country or area led to the rise of more Communist parties and to the growth of older ones.

They grew and developed in battle against hostile ideologies, notably petty-bourgeois reformism and, in some countries, anarchism.

The influence of Social Democratic reformism has definitely declined in Spain and in some other countries, though it still holds under its sway the majority of the working class in many parts of capitalist Europe. This is due to a number of factors. One is that the Social Democrats were in many countries the first to give the labor movement organizational form. Another is that the Communist parties, notwithstanding all the lessons of the October Revolution and the repeated advice of Lenin, did not always bring their strategy and tactics into line with concrete conditions. We must always reckon with realities, and since present-day realities show that in many countries there can be no advance to socialism without influencing the Social Democratic parties to accept the socialist perspective, it must be one of our chief aims to exert such an influence. That should be an important factor in our political strategy and united action efforts.

The Catholic trend in the worker's movement, once weak and serving the needs of the capitalists, has in the past decade gained strength in many countries. It has also changed its character, chiefly due to the recent progressive trends in the Catholic world. This, too, should be carefully studied by our parties.

Latin American Communist parties still have to combat diverse nationalist trends, though these are often directed against imperialism and the oligarchy.

The struggle against alien ideologies was attended by the steady growth of the parties' ideological and political maturity, by their assimilation of Marxism-Leninism. They accumulated experience and enriched their knowledge, which enabled them to work out solutions adapted to the requirements of the democratic and revolutionary movement in their particular countries and areas.

Dogmatism, which originated in the years of the Stalin personality cult and did much damage to the smaller parties, hampered the process of ideological maturity and the general growth of the parties. On the other hand, the exposure of the personality cult adversely affected some parties. But should this justify any doubt about the need for this exposure, especially in the light of what is now happening in China? The Communist Party of China, where the Mao cult has been carried to extremes, has been destroyed or almost destroyed as a result of the "cultural revolution."

Communist parties in countries with long-standing and strong trade union movements (Spain and certain other European capitalist countries) worked hard, and successfully, to establish their influence in the working class and to impart a class revolutionary spirit to

the trade union movement. In this respect, our comrades have been particularly successful in France and Italy. Our Spanish Party now enjoys more influence among the workers than ever before.

But it has to be said that in a number of developed capitalist countries our influence extends only to a small part of the organized workers. This is a shortcoming we should spare no effort to overcome, and in some countries there has been heartening progress in recent years.

In Latin America, the Communists were in many cases the initiators of the trade union movement and this put them in a favorable position. However, the experience in some parts of Latin America shows that if the Communists are to win enduring influence in the working class they must conduct their trade union work on a permanent basis. For it is not enough to give leadership only during strikes and wages campaigns; constant political and ideological work is needed to counter possible opportunist trends and the corruption techniques employed by the monopolies in an attempt to destroy class trade unions.

In discussing the rise and growth of the Communist parties we should emphasize the role of the Communist International, itself a product of the October Revolution (though Lenin appealed for a Third International before October).

True, the Comintern made mistakes, primarily of a sectarian nature, and mostly at the time of the personality cult. But we remember other things too. We remember what will always remain to the credit of the Communist International—its fight for peace, its efforts to unite the revolutionaries in the international working class under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, its role in founding many Communist parties, its elaboration of cardinal problems of revolutionary theory, including Lenin's idea of the alliance of the workers and other, non-proletarian forces which found concrete embodiment in the Popular Front of the stormy thirties; its popularization of scientific Communism and of the defense of the USSR as vitally important for the workers everywhere; international mobilization of the masses to fight fascism and imperialist aggression; organization of the solidarity movement with anti-fascist Spain, of which the glorious International Brigades were the most noble expression.

I wish also to stress dissemination by the Comintern of the ideas and practice of proletarian internationalism, which in those memorable years was manifested with such remarkable force. These things should be emphasized today when imperialist aggression is being

waged against the people of Vietnam, and when this calls for what can best be described as practical proletarian internationalism, that is, vigorous and resolute action by the international Communist and workers' movement for the utmost solidarity with a gallant people locked in a struggle of momentous import for the world revolutionary process.

The Comintern years coincided with far-reaching and contradictory developments in the world revolutionary process, and the Spanish Communists regard its existence as a historical necessity. We believe we are fully justified in saying that the Comintern symbolized a heroic and glorious stage of the Communist movement.

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If we were to draw a half-century balance sheet of the basic socio-historical processes, we would have to record the immensity of Communist influence on the revolutionary movement and social development in general. In assessing that influence we take into account not only the achievements, but also the historical background against which they were scored. For a number of reasons ours can be considered the most critical century of human history.

Our starting point in any appraisal of Communist activity should be the positive, social changes to which the Communist parties have made such a valuable contribution. But we should be mindful also of the dangers, their magnitude and implications, with which capitalism continues to confront mankind in the 20th century, and which up to now have been overcome, or to a very appreciable degree neutralized, by sustained Communist effort.

The world Communist movement can look back with pride on its record of the past half century. The results it has attained are truly impressive.

The imminent processes of capitalism have squarely faced mankind with social problems unprecedented for scope and complexity. Time and again society has found itself stalemated, or on the brink of a precipice. But we have reached the point where, because of the struggle of the proletariat and its Communist vanguard, because of socialism, the capitalist system is no longer able, fortunately, to decide the destiny of the human race.

The Communist parties have opened to mankind a new era, the era of the rise of the new, socialist society.

Thanks to communist leadership and effort, what to many seemed a foreordained evil—the universal antagonism between rich and poor, exploiter and exploited, oppressor and oppressed nations—has been eliminated in a substantial part of the world.

In its natural, objective development capitalism engendered fascism. Fascism's goal was world domination and the establishment of its barbarous millenium. This was prevented largely by the struggle of the Communists, who led their peoples in the fight to destroy fascism, but the main factor was the fortitude and heroism of the people who fifty years ago carried out the first victorious socialist revolution.

The advance of science and technology in the mid-twentieth century has given man overwhelming strength in the form of nuclear energy, but so long as imperialism holds sway over a large part of the world there is the danger of this great discovery being used for destruction: a nuclear war would consume most of the world's population. The dilemma, pointed up by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*—revolutionary reconstruction of the "entire social edifice," or mutual destruction of the classes ranged against each other—has in our time acquired a new meaning. The 20th century is the age of enlightenment, but it could become the age of darkness. By acting as vanguard of progressive mankind, the Communists can ward off this very real menace.

The Communists' historic mission should be seen in the light of complex reality, with all its contradictions and contrasts. Saving mankind from a thermonuclear war is now a crucial aim, but it can be attained only through concerted effort to hamstring imperialism and free mankind from imperialist oppression and alienation, both offsprings of neo-capitalism. The danger can be averted by combating imperialist aggression, assuring revolutionary socio-economic development and eliminating imperialist exploitation of ex-colonial and semi-colonial countries.

And if the existence of the Communist parties is fully justified by their record of accomplishment, their continued growth is a vital necessity, an historical imperative, and an objective condition for the world triumph of socialism and for man's emancipation from all forms of oppression and alienation.

* * *

The impressive successes of the world revolutionary movement cannot erase the fact that, at this juncture, imperialism is anything but a paper tiger. Very much the opposite; it is still strong enough to try to impede the advance to socialism.

In recent years the world has witnessed aggression by the most reactionary imperialism of all, U.S. imperialism, against the people of South Vietnam. And the aggression has spread to a socialist country, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, on the pretext that it is

helping part of its people to break out of the oppression imposed by the imperialists and their satellites. As we see, imperialist aggression has acquired a new look and new implications.

The recent Israeli attack was yet another move by the U.S. and other imperialists, this time against the Arab people. In its export of counter-revolution, imperialism has made use of a country with a false halo of democracy, even socialism—a country that certainly has a right to exist but no right whatever to act the policeman over other nations, to encroach on their sovereignty and interfere in their internal affairs.

The Israeli aggression was preceded by the military fascist coup in Greece, engineered by U.S. imperialism with the express purpose of bringing the country under control and preventing the spread of democracy on NATO's southern flank. The Greek coup signified the beginning of a U.S. imperialist onslaught to bolster reaction in South Europe and the Mediterranean area. It is also calculated to stimulate the spread of neo-nazism in West Germany.

The military defeat of the UAR, Syria and the other Arab states has aggravated the situation and encouraged the more aggressive imperialist forces in every part of the world. The keenest reaction has come from the U.S. rulers, and we should not preclude continued escalation in Vietnam or aggression against other nations, including Cuba (through members of the Organization of American States). In the months ahead the policy of peaceful co-existence might be subjected to severe trials.

True, U.S. imperialist policy in the Middle East, of which the Israeli aggression is but one facet, might well end in failure, for, potentially, the Arab countries are strong. But imperialist and Zionist plans can be foiled only if the Communist parties and the national-liberation movement vigorously campaign for solidarity with the victims of the aggression, generate an atmosphere of sympathy with the Arab states to enable them, with the direct assistance of the socialist camp, to consolidate and extend their social gains and rebuild their strength.

Why is it that, in these mid-sixties, imperialism is able to launch aggression and export counter-revolution? As we see it, in the final analysis this is a sign of imperialist weakness rather than strength. The reverses capitalism has sustained in the 50 years between the October Revolution and the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism have led U.S. imperialism to conclude that any further retreat would jeopardize its very existence.

Hence, the Johnson doctrine, the bogged-down and costly war in Vietnam, the escalation of counter-revolution in other areas. There is also the fact that, though weakened, capitalism has not yet reached the point when it can no longer hope to achieve its aggressive aims anywhere.

The fact that imperialism can, for the time being, achieve temporary success because—and the inference is inescapable—the split in the socialist camp and international communism weakens our movement and each of its units and to that extent lessens their ability to repel imperialism. This underscores the very great responsibility of the Chinese leaders, who are responsible for the split.

Marxism-Leninism and the experience of history teach us that, both nationally and internationally, the revolutionary process does not follow a straight line; it has its ups and downs. Lenin pointed to the objective law of the uneven development of capitalism. There is also another objective law, of the uneven development of the revolutionary process. And there are the contradictions—though not antagonistic—within the labor movement, between the forces involved in the world revolutionary process, and they, too, have objective roots. But, one is inclined to ask, can the operation of this law and these contradictions be restricted to a certain extent by the subjective factor of the movement?

The most serious aspect of the crisis in our movement is perhaps the activity of the group led by Mao Tse-tung, which is responsible for the present policy of the Chinese Communist Party (to the extent that the Party is still a reality) and the Chinese People's Republic. Overcoming that situation—and we cannot today predict when it will be overcome—would materially alter the state of affairs in the international revolutionary movement and in the world generally.

World socialism is greatly harmed also by the projection of other, often secondary, contradictions that tend to weaken the anti-imperialist united front of the Communists and all other revolutionary forces.

In this context, I would like to draw attention to another idea, advanced by our Party at the Karlovy Vary Conference. Our representative declared: "Now that there is no Communist International, the Communists are united by our common Marxist-Leninist ideology, by our common international tasks, namely, the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for peace, democracy, independence and socialism, and, lastly, by proletarian internationalism."

"No one is now likely to suggest the use of methods that might disturb the policy-mak-

ing independence of each Party. Consequently, the problems now confronting every workers' party require not more independence—which no one has ever questioned—but ability to employ it in the most rational and efficient way.

"Genuine independence is today manifested in the struggle within each party against the deadweight of routine, against limiting Marxism-Leninism to set formulas and stock phrases divorced from reality; in the struggle for a profound understanding of reality and for the constructive application of our theories.

The problem is of exceptional importance. It concerns our ability to apply in present-day conditions the Leninist principles that assured the victory of the October Revolution.

Leninism is, of course, infinitely rich. Its substance can probably be briefly explained as follows: steady forward movement by taking into account objective reality and objective trends of social development; winning the broad masses over to socialism, leading them through the necessary stages to the conquest of political power by the working class and its allies, establishing a proletarian dictatorship and reconstructing society, by revolutionary methods, along socialist lines.

The degree of success will be the criterion of how effectively and correctly a particular party applies Leninism. And the degree of success will be plainly indicated by changes in the situation and, on a more general plane, by an objective, critical and realistic analysis carried out periodically by all or most Communist and Workers' parties using the well-tried method of bilateral, zonal, regional meetings and international conferences to study the experience of each Party as a composite part of our general experience.

There is also this consideration: in the absence of such zonal, continental or world meetings there might be the danger—and Lenin pointed to it—that our slogans may become ossified and no longer relevant to the changing situation and conditions. And I will point to another danger—the existence of diverse and contradictory strategic perspectives within the revolutionary movement. This, I believe, calls for a common strategic denominator for the whole of the revolutionary movement to enable its effectively to counter imperialism's global strategy.

What we now need is concentration of all the positive elements in the activity of the Communist parties, all their gains and influence in the present-day world, for a joint effort to thwart the aggressive plans of the U.S. imperialists, weaken them, force them to retreat and, in the end, defeat them.

That is a wholly realistic goal. It can be attained by mobilizing, in each and every country, all the forces that can contribute to the democratic and revolutionary movement, and by bringing into action our vast international reserves.

This presupposes, in particular, more concentration on the growth and development of the Communist parties, the aim being to convert them into mass parties and build up broadly-based alliances of all anti-monopoly, democratic and revolutionary forces prepared to counter imperialism and its aggressive policies.

In short, the idea is to heighten the struggle of the working class, its allies, the oppressed nations, and give it diverse forms and methods (including armed struggle where the conditions for that are ripe) in line with objective and subjective conditions. The idea is to combat imperialism and its aggressive plans, and above all its threat of nuclear war. However, all this must go hand in hand with the fight for democratic reforms, for the transfer of political power to the working class and its allies.

That is our view. And it is based neither on speculative optimism nor on revolutionary impatience. It follows from objective necessity, from the need, in other words, to give the subjective factor in our movement a bigger part (and I have no hesitation in describing this as, in a way, revolutionary voluntarism). Our view is founded—and I think logically—also on analysis of the movement's magnificent achievements over the past 50 years and of the problems facing us. Last, but not least, it is based on the history of our own Party and the vistas now open to it.

* * *

It has always been our main concern, particularly in the past few years, to develop and strengthen the Party because a strong party is now more essential than ever to the successful growth of the democratic and revolutionary struggle.

The Communist Party cannot be the only element of the mass movement. There must be a broad alliance of workers and democratic forces of which the Party is the vanguard, the motive force.

A close study of ways, means and opportunities for strengthening the Party, its forms and methods of activity, has led us to conclude that building a mass Communist Party in Spain is now a feasible task. In fact, to a considerable degree, ours is a mass party.

To make it that we had to combine conventional, classical organizational forms with less traditional, less rigid, less obligatory and binding forms which, however, have proved

effective in stimulating our mass campaigns.

I have already said that to a considerable degree ours is already a mass Party. How were we able to make it one?

First, we followed a policy understood by the workers and the people generally, by the youth, a policy which is responsive to the sentiment and interests of the masses. Naturally, we shall go ahead with this policy.

Second, we were able to build up a system of Party organizations and committees composed of experienced and seasoned comrades. This made it possible to bring our policy to the masses and organize them for action.

Third, we were always alive to the problems of all sections of the population—the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, students, youth, women, etc.,—keenly aware of their economic, cultural, housing and other needs, and always prepared to give them leadership in the fight for their realization.

This enabled us to unite thousands of Communists, newcomers and veterans, in strong and stable Party organizations. Besides, an equal if not greater number of active Communists not belonging to these organizations “follow our line, share in our work, accept our program and carry on effective Communist work among the masses” (Santiago Carillo).

Still another important source of strength are the thousands of sympathizers who in one or another way help to popularize and operate the Party's policy.

Drawing on the support of these forces, our Party has been steadily building up influence in the working class and among the forward-looking sections of Spanish society, endeavoring to bring them into the fight to win democratic freedoms and complement political democracy with economic democracy, which in its further development grows into socialism.

Of course, we know that the attainment of these goals, which for all practical purposes are tantamount to a democratic revolution and its growing over into socialist revolution, calls for more than a strong and influential Communist Party. The Party's influence—at any rate in Spain—cannot extend to all classes and social groups capable of and willing to fight for revolutionary change. The logical inference, therefore, is that we must form broad alliances. If we are to accept—and I think we can—that one of the clearest lessons of the international revolutionary movement is that in most cases the Communists alone cannot lead the majority of the people in decisive revolutionary battles, than is it not true to say that such alliances are an objective necessity?

And such an alliance is already taking shape

in Spain. Its outlines are clearly visible in the broad workers', student and popular movement, which has made such swift progress in the past few months.

It was precisely in the course of this struggle that there emerged what Santiago Carillo, speaking for the whole of our Party, has described as the "alliance of the forces of labor and culture."

What is behind this definition? What is its substance? Our Party is working on the premise that political and economic democracy in Spain can be won by the efforts, first, of the working class acting and organized in the new labor movement and standing at the head of the popular and democratic forces; the peasantry, which is anxious to build up its own movement; the student movement as part of the bigger general movement for democracy; the intelligentsia, and this includes a substantial segment of university lecturers, scientists, engineers, technicians, lawyers, and other professionals who share a common desire to have their own movement; the deep-rooted progressive trends in Catholic circles; the small businessmen who likewise are keen on united action.

Epitomized in all these movements is the alliance of the forces of labor and culture to which Carillo has referred.

To this might be usefully added that the labor-and-culture alliance formula is, above all, the result of practical work, and in this respect our experience accords with the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the need to learn from the masses. However, we are only beginning to accumulate experience, though the initial results are highly significant.

What we are working towards is a much broader coalition, in the social and political aspect, than the classical worker-peasant alliance. This does not mean that we underestimate the latter, but in the present stage of the revolutionary process it cannot be the sole class coalition, the sole basis for revolutionary expansion in Spain and in other countries. And not only because the relative strength of the peasantry and its socio-economic role are diminishing (though it is still a fairly numerous class), and not because technological and scientific advancement have raised the relative role of technicians and kindred professions (though they are relatively still numerically small). No, the main consideration is that these strata are bound to play a bigger part, because economic and social development is bound to increase both their numerical strength and their share in national affairs.

The progressive Catholic element, socially heterogenous, but homogenous in its attitude

towards the policy aims outlined above, is an integral part of the alliance. Experience has shown that it can become an effective factor in the labor-and-culture alliance at every stage in the fight for democracy and, ultimately, in the building of a socialist society.

But the principal feature of the alliance is the specific character of its origin and growth. It did not arise out of an agreement between the political parties, the customary procedure in the past (the Popular Front). Rather, it is the outcome of joint mass actions, their expansion and coordination, and of new organizational forms, the new labor movement, the intellectual, student movement, and the new forms of organization that are taking shape among the peasants and other social groups. These were combined with certain traditional forms, such as trade union organization and professional associations of doctors, lawyers, etc. But it should be noted that with the heightening level of revolutionary-democratic struggle the very content of their activity is changing. And this, in turn, can be attributed to the deep-going process of rethinking which finds expression in the present mass movement, in the new alliance of social forces, rather than in the political parties, though in this respect the Communist Party is an exception.

Bourgeois politicians and sociologists maintain that in modern capitalist societies, with their increasing proletarianization, the trade unions are destined to play a bigger role. That is true, but the bourgeoisie is using this to prove that the masses are turning away from politics. The idea, obviously, is to divert workers and intellectuals from the political struggle, which is left to the monopoly-controlled political parties.

The labor-and-culture alliance did not originate outside political parties and does not owe its emergence to a diminishing interest in politics. Quite the contrary, it is evidence of a growing interest in politics, which though it does not lead to a final choice in favor of one or another political school of thought or party, does reflect a stronger urge for democracy and progress and for far-reaching socio-political change. In Spain, this finds no outlet in the traditional forms of political expression. As the mass movement grows and gains strength, the alliance will overcome the divisive trends in the political parties and accentuate the trend towards unity. That is why we are working on the premise that the ultimate crystallization of the alliance, resulting from the mass movement, will inevitably project it into the democratic political parties. The labor-and-culture alliance formula does not

imply minimizing the role of political parties. The dialectics of the struggle could make the alliance a coalition of public organizations and political parties, something totally unknown to Spain in the 20th century.

At any rate, as of today, the task is to extend the struggle for democratic freedoms. And when political democracy has been won, the next task will be to complement and extend it through a democracy that will be anti-feudal and anti-monopoly.

Will the struggle for this type of democracy tend to narrow the appeal and the numerical strength of the alliance? Of course, there is bound to be vacillation in its ranks. But its present social make-up, plus the pressing need for far-reaching social change and the mass urge for such a change, the influence exerted by the initial democratic reforms on the world situation, will, we believe, assure the growth of the alliance. Furthermore, its practical work will bring into it hitherto passive sections of the people.

It can be predicted, I think, that continued development of mass action will prompt the alliance squarely to pose the question of power and, ultimately, become the ruling socio-political group.

This approach, in our opinion, holds out the promise of a peaceful and democratic transfer of power. But that will require persevering, broad and, I would add, hard struggle by the masses to break the resistance of reaction in whatever form it is manifested. Struggle is the alliance's main weapon, its chief means of winning political power and carrying out social and economic changes, the chief bulwark of democracy and, at the same time, one of its more striking manifestations.

Once in power, the alliance will become the socio-political agency for effecting the transition from anti-monopoly and anti-feudal democracy to socialism. This supposition is based on the existence of more or less clearly-defined, and in any case very deep-rooted, anti-capitalist and socialist trends. They are apparent not only among the workers, but also among other groups of the labor-and-culture alliance. And these trends—with all the specific features observed in Spain today—are an expression of the overall objective movement to socialism, which everywhere goes beyond the framework of the Communist parties.

A government of the labor-and-culture alliance to supervise the transition from capitalism to socialism will of necessity be a

multi-party government. As the vehicle of working class influence, it will, as we understand it, be a "divided" government in which other classes and social strata will have an equal share. In short, it will be a government representative of the majority of the people. More, as the vehicle of their interests it will have their unqualified support not only during the transition, but also in building the new society in conditions of the broadest freedom and democracy.

But what of the status and role of the Communist Party in the socialist stage of the alliance? We believe that the Party will play a "leading but not dominant role." It will not have any special privileges; its rights and obligations will be the same as those of the other members. It will fulfil its leading role "to the extent that it unites the foremost representatives of the proletariat and other working people; to the extent that it unites the foremost representatives of the proletariat and other working people; to the extent of its ability to apply Marxism-Leninism in analyzing the situation and in working out its program and proposals; to the extent of its ability correctly to judge reality, the opportunities it offers and the demands it raises; to the extent of its ability to act as a disciplined, closely-knit and active organization making wise use of its prestige and influence; to the extent that its members set an example of integrity, self-sacrifice and devotion to the people. The Party will exercise its guiding function to the extent that it pursues a correct policy, flexible and at the same time firm. This should make it possible for the Party to maintain and strengthen the alliance and isolate its political opponents." (Santiago Carillo).

We are fully aware of all the difficulties and complexities involved in this task, but its magnitude is a challenge and inspiration. And we must accomplish it, not only in order to open up broader vistas for democracy and socialism, but also to help refashion the overall alignment of forces, so vitally necessary in Western Europe to disrupt the plans of North American imperialism and to strengthen the democratic and socialist forces in the battle against the menace of West German neo-nazism.

On our old continent, the cradle of Marxism, socialism and socialist revolution, we must break one more link in the imperialist chain. In doing so we shall be paying the most fitting tribute to the heroes of the October Revolution.

Creative Marxism and political initiative

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ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL lessons of the October Revolution, and one of the more significant aspects of the lasting validity of these lessons, has to do, I think, with the role of the *political initiative of the workers' party*.

The revolutionary breakthrough accomplished in 1917 in the decisive and concentrated form of political struggle, which Lenin in his "Advice of an Onlooker" described as an armed insurrection, was a supreme manifestation of that remarkable capacity developed by the Bolsheviks for continuous and organized intervention in a changing reality to further the advance of the working class. I believe Lenin's contribution to Marxism lies in his having revealed the value of this capacity of the revolutionary force for continuous political initiative, equipped this capacity with analytical means adapted to the imperialist period, and given the working class a party endowed with it.

It would be exceedingly interesting to retrace Lenin's work along these lines, from his *What Is To Be Done?*, which stressed the need for the Party to be *energetic, firm and consistent* in its political work among the masses, using *a vast variety of forms and means* with a view to extending the struggle into every sphere of life, to his "Left-wing Communism"—an *Infantile Disorder*, which specified that the initiative of the vanguard should *link up, combine more closely, and, to some extent, merge* with the initiative even of the *non-proletarian* masses. In "Left-wing Communism" and in his speeches at the Second, Third and Fourth congresses of the Communist International, Lenin, developing his views on the national peculiarities to which the revolution-

ary initiative should adjust itself in each country after the break with opportunism, advocated the policy of a united front in contrast to the abstract, doctrinaire ideas of the "theorists of the offensive." Communist initiative, he emphasized, should be aimed in every country at winning the *majority of the oppressed and exploited*.

Let us see how this central theme of Leninism took shape. Lenin joined issue with opportunism and sectarianism in such works as his *What Is To Be Done?*, *Two Tactics, Imperialism*, "Left-wing Communism," in his Comintern speeches, and his lesser known writings, such as "On Confounding Politics with Pedagogics," an item dated June 1905.

This theme runs through both his political and philosophical writings such as *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* (the *criterion of practice*) his comments in *Philosophical Notebooks*, such as the marginal notes on Hegel's "Science of Logic," the note about the superiority of practice over (theoretical) knowledge ("practice has not only the merit of universality, but also of immediate actuality"), or the note which counters *empty, futile, sceptical negation* with *negation as a moment of connection, as a moment of development*, regarding it as an essential characteristic of dialectics. This note is a forceful and clear synthesis of the fruitlessness of Leftism, past and present, and the transforming fruitfulness of revolutionary initiative.

The October Revolution was the supreme manifestation and decisive proof of the Leninist capacity—which had developed in the Bolshevik Party over a long period—for carrying on sustained political work in associa-

tion with and at the head of the masses, for steadily translating revolutionary dialectics into organized political action. This political creativity of the genuine Marxist method, which the Bolsheviks assimilated and carried forward, enabled them to win in October 1917. And as a result of that victory, it inspired the actions of the working class and its revolutionary vanguard in every country. The October Revolution created entirely new *objective* and *subjective* conditions for the working people. It showed that, in view of the contradictions of capitalism in its imperialist stage, the advance to socialism would be all the more successful the more the revolutionary party was able to sway the actual trend of development and to display concrete initiative in keeping with the situation in the particular country.

Speaking of our own experience, I would like to mention an early work by Antonio Gramsci, dated January 1918. This work was a response to the October Revolution, even though some of its formulations were wrong or lacked precision. Palmiro Togliatti, commenting on this response described it as "almost a cry of liberation," in the sense that the Bolshevik success was a rediscovery of the creative power of Marxism despite the determinist distortions of Marxist theory by the Second International that weighed heavy on the Italian socialist movement. "The Bolsheviks' actions and achievements," Gramsci wrote, "give living expression to Marxist thought, which never dies and which always sees as a great factor in history not economic facts in the abstract, but man, human society, the society of people who draw closer together, who understand one another and use their contact to evolve a social, collective will, who understand the economic facts, assess them and adapt them to their will."

Proceeding from the theory and practice of Leninism, Gramsci developed a doctrine of revolution which the Socialist Party had been unable to give to the Italian labor movement. It was a doctrine based on the dialectical conception of real historical development, on the idea of the power bloc as the relationship and interaction between basis and superstructure in a given society, of their various elements and aspects. This teaching advocated smashing the prevailing power bloc and bringing a new bloc into being by revolutionary means, as a result of the intervention of the working class in the relationship between basis and superstructure to modify this relationship, to establish its hegemony and, in the process, to win power.

Leninism and the Bolsheviks' success in fitting their action into the context of the

historical development of Russian society helped Gramsci to conceive his profoundly national idea of the historical power bloc in Italy and the peculiarities of the connection between basis and superstructure in our country. Thus he was able to bring revolutionary initiative, the effort to set up a well-knit system of revolutionary alliances, into harmony with the peculiarities, and so to make the dialectics of the connection truly effective. Gramsci deduced from Leninism his concept of the Communist Party as the initiator, teacher and organizer of the collective revolutionary will, to harness this will to the entire process of development, ensure consistent display of political initiative in keeping with the interests of the working class, and guide this initiative.

Analysis of the relationship of forces, Gramsci wrote in his *Prison Notebooks*, "has meaning only if it serves to justify the *initiative of will*. It shows the points of least resistance where willpower can be applied most fruitfully, suggests the immediate tactical operations, indicates the best way of launching a political campaign, the language that will be best understood by the masses, and so on. The decisive factor in any situation is the force organized on a permanent basis and readied for use well in advance, ready to go into action when the situation is considered favorable . . . The task is, therefore, to work systematically and patiently on forming and developing this force, on making it increasingly homogeneous, compact, and aware of itself."

It was no accident that on returning from Moscow, where he lived in 1922-23, and where he took direct cognizance of the lessons of the October Revolution and the Bolshevik experience, and heard Lenin at the Fourth Congress of the International, Gramsci resolved to defeat the sectarian Bordiga leadership in the Party. In an article in *Ordine Nuovo* (April 1924), he established a very close link between an immediate turn in the general line of the Party and the need for "concrete activity, unremitting effort, continuous adjustment to the changing historical reality," the capacity for suggesting, "even today, its own autonomous solutions to the general problems of Italy . . ."

Gramsci's whole work, and all the focal points of his research in *Prison Notebooks*, uphold Lenin's thesis of political practice as a fundamental criterion. We witness in them Gramsci's fight against "economism" and Leftism, against dogmatic scholasticism, the petty empiricism of the opportunists, against the inertness and passivity by which all these

infantile, sclerotic or degenerate trends seek to maintain their hold on the working class.

However, the set of problems on which Gramsci probably best of all assimilated Lenin's teaching on the absolute necessity of political initiative by the workers' party, concern the so-called "trench warfare" — another concept derived from Lenin's work and carried forward in the *Prison Notebooks*.

"Trench warfare" is seen as a long revolutionary process in which Gramsci stresses the distinctiveness and diversity of the road to socialism in the more developed capitalist countries of Western Europe compared with the road which the Bolsheviks could and did take in Russian conditions. In this process, Gramsci saw no reason why the strength and complexity of the "defenses" of the power bloc of the bourgeoisie in those countries should impel the working class to mark time and keep its forces inactive in the belief that the hour would strike when a "war of movement" would begin. In fact, Gramsci again condemned all passivity and fascism. He stressed the need for political practice, for steady and unrelenting revolutionary intervention in the relationship between basis and superstructure, no matter how long it might take to change this relationship and how slowly and indirectly the change might come about.

The theory of "trench warfare" (when Gramsci was working on this theory it was taken in Italy to mean "trench warfare" under fascism—to the extent that our Party, led by Togliatti, could apply it and carry it forward throughout the long years of tyranny) enabled the Party to become the leading force of the anti-fascist struggle, the decisive national force in the armed conflict with fascism, and to emerge as a powerful mass party after the defeat of fascism.

Today, at the stage following World War II and the defeat of fascism, we are passing through what I think can be termed as a new stage in "trench warfare" in which the revolutionary process is digging "trenches" extending far beyond those it held when Gramsci was making his analysis. We are in the presence of a new balance of world forces.

Socialism can carry on its grim fight against imperialism, using the strategy of peaceful coexistence and the positions gained as a result of the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, the defeat of world fascism, the rise of a whole system of socialist countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America, and other postwar developments which have led to a broad alliance with the national-liberation movement.

The struggle of the Italian working class for hegemony and power has thus reached a

stage in which the connection between democracy and socialism is closer and more evident and the issue of peace has acquired new revolutionary content. Nevertheless, Gramsci's main premises are still valid as a guide, and the thesis of the political initiative of the workers' party is, along with other fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism, more relevant than ever.

Togliatti's work, and the democratic and socialist strategy and tactics evolved by our Party under his guidance lay strong emphasis on *making policy*, on translating every opportunity that presents itself into political action. This requirement was perhaps more typical than anything else of Togliatti's approach to work and to leadership. In the conditions created by anti-fascist struggles and the application of democratic and socialist strategy, Togliatti's concept of the mass party, and the development of such a party, were meant to promote the revolutionary process by unfolding the political initiative of the Party, the initiative for unity, on the broadest possible base and in the most diverse and effective forms.

The pressing need for the working class and other working people to intervene continuously in the whole range of national problems is growing day by day. This is due to the aggravation of the political crisis in Italy, against the background of an international situation which is fraught with grave danger and in which peace is frequently infringed. This is why we called on our Party at its Eleventh Congress, as we do now, to take the political initiative, the initiative of achieving unity, with increasing energy at all levels and in every sphere. We call on the Party to build up our mass force as a force that will take the initiative, and to build up a mass revolutionary will. And so, in contrast to the opportunism of the Social Democrats and to the infantile Leftist fringe thriving on Chinese deviations, we are striving to make our working class increasingly aware of the revolutionary value of the process under way and of the path it has been following. We want the working class to have a deeper understanding of the increasing opportunities for political action leading to renovation, want it to see the ever-multiplying breaches in the enemy's defenses that enable the working classes to go ahead.

Emphasis on the political initiative of the workers' party is an important reason why the lessons of the October Revolution, of the triumph of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, have become a living component of our present democratic and socialist struggles, of our daily revolutionary fight.

The October Revolution — internationalism and patriotism

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LED BY THE PARTY of Lenin, the Russian workers won a victory in October 1917 that reshaped the course of history.

The significance of the October Revolution is not confined to its moral impact on the development of the international labor and national-liberation movements. It went beyond that, providing the objective conditions for a powerful economic and political base which, from the very first days of the Soviet Republic, became an indestructible bulwark of peace and socialism and an inexhaustible source of energy for the oppressed classes and peoples everywhere.

It merged into a single stream the proletarian revolt against capitalism and the liberation struggle of the subject peoples of tsarist Russia. It led to the world's first proletarian state which, by virtue of its very nature, made internationalism the guiding principle of its home and foreign policy.

This changed the very substance and form of proletarian internationalism, for now it signified more than solidarity of the working people of all lands in the battle for power and the abolition of capitalism. In addition, internationalism now implied:

- 1) Working-class support for the world's first proletarian state;
- 2) Soviet Russia's aid to the international labor movement;
- 3) Extension of internationalism to the subject peoples and their emancipation movement.

Always, from its very inception, Marxism has strongly championed liberty and equality for all peoples. But it needed the Great October Socialist Revolution and the advent of

Soviet rule to create the objective conditions to make proletarian internationalism a practical and powerful factor of the national-liberation movement.

Engels' formula, "No nation can be free that oppresses other nations," which Lenin described as the underlying principle of internationalism, was elevated to official Soviet policy towards the diverse nations and national minorities of Russia, and was complemented by Lenin's proposition on close alliance between the international workers' movement and that of the subject nations.

In his "Draft Thesis on National and Colonial Questions," prepared for the Second Congress of the Comintern, Lenin wrote: "... one cannot at present confine oneself to a bare recognition or proclamation of the need for closer union between the working people of the various nations: a policy must be pursued that will achieve the closest alliance, with Soviet Russia, of all the national and colonial liberation movements. The form of this alliance should be determined by the degree of development of the communist movement among the proletariat of each country, or of the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement of the workers and peasants in backward countries or among the backward nationalities." (*Collected Works*, Eng. Ed. Vol. 31, p. 146)

Iran was one of the first countries to feel the beneficial results of the October Revolution and the internationalist policy it initiated, and Iran provides a good example of the way this policy has been carried out.

From the very early days of its existence the Soviet government was especially concern-

ed for Iran's future. Its sovereignty and independence had been gravely jeopardized by the imperialist policy of Great Britain and tsarist Russia. I refer in particular to the Treaties of 1907 and 1915 which divided the country and placed it under military occupation.

In its Appeal to the laboring Moslems of Russia and the East, signed by Lenin and issued on December 3, 1917, the Soviet government stated: "We declare the treaty on the division of Persia null and void. The troops will be withdrawn from Persia the moment hostilities cease and the Persian people will be guaranteed the right freely to determine their future."

And this in the note to the Iranian charge d'affaires in Petrograd of January 27, 1918:

"The Council of People's Commissars hereby declares that the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907, directed against the freedom and independence of the Persian people, is revoked once and for all. The Council of People's Commissars likewise declares null and void all agreements concluded before and after this Treaty which in any way restrict or impede the right of the Persian people to free and independent existence."

Also this passage in the same note: "We ardently hope that the time will come when the nations will compel their governments to call a halt to the coercion practised against the Persian people, and that the latter will thus be able to develop their country in freedom."

And the young Soviet Republic promised to do all in its power to rid Iranian territory of the agents of tsarism and the imperialist bourgeoisie and to secure the withdrawal of the British and Turkish troops.

In another official document, of June 26, 1919, the Soviet government renounced all concessions and privileges, including extra-territorial consular rights, secured by tsarist Russia or its subjects, all debts owed to Russia, and terminated the capitulations.

The British-imposed treaty of August 9, 1919 placed Iran's army, finances and customs under British control. This was tantamount to depriving Iran of economic and political independence.

The Soviet government immediately issued a statement (on August 29, 1919) signed by People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs Georgi Chicherin and addressed to the workers and peasants of Iran. It read in part: "At a time when the triumphant victor, the British freebooter, is seeking to tighten the noose around the Iranian people, the Workers' and Peasants' Government of the Russian Soviet Republic solemnly declares that it does not recognize

the Anglo-Persian Treaty, that instrument of enslavement. The working people of Russia see in the working people of Persia their brothers and friends and their comrades in the future revolutionary struggle for the full emancipation of labor. Speaking for the laboring masses of Russia, the Soviet Workers' and Peasants' Government regards the Treaty as a scrap of paper and will never concede it any legal validity. It is a shameful Treaty, under which young rulers have sold themselves, and you, to the British marauder."

This resolute support by the young Soviet Republic generated a wave of enthusiasm among our people and did much to further the national-liberation movement.

It was in these years of revolutionary upsurge that the first mass trade unions emerged and the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement spread to the rural areas. In the three northern provinces bordering on the Soviet Union (Azerbaijan, Gilan and Khorssan) there was a widespread armed struggle to end both foreign tutelage and the monarchy (a republic was actually proclaimed in Gilan). These events also had a bearing on the formation of the Communist Party in June 1920.

And though the national-liberation movement of 1918-22, like other insurgent movements in Asia and Europe, was suppressed by the imperialists and their reactionary allies, it did result in cancellation of the 1919 Anglo-Iranian Treaty and forced Britain and Turkey to end the occupation.

The October Revolution and the establishment of Soviet rule weakened imperialism's position in Iran and created a situation favoring Iran's security.

The Iranian-Soviet Treaty of February 26, 1921 contained effective security guarantees, set out in Articles 5 and 6. The Soviet government undertook to send troops into Iran in the event of armed interference by third powers, and to withdraw them the moment the danger was eliminated.

Subsequent events fully confirmed the correctness of that policy, notably in relation to the British and Turkish presence, which was terminated by the victory of the Red Army's offensive during the Civil War. This policy also blocked German attempts to turn Iran into a base of Nazi aggression during World War II, and averted the danger of British naval intervention at the time of the popular movement for oil nationalization in 1952.

The value and the implications of Soviet decisions, statements and obligations with regard to Iran go far beyond the relations between the two countries. They are of much wider, I would say worldwide, significance, for in them are formulated principles that are

central to Soviet policy towards all countries: respect for national independence, equality of all nations big and small, fraternal aid in the economic and political development of countries fighting for independence, disinterested and active support for the anti-imperialist liberation movement.

Documents based on these principles can be cited in reference to Soviet relations with such countries as China, India, Afghanistan, Turkey, etc.

The extension of the concept of proletarian internationalism after the October Revolution and the practical application of its Leninist principles strongly influenced not only the objective position of the underprivileged nations, but also the thinking of all patriots concerned for the freedom and independence of their countries.

These changes, objective and subjective, naturally affected the guiding principles of the national-liberation movement and, inferentially, the very concept of patriotism.

For the facts will show that prior to the October Revolution the national forces could rely only on themselves and on the moral support of other peoples. True, under certain circumstances imperialist contradictions could be used to further the interests of national liberation. But at best this was an unstable factor, usually leading to a change of foreign tutelage, not to its abolition.

In contrast, the October Revolution brought into being a state which, in its very conception, was opposed to national and colonial oppression in any form or shape. More, its ideas could triumph on a world scale only through the final and complete defeat of imperialism and elimination of all imperialist oppression.

Ever since then the national-liberation movement has been able to rely on the Soviet Union's effective support because the ending of oppression and exploitation is the root aim of its policy. The USSR has always supported and helped peoples fighting for freedom, without seeking any advantage for itself.

And patriots in colonial and dependent countries always take into account the new conditions created by the October Revolution. The Soviet Union's unswerving internationalist policy demonstrates to them, in each and every changing situation, that internationalism and patriotism are inseparable.

Iranian, Indian, Chinese, Turkish, Afghan and other patriots fighting to throw off British, American, Japanese, French and German imperialist domination could rely on the resolute support of the young Soviet Republic even in its very early days. And they could not but see that their national struggle

everywhere merged with the Soviet government's struggle against the common foe.

This injected a new element into the concept of patriotism. The proletarian revolution in Russia brought to life a new, profoundly internationalist patriotism, Socialist patriotism. This had its effect on other, notably dependent, countries; patriotism was no longer regarded in its narrow, nationalist context and came to be more closely identified with the fight of the international proletariat.

The Soviet Union's sacrifices in World War II and its victory over German nazism and Japanese militarism clearly showed what the patriotic movement in Europe, Asia, indeed, in every part of the world, owed to the socialist patriotism of the Soviet people who saved mankind from the nightmare of Nazism. It showed, also, to what extent their own patriotic aims were linked with the Soviet people's internationalism.

The victory over fascism and the emergence of more socialist countries gave a new dimension to internationalism and, at the same time, further developed the concept of patriotism in countries that had won independence or were advancing towards it.

Postwar developments, particularly in Vietnam, Greece and in the Middle East, indicate to what extent the movement for national emancipation and consolidation of freedom are organically linked with the fight of the USSR and other socialist countries and the international proletariat against the forces of aggression and terror led by U.S. imperialism.

The Israeli aggression was a tragic demonstration of the insidious methods to which the U.S. and British imperialists are ready to resort to crush the freedom and independence of Syria, the United Arab Republic and other Middle East countries and underscore the vital need to work in close alliance with the USSR and the socialist camp to safeguard the gains of their liberation movement and their security.

And from this inseparable, necessary and close link between the liberation and the international workers' struggle there follow some basic propositions which, I suggest, could be guidelines for the present-day national-liberation movement. They can, I think, be briefly formulated as follows:

1. The closest possible relations with the USSR, the socialist camp and the international labor movement; solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the working class movement generally; active support of other peoples in their fight for freedom and independence;

2. The movement should not be confined to purely national interests and should not ignore the problems of the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle.

3. It must be prepared, should the necessity arise, to sacrifice immediate national interests to further the general anti-imperialist struggle;

4. It must resolutely oppose all trends which, under any pretext, seek to undermine the foundations of alliance between the national and patriotic movement, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and the international labor movement, on the other; it must combat all manifestations of anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism as part of imperialist attempts to sow division in our ranks.

These propositions constitute a necessary and logical continuation of the principles of proletarian internationalism set out by Lenin, in particular in his "Draft Thesis on National and Colonial Questions."

Lenin wrote: "Petty-bourgeois nationalism proclaims as internationalism the mere recognition of the equality of nations, and nothing more. Quite apart from the fact that this recognition is purely verbal, petty-bourgeois nationalism preserves national self-interest intact, whereas proletarian internationalism demands, first, that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a worldwide scale, and, second, that a nation which is gaining victory over the bourgeoisie should be able and willing to make the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capital" (*Collected Works*, Eng. Ed. Vol. 31, p. 148).

And Lenin pointed to the "need for direct aid to the revolutionary movement among the dependent and under-privileged nations (for example, Ireland, the American Negroes, etc.), and in the colonies.

"Without the latter condition, which is particularly important, the struggle against the oppression of dependent nations and colonies, as well as recognition of their right to secede, are but a false signboard, as is evidenced by the parties of the Second International." (*Ibid.*)

The Iranian people have always been keenly aware of the beneficial effects of friendship with their socialist neighbor. This was especially so in the trying days of the British occupation and the shackling 1919 treaty. The very existence of the USSR, the Iranians knew, was a factor in their independence and progress.

That is why not only Communists, but also

many prominent figures in the national movement, urged closer friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union as a means of furthering Iran's national interests. This was vigorously advocated by such eminent patriots and revolutionaries as Khiabani, leader of the Azerbaidjan insurrection; Kutchek-Khan, leader of the national-revolutionary movement in Gilan; Suleiman Mirza Eskendari, widely-known democratic spokesman, and other representatives of the radical wing. The moderates counselled a policy of "equilibrium," or non-alignment in relation to the two great powers, the USSR and Britain. Though outwardly neutralist, it was directed against British imperialism: the idea was to vitiate its intrigues in Iran by a measure of support from the Soviet government. Its more articulate advocates included Dr. Mossadegh and Pirnia (Mochire-Dovle), ex-Prime Minister and eminent historian.

This trend came to dominate after the defeat of the 1918-22 revolutionary movement and, to a certain extent, became official government policy. It was abandoned in 1955 when Iran joined the Baghdad Pact (now Cento).

However, Cento membership, acceptance of the imperialist policy-lead and the conclusion of a bilateral pact with the U.S. aroused much indignation. For the Iranian people were only too well aware that anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism are weapons of imperialism. They knew, too, that the anti-national and anti-democratic regime imposed upon the country following the 1953 coup and the overthrow of Dr. Mossadegh's national government were likewise due to imperialist intrigue.

True to its internationalist and patriotic principles, and working illegally—with all the difficulties this entailed—the Tudeh Party continued, through its publications and radio broadcasts, to expose this anti-Soviet and anti-communist policy of working hand in glove with U.S. and British imperialism.

In fact, it began to dawn on the government that its policy had no support among the people and, what is more, that it was economically and politically harmful.

The Soviet government's Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, good-neighbor relations and economic and technical aid deprived the Iranian government of any excuse whatever to obstruct normalization and improvement of relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries.

The important economic agreements already concluded with the USSR, and those scheduled for early conclusion, have demon-

strated anew the advantages accruing to our country from good relations with the socialist lands, notably the USSR, our close neighbor and sincere friend.

For us Iranian Communists close friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is more than a matter of ideological communion. It is, at the same time, the supreme expression of our patriotism and is predicated on Leninism and our country's genuine interests. And we have always regarded this friendship as the permanent basis of our policy.

Our Party has always held that genuine patriotism must be internationalist, and that internationalism is a profound expression of patriotism. For in our times every endeavor to serve the genuine interests of the people of an economically backward country like Iran—and this implies concrete action to promote its economic and political independence, democracy and security and assure the people high living standards—is bound to clash with imperialists interests.

There is a solid body of evidence to show that even countries with national governments must reckon with the inevitable and powerful resistance of reaction whenever they launch out to achieve these aims. I need only refer to what happened when Iran nationalized her oil industry, or when the United Arab Republic nationalized the Suez Canal, or in connection with the latest measures in Syria.

That being so, it is not enough, as Mao Tse-tung and his group maintain, to rely on one's own forces in countering the imperialist onslaught. Under present conditions international solidarity and effective support by the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, the strongest member of the socialist camp, is of the utmost importance. And any policy that tends to deprive the national movement of this vital element cannot be in the interests of the people and the country and, consequently, cannot be considered a patriotic policy.

Similarly, a correct understanding of the dialectical connection between the concepts "national" and "international," between the internal elements of the revolutionary process and its external elements, and their logical unity, are of exceptional importance to every revolutionary movement.

Hence, if the so-called thesis of "relying on one's own forces" maintains that revolutionary action must be chiefly the cause and duty of each people and its organizations, then we can accept it. But if it denies the role and

significance of international solidarity and socialist support of national movements, then we must consider this thesis erroneous and anti-Leninist.

Those who accept that thesis or its variations are bound to deny the role of external elements in the development of revolutionary process and metaphysically absolutize the role of internal elements (which, doubtlessly, play a decisive part). To all intents and purposes, they repudiate the principle of proletarian internationalism and, in the end, land in the marsh of narrow nationalism.

In the present-day national movement in Iran, and particularly among the students, there is a definite trend, influenced by these erroneous theses and certain other factors, to discount international solidarity. The argument, a false one, is that better economic, political and cultural relations between the Iranian anti-democratic government and the socialist countries can only injure the national movement, because such relations, allegedly, help the Shah and imperialism.

What that argument overlooks is that better relations with the USSR and other socialist countries helps the anti-imperialist struggle, inasmuch as it reduces imperialism's sphere of economic and political influence. That in itself, apart from the immediate economic advantages of Iran's treaties with the USSR, should make it clear that such a policy fully corresponds to the interests of the Iranian people.

That is the type of argument—and it follows logically from the realities of the popular liberation struggle—our Party has used both to expose the reactionary slander that Communists are men without a country, and to win over true patriots misled by the ceaseless anti-Soviet propaganda of the imperialists.

It should be obvious that a correct and effective application of the basic principles of Leninism requires the unity and solidarity of the international Communist movement, and, above all, the closest alliance of the countries making up the socialist camp. And it is equally obvious that without unity of views on the international situation, without an agreed plan of action, there can be no common struggle against imperialism. And with the main anti-imperialist forces divided it could well be that, in certain situations, they would find themselves neutralized and this, should it happen, would but play into the hands of our common enemy. From this follows that disunity could cause irreparable damage to the world proletarian movement and the liberation struggle of the peoples.

Proceeding from its internationalist and patriotic obligations the Iranian People's Party has always favored and urged preparation of a new international conference of Communist and Workers' parties. This is all the more necessary in view of the continuing war in Vietnam and the aggression against the Arab states.

For us Iranian Communists close friendship with the land of the Great October Socialist Revolution and close fraternal ties with the party of Lenin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are based not only on ideological communion, they are part and parcel of our political line and, at the same time, fulfilment of our supreme patriotic duty.

The universally valid lessons of the October Revolution

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Socialist Unity Party of Germany

I.

THE 50th ANNIVERSARY of the Great October Socialist Revolution impels us not only to retrospection; it helps us to weigh the tasks ahead and to draw conclusions from the state of affairs in our time.

Revolutions, Marx said, are the locomotives of history. Lenin specified this. "Revolutions," he wrote in 1905, "are festivals of the oppressed and the exploited. At no other time are the mass of people in a position to come forward so actively as creators of a new social order as at a time of revolution."

The October Revolution reaffirms the validity of these words in our time. The winning of political power by the Russian workers and their allies under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party has been man's greatest act of liberation, bringing into existence the first truly democratic state in which policy is determined not only by a handful of exploiters, but by the will of the vast majority.

All-sided and complete emancipation, release of initiative and application of talent, this was, and remains, the basic purpose of the new, socialist system.

The October Revolution greatly accelerated development in Russia and throughout the world. It engendered new ways of existence, elevated the anti-imperialist struggle for peace, democracy and socialism to higher levels, paved the way to socialism for more nations, and struck the decisive blow that brought about the disintegration of the colonial system.

It is natural, therefore, that the anniversary of the October Revolution should be a festival

for all peoples. The founders of the new social order, notably the Communists, draw from it the strength needed to cope with their tasks.

No one is likely to dispute the fact that the October Revolution ushered in a new era. However, and for understandable reasons, bourgeois ideologists are reluctant to take full cognizance of the content of all post-October history. Yet since 1917 we have been witnessing the decline of capitalism and the rise of socialism and communism throughout the world.

The October Revolution tilted the balance of forces in favor of the working class and all progressives. The revolution was not an accident of history, it was the logical and necessary outcome of the struggle of the international revolutionary working-class movement. The *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels showed that the workers' historical mission is to abolish capitalism and replace it with proletarian dictatorship so as to provide scope for man's untrammelled and peaceful progress under socialism and communism.

The October Revolution initiated the embodiment of Marx's teaching in practice. This is to be credited chiefly to the revolutionary working class in old Russia, to the Bolshevik Party and Lenin, who continued the cause of Marx and Engels.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has performed services of great merit to the international working-class movement. In the most difficult conditions, making heavy sacrifices and enduring hardships, the Soviet Union, then the only socialist country in the world, boldly tackled and resolved the fundamental problems of socialist development. Every step

made was, in the final analysis, consistent with the interests of the international working-class movement and the peace-loving peoples.

The socialist world system, brought into being by the struggle of the peoples, is substantiating the ideas of the October Revolution at a higher level. In the German Democratic Republic as in the other socialist countries, socialism has proved its capacity for solving all the fundamental problems of social development. It has given impetus to industry and science, produced a higher code of morals and ethics, and has imparted profoundly humane content to the spiritual life of the people. True, the path to the new is never strewn with roses. Experience shows that building socialism proceeds by stages, and that the difficulties encountered cannot be overcome by "big leaps." Needed are the qualities which the revolutionary working class possesses as abundantly as the fighting spirit that distinguishes it at the time of winning power. Patient and persevering, its approach to theoretical and organizational matters is a creative one; it has the ability to perceive what is new, to analyze it and put it into practice, and a readiness to win allies by persuasion.

The achievements of the CPSU and of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties in extremely difficult national and international conditions refute the opportunist and anti-Communist prattle about the "failings of the socialist system"; they refute also the contention that the socialism of today is not the socialism that Marx and Engels had in mind. Yet the road from Marx and Engels, who envisaged an association "in which the free development of each conditions the free development of all," leads directly to the October Revolution and on to the socialist world system and the world Communist movement.

II.

The October Revolution injected vitality, a new and deeper content, into proletarian internationalism. The relationship between the first worker-peasant state and the world revolutionary movement became a cardinal issue. And since, as Lenin explained, the revolution was undertaken in behalf of international solidarity, the prime duty of each national contingent of the working class was to uphold the young Soviet state.

Today, the Communist parties bear the historical responsibility not only for the future of their country, but in equal degree for the future of the world revolution and socialism. Our successes will be all the greater, the more closely we are united.

The international situation shows that while imperialism has not gained in strength, it has certainly grown more aggressive. It has precipitated sanguinary wars in Southeast Asia and in the Middle East, and has produced a dangerous seedbed of war in West Germany. Combining brute force with refined flexible methods, the imperialists have set out to tip the scales in their own favor. This accentuates the duty of every Communist Party consistently and actively to cement the worldwide front of the Communist movement and the democratic and anti-imperialist forces.

In keeping with proletarian internationalism and the spirit of the October Revolution, our Socialist Unity Party sees its duty in strengthening the socialist world system—the mainstay of revolution in our epoch—in promoting the unity and solidarity of the Communist and Workers' parties. Our Party is doing its best to overcome the present differences. In the interest of joint struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, it has lined up with all peoples fighting for national and social freedom. It supports the peoples of Vietnam and of the Arab East, the victims of imperialist aggression. Within the socialist community, it is working for the greatest possible co-operation and, particularly, for the optimum coordination of efforts in resolving the problems posed by the scientific and technological revolution.

Proletarian internationalism, which conforms also with our national interest, is epitomized by our close bonds with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the party of the October Revolution. Over the past fifty years it has been the tradition of the German revolutionary workers' movement to measure fidelity to proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism by fidelity to the Soviet Union.

Acting on this tradition, the Program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany says: "The attitude towards the Soviet Union, the center of the international working-class movement and the bulwark of Marxism-Leninism and peace, remains today the touchstone of the policy of the Communist and Workers' parties and the socialist states. The right attitude to the Soviet Union is decisive for success in the fight against revisionism, sectarianism and nationalism, and guarantees the purity of the humanistic revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism of the unity and solidarity of the socialist world system and the international working-class movement."

Celebrating the October Revolution is not enough. One must prove by deeds one's loyalty to the Soviet Union, which is the vanguard of the peoples on the road to socialism and

communism. Anti-sovietism and internationalism are incompatible. There cannot be any such things as an anti-Soviet communism. Communists stand firmly by the Soviet Union in all circumstances. He who opposes the Soviet Union is opposing all of us—the community of socialist countries, the solidarity of the Communist and Workers' parties and anti-imperialist unity.

The close bonds of the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union, like those of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, rest on the objective foundation of a common socio-economic system, identical ideology, identical class and national interests, and identical aims.

The fight against imperialism, the common enemy, for common revolutionary ideals has over the past fifty years fused the German revolutionary workers' movement with the peoples of the Soviet Union.

III.

The attitude to the Soviet state has been a focal issue of German policy throughout the past fifty years. In Germany no event of any importance has escaped the influence of the October Revolution which had a profound and direct impact on the class struggle. It stiffened the workers' will for peace and showed them how to end the imperialist war by revolutionary means. Struggle between socialism and imperialism was the order of the day. Germany became the weakest link in the imperialist chain. The November revolution in 1918 was, after the October Revolution, the greatest revolutionary anti-imperialist movement in a big imperialist state. The tempo of the revolutionary reconstruction of the world depended then to a decisive extent on the outcome of the class battle in Germany. "The same thing that brought about the downfall of German imperialism, and the revolution in Germany," Lenin write, "is with every passing day and hour bringing the revolution closer in France, Britain and other countries."

World imperialism, too, realized what it was up against. Its interest lay in salvaging German imperialism and preventing democracy and socialism from winning at least in the principal European countries. The German imperialists and militarists, notoriously ruthless and brutal, were considered by international reaction as the best suited shock-force against social progress. The German workers and their allies had to contend, therefore, not only with the frantic resistance of the ruling class, but also with imperialist world reaction. European peace and security depended in great measure on the outcome of the class

struggle in Germany. The German imperialists were no more prepared to respect the situation produced by the October Revolution than they are today prepared to recognize the results of the Second World War. This was borne out by the predatory Brest-Litovsk peace of 1918, by the basic orientation of the Weimar Republic's policy and, most tragically, by Hitler's criminal attack on the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941.

On the other hand, the German working class could not carry out its historical mission unless the socialist gains were safeguarded in the land of Soviets and a firm alliance established between the majority of the nation and the USSR.

The October Revolution and the revolutionary battles in Germany impressed on the vanguard of the working class the need for a militant revolutionary Marxist party.

From the day it was founded, the German Communist Party ranged itself unconditionally alongside the Soviet state. The *Hands Off Russia* movement organized by the Party and other Left forces compelled the German government to make concessions. It exerted a strong influence on the democratic intelligentsia and the bourgeoisie. The Party threw the weight of its support behind the realistic bourgeois politicians who, for a time, enjoyed a certain amount of influence in the government and promoted the Rapallo policy. At the same time it fought against the pernicious anti-Soviet orientation of the ruling classes implicit in the Dawes Plan and in the Locarno agreements. When, in 1927, the threat of an armed attack on the Soviet Union loomed large, mass demonstrations and meetings in support of the Soviet Union compelled the government to maneuver.

There were far-sighted people among all classes and social groups in the Weimar Republic who, though not always consistently enough, appreciated the implications of the October Revolution and the existence of the Soviet state as a powerful factor for peace and social progress. German reaction, on the other hand, its mind set on preparing for new wars of conquest, pursued an anti-Soviet policy abroad and a policy of terror and destruction of democracy at home. Anti-Soviet propaganda and anti-communism became its main ideological weapons. The German people paid dearly for succumbing to the evil influence of the imperialists who in their anti-Communism found assiduous helpers among Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders.

The class struggle reached its zenith when the fascist dictatorship came to power. The best of the German workers, notably the Communists, and other anti-fascists stood firmly

by their principles during the nazi nightmare, and their fight in defense of the Soviet Union, for German-Soviet friendship, acquired all the more depth in the face of the nazi preparations for an attack against the USSR. In February 1933, Ernst Thaelmann warned that war against the Soviet Union was the guideline of Hitler's foreign policy. A Party conference held in Brussels called for peace, cooperation and agreement with the Soviet Union.

During the Second World War, German anti-fascists fought with the Soviet people against the Hitler armies in defense of the USSR, the homeland of all workers. At the risk of their lives they went to the soldiers of the Wehrmacht to tell them that the war was criminal and senseless. But despite the heroic stand of the German anti-fascists, the nation could not win freedom by itself. It owes its deliverance from fascism above all to the heroic Soviet people and to their army.

It was in this black hour of Germany's torment and shame that her best sons and daughters directed the country along a new road. The prewar Party conference in Brussels and Berne oriented the nation on destroying the rule of German imperialism and militarism, on an anti-fascist democratic revolution and the establishment of a peace-loving German state. The Free Germany Committee founded on the initiative of the German Communists in 1943 pursued this policy faithfully. Entirely new, fraternal relations with the Soviet Union were its main foreign policy aim.

The beginning of a decisive turn came in 1945. The defeat of fascism, brought about by the Soviet Union, radically altered the balance of forces in the world. A deep-going revolutionary change was wrought in the countries of East and Southeast Europe and in part of Germany. The objective laws of the modern era ushered in by the October Revolution came into effect at last on German soil. A part of the nation built its own state, the German Democratic Republic. This was the biggest setback for German imperialism and militarism after the debacle of the Second World War. Its rule was considerably curtailed and its road to recovery blocked for all time.

The departure of part of the German people from the imperialist camp and their entry into the socialist world, coupled with the victory of socialism in other countries, worked a radical change in the balance of forces in Europe.

Socialism, which the imperialist bourgeoisie pictured as chaos and a roadblock to progress, became a powerful factor for order in European affairs. Favorable conditions appear-

ed for frustrating imperialist aggression and safeguarding European peace through unity.

IV.

The imperialists, who dread the October Revolution and its power of example, have throughout these fifty years endeavored to portray it as a purely Russian development. Yet it was never historically or territorially limited. The past fifty years of the German labor movement have demonstrated that the basic features, fundamental lessons and experiences of the October Revolution are *universally valid*. By no means, however, does this detract from the duty of every Communist Party to contribute to their further development.

While the imperialist ideologists try to mislead the masses by declaring as outdated the *teaching on social classes and class struggle*, the October Revolution and subsequent events have proved that class struggle is a powerful vehicle of development. Polarization of class forces is under way all over the world. Those who range themselves behind the working class are making the right choice. Vacillation causes losses and defeats. The *teaching on political power and on the state*, which the Marxist classics regard as the *basic question* of every revolution, is confirmed by past experience. In their varied history the German workers have accumulated both good and bad experience on this score. The uncertainty and irresolution displayed in the matter of political power took their toll. Today, we in the German Democratic Republic hold power with a firm hand. The manifesto of our Seventh Party Congress says: "*In the fiftieth year since the Great October Socialist Revolution we Germans, too, stand resolutely and irrevocably on the socialist road, hand in hand with our brothers in Lenin's country.*"

The Marxist-Leninist *teaching on the party and working-class unity* has likewise been confirmed. The role of the revolutionary party has not diminished. On the contrary, it has become greater. Lenin never countenanced any belittling of the role of the Party. In 1905, for example, he censured those who, as he put it, "disparage the materialist conception of history by ignoring the active, leading, and guiding part which can and must be played in history by parties that have realized the material prerequisites of a revolution and have placed themselves at the head of the progressive classes." (*Collected Works*, Eng. Ed., Vol. 9, p. 9.)

By founding the Socialist Unity Party we have healed the split in the German working-class movement in one part of the country.

A new type of party was built step by step by combining Lenin's party teaching with the experience of the German revolutionary workers' movement. Overcoming the split paved the way for the victory of the anti-fascist democratic revolution, and the development of the SUPG as a party of the new type proved to be the decisive condition for the transition to the socialist revolution. On the other hand, the split in the working class engineered by the imperialist occupation powers and the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders facilitated the rebirth of imperialism in West Germany.

Lenin's theory of *democratic and socialist revolution*, of *rallying the masses in the fight for power*, of *leading them up to proletarian dictatorship* and of *the development and strengthening of socialist democracy*, which is another universally valid lesson of the October Revolution, is confirmed by the experience of our country too.

The November Revolution of 1918 showed that working-class power could not be established at one leap in a country of state-monopoly capitalism, such as Germany then was. For this reason, Lenin's theory of the two stages of revolution had a particularly strong bearing on Germany. It was the point of departure in our strategy and tactics as we first created an anti-fascist democratic system and then passed on to the socialist revolution. Determined struggle for democracy paved the way for working-class power and proved, at once, that it is part of the fight for socialism. Long before the October Revolution, Lenin wrote: "The proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains, but with the aid of democracy it has to the whole world to win." (*Collected Works*, Eng. Ed., Vol. 9. p. 51.)

Lenin's theory and the experience of the October Revolution concerning the workers' *policy of alliances* were put into practice and taken a step further in the German Democratic Republic at all stages of the revolutionary changeover. The workers' alliance with the peasants, the middle classes and the democratic-minded non-monopoly bourgeoisie drew broad sections of the people into the anti-imperialist struggle. Taking the material form of a multi-party system, it became the political basis of worker-peasant power in the German Democratic Republic. Entailing no essential realignment of class forces, it continued to develop in both stages of the revolution and facilitated the enlistment of all strata in the building of socialism.

V.

Concrete application in Germany of the universal and basic guidelines of the October

Revolution enabled the people of the GDR to complete the transition from capitalism to socialism under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party in a matter of twenty years. The working class and the democratic forces have thus, for the first time in German history, scored final victory.

At its Seventh Congress, the Party set the strategic task of building a developed socialist system in the GDR.

Building socialism was defined by Lenin as the principal task after the working class wins political power in order to exert an influence on world development. In this context, we regard completion of socialist construction in the GDR and the utmost development of our economic potential as a task of the first magnitude.

The Party and the citizens of the GDR believe that cooperation with the other socialist countries is of vital importance for us. It helps our fight against West German imperialism. It helps to settle once and for all the national question, and to ensure lasting European security. It is, moreover, a decisive external factor furthering the mission of the working class throughout Germany and accentuating the influence of the October Revolution in the second half of our century.

By claiming exclusive representation for Germany the West German imperialists want to perpetuate their existence not only in the present curtailed sphere, but to erase all the results of historical development since the October Revolution. For a start they want to abolish the German Democratic Republic and then, in the second phase, to take action against the other socialist countries.

In his book, *A Project for Europe*, Herr Strauss lifted the curtain on the aims of the "new" Eastern policy. German imperialism wants an imperialist Europe. Therefore, the fight against exclusive representation is a fight not only of the German workers and the GDR, but equally a fight for the vital interests of all European nations.

What the anti-Communists and Adenauer could not accomplish with their policy "from strength" is now being tackled by round-about "bridge-building." But both concepts, the old and the new, are unrealistic, revealing the inability of the German imperialists to think in terms of historical reality. Their new plans like the old ones, are doomed to failure. Unity of the powerful forces embodying socialism and peace is, increasingly, the determining factor of our time. This is borne out by the recent treaties between various socialist countries and, notably, by the conference of 24 European Communist and Workers' parties at Karlovy Vary.

We are pleased to note in this jubilee year that the relationship between the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union is a model of the qualitatively new international relations implicit in socialism. These relations have taken deep root in the thinking of the peoples of the two countries, with complete unity of thinking on all the basic issues. These fundamentally new relations of our two states are epitomized by the treaty of friendship, mutual aid and cooperation concluded by the GDR and USSR on June 12, 1964. Three years after its signing, the rich fruits of cooperation are in evidence in all spheres of social life.

The people of the GDR also cherish their brotherly relations with the other socialist countries, elevated to a higher, qualitatively new plane by similar treaties. The German Democratic Republic and the other Warsaw Treaty countries stand united for their common class interests against the West German revenge-seekers and on other issues.

Our relationship is designed to ensure effective retaliation against the expansionist ambitions of West German imperialism. We are stepping up our common effort in the military field to safeguard peace in Europe. But this is only one side of the matter. The other side is that the fraternal nations are moulding their relationship into a productive force in order to turn the scientific and technical revolution to the best account. The principles of peace, constructive labor and mutual advantage formulated by Marx and promoted by the October

Revolution are taking material shape in the socialist world system.

Their development, including effective interstate economic relations based on mutual benefit, is highly important for increasing the influence the socialist community exerts on the historical destinies of Europe and the rest of the world.

The Socialist Unity Party welcomed the statement of the Karlovy Vary conference as a step forward in the fight for united action and as an event worthy of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. The conference charted a comprehensive program for safeguarding peace and European security. Besides, the Party and the people in the GDR were happy to note that the Karlovy Vary conference and the Seventh Congress of the SUPG expressed identical views on the historical mission of the German worker-peasant state in the fight for peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The seeds of socialism have sprouted in our worker-peasant state. Acting on the decisions of the Seventh Congress, we are seeing to it in this 50th year of the October Revolution that the world of tomorrow should become reality in our socialist state. We consider the building of a developed socialist society initiated by the Congress as our principal contribution to the further strengthening of the socialist community and our principal duty in adding to the influence of socialism in the world.

The October Revolution and Hungary's road to socialism

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HUNGARY IS ONE OF the countries in which the Great October Socialist Revolution evoked a powerful response. Under its impact a new stage began in the Hungarian working-class movement, that of its ideological and political evolution towards revolution. This led to the formation of the Communist Party in November 1918, the rapid growth of the revolutionary forces, the first Hungarian proletarian revolution and the establishment of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in March 1919.

I shall dwell here only on some aspects of the struggle waged by the working class to achieve the first socialist revolution in the country.

The Hapsburg monarchy, which had plunged the peoples of Austro-Hungary into the vortex of the First World War, was overthrown by the revolution in October 1918. On October 30, an armed uprising began in Budapest, led by the revolutionary Socialists. On the following day a general political strike swept the country. The monarchy toppled in Hungary as well.

The immediate task facing the revolutionary forces of the proletariat was how to give the revolution further impetus, how to oust from power as quickly as possible the liberal bourgeoisie who had replaced the monarchy and who sought, in coalition with the Social Democratic Party, to preserve and consolidate the capitalist system. The ideas of the socialist republic of Soviets had by that time made a deep imprint on the minds of the Hungarian workers.

Of inestimable political assistance to the revolutionary forces was the message of greeting sent by Lenin, Sverdlov and Kamenev at

the beginning of 1918. In it they expressed the conviction that the masses who had overthrown the Hapsburgs would put an end to exploitation by the landlords, bankers and capitalists, that the Hungarian government would be a government of workers, peasants and soldiers. Similar messages of greeting calling for international solidarity were addressed to the working people of the other countries that had abolished the monarchy. "We are firmly convinced," the text read, "that when the German, Czech, Croat, Hungarian and Slovene workers, soldiers and peasants take power into their own hands and carry through national liberation, they will form a fraternal alliance of free nations and with their combined forces vanquish the capitalists." The authors of the message called upon the peoples to set up their own Soviet republics, to enter into an alliance with each other and with Soviet Russia.

One of the main arguments of the Right and Center leaders of the Social Democratic Party against establishing Soviet rule was that the Entente powers would not tolerate it. This pro-Entente attitude was tantamount to support for their own ruling classes. However, the message from Moscow showed every sincere follower of socialism that intervention by the Entente could be stopped once the peoples of the Danube basin joined forces and entered into an alliance with Soviet Russia. It also spurred on the struggle of the socialist forces against bourgeois nationalism with the help of which the ruling classes wanted to crush the struggle of the working class for power and to prevent the peoples rallying under the banner of socialism.

The Budapest "people's government" tried to conceal the Moscow telegram, but the revolutionary Socialists learned about it and in a special leaflet exposed the government's subterfuge.

The revolutionary message from Moscow, and the fact that the leaders of the Social Democratic Party cynically helped to conceal it accelerated the decision of the revolutionary Socialists to form a new party, the Communist Party.

The Party focussed the attention of the workers and peasants on the immediate tasks of the revolution, which were a) establishment of a *Soviet Republic* with the dictatorship of the proletariat; expropriation of the capitalists and big landowners and the establishment of a socialist system of production, b) *alliance with Soviet Russia*.

In the course of the struggle waged under the leadership of the Communist Party, Soviets of workers and soldiers sprang up throughout the country. The factory councils gained in stature. They introduced *workers' control* and in some places began to take over the factories.

The government and the Social Democratic leaders tried to replace the factory councils by parity factory committees whose functions would be confined to settling wage conflicts. These committees were designed, essentially, to preserve the capitalist mode of production. However, the attempts to abolish the factory councils and workers' control failed just as did the attempts to stop the seizure of the enterprises, an action which the reformist leaders described as "wild socialization."

The government tried to dissolve the soldiers' Soviets and to consolidate the commanding position of the monarchist officer corps, but here again it met with failure. Both in the fight to strengthen the factory councils and to repel the attacks against the soldiers' Soviets, the Communists and the Left Social Democrats acted together. More and more Social Democrats urged cooperation with the Communists.

On February 20, 1919, the government started a ruthless onslaught against the Communist Party. Most of its leaders were arrested. In the campaign that followed for their liberation the Communists and Social Democrats closed their ranks.

Meanwhile the peasants were taking possession of the land. Upon seizing the estates, they formed producers' cooperatives, leaving the question of land distribution to be settled later. The workers' Soviets intensified their control over the regional administrative bodies and in some regions took over complete administrative authority.

In the liberal and Social Democratic coali-

tion disillusionment set in, and the counter-revolutionary forces hastened to take advantage of this. However, the working class remained solid, and the village poor followed suit.

Influenced by the sharp class struggle and by the work of the Communist Party, support for the Soviets and for proletarian dictatorship began to gain ground in the Social Democratic Party. The supporters of unity with the Communists were in the majority. Early in March the leaders of the Social Democratic Left sought unification of the two parties. The reformist leaders were isolated; the Centrists were thrown into political confusion.

The liberal and Social Democratic coalition government steadily lost mass support, and a government crisis ensued.

On March 21, 1919, the working class seized power. Following the historic example of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the proletariat proclaimed the Hungarian Soviet Republic — the first working-class state in the Danube basin.

The socialist revolution in Hungary was a non-violent revolution. The Social Democratic Party, in which the Left predominated and which had won over the Centrists, accepted the revolutionary principles of the Communists and united with them. The exploiters were incapable of offering any effective resistance.

Although in the minority in the leading bodies of the Soviet Republic, the Communists together with those representatives of the Social Democratic Party who wholeheartedly supported the Soviet Republic, had a firm majority. The criterion was no longer former membership in the Communist Party or Social Democratic Party, but fidelity to the proletarian dictatorship and to the Soviet Republic, on the one hand, and capitulation to the Entente, on the other.

The Hungarian Soviet Republic lasted 133 days. It is impossible within the limits of this paper to give a complete picture of the initiative displayed and of work done by proletarian rule to reconstruct society, of the successes and shortcomings in this work, of the revolutionary war which the new Soviet Republic had to wage against the numerically superior forces of the Entente. The more difficult the situation became for the proletarian rule, the more active became the capitulators with the backing of the Entente's emissaries. The latter extended every aid to the Whiteguard organizations and the centrist-reformist bloc which, behind democratic slogans, opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This subversive activity enabled the superior forces of the Entente to overthrow the

proletarian regime. The Hungarian workers have not forgotten this, just as they have not forgotten that the united front of Communists and Social Democrats played a decisive role in the victory of the socialist revolution, that a large number of Social Democrats sided with the revolution even after the overthrow of the proletarian power. Not all who returned to the Social Democratic fold after the counter-revolution joined the "repentants" who heaped abuse on the Hungarian Soviet Republic and the Communists. Together with the Communists they kept the memory of the great revolutionary battles unsullied and fought side by side with them against the dark forces of the counter-revolution and fascism.

The path of our Party in the quarter century of counter-revolutionary rule was an extremely arduous one. Still, we fought many big actions not to mention those of lesser import. Thus, the Party led the demonstration of 150,000 workers in Budapest on September 1, 1930, calling for bread and work, and for the overthrow of the fascist regime. It headed the mass demonstration on March 15, 1942, calling for the withdrawal from the war, the breaking off of relations with Hitler Germany and the establishment of an independent democratic Hungary. In May 1944 on the initiative of the Party a National Front was formed—the anti-Hitler alliance of the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, the liberal Smallholders' Party and the Democratic National Peasant Party. Later this alliance constituted the new post-liberation government.

Solidarity with the Soviet Union was the underlying principle of the Party's work. We drew inspiration from the first workers' and peasants' state, the pioneer in building the new society and the mortal foe of world reaction. We took pride in the successes of the Soviet people. Solidarity with the Soviet Union was a valuable moral weapon of the revolutionary forces, which no amount of anti-Soviet propaganda could wrest from our hands.

The propaganda went hand in hand with the campaigns conducted by the bourgeoisie against the Communist parties in the different countries. Our enemies alleged that the policy of the Comintern was determined by the political interests of the Soviet Union and on this basis claimed that Communist parties were "subordinate to Moscow."

The Comintern saw its main task in helping the parties to build up the revolutionary forces in their countries, to fight for the working people and, naturally, to prepare the working class for revolution. For the fraternal parties, too, struggle for the interests of their people was the main task. The Communist parties

acted in solidarity with the Soviet Union not on instructions from the Comintern, but because of their revolutionary convictions, their profound respect for the Soviet Union, and because they knew that such support coincided with the basic interests of their own working class.

It is no secret that the Stalin cult and other personality cults and the grave distortions which came in their wake, greatly harmed the Communist movement, hampering the advance of socialism. We had to pay a heavy price for this. However, nothing could distort the historical significance of the vast creative work accomplished by the Soviet people under the leadership of the CPSU during the five-year plan periods, the heroism and all-out effort displayed by the Soviet people in the titanic battles of the Second World War, the historic role played by the Soviet Union in the rise of the socialist world system.

When speaking of Hungary's revolutionary experience mention should be made of some lessons of the struggle waged during the war. When Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union and the Horthy government involved Hungary in the anti-Soviet crusade the Party was faced with a difficult task: it had to oppose the predatory war, to fight for the interests of the Hungarian people, which coincided with those of the Soviet people.

The Horthy government staked its all on the war. In the event of a Hitler victory, it hoped to secure for itself a favorable position in the "new Europe." What it wanted most of all, however, was a compromise between Hitler and the Anglo-Saxons, a compromise advantageous to the revanchist block. Horthy and his men felt sure that in the event of Germany's defeat the Anglo-Saxon powers would not reproach Hungary for having taken part in the anti-Soviet war, and would save their system. The Anglo-Saxon representatives had shown "understanding" of Horthy's war policy.

The bourgeois opposition elements, fearing German imperialism, adopted a wait-and-see attitude. They like so many others in top circles in England and the United States, relied on Germany and the Soviet Union exhausting each other, on an Anglo-Saxon victory. And representatives of this camp, showing an "understanding" of the government's "difficult position" owing to its alliance with Hitler Germany and involvement in the anti-Soviet war, concentrated on urging the government to contact as soon as possible the Anglo-Saxon powers.

After Hungary entered the war, this wait-and-see policy was characteristic also of the Social Democratic leaders.

When the Horthy government saw that the fascist coalition had no chance of winning the war, it began to plan how to extricate itself from the alliance with Hitler. It hoped, however, that together with the German troops it would be able to hold the Red Army in the Carpathians until the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons, who for their part were waiting for Hungary to withdraw from the war. Meanwhile the Hitler General Staff decided to occupy Hungary, which they did in March 1944. The Horthy government capitulated completely, it pledged to meet all Germany's demands, to send more Hungarian soldiers to the front, and more Hungarian goods to Germany.

It was in this critical period (May 1944) that the National Front was formed on the proposal of the Party. Although different views existed among the parties in the Front regarding the nature of the new democratic system to be established, all were agreed that the country could be saved not by waiting for the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons but by securing an armistice with the anti-Hitler coalition, by joining forces with the Allies.

The Right-wing Social Democrats had to step aside. The leadership in the SPD passed into the hands of the supporters of an alliance with the Communists. This facilitated closer cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats, accelerated the establishment of the National Front. Communists and Social Democrats jointly organized the sabotage of war production. The Communists also organized armed resistance groups but at that time the SDP leaders and also the bourgeois members of the Front chose not to participate. However, they helped to organize a peasant movement against requisitioning agricultural products, to conceal people persecuted for their political convictions and also deserters whose numbers were steadily mounting.

In December 1944 a new provisional government was formed. It included three generals of the old armed forces. One of them was the commander of the 1st Hungarian Army stationed in the Carpathians who, after October 15, went over to the Red Army with a group of officers and called upon the Hungarian soldiers and officers to turn their guns against the Germans. He became Prime Minister of the new government.

In the liberated territory the Front—under the name of the National Independence Front—functioned as an ally of the parties cooperating to restore normal life. The Communist Party published a program of democratic national reconstruction which was accepted by its partners.

The main point of the reconstruction was expropriation of the big landed estates and

distribution of the land among the peasants. This amounted to an anti-feudal agrarian revolution.

The program also contained points restricting the power of big capital. It provided for state control over the cartels and the big banks, nationalization of the mines and oil deposits (a large number of the mines and most of the oil resources belonged to British and American capital), transfer of the power stations to the state or to municipalities. The next step was to chart the trend of planned changes: whether they would be of a purely state-capitalist nature or socialist changes.

The anti-fascist coalition embodied a national front of the working class, peasantry, intellectuals, urban petty bourgeoisie, and those of the bourgeoisie who had turned against the Nazis. The Left in the coalition represented the working class, poor peasantry and partly the urban petty bourgeoisie; the Right—the bourgeoisie, big farmers and the petty bourgeoisie harnessed to their political chariot.

As the country was liberated its revolutionary forces grew in numbers. Their confidence and readiness for action were fortified by the knowledge that the Red Army, the army of the revolution, had come to their assistance. The degree of organization and influence achieved by them made it clear that the new political power in Hungary could not be established without them. But they were not strong enough as yet to dispense with the broad national unity embracing big farmers and some of the bourgeoisie. It was only in the subsequent struggle when the masses had become politically more mature that they realized the need to part ways with all who hindered them from achieving their objectives, who obstructed the country's advance.

The Right in the coalition advocated an Anglo-Saxon orientation. They hoped that after the war the Western powers would render them the aid they had vainly expected in 1943-44. They would work with the Communists only until they received the corresponding support from the Anglo-Saxons that would enable them to break with the revolutionary forces. They proceeded from the assumption that Hungary would be restored primarily with the help of foreign capital and under its control. This explains why they did not advance a program of their own and pretended to accept the one proposed by the Communists, for they did not think it advisable openly to oppose a program which had engendered such great hopes among the people. But they tried to sabotage its implementation from the very outset. The reactionaries were simply waiting for the international

situation to change in their favor to oust, with the help of the Western powers, the working class from power and fortify the capitalist system.

In the autumn of 1944 it was still not clear whether the Red Army would advance from the Carpathians to Vienna faster than the Anglo-Saxons from Rome to Milan. But that is exactly what happened. Churchill's plan to outpace the Red Army and be the first to reach Vienna fell through. Our fellow historians in Yugoslavia would most probably be able to show that this circumstance partly accounts for the fact that the Western powers did not attempt to do in Yugoslavia what they did in Greece, namely, impose on its people through armed intervention the rule of the monarchists brought back from emigration.

During the military operations in Hungary a new democratic power took shape, of which the working class was one of the architects. The balance in the coalition shifted in favor of the working class, particularly after the liberation of Budapest and its suburbs where the main forces of the working class are concentrated. Right after the capital's liberation the Communist Party urged immediate implementation of the agrarian reform. It called on the poor peasants to set up rural committees, confiscate the estates and distribute the land among the landless and poor peasants. The right in the coalition opposed this demand, tried to delay implementation of the agrarian reform and, of course, to have it put into effect in a quite different way. But they had to retreat.

By the spring of 1945, as the war in Europe drew to a close, the anti-feudal agrarian revolution had been carried out in Hungary.

Shortly after—with the ending of the war in the Far East—the fight for political power began. Japan had capitulated and the Western powers were no longer interested in an alliance with the USSR. Hungarian reactionaries reckoned that now they would not have to wait long before the Anglo-Saxons came to their aid, that with the Americans having the monopoly on the atom bomb, and having scared the world with Hiroshima, they could compel the Soviet Union to abandon the peoples it had liberated and thus clear the way for intervention by the West.

Having lost their gamble, the big landowners donned the garb of "smallholders" and brazenly demanded in late 1945 the return by law of their land that had been allotted to the peasants.

The democratic system was in danger. However, the united front of the working class which had consolidated its alliance with

the peasant masses, including the democratic section under the influence of the Smallholders' Party, repelled this onslaught. The revolutionary forces launched a counter-offensive which this time was aimed at destroying the power of big capital, at removing it from the commanding political and economic positions.

This took place in conditions when the working class, now participating in the administration of the country, had become the leading class. Using its positions in the machinery of state—and also through the factory committees guided by the trade unions—it exercised control over production and, strengthening its alliance with the peoples, ousted the bourgeoisie from power.

The first to be dropped from the government were the generals of the old armed forces, later — the Right-wing of the Smallholders' Party. In 1946 the mines were nationalized and the management of the country's five leading iron-and-steel and machine-building plants were transferred to the state. In November 1947 the banks were nationalized and in May 1948 all factories employing more than 100 workers and all the more important smaller enterprises.

As a result the socialist revolution triumphed for the second time the peaceful way.

The question is sometimes asked: just where is the border line between the democratic and socialist stages of our development, between the democratic and socialist revolution?

In Hungary there was no such border line for the democratic revolution gradually evolved into the socialist revolution. No fixed date was set for the transition; it was not the result of a single act but of a process lasting several years—from the agrarian revolution in the spring of 1945 to the nationalization in the spring of 1948.

As the socialist world system took shape Hungary again became a socialist country, establishing fraternal ties with the other socialist countries. Lenin's counsel contained in the message of greeting sent in November 1918, his call to the peoples of Austria-Hungary to create a socialist system and to unite became a reality in the Danube basin. We united with each other and with the land of the Great October Socialist Revolution, whose Army liberated our country.

Moving along this path Hungary is advancing toward the complete construction of socialism, towards fully realizing the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution, ideas that are transforming the world.

The respect which our Party has for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union played

a paramount role in the struggle of the revolutionary forces of the Hungarian working class. The Hungarian Workers' Socialist Party, true to the revolutionary traditions of the working class, stands side by side with the CPSU as its comrade-in-arms and together with it salutes the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution.

This grand celebration of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and the international working class will, we are confident, be a stimulus to cementing the world Communist movement, will become the source of new strength in the common struggle against imperialism.

The October Revolution and the struggle for power

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THE GENERATION that has grown up in the half century since the October Revolution is all too often prone to regard the past in terms of today, in the light of its own experience. But the significance of October 1917 can be appreciated only if measured against the conditions that prevailed at the time. More, the present battles and problems can be correctly understood only by analyzing the general trend of development, the changes that have taken place over these years and their root causes.

The international implications of the October Revolution and its impact on other countries should be seen in the context of its struggle for peace, abolition of the landed estates and transfer of the land to the peasants, abolition of all national oppression and the establishment of national equality, the winning of power by the working class in alliance with the peasant masses.

The October Revolution was the first successful attempt to make socialism a living reality. Before it the movement had only a very general notion of what the socialist system should be like. Everything that went beyond certain fundamental principles remained, quite naturally, merely a hypothesis, a vision of the future. And these fundamental principles, formulated by Marx and Engels,

are essential to any system claiming to be socialist or communist, and can be concretized only through practice. They retain all their validity in our day, too, because they set out the central features of socialism—socialization of the means of production as the starting point of a powerful, steady and balanced rise in productivity assuring a standard of living commensurate with the level of social development; elimination, for all time, of exploitation; obliteration of class divisions; the banishment of war from the life of society; gradual refashioning of man's outlook as the new social relationships take root.

These, the central features of socialist society are not introduced stage by stage, for they are closely intertwined and cannot be mechanically separated. But that does not mean that all of them can be realized in full simultaneously. For a long time society has to concentrate on reconstructing its material base—socialization of production, higher productivity, etc. The full change-over takes many years, but meanwhile the operation of the other socialist principles begins to make itself felt and this implies struggle for their implementation, though the material base has still to be completed.

At the time of the February and October revolution, we recall that apart from Lenin

and the Bolsheviks no one, neither in Russia nor in any other country, believed that socialism would be victorious in Russia.

Otto Bauer, a leading exponent of Austrian Marxism, wrote in 1918 in his book *The Struggle*: "It was inevitable that, after its successes in March, May and October, the Russian proletariat should have been so conscious of its strength. Armed, and knowing that the army was on its side, it sought to break the rule of capital and introduce socialism. This vast undertaking was launched under Bolshevik leadership and, inevitable though it was, it is doomed to failure."

The "undertaking" did not fail, though it entailed much sacrifice and hard struggle. The "simple" path to socialism which the reformist Social Democrats of Europe offered in 1918-19, was not socialist. For even where the reformists have been in power for decades—Scandinavia is one example—they have not replaced capitalism by socialism. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, that was successfully accomplished. And Otto Bauer, who in 1918 was so sure that the "vast undertaking" would fail, had the courage to acknowledge his error and face the facts. Unlike some of his followers who argued that socialism had ceased to be socialism and that capitalism was no longer capitalism, he wrote: "Marxism must make the success of socialism in the Soviet Union the basic tenet of its historical conception and popularize it among the working class, for it is the cardinal fact of postwar history."

The October Revolution, the defeat of the imperialist intervention and the counter-revolution, and successful socialist construction naturally posed the question (which is still topical): Can the Soviet Union's experience in revolution and socialism be applied to other countries?

It would be wrong to think (and Communists are partly responsible for the wrong thinking) that Lenin favored a mechanical application of Soviet experience. Indeed, he repeatedly warned against this, emphasizing that the path of socialist revolution can be charted only by analyzing the situation in each country and carefully weighing all the pros and cons. But he also stressed that certain time-tested elements of Soviet experience are universally applicable. He wrote in *Left-Wing Communism*: "Taking international significance to mean the international validity or the historical inevitability of a repetition, on an international scale, of what has taken place in our country, it must be admitted that certain fundamental features of our revolution do possess that significance."

"It would, of course, be grossly erroneous

to exaggerate this truth and to extend it beyond certain fundamental features of our revolution."*

And elsewhere he pointed to the importance of seeking out "that which is nationally specific and nationally distinctive, in the concrete manner in which each country should tackle a single international task".**

In their defense of the capitalist system, the right-wing Social Democrats were prepared to make a "concession" with respect to the October Revolution, saying that it was a necessary and good thing for Russia. Renner went further, declaring, in his polemic with Otto Bauer, that "despite everything, as a Social Democrat, for many weeks prior to the climax (October Revolution—F. F.), I had the feeling that if I were in Russia I would probably be on the Bolshevik side." The implication is clear enough: the Bolsheviks were right in Russia and the Social Democrats right in Austria; or, in other words, the West had nothing to learn, and nothing to borrow, from the October Revolution. In bourgeois democracies, the argument ran, the reformist path, the transmutation of capitalism into socialism, was bound to succeed.

And from this it was deduced that the crisis of capitalism should not be used to overthrow capitalist rule, for that would only aggravate the chaos. On the contrary, the job was to help rebuild the ruined economy as the prelude to a gradual conversion to socialism.

The struggle in Russia fully indicated the Marxist proposition that the bourgeoisie would employ every conceivable method, including the most brutal, to prevent expropriation of the means of production. Lenin ridiculed attempts to socialize production in partnership with the bourgeoisie, and history has shown that he was right. In 1919 a parliamentary Commission on Socialization was set up in Austria under the chairmanship of Seipel, a reactionary bourgeois leader, with Otto Bauer as vice-chairman. All it achieved was to sow illusions among the workers and give the bourgeoisie more time.

In those days Lenin wrote, in his *"Democracy" and Dictatorship*: "... the proletariat alone is capable of defeating the bourgeoisie, of overthrowing them, because it is the sole class which capitalism has united and 'school-ed', and which is capable of drawing to its side the wavering mass of the working population with a petty-bourgeois way of life, of drawing them to its side or at least 'neutralizing' them. Because only mealy-mouthed petty bourgeois and philistines can dream—deceiving thereby both themselves and the

*Collected Works, Eng. ed., Vol. 31, p. 21.

**Ibid., p. 92

workers—of overthrowing capitalist oppression without a long and difficult process of *suppressing the resistance* of the exploiters. In Germany and Austria this resistance is not yet very pronounced because expropriation of the expropriators has not yet begun there. But once expropriation begins the resistance will be fierce and desperate. In concealing this from themselves and from the workers, the Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Austerlitzes and Renners betray the interests of the proletariat, switching at the most decisive moment from the class struggle and overthrow of the yoke of the bourgeoisie to getting the proletariat to come to terms with the bourgeoisie, achieving 'social peace' or reconciliation of exploited and exploiters."*

That Lenin was right was soon demonstrated by the advent to power of Horthy in Hungary, of Mussolini, somewhat later, in Italy, and Hitler in Germany. Rivers of blood were shed in an attempt to ward off expropriation of the expropriators "for good" by substituting fascist dictatorship for bourgeois democracy.

The West European labor movement proved incapable of tackling the crucial question of power. The Marxian concept of proletarian dictatorship was known only to a small number of party functionaries. And this was no accident, for about 20 or 30 years before World War I the Social Democratic parties centered their general and inner-party propaganda on the fight for democracy. That was not intrinsically wrong; in this period of struggle for reforms and representation for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism it was needed to marshal mass support. What was wrong, however, was that, while fighting for democracy, the reformists moved further and further away from the crucial question: which class is the champion and conduit of democracy; how and in what measure can it be achieved. which class holds power? The reformists were carried away by what might be described as their quantitative belief in non-class democracy: once more people were won over to democracy and socialism, capitalism could be abolished and socialism introduced smoothly and painlessly, without revolution.

The first Russian Revolution of 1905 enabled Lenin and the Bolshevik party to draw the conclusion, based on the doctrine of Marx and Engels, that the capitalists would never relinquish power and must be overthrown by revolution. Proletarian rule after the revolution would at first have to take the form of a dictatorship, but from the very outset

Lenin opposed any abstract countering of dictatorship to democracy. The point, he repeatedly emphasized, was: dictatorship of what class and in whose interests, democracy for whom? Proletarian dictatorship, he stressed, must be much more democratic than any form of bourgeois democracy and must in substance amount to socialist democracy. Proletarian dictatorship, he pointed out, was continuation of the class struggle in another form, for even after the overthrow of bourgeois rule class divisions and, consequently, the class struggle, remain for a certain time, though the relationship between the ruling and the oppressed class is reversed. But if the proletariat is to free itself, it must work towards abolition of all classes, that is, abolition of class domination in any shape or form. That is why, in reference to the reformists, Lenin said it was not enough to accept class struggle—it must be waged to the point of proletarian dictatorship, without which the abolition of classes and class society was impossible. Accordingly, Lenin was opposed to egalitarian theories which could but distract attention from the class structure of bourgeois society, which is proclaimed "equality" of worker and millionaire. At the same time he urged maximum rights for the working class and the working people generally, taking his stand with Engels that "the real meaning of the demand for proletarian equality is abolition of classes" (*Anti-Duehring*). In other words, democratic demands, while being part of the political struggle and a factor of major importance, should be seen as an element in the fight to abolish all classes, i.e., as part of the fight for socialism, for working-class power.

The ideological prerequisites for the seizure of power by the Russian working class were worked out in long years of discussion and analysis. And this, too, was part of the class struggle, though the West-European Social Democratic parties disparaged it as being "dogmatic." But the issue had to be clarified for, as Lenin remarked, "in capitalist society, at every acute moment, in every serious class conflict, the alternative is either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat."*

The October Revolution and the triumph of socialism in the USSR and, on the other hand, the defeat and suppression of the labor movement in Central Europe showed that the decisive issue of historical development is that of power—what class holds power and how that class uses it to further its interests. That great lesson of the past 50 years is not ac-

*Collected Works, Eng. ed., Vol. 28, pp. 371-72

*Collected Works, Eng. ed., Vol. 29, p. 313

cepted by the reformists. They hold to their contention that the chief contradiction between workers and capitalists has been resolved. And that impression can persist because the battle line between these two main classes is not always clearly etched. The interests of classes and groups are often intertwined, and working class interests might for a time be identical with those of certain groups of the bourgeoisie, indeed with the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole (in the national-liberation struggle, for instance). Nor is that great lesson accepted by the dogmatists—they see only the fundamental contradiction between labor and capital, socialism and capitalism, and disregard the multiformity of social development and the changes it produces.

There can be no transition to socialism as long as monopoly capital controls state power—even if in concealed form—and uses it for its own class aims. What is more, all the hard-won social and political gains will always be in jeopardy.

But the working class of many countries can win power in a different way than the one followed in October 1917. Such a possibility exists. It results from the October Revolution and the successful building of socialism, also from the emergence of other socialist countries and the successful struggle for freedom from colonial rule. The alliance of the working class with the other working people can follow new paths and the peoples' urge for peace and social justice has become stronger. In short, the balance of world strength has changed radically in favor of socialism. Hence, the struggle for power, always the supreme task, has become a struggle for democracy in the sense that "consistent democracy presupposes socialism," as Lenin put it.

Socialism has from the outset followed a different pattern of government. The new republic took the name of Soviet Republic. What does that imply?

A feature of the capitalist state is separation of the legislative and executive branches of government. Parliament enacts laws, the government and its civil service carry them out. And parliament must never interfere in the work of the executive and has no say in how its laws are operated. All it can do—and that only if bourgeois democracy functions properly—is to pass a no-confidence vote and force the government to resign.

This gives the government sweeping powers. The government machine assumes an independent position. The result, on the one hand, is more effectively to veil the class nature of the state ("the state exists for the benefit of

all") and, on the other, to allow for closer ties with Big Business behind the scenes.

To this pattern Lenin opposed a new one, government by the Soviets, in which legislative and executive power is combined from top to bottom, with provision for the recall of every elected official. The aim was a mechanism of government which, by virtue of its very origin and nature, would guarantee the rule of the working class and other working people and would, in Lenin's words, be "a million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic."

Experience has shown that introducing socialist democracy is a long and complex process. Unity of legislative and executive authority paves the way to, but does not yet create, a new type of democracy extending to the entire people. What is more, the complete merger of executive and legislative authority cannot be achieved all at once, and new dangers may crop up because the merger increases the power of the representative bodies before it can be checked by the democratic activity of the masses. This can lead to abuse of power and to serious errors in the administration of public affairs.

The broad base of socialist democracy is in the small collective, the factory, shop, residential area—all the places where people live and work. Here executive and legislative authority are merged, but there remains the task of teaching people to run their particular collective along democratic lines, to make decisions (based on the decisions of society as a whole), take the responsibility for them and, at the same time, actively share in forming the will and policy of the whole of society. And this, practice has shown, is a long and complicated process.

Socialist democracy in larger communities and on a nationwide scale is based on the primary collective. In these bigger units, combining legislative and executive authority is, of course, more complex, and much will depend on the general cultural level. This means that we have to enlist experts in the work of government. It was sheer illusion to believe that the socialist state, the Soviet state, could in the near future dispense with the services of civil servants. But that makes it all the more necessary to control and supervise the new apparatus of government, and this control can be effective and durable only by promoting mass activity and bringing more people actively to share in charting the country's political, economic and cultural course. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are advancing towards that goal by encouraging free confrontation of opinions and discussion of the problems of socialist development.

The strength of socialist democracy has been repeatedly demonstrated throughout these fifty years. It has been the basis of the Soviet Union's progress in the economic, social and cultural fields. And it was clearly manifested—in two aspects—also during the personality cult with its gross violations of socialist and Party democracy. First, despite these violations, which seriously impeded the development of socialist society, socialist democracy continued to operate and contribute to Soviet achievement. Second, it was demonstrated anew in overcoming the personality cult and its consequences. The Soviet Communist Party relentlessly exposed the mistakes committed in this period, and revived and extended socialist democracy. This was a momentous achievement, attributable exclusively to the strength of socialist democracy the aim of which is to enable the people to exercise both legislative and executive power, or in other words, to govern.

Today, with a completely different strength alignment and with the accumulated experience of the past decades, there are new opportunities both for the capture of power and the introduction of a democratic structure that will give the people more rights and a more active share in the affairs of state.

In capitalist countries the monopolies, which on the whole are growing stronger, exert constant pressure on the state in order to minimize the people's share in political and economic life. Every possible means is used to this end, from deliberate misinformation and distracting attention from politics (manufacturing public opinion is one method) to economic and political coercion. Opposed to this is the people's urge, though not always clearly expressed, for political and economic democracy and urge motivated by the atmosphere of instability, injustice and degradation of all human values, and also by the worldwide struggle between capitalism and socialism.

Accordingly, we in Austria have been campaigning for broad democracy in every sphere: more power for municipal bodies and, where possible, direct participation of the people in managing municipal affairs; working-class participation in the management of industry and the economy generally, and access by workers' organizations to the mass communication media (the press, radio, television, etc.).

In other words, our starting point is democracy within the small collective, participation by working people in economic and political policy-making. In Austria, the people can

exert a far-reaching influence on the affairs of the community, and in the smaller communities there is even a certain merger of legislative and executive authority, though this is strongly curtailed by the central government. The capitalist state tries to limit the authority of local government bodies, mainly by cutting financial appropriations. The Communists and other democrats have been campaigning to give them more autonomy. The struggle for a working-class share in economic policy-making can weaken monopoly influence and do much to prevent monopoly interference in the nationalized industries. The struggle for a more democratic policy in radio and television is meant to counter the capitalist system of manufacturing public opinion—the Communist and labor press is too weak to act as an antidote.

More democracy for the people is one of the supreme problems of our day, and part of the struggle for the peaceful transition to socialism. But we must be careful to avoid the mistakes the reformists made before World War I—they held that with more people backing democracy, capitalism would bow out of history. History has shown that monopoly capital is prepared to use every means to maintain itself in power. It is prepared to use arms against the people, but for that it needs the support and assistance of a considerable segment of the people. The struggle for the peaceful road to socialism is a struggle to deny it that support and assistance. And that is possible, especially since fascism and World War II left in the European peoples an impelling urge for peace and democracy. Every anti-democratic move, every ideological and practical step towards a new world war, must be countered by the mobilized strength of the working people. But this also means extending democratic rights, ousting monopoly influence from every sphere, isolating monopoly capital and all enemies of democracy, all war-mongers and racialists. The Communists can do that if they work in alliance with all the political forces standing for democracy and peace. And if that aim is achieved, the peaceful transfer of power to the people and the defeat of monopoly capital will become possible.

To sum up: the foundations of the new forms of working-class struggle in capitalist Europe were laid by the Great October Socialist Revolution; the new path to power acquired reality with the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union and a number of other countries, with the rise of the colonial liberation struggle and the powerful growth of the international working-class movement.

How to end the military dictatorship in Greece

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THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, fifty years old this year, rang in the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism. It brought into being the Soviet Union, the world's first workers' state, and gave impetus to anti-imperialist and national-liberation movements in all parts of the world. Socialism has become a world system. The colonial system has crumbled. The face of the world has changed.

The October Revolution was a triumph for Marxism-Leninism. It imparted to the peoples the confidence that, through struggle, they could bring down the old system and build their future along new lines. This is true also of the people of Greece and their vanguard, the working class, who launched a broad movement for national independence and democracy.

That movement has passed through a number of phases. Today Greece again languishes under fascist tyranny, but no matter how loudly the executioners of democracy revile communism, they cannot conceal their dread of the progressive movement and the influence of the October Revolution. No longer can the imperialists reverse the march of history, though they can still retard it.

Fascism in Greece will not last. It will be destroyed by the concerted efforts of the people, backed by the international solidarity that we constantly feel. We are grateful to the fraternal parties and peoples for their support and we are sure that it will increase, not weaken, as time goes on.

Our fight for an independent national policy, for democracy, is part of the worldwide renovation touched off by the October Revolution, which precipitated the anti-imperialist revolu-

tions of our epoch. But, naturally, it has its national features and problems.

The struggle is impelled by profound internal causes, by the place little Greece occupies in the imperialist world system and by the role it plays as a strategic bridgehead.

The social upheavals of the past half-century have centered on delivering Greece from the vassal regime of the plutocratic oligarchy and imperialism, now propped up by U.S. imperialism and NATO, which warps the country's development and retards its economic, social and cultural advancement in this age of social flux and technico-scientific revolution. It prevents the nation from using the country's resources in the national interest and delivers it to the tender mercies of foreign and domestic monopolies. This, indeed, has been the main cause of all social antagonisms and clashes in the past several decades.

Sparked by home needs and an intrinsic dynamism, the admirable fight of our people, like that of other, particularly the small dependent peoples, is hardly imaginable without the example of the October Revolution. The influence of the Russian socialist revolution has been most perceptible at the more critical passages in recent Greek history.

For one thing, the October Revolution has taught us who have shed so much blood in endless wars (for Greece 15 out of the past 55 years have been years of war) to cherish peace and despise imperialism, the breeder of wars.

The October Revolution has injected the anti-imperialist spirit into our battle for national independence. Lenin, we know, wrote about the Balkan wars of 1912-13 and de-

nounced foreign meddling in the Greek battle against imperialism and medieval backwardness in 1916-17.

The October Revolution helped smash the economic fetters imposed on Greece by the Great Powers, notably tsarist Russia, with the Soviet government staunchly resisting imperialist interference in Greek affairs.

The natural catalyst and lodestar of the revolutionary movement, the October Revolution, helped us consolidate our working-class political organizations and trade unions, leading to the founding of the Communist Party in 1918. Its example and Leninism helped give the workers' movement a revolutionary orientation, wresting it from reformism. It bred a lofty sense of internationalism as an indispensable element of patriotism and helped the Greek Communists work out their strategy and tactics, moulding the Party into a vanguard force.

The workers have wrested substantial concessions from the ruling class. In the battle for the people's rights, the Party forged the alliance of workers and peasants and shaped the working class into the leading force of the wartime Resistance. Hitler and his Greek quislings could not send a single Greek soldier to fight against the Soviet Union. This is something we Greek Communists are proud of.

Marxism-Leninism, which has proved superior to bourgeois ideology, exerted a good influence on Greek art and literature and encouraged progressive currents in our cultural life. Never has it been more obvious than now that no truly democratic reconstruction in Greece is conceivable without the Communist Party.

The path travelled by the Party and the progressive movement has been tortuous and certainly never easy. We have been overhasty at times and tardy at others. We have not managed to avoid mistakes. Some, such as our underrating the struggle for democracy, stem from the common mistakes of the international movement at a definite period in its history. Our Marxist-Leninist "apprenticeship" has been much longer than we expected. Often, we were stumped when applying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country.

Our difficulties are traceable to both objective and subjective factors. For many years, the Party failed to grasp all the implications of Lenin's admonition that in a country like Greece it is necessary to fight for democracy, for deliverance from foreign dependence and from the imperialist retainers maintained by the monarchy. It took years of quest and trial to work out an effective strategy of democratic

anti-imperialist revolution. In doing so, the Party drew on its own experience, that of the world Communist movement and the help of the Comintern, especially the guidelines drafted by its Seventh Congress.

The Party developed into a militant mass organization, and this enabled it, admittedly at a heavy price, to weather the storms of the past twenty-five years, to maintain its bonds with the workers and the rest of the people (despite being outlawed), to be the vanguard in the fight against the domination of the USA, NATO and the local oligarchies, and to make headway hand in hand with the other democratic forces in democratizing the country.

Throughout the postwar turmoil, our people profited from the support of the Soviet Union, the socialist community and all other progressives. Without it they would never have loosened the trammels and begun the advance to democracy.

The people, and this includes all sections of the nation, know that, with imperialism stripped of its monopoly of the world economy while the economy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is making headway, Greece, like most developing countries, can have economic and technical aid from the socialist camp without any political strings. If she availed herself of it, her painful dependence on imperialist capital would diminish and she could pursue a policy of neutrality, peace, independent economic and political development and democratic renovation.

Yet the fascist coup of April 21 has again blocked the path to national independence and democracy. What we are witnessing is a revival of fascism. This is beyond question. But the times have changed: the socialist system is going from strength to strength, the imperialist Atlantic alliance is in the throes of a crisis, a new spirit of understanding has appeared in regard to European security and peace, and democratic forces in Europe and elsewhere are squaring their shoulders. The imperialists, notably those of the United States, are determined to halt this process by escalating their criminal war in Vietnam and raising tension in the nerve centers of the world from Cuba to the Middle and Far East, imperilling peace and the freedom of the nations. The coup in Greece is one more of these U.S. endeavors to tilt the balance of forces.

In the domestic context, the coup was the sequel to long efforts by motley reactionary trends ranging from the NATO variety of militarism, visions of "national salvation" and the anachronistic monarchy, to admirers of the fascist putsch of August 4, 1936. Obvi-

ously, the oligarchies and monopolies and their mainstay, the reactionary monarchy, dreaded the movement for democratic reconstruction and had long been anxious to install an authoritarian regime, which they visualize as the best vehicle for their interests. But the regime cannot hope to resolve the chronic economic and social problems plaguing the nation, and doubly so at present, when these problems combine with the desire for progress, for "a leap into the 20th century," with the problem of the relationship between town and country, and the acute problem of emigration. Nothing will resolve these problems until a truly democratic revolution headed by the working class opens the door to socialist reconstruction.

For the people of Greece the monarcho-fascist dictatorship means new suffering. Its establishment was met by an outburst of anger. It has alarmed other nations, especially those of Europe, where it was the first coup of its kind since the war and where it was received as a danger signal. Wherever fascism comes to power the danger of war grows. Clearly, a connection exists between the Greek coup and the later events in the Middle East. In a little country like Greece, used as a staging area against the socialist and newly-free states, deliverance from foreign dependence, from imperialism and its local henchmen is the paramount problem of the democratic revolution and of its growth into socialist revolution.

This must be stressed. Not because imperialism has grown stronger. We Greek Communists, like the other fraternal parties, know that democracy and socialism are playing a more decisive role in world development and that imperialism, racked by contradictions, is losing ground. There has been ample evidence of this in the postwar period. Besides, it is illustrated by the comparative rates of development in the socialist and capitalist countries.

But balance of strength is a dialectically changing concept. It takes the utmost vigilance and the effort of every nation singly and in concert with other nations to keep the scales tilted in favor of the anti-imperialist movement.

Leninism shows that voluntarist attempts to "accelerate" revolution, like procrastination at times of revolution, spell defeat. The role of the Party as mover and leader of the revolutionary process cannot be effective unless it proceeds from a deep-going analysis of the objective factors. Experience shows that the "necessary" has to be complemented by the "possible." We Greeks, it seems to me, have had grim experiences in this respect. So our

Party has rejected Mao Tse-tung's theory of "accelerating" revolution regardless of time and place, and also his schismatic anti-Marxist line.

The breach of unity in the world Communist and workers' movement enabled U.S. imperialism and its allies to unleash aggression. Joint action by the world Communist and anti-imperialist movement for ending the U.S. gamble in Vietnam, the Middle East and elsewhere is thus made all the more imperative.

In the present international situation the people have no other course open to them but that offered by the Communists: still greater efforts for peace, for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, coupled with still more determined efforts against imperialism, for socialism, for democracy, for the emancipation of dependent and oppressed peoples.

We are certain that imperialism can be deterred and vanquished even in its strongest domains if the people are roused to fight for freedom under the leadership of a vanguard capable of rallying large anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic forces. Besides, in our time the peoples can rely on greater support from the worldwide socialist, democratic and anti-imperialist movement, provided it acts in unity.

If revolution is not an item of export, the same cannot be said of counter-revolution. Imperialism has intervened in Spain, Greece, and other countries. Though it may be harder to do so now, it is still possible, albeit in other forms, since imperialism commands certain forces within the dependent countries and levers such as NATO. Our country is an example. The resolution of our Political Bureau of May 19 examines the faults in the Party's attitude to the coup and deplors that our assessment of the situation was colored by the "notion that U.S. imperialism can ill afford a provocation in Europe in the present conditions."

Certainly, the reckless adventurism of the imperialists will turn against them in the long run. But the danger of similar ventures is very real these days in imperialist-controlled countries, where trends towards limiting democratic rights and inflating militarism have gained ground. The external factor may be prominent in some of the smaller countries, but can be neutralized by the superior strength of the people if they combine their efforts and are supported by other peoples. What is needed is a powerful working-class movement and unity of action.

The strategy and tactics of the working-class party must take into account the balance of social and political forces and work for a

system of alliances ensuring the biggest possible concentration of patriotic forces against imperialism and the oligarchies in all contingencies, isolating their most subservient organs and anticipating the peculiar features of the revolution, the rate of revolutionary change—i.e., the possible advances towards radical reconstruction—and, at the same time, exerting an influence on the army. This is something to which we in Greece did not give due consideration.

For twenty years the Pentagon and, later, NATO organized, equipped and trained the Greek armed forces to serve imperialist interests and to suppress the democratic movement. The bulk of so-called U.S. aid (exceeding \$4,000 million, plus arms under the head of so-called military aid) was spent for military purposes. Imperialism and the Greek extremists built up a force out of the reach of democratic control, supervised by the officer caste and shot through with nationalist and fascist ideas. In a way, it was a state within a state, with a highly ramified structure reaching out into all spheres of national life and with secret political centers connected with U.S. intelligence and the royal court, their own radio-stations, newspapers and agents. Certainly, not all officers approved of this. The endless purges in the armed forces speak for themselves. But it would also be wrong to make light of what reaction has done to the army.

The Communist Party, the Union of the Democratic Left and even the Center Union Party exposed the preparations for a coup long before it happened. However, seeing that the elections scheduled by the King for May 28 presaged a fresh defeat for the Right, which would this time mean a setback for the court revolution of 1965, the extremists decided on a sudden maneuver. On April 21 wholesale arrests beheaded the democratic organizations and prevented direct resistance at the decisive hour.

Despite its past successes and the defeats it inflicted on the Right, the democratic movement failed to neutralize the forces of reaction and fascism, especially in the administration and in the army, failed to deprive them of the chance of mounting a counter-offensive. Yet this had been the basic task in recent years. That the movement did not cope with it is due chiefly to the inconsistent policies of the Center Union Party but also to deficiencies in the work of the Communist Party and the other Left forces. United action based on a realistic common program had been more a wish than a fact, and the anti-communism of the Center Union, too, had not been overcome.

Despite the progress and the growth of

the mass movement, the Left was not well enough organized to rouse the people or even to influence the soldiers. It had not secured unity in the trade unions and had not rallied the other democratic forces to deliver the General Confederation of Labor from its reactionary leadership. We made no headway to speak of in the peasant cooperatives, which are the most democratic organizations in the countryside. Much could also be said of the organizational weaknesses of the Communist Party itself.

The military monarcho-fascist coup calls attention to the pernicious role played by NATO and militarism, and to the neo-fascist danger in Europe. It is a reminder of what could happen in other NATO countries and how closely the fight against war is tied with the fight for democracy. Besides, it raises the important question of what to do to eliminate the danger.

The Karlovy Vary conference of European Communist and Workers' parties put the problem into the right perspective. The Greek situation only underscores the need for greater efforts and mutual understanding in working for European collective security and peaceful coexistence, and combating the designs of the U.S. imperialists and West German revenge-seekers. We must be much more vigilant in face of the neo-fascist peril.

For us Communists and patriots in Greece the task is to overthrow the fascist dictatorship. We know this is not easy. But it can be done and the sooner it is done, the better—for our people and for world peace.

The accent our Party has laid for years on unity in the fight for democracy and an independent national policy is no less essential in the battle against the fascist military dictatorship. Much more, it can and should be broadened to embrace all patriotic anti-dictatorial forces. This is realistic and practicable, and therefore necessary, because the dictatorship is contrary to the interests of practically all the political parties.

Our Party is fighting for the immediate restoration of constitutional rights. This slogan has the power of rallying the people and their political forces. The Communist Party is exposing every quasi-parliamentary dodge. At the same time, it is still the chief spokesman for a democratic anti-imperialist revolution and lets the people know that it is opposed to the monarchy—the rallying center for reaction and imperialism. It makes no secret of the fact that it stands for a new democracy in which the working people will participate in government to the full extent of their contribution to the nation's economic and

social life and where the parliament, supported and controlled by the people, will be the nation's supreme body of power, with all democratic parties and public organizations enjoying complete freedom.

The response to the general democratic program of the Party, a program for national independence, neutrality and anti-monopoly economic development, will be all the greater, the better the Party organizes the fight for particular demands and broad programs of action and the more ground it wins for the working class and the democratic movement in the fight for a national democratic reconstruction. In short, we should not under-rate democratic action as the only revolutionary policy at this time in the general battle for the overthrow of the monarcho-fascist regime and the establishment of a new, genuine democracy. The Party must be prepared to cope with any sudden change in the situation. This naturally calls for continuous effort.

It is hard to say whether the fascist regime will have to be overthrown by force of arms.

The wish to avoid a civil war is not misguided pacifism or an idyllic illusion. It presupposes an increasingly vigorous mass movement and social collisions, united action by workers and democratic forces and a gradual build-up of superior strength. This is one way of avoiding a civil war in eliminating the fascist regime. Patriotic unity between the people and the democratic elements in the army, action committees against the dictatorship in factories, schools, towns and villages and mass manifestations against the dictatorship, coupled with various other organizational measures, could well pave the way to victory.

Lack of unity among the democratic forces was the main reason why the reactionaries succeeded. Surely, the new situation will make the militants in the democratic parties outside the Left realize the adverse effects of anti-communism for the nation and democracy.

Patriotic unity is sure to bring down the fascist dictatorship. And the Communist Party, which is in the van of the battle, will apply all its energy to this end.

The October Revolution and the Arab national-liberation movement

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IN 1902 LENIN WROTE in his work *What Is To Be Done?*: "History has now confronted us with an immediate task which is *more revolutionary* than all the *immediate* tasks which confront the proletariat of any other country. The fulfilment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark, not only of European, but also, it may be said, of Asiatic reaction, places the Russian proletariat in the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat."

Only three years later, in 1905, the Russian

proletariat, under the leadership of the party of Lenin, began its onslaught on the bulwark of Russian reaction. Despite the failure of this revolution, it exercised a big influence on the course of international life and gave a new momentum to the international movement of the proletariat and to the national-liberation movement in Asia, and paved the way for the subsequent victory of the Russian proletariat.

Thus Russia, as Marx and Engels had anticipated in the 1880s, became at the outset of

the present century the center of the international revolutionary movement. From then on, the events occurring in Russia exercised a deep influence on international development. In October 1917, the Russian proletariat fulfilled with rare heroism and honor the historic task set by Lenin in 1902. After this historic victory, and following the establishment and consolidation of the first workers' and peasants' state on one sixth of the globe, the center of the world revolutionary movement was finally established in Russia.

Under the leadership of the party of Lenin, Russia changed from the most powerful citadel of reaction in the world into a mighty bulwark for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union became the staunchest and most experienced detachment of the world Communist movement.

The fifty years which have passed since the glorious October Revolution, are but a short period in the history of human society. Nevertheless these years have witnessed a series of radical and deep changes. The October Revolution brought about a radical turn in the destinies of mankind and ushered in a new era, the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The consolidation of the Soviet state and its growth into a mighty socialist state, its decisive role in smashing German fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War—have had far-reaching repercussions and have radically changed the face of the planet.

The growth of socialism into a world system, the emancipation of hundreds of millions from the shackles of colonialism, the growing intensity of the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries, the spread of the communist movement—all are the necessary consequences of the development of the theory of the October Revolution and its practical and creative application, marking a decisive victory for Marxism-Leninism on an international scale.

The victory of the Socialist Revolution in Russia itself—being a European-Asiatic state—enlarged the sphere of influence and gravity of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and carried them beyond the borders of the developed capitalist countries. Since the October Revolution, Marxism-Leninism has become an immense force and a guiding star for all the peoples of the world, including the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The October Revolution awakened the peoples of these three continents and drew them into the general stream of the world revolutionary movement. The national-liberation movement which in the era of imperialism became an interna-

tional question and part of the world proletarian revolution, merged after the October Revolution, definitely and decisively, into a single stream with the socialist revolution. It gained thereby a new momentum and a new content. The October Revolution made a decisive contribution to the growth of the national-liberation movement, ushered in the downfall of the colonial system and opened a new path for the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, the path of political liberation, and economic and social progress.

One of the major characteristics of the October Revolution was that it found for the first time in history a just and successful solution of the national question, welding the national-liberation movement of the peoples oppressed by Russian imperialism with the socialist revolution and uniting these peoples later into one multi-national socialist state with equal rights. Under the leadership of the Russian working class and its party, the revolutionary activities of the peasant masses of those nations led to the development of this movement and to the establishment of peasant Soviets. These Soviets were designed to lead their extremely backward countries towards socialism through a transitional stage. This new and complicated task was solved by Lenin in further developing the thesis of Marx and Engels about the possibility of the peoples of backward countries, aided by the victorious proletariat in industrial countries, by-passing the stage of capitalism. At the Second Congress of the Communist International held in 1920, Lenin made it clear that "with the help of the victorious proletariat in the advanced countries it was possible for backward countries to pass on to communism through certain stages of development, by-passing the capitalist stage of development." This task was successfully solved as regards the backward peoples in the Soviet state. The numerous backward nations oppressed by Russian imperialism did away with slavery and backwardness once and for all, and passed on to socialism, by-passing the stage of capitalist development. These peoples are today marching side by side with the Russian people and other peoples towards communism.

Whereas this process was accomplished at the beginning within the framework of the Soviet state, and in neighboring Mongolia, it turned later, after the complete victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and the rise of the socialist world system, into a world phenomenon. At the present time it has become possible for the peoples of several newly-liberated countries to by-pass the capitalist stage, or to block the road to capitalist development in its initial stages, and to pass on to socialism

through an intermediary stage. The path of non-capitalist development has become nowadays the best path for a number of developing countries. This is because it enables these countries to consolidate their political independence, put an end to their backwardness, revive their national culture, and proceed along the road of democracy, economic and social progress and transition to socialism.

The solution of the problem of the transition of backward countries to socialism through an intermediate stage, as had been the case with some of the peoples of the Soviet Union, and with Mongolia, provided the political, ideological and practical basis for the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution to go beyond the framework of the democratic-bourgeois revolution, grow into a national-democratic revolution and thereafter into a socialist revolution.

When capitalism was the dominant system in the world the most that the national revolutions could do was to create suitable conditions for capitalist development. But after the October Revolution, with the establishment and consolidation of the Soviet State and the growth of socialism into a world system, the national revolutions against imperialism and feudalism were no longer confined to eliminating national oppression and overcoming the remnants of medieval times. The awakening of the toiling masses, their revolutionary activity, their rising political consciousness, their long experience in the various forms of struggle and their lack of confidence in the capitalist system, gave a strong momentum to the revolutionary potential of the national-liberation movement, provided it with a deep social content and transformed the national revolution from a democratic-bourgeois revolution into a national-democratic revolution. Through its development and its solution of general democratic tasks, this revolution goes beyond bourgeois limits and turns towards socialism.

Lenin well observed the dynamism of the national-liberation movement and its subsequent development. He made it clear that this movement would turn in the future against capitalism and imperialism. The contemporary national-liberation movement, having smashed the colonial system, has started to turn against imperialism and capitalism and towards socialism. The main trend of the present struggle of the peoples of the newly-liberated countries is that of breaking away from the capitalist world system and turning towards socialism through an intermediate stage. If the number of the newly-independent countries which have rejected the path of capitalist development and have taken the path of non-capitalist development is still

relatively small, this development will become more general and universal in the years to come. This deep revolutionary process is taking place and developing in close association with the consolidation and growth of the commonwealth of the socialist states and with the growing struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries.

At the present time, the trend against imperialism and capitalism is becoming the characteristic feature of the struggle of the peoples in the newly-independent countries. Tangible evidence of this is afforded by the Arab peoples. Having liberated most of their countries from colonial domination and established their national states, these peoples turned against imperialism and capitalism. Three Arab countries, namely the UAR, Syria and Algeria, have rejected the capitalist way and have opted for non-capitalist development as a transitional stage towards socialism. But this progressive march of the Arab peoples is meeting with fierce resistance from world imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism. The Baghdad Pact, the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956, the Eisenhower Doctrine, the landing of British and American troops in Jordan and Lebanon in 1958, the stationing of the American Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, the attempt to establish a reactionary bloc in the Middle East in the guise of the so-called "Islamic Pact," the continuous attempts to overthrow the progressive regimes in Syria and the UAR, the various economic pressures—all are links in the chain of plots, threats, and aggressions exercised by the imperialist powers against the Arab peoples in order to arrest the progressive march of these peoples, safeguard the interests of the imperialist oil monopolies and regain their lost positions in the area.

In pursuit of this aim, world imperialism, hand in hand with the Israeli ruling circles, turned Israel into a military state and a base of aggression, in order to utilize it as a gendarme against the movement of the Arab peoples for national and social liberation. The aggression committed by Israel at the beginning of June was not the result of a conflict between Arabs and Jews, a conflict between Arabs and Israel as the imperialist and Zionist circles tried to portray it. It was in fact a repetition of the 1956 tripartite aggression against Egypt. This time, however, in another form, but having the same aim of overthrowing the progressive regimes in the UAR and Syria, and sabotaging the progressive march of the Arab peoples.

The Israeli aggression was, actually, just another aspect of the increasing aggressiveness of world imperialism, primarily U.S.

imperialism. It cannot be separated either from the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people, or from the fascist military coup in Greece, which was plotted by the CIA, or from the bloodbaths organized against Communists and Democrats in Indonesia, or from the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic, or from the reactionary coups which have taken place during the past months in a number of African states. The recent Israeli aggression against the Arab peoples was but part of the general U.S. strategy directed against world peace and against the socialist and the newly-liberated countries.

But this Israeli aggression, backed by U.S. and British imperialism, is incapable of forcing the Arab peoples to their knees or to revert these peoples to the era of colonial slavery. Indeed, U.S. imperialism is still capable of unleashing an aggression against this or that people and of hindering for a time the progressive march of this or that country, but it is certainly unable in our present day to subjugate any people, however small. Imperialism can by no means reverse the tide of history. All it can do is to deepen the peoples' hatred towards it, provoke them to struggle more resolutely against it, increase its own isolation and accelerate its inevitable downfall. Our epoch is the epoch of the victory of socialism over capitalism, the epoch of the inevitable downfall of the world capitalist system.

As the Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the 23rd Congress of the Party said: "The increased aggressiveness of imperialism does not at all mean that there has been any change in the balance of world forces in its favor. On the contrary, this aggressiveness is a reflection of those growing difficulties and contradictions that the world capitalist system is faced with in our day." The Israeli aggression backed by the imperialist powers was actually the death sentence on the interests of the imperialist powers and their oil monopolies in this area. This aggression has united the Arab peoples and their patriotic and progressive forces in an unprecedented way, and strengthened their resolution to settle accounts with the imperialists and their lackey in this area, once and for all. By their criminal aggression against the Arab peoples, and by linking themselves to the wheel of the aggressive imperialist schemes, the ruling circles of Israel are but hastening the question of Israel's fate themselves, and preparing a catastrophe for the Israeli people.

The imperialist powers are now trying by all means to sabotage the unity and solidarity of the Arab peoples, and to sow discord

between these peoples and their national and progressive governments, on the one hand, and their faithful friend, the socialist camp, and its vanguard, the Soviet Union, on the other. As usual, the bankrupt Mao Tse-tung group has joined the chorus of imperialists, reactionaries and Zionists, in these criminal endeavors, and started to emit the venom of its chauvinistic spite against the Soviet Union.

But, from their own rich experience, the Arab peoples know quite well now who is their enemy and who their real friend. They know quite well that they have in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries faithful and reliable friends, particularly in hard times. The Arab peoples cannot be deceived by the machinations of the imperialists nor by the intrigues of Mao Tse-tung's group.

The attitude of the Soviet Union has been, as always, an honorable and glorious one. Together with the other socialist countries, it has extended to the Arab peoples decisive support against the aggressor. Of great importance in this respect is the Declaration issued by the Communist and Workers' parties and the governments of the Soviet Union, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. These countries have declared their complete readiness to extend every support to the Arab peoples to rebuff the aggressor and eliminate the consequences of his aggression. The Arab peoples, their progressive governments and all the Arab progressive forces, welcomed this Declaration and the resolute stand of the Soviet Union and the other six socialist countries. They also welcomed the breaking off by these countries of diplomatic relations with the aggressor, Israel. Moreover, they welcomed the initiative of the Soviet Union in calling for an emergency session of the U.N. General Assembly for the purpose of condemning the Israeli aggressors and forcing them to withdraw their troops from the occupied Arab territories.

The honorable stand of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, as well as the stand of the Communist and Workers' parties which condemned the Israeli aggression and supported the Arab peoples, enjoy the appreciation and gratitude of these peoples and their national and progressive governments.

Despite the cease-fire, the Israeli aggression has not yet ended. Hostilities may be resumed at any moment, especially since the aggression has not achieved its aim—the overthrow of the progressive regimes in the UAR and Syria, and it may also be resumed because the Israeli rulers, backed by American and British imperialism, insist on maintaining the

Arab territories they occupied in order to force the Arabs to submit to the will of the imperialists. The allegation of the Israeli rulers about their so-called desire for peace are designed only as a cloak to conceal their aggressive and expansionist aims, just as their American masters are doing with regard to Vietnam. It is essential now to unite the efforts of all revolutionary forces throughout the world to eliminate completely the consequences of the aggression by forcing the Israeli aggressors to withdraw unconditionally to the positions they held before their treacherous attack. The continued presence of the invader in the territories he has occupied threatens not only the interests and security of the Arab peoples, but also world peace.

All revolutionary forces in the world, headed by the world Communist movement, are called upon to fight in unity and to act resolutely to eliminate the new hotbed of war created in the Middle East by the Israeli aggression, and to halt the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people and safeguard world peace. It is also essential that the voices of all honest people in the world be raised to stop the acts of torture, murder and forcible eviction committed brutally and cold-bloodedly by the Israeli invader against tens

of thousands of Arabs in the occupied territories.

The banner of the glorious October Revolution is the banner of struggle against aggression, war, national oppression and exploitation, and for creating a new world, a world of peace, work, happiness and fraternity among the peoples. Since the victory of the glorious October Revolution, progressive mankind has traversed a long distance towards these noble goals, and today it continues its march ever more powerfully and with unshakeable confidence towards the reconstruction of the world on the basis of the immortal ideas of the October Revolution.

One of the features of the October Revolution is that its influence upon the destiny of man is increasing from year to year. All the victories achieved by the peoples during the past half century are closely linked to the glorious Party of Lenin, the October Revolution, and their homeland, the Soviet Union and its brilliant achievements. As in the past, the October Revolution, its immortal ideas, its homeland with its exploits and victories, are today and will remain a source of inspiration to all peoples in their victorious march towards the world of their aspirations.

The USSR today

Facts and Figures*

VI. TRANSPORT

THE BIG CHALLENGE after the October Revolution was to restore and extend the country's war-ravaged system of transport. Lenin pointed out that before agriculture and industry could be revived, it was essential to restore the transport system "at all costs, immediately, with revolutionary energy ... with military determination, solidarity, speed and selfless devotion."

The transport system inherited from tsarist Russia was put back into running order and considerably extended. Now, on the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution, the Soviet transport industry is one of the largest and best equipped branches of the economy. Freight haulage has increased more than 23-fold since 1913. In 1964, the Soviet Union accounted for more than 47 per cent of the world's total freight traffic and for 10 per cent of the world's railway traffic, ranking second to the United States for freight haulage and operating railway mileage, and first for mileage of internal waterways.

Land transport holds top place in the country's transport system, with railways well in the lead by virtue of the Soviet Union's vast territory. Some of the country's industrial regions are more than 10,000 kilometers apart.

KEY INDICATORS OF SOVIET RAILWAYS

	1913	1940	1966	1966 % change from 1913
Operating mileage, 000 km.	58.5	106.1	131.4	224.6
Freight traffic, million tons	157.6	592.5	2,481.9	1,470
Passenger traffic, million passengers	249	1,343	2,450	880

Tens of thousands of kilometres of new track were laid and old lines reconstructed and modernized after the Revolution. At present, the accent is less on extending the rail network

*This is the sixth of a series of surveys of the Soviet economy.

and much more on improving efficiency of operating trunk lines.

Diesel and electric traction has helped to increase traffic considerably. In 1966 diesels accounted for nearly 47 per cent of the traffic as against 0.2 per cent in 1940. No other country has as many electric railways—almost 25,000 kilometres in 1965. Trains are hauled all the way from Moscow to Vladivostok by electric traction. In 1966 electric trains handled 42 per cent of all tonnage.

Conversion to electric and diesel traction is scheduled to be completed in the main by 1970. This will add considerably to efficiency although today, too, railway efficiency in the Soviet Union surpasses that of the United States. In 1964, for example, freight tonnage per kilometre of track was 14,400,000 ton/kilometres in the Soviet Union and 2,800,000 ton/kilometres in the USA.

River transport. Inland water-borne haulage has increased 380 per cent since the Revolution. The river fleet has many diesel-electric vessels and the world-renowned 100 km-per-hour hydrofoils. The canal linking the White and Baltic seas, the Moscow Canal and the Volga-Don Canal have joined the Volga and the rivers of the Northwestern and Don basins into a single system of waterways with outlets to the southern and northern seas washing the European shores of the USSR.

Marine transport. The Soviet Union is washed by 14 seas. In 1966 its sea-borne freight was nearly 22-fold that of 1913, totalling over 131 million tons. The merchant and fishing fleet numbers more than 1,300 vessels with a total tonnage of nearly 10 million tons. Not only is it among the biggest, but also among the most modern in the world, most of the ships being high-speed economical diesel vessels. Out of every 100 vessels 80 were launched in the past ten years. Among them is the *Lenin*, the world's first atom-powered icebreaker, launched in 1957.

Road transport has made relatively rapid headway, especially in recent years, hauling as much as 11,600 million tons of freight and over 20,400 million passengers in 1966.

Car output is expected to quadruple in 1966-70. New automobile plants are going up, and

production will continue to climb steadily. Some 63,000 kilometres of hard-surface roads are to be laid in the five years.

Air transport has paved the way to rapid travel in the vast Soviet Union. The country began building an aircraft industry as early as the twenties. Soviet air lines operate a wide range of Soviet-designed 'planes, including the Tupolev, Antonov, Ilyushin, Yakovlev, Mil and Kamov models. The 700-passenger Antaeus, the world's biggest 'plane, and the giant 80-passenger MI-6 helicopter exemplify the progress made by the Soviet aircraft industry. In 1965, Soviet air lines totalled 435,000 kilometres, of which nearly 160,000 kilometres were national lines. The Soviet Union has regular air connections with many foreign capitals. In the cur-

rent five years air traffic is to expand by about 80 per cent.

Pipeline transport was, in effect, non-existent before the Revolution, with just 3,400 kilometres of oil and gas piping available in 1913. In 1965, pipelines totalled 70,000 kilometres. Oil and oil products piped in 1964 aggregated 247,000,000 tons. Pipelines are one of the most dynamic modes of transport in the Soviet Union, with further expansion spurred by recent discoveries of oil and gas deposits in Western Siberia and Central Asia. Approximately 37,000 kilometres of new pipe lines are to be laid by 1970, when more than half the product of the remote oil-fields will be piped, enabling the country to convert to gas from coal and other fuels.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

The Sixth Bolshevik Party Congress, held in Petrograd July 26 (August 8) to August 3 (16) was attended by 157 delegates with vote and 110 delegates with consultative vote, representing 240,000 members of eight regional, five gubernia, 221 city and 303 district and sub-district organizations. Party membership had tripled since the April Conference and was ten times that when the Party gained legal status in March 1917. Despite persecution and slander, Bolshevik strength was growing steadily.

Lenin, who had to go underground, was not present, but the main documents of the congress had been drafted with his help. At one of its early sittings, the congress firmly decided against Lenin appearing in court at the summons of the Provisional Government.

Resolutions were passed on the Central Committee's work in the preceding period and on the course of action in preparation for a socialist revolution. The congress also formulated the Party's next task. "The proletariat must not let itself be provoked by the bourgeoisie, who want nothing better than to involve it at this moment in a premature battle," said the resolution on the political situation. "Its efforts should be concentrated on organizing and preparing for the day when the nationwide crisis and the general public sentiment will range the poor in town and country on the side of the workers against the bourgeoisie."

Since the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary leaders who dominated in the Soviets had lined up with the counter-revolution and in view of the changed political situation, the congress temporarily withdrew the "All Power to the Soviets" slogan, calling on all members to redouble their efforts in the Soviets and in the other mass organizations.

The congress set the course for an armed uprising. The tasks were to win the majority of the people to the side of the proletariat, prepare the armed forces of the revolution needed to withstand the counter-revolution and to mount the decisive attack on capitalism.

The congress elected a new Central Committee, consisting of 21 members and 10 alternate members headed by Lenin.

In the meantime, the bourgeoisie worked hand in hand with the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, preparing for a military dictatorship. By agreement with the United States and the British and French governments, the role of dictator was to go to General Kornilov, Supreme Commander.

The Provisional Government convened a conference in Moscow to rally the support of the propertied classes and buttress the counter-revolution. On August 12 (25), the day the conference opened, more than 400,000 Moscow workers went on strike in response to the call of the Moscow Bolshevik Committee. To push through their plan, the leaders of the counter-revolution resorted to armed force.

To intimidate the public, Kornilov abandoned Riga to the enemy on August 21 (September 3), withdrawing the Third Cavalry Corps from the front lines and sending it against Petrograd on August 25 (September 7).

To all appearances, Kornilov had mutinied against the Provisional Government. This added complexity to the situation. The Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks took advantage of it to rally the people in defense of the Provisional Government. Lenin suggested a far-sighted course: the Bolsheviks told the people they were calling on them to rally not in defense of the Provisional Government, but to defeat Kornilov. The aim was to frustrate the attempt to establish a military dictatorship, while exposing the political course of the Provisional Government and the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries.

The people responded to the Bolshevik call. The workers of the capital took to arms. Red Guard units were formed practically overnight. The Kornilov mutiny was crushed by the workers and peasants under Bolshevik leadership, testifying to the strength of the revolutionary classes and opening a new phase of the revolution.

Australian reaction aids U.S. aggression in Vietnam

AUSTRALIA'S COMMUNISTS are raising their voice against the country's involvement in the U.S. war in Vietnam alongside the mercenaries of South Korea, Thailand, the Philippines and New Zealand.

The Central Committee report to the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of Australia describes opposition to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam as its cardinal task, and its internationalist and at once profoundly national duty.

Comrade L. Aarons, National Secretary, told interviewers after the Congress that Australia's Communists are conscious of their responsibility for organizing and uniting the masses in the campaign for the withdrawal of Australian troops from Vietnam, for ending the war. The slogan of the day, he added, is "peace in Vietnam."

The U.S. imperialists hitched the country to their aggressive policy back in 1952 with ANZUS, a micro-pact comprising Australia, New Zealand and the United States. The two junior partners in the bloc have lived up to Washington's hopes, showing exemplary zeal in promoting U.S. designs. At various political and military conferences held under U.S. auspices in April and May they reaffirmed their readiness to serve the aggressive purposes of the Americans in Vietnam and elsewhere.

After the ANZUS conference in April, Australia's air force was committed to action over South Vietnam. At the gathering of the SEATO clan that same month, where the five accomplices in America's war in Vietnam figured prominently, Australian External Affairs Minister P. Hasluck peppered his warlike speech with vicious attacks on peoples fighting against aggression, for national independence.

Australia's belligerence in Southeast Asia became more pronounced. With more than 6,000 men already taking part in the Vietnam war, Australian destroyers were dispatched to join in shelling the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. War allocations soared. According to *U.S. News and World Report*, Australia's war budget this year is \$1,150 million, of which some \$250 million is to be spent abroad on arms.

The appetite of the U.S. imperialists is growing too. For one thing, they want their partners to put more effort into the Vietnam war

and, for another, to help them solicit new military allies. During his recent visit to Washington, Prime Minister Harold Holt rebuked Britain for not doing her bit in Vietnam and called on her to take a bolder hand in imperialism's Middle East ventures. Speaking in Ottawa, Holt brought up the project of a triple alliance consisting of Australia, New Zealand and Canada.

Washington's policy-makers have enlisted the Prime Minister's services as recruiting sergeant in rallying Western countries to America's side. They are bent on making the most of the U.S.-engineered Middle East crisis to involve the whole West not only in armed ventures against the Arab peoples, but also in the Vietnam war.

Australia's policy of involvement in aggression is being pushed by reactionaries who have a majority in parliament. But the anti-war movement initiated by merchant seamen is gathering momentum. Shipping war supplies to Vietnam, the seamen saw at first hand how the U.S. interventionists and their accomplices used the civilian population. Despite government threats and pressure from the Right-wing leadership of the Australian Trade Union Council, the crews of the *Boonaroo* and *Jeparit* refused to sail with cargoes for Indochina. Mass meetings in the continent's nine main ports protested the shipment of war supplies in merchant vessels and condemned the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Holt's policy has been a blight on the Australian youth. Young Australians are being killed in the Vietnam jungle and many an Australian family is in mourning. The Vietnam Action Committee and the Youth Campaign against Conscription are expanding their activities. Anti-war demonstrations were held under their auspices in Sydney and Melbourne at the end of June. Among the demands made at the demonstrations were, "bring our boys home" and "halt the bombing of North Vietnam." Preparations are under way for a nationwide anti-war march. Demonstrations in Sydney met Prime Minister Holt on his return from the United States, Canada and Britain, chanting: "How many more of our lads have you sold to America?"

Holt hastened to announce that this time the

United States had not asked for more Australian troops. However, he is known to have made similar announcements before, each followed by a fresh build-up of the "Australian commitment."

In another massive demonstration in Sydney on July 4, U.S. Day of Independence, trade unionists, members of youth, women's and student organizations, Laborites and Communists, pacifists and delegations of anti-war groups, teachers and clergymen again demanded U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, an end to the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the right for the Vietnamese to handle their own affairs.

Symptomatic in this context is the recent speech by the Labor Party opposition leader Edward Whitlam, who charged the government with encouraging escalation in Vietnam and adding to the suffering of the Vietnamese.

The church, whose moral support the government could always count on in the past, is also coming out against the Vietnam war. Archbishop Appleton, head of the Anglican Church in Western Australia, described the embattled

stand of the Vietnamese as a national struggle for social justice and denounced Australia's part in the fighting.

The economic battles of Australia's wage-earners, more intensive of late, are also colored by anti-war sentiment. Sixty thousand bus and suburban train drivers in Sydney, Newcastle, Wollongong and elsewhere in New South Wales went on strike at the end of June to protest against higher taxes, soaring prices and the government's refusal to increase wages. A four-hour strike of 250,000 engineering, metal and steel workers was followed by the announcement of a 24-hour miners' strike.

People from different walks of life are ranging themselves behind the anti-war movement. The need for joint action in defense of the nation's interests is sinking in. The government's aggressive foreign policy is awakening to action forces that until recently had kept aloof from active opposition. A sound basis is emerging for Left unity, which the Australian Communists are determined to achieve.

Jan PRAZSKY

The Stuttgart Congress

THE SEVENTH CONGRESS of the Second International, held in the sumptuous Liederhalle in Stuttgart, August 18-24, 1907, was preceded by an impressive demonstration of some 60,000 workers, who were addressed among others by August Bebel, Jean Jaures and Marcel Cachin.

Never before had a congress of the International been so well attended. There were 884 delegates from 25 countries, including 289 from Germany, 123 from Britain, 78 from France, 75 Austrians, 63 Russians, 41 Czechs, 30 Poles, 27 Belgians, 25 Hungarians, 22 Americans, etc. To quote Lenin, the Congress was distinguished by "its large and representative composition" (*Collected Works*, Eng. Ed. Vol. 13, p. 75).

The procedure of voting by countries with each country, big or small, having two votes, had been so severely criticized after the Amsterdam Congress in 1904 that the International Socialist Bureau worked out a new scheme for proportional representation. Votes were apportioned in numbers ranging from twenty for Germany, Austria and the Czechs, France, Britain and Russia, to two for Luxembourg.

Ten of the twenty Russian votes went to the Social Democratic Party represented chiefly by the Bolsheviks headed by Lenin (4½ votes) and the Mensheviks led by Plekhanov (2½ votes).^{*} Lenin was accompanied by M. Litvinov, A. Lunacharsky, N. Semashko and others.

It was Lenin's first international congress. He thought highly of it as a workers' forum of international socialism, and invited Maxim Gorky to attend it. As a member of the International Socialist Bureau, on which he had represented the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party since October 1905, Lenin was on the presidium and a member of the committee on militarism and international conflicts.

The agenda consisted of five items, each highly topical: militarism and international conflicts, the colonial question, the relationship between the socialist parties and the trade unions, women's suffrage and emigration and immigration of workers. Although, as *L'Humanite* pointed out in its issue for July 31, 1907, the draft resolutions were "neither imperative nor irreconcilable," everybody felt that they would furnish "valuable guidelines" for the interna-

tional movement and that a hard fought battle would take place between the various trends.

A sharp controversy did indeed flare up between the revolutionary and opportunist currents in the world social-democratic movement, with Lenin playing a prominent part in the clash of opinion.

THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR

The first big collision occurred over the workers' attitude to war. Certain objective factors, such as the stand taken by the Russian workers during the Russo-Japanese war and especially the 1905 revolution in Russia, favorably affected the polarizing of forces. The dark clouds of war were already gathering over Europe. The matter had been hotly discussed earlier in the year at the national congress of the French Socialist Party. The German Social Democrats, for their part, had to deal with the most aggressive national imperialism and for the Bolshevik Party, too, the matter was highly topical, because it had opposed the tsar's military budget and colonial policy.

Jean Jaures and Edouard Vaillant submitted a resolution calling for the use of all means to combat war, ranging from parliamentary interventions and mass demonstrations to general strikes and insurrection. The resolution attacked the notion that workers should resign themselves to the idea that war was inevitable. But in the same breath it said people should come to the defense of their country in the event of danger, but did not explain in what circumstances a war was just. This vagueness, it was feared, would provide loopholes for opportunist interpretations and analyses based on immediate and apparent rather than profound and actual causes of conflict. And the apprehensions were entirely justified.

The draft submitted by Jules Guesde said that "war and militarism are natural and necessary products of capitalism." He drew the wrong inference, however, that general action against capitalism sufficed and that anti-militarist acts would complicate the fight for socialism. Guesde rejected all anti-war action save refusing to vote for war credits in parliament and demanding reduction of military service. Campaigning for peace, he thought,

^{*}The Socialist-Revolutionaries had seven votes and representatives of trade unions had three.

was a hazardous fragmentation of socialist action against capitalism.

Guesde's ideas were distinctly dogmatic. For years his followers had maintained that any specific effort against war was a sterile deviation, even a dangerous one, from the struggle for socialism. For this reason they hardly ever analyzed the particular role and responsibility of French capitalism. (Claude Willard, *Les guesdistes* (thèse de doctorat), Editions Sociales, Paris, 1965, p. 208.

The near-anarchist draft of Gustave Hervé, the quasi-leftist, who represented a faction composed chiefly of petty bourgeois and peasants, demanded that "any declaration of war should be countered by strikes and uprisings," entirely overlooking the workers' possibilities in the event of an explosion of nationalism and war. Hervé imagined that the methods of combating war depended on what the revolutionaries chose to do and not on the objective conditions of the war crisis. Still, Hervé deserves the credit for indicating that the socialist movement should not confine itself to parliamentary struggle but should impress on the masses the need for revolutionary action. However, he did not see the relationship between war and imperialism, and drew no distinction between just and unjust wars. Lenin pointed out that there could also be wars of liberation and revolutionary wars. Karl Liebknecht described Hervé's views as an "arbitrary and mechanical conception of social phenomena."

The draft submitted by August Bebel contained a more acceptable appraisal of militarism and imperialism. Wars, it said, were bred by capitalism, and anti-imperialist struggle (struggle against armaments, against professional armies) should be linked up with the fight for socialism. But it was faulty, because it said nothing about how to combat war, or about the tasks of the workers. For this reason, as Lenin put it, the Bebel resolution could be read through opportunist spectacles, something Vollmar lost no time in doing. According to Vollmar, who rejected all anti-militarist action and propaganda, "all our love for humanity cannot stop us from being good Germans."

Bebel, for his part, condemned "methods of struggle likely to endanger the development of the party and perhaps even its existence." Proud of the 300,000 membership of the German Social-Democratic Party and the 1,800,000 trade union members, Bebel was unwilling to jeopardize the legal status of the organization. He depended, he said, on the "moral strength of our 3,250,000 voters," and feared police repressions in the event of the congress opting for specific militant action.

Rosa Luxemburg, who opposed Vollmar and Bebel, called for practical efforts and insisted that the Russian revolution had proved the potency of the mass strike. "The Russian revolution," she said, "was not only a result of the war, it also helped to end the war." It was natural, therefore, that the Jena congress of the German Social-Democratic Party, inspired by

the lessons of history, had passed a revolutionary resolution. "In this resolution," Rosa Luxemburg said, "the German Party proclaimed that general strikes could be employed in certain circumstances, though it had previously for many years denounced them as anarchistic." The debate at Jena, she added, "was galvanized by the red spectre of the Russian revolution."

Ultimately all the motions were referred to a 15-man sub-committee.

Special mention should be made of the fundamental significance of Lenin's amendments, which coincided with the standpoint ably presented earlier by Rosa Luxemburg. Lenin and Luxemburg gave Bebel's resolution a Marxist revolutionary backbone.* It was thanks to their irreconcilable stand that, for the first time, Social Democrats adopted a resolution of this kind.

The final text said that militarism was an instrument of class oppression and political subjugation. It indicated the need for disseminating among the youth in military service the idea of the fraternity of peoples, for awakening their class consciousness, and stressed that Social Democracy should not only fight by all appropriate means against any outbreak of hostilities or for the speediest cessation of war, but also use the crisis caused by war to hasten the downfall of the bourgeoisie. "Should war break out," it said, "the working class and its representatives in parliament must . . . make the most of the economic and political crisis created by it to awaken the masses and hasten the end of capitalist rule."

This thesis was reaffirmed at the Copenhagen congress in 1910 and incorporated into the resolution of the Basel congress in 1912. But in 1914 it was betrayed by all the more prominent parties of the Second International.

Speaking in Stuttgart on August 20, 1907 about the imminence of a European conflict, Jaurès said: "No, we cannot allow war to break out without doing our utmost to avert it. If we do not oppose it, we shall all be dishonored." The leaders of the Second International applauded these words heartily, but seven years later they became social-chauvinists and scorned their solemn commitment. Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks were the only ones, or nearly the only ones, who remained loyal to the revolution.

In Stuttgart, too, the "policy of action" against war, the potent nature of which Vandervelde had stressed when reporting on the draft resolution, was passed only after a hard fight.

"I remember very well," Lenin wrote later, "that the final editing of the amendment was preceded by long negotiations between ourselves and Bebel. The original wording referred too explicitly to revolutionary agitation and action. We showed it to Bebel, who replied; I cannot accept it, because the authorities will

*The amendments were signed also by Martov.

dissolve our party organizations, which we want to avoid so long as the situation is not critical. After consulting competent lawyers and rewording the text several times in order to express the same thing in legally acceptable terms, the final formulation was found to which Bebel gave his consent."

The resolution, adopted by acclamation, was a victory of the revolutionary wing over the opportunists.

To use Lenin's phrase, the congress had taken a step towards "acceptance of all methods of struggle, to the appraisal of the experience of the revolution in Russia, to the development of the active creative side of the movement." (*Collected Works*, Eng. Ed. Vol. 13, p. 92.)

THE COLONIAL QUESTION

Another major issue was colonial policy, discussed previously but never as thoroughly as in Stuttgart. Those who rejected colonial barbarity and condemned the very idea of colonialism clashed with the revisionists, who, like the Dutchman Van Kol, wanted to "abandon the purely negative viewpoint" and pursue a "socialist colonial policy" because, ostensibly, all nations must necessarily pass through the capitalist stage.

It was suggested that the congress should refrain from condemning colonial policy and make the allowance that colonialism can in certain circumstances encourage the spread of civilization. Van Kol's draft called on the colonial powers to create "international safeguards for the rights of natives." The following year, at an international conference of socialist members of parliament, he even recommended forced labor and went to the length of defending despotism, essential, he said, to carry out "practical" reforms, inasmuch as "savages" are unfit to vote.

The opportunists led by Van Kol gained the upper hand in the committee. So the matter was referred to congress where a fierce debate ensued. The majority of the German delegation headed by Bernstein and David backed the opportunist resolution reviling their opponents for the alleged sterility of their negative attitude, for failing to appreciate the importance of reform and for lacking a pragmatic colonial program. David blandly declared that if the opponents of Van Kol's resolution wished to be consistent, they should demand the withdrawal of the British from India and Egypt, and of the French from Algeria and Madagascar, an idea that naturally appeared to him ludicrous and untenable. Ramsay MacDonald (Britain) and most of the French delegates sided with Van Kol, while Kautsky opposed him.

In many countries, colonial ideology had penetrated deep into the ranks of professed Marxists. In 1902, for example, the Italian Antonio Labriola allowed for the possibility and expedience of a colonial expedition to Tripoli

(Cf. Emilio Sereni, "Anti-fascism, Democracy and Socialism," (*Critica marxista*, Sept.-Dec. 1966).

Lenin described Van Kol's attitude as a "decisive step towards subordinating the proletariat to bourgeois ideology, to bourgeois imperialism." The efforts of the Polish socialist Marchlewski, who represented the Marxist standpoint, were successful. The majority rejected the opportunist resolution by 127 votes to 108 with 10 abstentions (those of the Swiss).

It was the Russians and Poles and the socialists from smaller countries lacking colonies, supported by most of the Italians and some of the Germans (Ledebour), French (Bracke) and British who defeated the draft and moved amendments that modified the resolution. The idea of solidarity between the colonial peoples and the workers in the imperialist countries against the common enemy had not yet taken root. For one thing, there was no trace of it in France, not even among the Guesdists. The Socialist Party congress condemned colonialism but added as an afterthought that socialism is incapable of opposing it effectively. However, the fact remains that the Stuttgart resolution condemned all colonial policy. "This Congress," it said, "is of the opinion that by its very essence capitalist colonial policy leads inevitably to enslavement, forced labor and extermination of the indigenous population in the colonies. The civilizing mission professed by capitalist society is simply a screen for its ambitions of conquest and exploitation. None but socialist society can provide the opportunity for all peoples to develop to the full their civilization."

It was only after this explicit denunciation of the essence of colonialism that several passages of the original text, drawn up by the majority of the committee, were included in the final resolution, among them the passage stressing that "colonial policy adds to the danger of international complications and wars between the peoples of the colonialist countries."

The resolution concluded by calling on socialist deputies "resolutely to oppose in all parliaments the regime of ruthless exploitation and slavery in all the existing colonies" while "demanding reforms to mitigate the lot of the natives, strict observance of their rights . . . while working with all the means at their disposal to prepare these peoples for independence."

Inspired by the Stuttgart resolution, the Spanish and French socialist parties took action against the war in Morocco.

Lenin attached the utmost importance to the vote on the colonial question. He believed that the opportunists, seduced by bourgeois blandishments, had thoroughly exposed themselves. Going to the root of the matter, he demonstrated that the imperialist bourgeoisie of some countries was getting bigger profits out of the colonies than out of its own workers. This, he showed, produced an economic basis for

contaminating the proletariat with colonial chauvinism. In some countries this contamination of certain sections of workers persisted for a long time, and even today the Communist Parties still have to combat it.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND SOCIALISM

The relationship between the parties and the trade unions was also discussed. It will be recalled that for all countries except France and the United States, the congress was a representative assembly not only of working-class political parties, but also of all the big trade unions.

Lenin, naturally, wanted the important resolution to be correctly oriented, for, as he said, the trade unions could not be "neutral" in the class struggle. His standpoint was backed in the committee by Lunacharsky (Voinov), while most of the French delegates opposed any kind of relationship between the parties and the unions, having defeated at the Socialist Party congress the Guesdist minority who wanted union and party activities to be "concerted and combined." The French cloaked their negative attitude in high-flown references to the "revolutionary spirit" of the General Confederation of Labor and the general strike. Yet, despite the right wing, the congress passed a resolution in support of the socialist orientation of the unions.

"The political and economic forms of struggle are equally necessary," the resolution read, "if the proletariat is to be delivered from spiritual, political and economic enslavement. While the activities of socialist parties are confined chiefly to the political domain, those of the trade unions mainly concern the sphere of economic struggle. Therefore, the party and the trade unions have an equally important task in the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat. Each of the two organizations has its distinct sphere, determined by its character, in which it must do its work in complete independence. But there is also a widening sphere of the class struggle in which success depends on the accord and cooperation of the Party and the trade unions. Consequently, the proletarian struggle will be all the more effective and fruitful, the closer the relations between the party and the trade unions, without in any way jeopardizing the necessary unity of the trade union movement . . . The trade unions will be able fully to discharge their duty in the struggle for the workers' emancipation, provided their work is imbued with a truly socialist spirit. It is the duty of the Party to help the trade unions in their struggle for improving the condition of the working people."

The resolution condemned as impotent any union orientation focussed exclusively on professional interests, allowing for craftism or accepting the theory of labor-capital harmony.

These principles, Lenin pointed out, should be

treated with the utmost tact. He disapproved of brusque action and warned particularly against expelling from the trade unions those holding different views. (*Collected Works*, Eng. Ed., Vol. 13, p. 108)

The resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority, excluding 18½ dissenting votes—eleven French, three Italian and 4½ of the U.S. delegation.

For a variety of reasons the French General Confederation of Labor was at the time exposed to anarchist influences, one being the sectarian practices of the Guesdist militants and another the discredit brought on the Socialist Party by Millerand's policy of class collaboration and opportunism. As for the United Socialist Party, since 1905 it had confined itself to general agitation and work in parliament, abandoning the economic domain entirely to the trade unions. To this Jules Guesde objected. "The trade union activities and political actions of the proletariat," he said in 1907, "must not be isolated since they must be carried out by one and the same class, which cannot split in two without committing suicide." Unfortunately, this proposition had been rejected by successive congresses of the French Socialist Party. Political action was reserved for the Socialist Party, while economic struggle was reserved exclusively for the trade unions.

This can be illustrated by a passage from Nadezhda Krupskaya's memoirs. During Lenin's stay in Paris in 1909-10, she writes, he made a study of the French labor movement. The Socialist Party was then shot through with opportunism. For example, a big strike of postal workers took place in the spring of 1909. The city was in turmoil, but the party remained aloof on the pretext that the strike was the concern of the trade union, not the Party. This division of labor, this self-withdrawal from the economic struggle seemed outrageous to us Russians."

The most striking evidence of the orientation of the French unions is contained in the resolution of the General Confederation of Labor Congress at Amiens in 1906. True, it left a lasting impression on the trade union movement by recognizing class struggle, but said it considered the confederation self-sufficient, inasmuch as it organized the economic struggle (which it described as "the only pure class struggle") and was inclined to consider general strikes as the sole effective means of defeating the enemy. It pointed out, moreover, that ultimately the trade unions would become the base for social reconstruction and "associations for production and distribution."

The Amiens charter, as the resolution came to be known, gave rise to trade union isolationism and, hence, to weakness. It did not, as it advocates claimed, result in independence, since trade union independence is decision-making through normal democratic consultation with the membership, something that is

recognized and championed today also by those who, in the tradition of the Stuttgart resolution, believe that the socialist spirit alone can animate the trade unions in face of all the theories of "labor-capital association" and that history has made its choice between the Proudhonist anarcho-syndicalism and Marxism. The trade union movement at all levels controls its own actions and makes its own decisions. But, as noted at the 1936 congress for the reunification of the French trade unions, it is ready to cooperate with the socialist and democratic parties and does not confuse the freedom and autonomy of a broad organization open to all wage-earners with indifference to political problems.

Recognition of autonomy does not imply a return to the old anarcho-syndicalist formulas, nor acceptance as gospel of archaic trends denying the vanguard role of the workers' party. There is nothing in common, therefore, between the concept of trade union independence and the concept of neutrality on basic political and social problems. By no means can the trade unions ignore the basic class and national problems. Autonomy based on democratic structures implies that the trade union movement assumes broader political responsibilities in the best sense of the word. The conditions of today are not a mechanical repetition of those that prevailed when the Stuttgart resolution was adopted in 1907. But the resolution holds good in the sense that, as before, narrow craftism must still be combated, and that the trade union movement must fit itself into the perspective of the workers' historical mission.

IMMIGRATION OF WORKERS AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

It will not be out of place to mention the Stuttgart resolutions on the emigration and immigration of workers. The opportunists, upholding the narrow craft interests of the labor aristocracy in the United States and Australia, wanted a ban on the entry of Chinese and Japanese workers on the pretext that they were against organization and were not politically conscious. This was something they had vainly attempted to impose on the Amsterdam congress in 1904. The American Hillquit went to the length of telling the committee that protests against racial discrimination were "sentimental prattle"; however, at a plenary session the exponents of this view did not venture into the open. The congress passed a resolution favoring the revolutionary social-democratic movement and the spread of internationalism.

Congress said that while it appreciated the difficulties created for the proletariat by wholesale immigration of workers accustomed to a lower standard of living, it was impermissible from the standpoint of international solidarity "to exclude people of particular nationality of race." Congress recommended legislation to protect immigrants, recognition for them of equal economic, social and political rights and

their unobstructed admission to trade unions.

After a stirring speech by Clara Zetkin who had for two days presided over the first international conference of 200 women socialists, Congress urged "the socialist parties in all countries to work energetically for women's suffrage." The idea of a limited suffrage for certain categories of women, conceived by the suffragettes in Britain as "immediately enforceable" and championed at the congress by a woman delegate from the Fabian Society, found hardly any support.

* * *

Lenin worked hard to rally the Left at the congress against the opportunists and revisionists. Maxim Litvinov, secretary of the Russian Social Democrats at Stuttgart, related that the Bolsheviks conferred with Ledbour, Rose Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin, Tyska (Jogiches), and others in an effort to unite the Marxist revolutionaries in the international socialist movement of the imperialist epoch.

Lenin, Bebel, Singer, Rosa Luxemburg, Jean Jaurès and others signed a message from the Congress to William Haywood, leader of the American workers who was imprisoned along with a number of miners as a result of a monstrous police conspiracy. It will be recalled that it took the efforts of the entire working class to save these men from the electric chair.

THE LESSONS OF STUTTGART

When Lenin returned to Kuokkala in Finland he wrote two articles about the Stuttgart Congress. One of them, written in a popular vein, appeared in the Bolshevik "1908 Calendar for All." Early in September Lenin spoke about the Stuttgart congress at a conference in Terioki of the St. Petersburg RSDLP.

Lenin was only too well aware of the weak sides of the Congress. Later, he said on this score that "international Marxism was opposed to imperialism, while international opportunism was already then in favor of it."

He noted the deplorable fact that the German Social Democrats who previously had always rallied to the defense of the revolutionary point of view, were unstable and gravitated towards opportunism. The Congress, he thought, had borne out what Engels had written to Sorge in April 1886: "In general it is a good thing that the leadership of the Germans is being challenged, especially after they have elected so many philistine elements (which is unavoidable, it is true). In Germany everything becomes philistine in times of calm; the sting of French competition is thus absolutely necessary. And it will not be lacking."

Lenin also recalled the warning sounded by Clara Zetkin's paper to the effect that in most of the Congress committees the German Social Democrats had acted as the spokesman of opportunism. Shortly afterwards in his article, "Marxism and Revisionism," he showed that revisionism was international and had struck root in contemporary society.

By and large, however, the Stuttgart Congress had a positive impact. Clara Zetkin's paper noted that in the final count revolutionary energy had triumphed in the main debate, the debate on the struggle against war.

Summing up his opinion of the Congress resolutions, Lenin wrote:

"On the whole, the Stuttgart congress brought into sharp contrast the opportunist and revolutionary wings of the international social-democratic movement on a number of cardinal issues and decided these issues in the spirit of revolutionary Marxism." (*Collected Works*, Eng. Ed., Vol. 13, p. 81.)

What the Congress accomplished was historic. The fact that the social-democratic leaders in Western and Central Europe went back on the decision to oppose imperialist war when war broke out in 1914 does not detract from the significance of the resolutions adopted at Stuttgart and Basel. These resolutions had a strong bearing on Lenin's elaboration of the working-class attitude to war, peace and revolution, and he referred to them frequently.

When the war broke out and, as Maurice Thorez said, "rivers of blood spilled across Europe, mountains of corpses rising everywhere and ruins piling up," Lenin opposed those who spoke of peace in the abstract and pointed out that the only way to end the war was to overthrow the regimes that had started it and to carry out socialist revolutions in the main belligerent countries, turning the imperialist war into a civil war. The facts proved Lenin right. The revolution conquered in Lenin's own country.

The first thing Soviet power did was to proclaim peace on earth. The policy of peace became the policy of a state.

The victory of the socialist revolution in one

country radically changed the conditions of the fight against war. It gave an object lesson to the imperialist bourgeoisie of what it should expect if it started another war.

Lenin worked out a new policy, based on the inevitable long-term coexistence of states with differing social systems. The proletariat gained increasing resources to impose its will on the imperialists and to hold them in check.

Today the trends revealed by Lenin have become dominant and determine world development. A powerful socialist system has appeared in place of the one young socialist state. The balance of forces has tilted against imperialism, although the latter is still aggressive and capable of doing harm. In the capitalist countries, the fight for socialism proceeds on a grand scale. Revolution is not made conditional on disastrous events, especially a world nuclear war with its fearful consequences. It is the battle against war that is weakening imperialism and reaction and bringing revolution nearer.

But despite social reconstruction and changes in tactics, the spirit of Stuttgart lives on. The glorious international tradition of struggle against war, of international solidarity that knows no frontiers, is alive.

Imperialism is still the chief enemy. The Communists are concentrating on the anti-imperialist struggle. At the head of the battle for the freedom of the peoples and for peace stands the Soviet Union. The Stuttgart delegates were fully justified in calling for every kind of action to avert or to terminate wars. And this is still the prime task of the working-class movement.

Georges COGNIOT,
President of the Maurice Thorez Institute,
France

Lift the ban on the Communist Party of Germany

ELEVEN YEARS AGO, on August 17, 1956, the Federal Constitutional Court of West Germany, in proceedings started in 1951 by the Adenauer government, declared the Communist Party (the KPD) to be illegal, thus aligning the country with such backward states as Spain, Portugal, and Greece. This dangerous and reactionary step, and its results, were and are obviously of the greatest importance, and call for careful examination, particularly at this time, when on the one hand, the ruling class and government of West Germany present a danger to the peace of the world perhaps greater than at any time since the end of the Second World War and, on the other hand, working-class and intellectual circles are developing stronger—if not yet strong enough—opposition to that government and are demanding the withdrawal of the prohibition.

I propose in this article:

1) to examine the Constitution (Grundgesetz) of West Germany in order to expose the nature and essence of the state in which this grave offense against democratic principles was committed;

2) to determine whether there was any legal or political justification for the prohibition when it was imposed;

3) to study the real motives of the West German government for the prohibition (which, although it was formally the judicial decision of the Constitutional Court, was in truth the political decision of the government);

4) to give an account of the many grave results which the prohibition has brought about for the people of West Germany, of Europe, and indeed of the world—and in particular its effect on the peace of the world and on the hopes of the reunification of the two German States;

5) to consider the prospects of now forcing the withdrawal of the prohibition, and the advantages that would follow.

THE CONSTITUTION

Firstly, what is the essence of the Constitution of May 23, 1949? It is, or at any rate was,

a good liberal Constitution, and if it had been observed through the years West Germany would today be a much better country. It was and is clear in its purpose of establishing "a democratic and social federal state" (see Art. 20 (1)), a parliamentary democracy of the Western liberal type. (A parliamentary democracy, as I understand it, is a state in which, whilst economic and thus *ultimate* political power remains in the hands of a minority ruling class, the machinery of government rests on and is carried on by a popularly elected and constitutionally empowered parliament, in which the popularly elected members grouped in political parties pursue and seek to implement policies which with varying degrees of clarity have been put before the electors and approved by them in general elections. However imperfect and limited such a democracy may be in the face of the immense strength of the finance-capital ruling classes of the large modern state, it is yet far better than any form of government in which such a ruling class can work its will and enforce its selfish policies without any regard to the limitations imposed by the democratic apparatus, i.e., an authoritarian or a police state. If one needs a contrast, let one compare the Weimar Republic, with all its weaknesses and instability, with the Nazi dictatorship which followed it.)

This 1949 Constitution, like most such liberal constitutions, guaranteed the dignity of men, the rights to personal freedom, to the equality of all men, and of women with men, the freedom of belief, of religious and political views, and of adherence to any confession or political philosophy, coupled with the prohibition of any discrimination or advantage inflicted or given on grounds of sex, origin, race, language, home and descent, beliefs, religious or political views; the rights to free expression and publication of opinions, the freedom of teaching, of assembly, and of establishing organizations, including trade unions, and in particular the freedom to establish political parties whose internal regulation must accord with democratic principles (these last words being no doubt intended to make it clear that Fascist parties

cannot be established or revived). (See Articles 1 to 5, 8, 9, 21 and 23).

The Constitution also, by Article 26, prohibits activities calculated or intended to disturb the peaceful coexistence of peoples, and in particular any preparation for aggressive war. It further clearly proclaims, by the Preamble and by Articles 23 and 146, the aim, indeed the obligation, of bringing about the voluntary—that is, the peaceful—reunification of Germany.

Clearly, the Constitution was designed to establish a democratic state very different from the authoritarian aggressive militarist and revanchist state which—as we shall see—the ruling class and government has already gone some way to establish and is now aiming to carry into a full-scale dictatorship on Hitler's lines; one can understand why the Constitution has already been amended pretty often, and why the present Kiesinger-Strauss government talks of introducing some 84 further amendments as a basis for a new Dictatorship. But it was under this Constitution, then—in 1951—only once amended, that the CDU/CSU government instituted proceedings before the Constitutional Court demanding the prohibition of the Communist Party.

The dates of the various steps in the long proceedings are worth notice, and have some interesting coincidences. The government's demand was made November 22, 1951; coincidentally, on the same date it opened negotiations with France, Britain, and the USA for the rearmament of West Germany. The victorious Powers had virtually wholly forbidden all rearmament, and had for a long time firmly resisted all demands for relaxation of this ban; but later, in the service of the cold war and to enlist the cooperation of West Germany and its territory in that cold war, these Powers accepted step by step every West German demand for further armament (the demand for full freedom of nuclear armament alone being still outstanding). Opposition to rearmament and to the accompanying conscription was expressed in 1950-51 in West Germany—as well as outside—in various forms and by very large majorities among circles far wider than the Communist Party. (The parallel between the rearmament of Germany after the First World War and this rearmament of West Germany after the Second, in spite of initial prohibitions, in the service of anti-Sovietism and indeed of the "basic idiocy (*Grundtorheit*) of our times," anti-communism, is only one of many frightening parallels that can be drawn from recent events in West Germany).

The next noticeable date in the proceedings is November 23, 1954, when after endless delays in the preliminary proceedings the public hearing of the arguments before the Constitutional Court began; almost coincidentally, just one month before, Adenauer had signed the "Paris agreements" which took West Germany into the "European Defense Community" and paved the way for its entry into NATO and the establishment of its now immensely pow-

erful armed forces.

The public hearing lasted until July 14, 1955, and the judgment proclaiming the prohibition was given on August 17, 1956; almost coincidentally, on July 25, compulsory military service was introduced in West Germany.

JUSTIFICATION FOR THE PROHIBITION

I turn now to the question whether there was any legal or political justification for the prohibition; I take the legal aspect first. The starting point here, of course, is that the Constitution was plainly designed to secure the effective operation of parliamentary democracy, and that no such democracy can work unless political parties can function freely and put forward the views of the classes or sections of the population which they represent. And the terms of Article 21 of the Constitution, which I will examine in a moment, show that the draftsmen of the document had this well in mind. (It was perhaps in any case difficult for parliamentary democracy to work well in West Germany; it was and is a difficult garden for such a flower, for there had been no pretence of any form of democracy since 1933, the ruling class was powerful and reactionary and had no good will towards any form of democracy, the government machinery was riddled with Nazis, and even before 1933 parliamentary democracy had never worked well. This of course made it more important than ever that, in any interpretation of the Constitution, nothing should be done to make effective democratic operation more difficult).

In that setting, constitutional lawyers considering the suggestion for prohibition of any political party — especially of the only one which represented the interests of the working class with clarity and understanding of the class struggle—were and are bound to conclude that any such prohibition would be unconstitutional, since it would by itself destroy the essence of the Constitution by making parliamentary democracy unworkable. And when a constitutional lawyer turns to study the only Article on which the government or the Court could base a prohibition, namely Article 21, he finds that it gives no encouragement to the enemies of the Communist Party. It states as the only limitation on the freedom of political parties that their internal regulations must accord with democratic principles. In the light of the paramount importance of parties in the working of parliamentary democracy, and of the prohibition of fascist parties by the victorious Powers, this modest limitation was plainly designed to ban fascist parties, leaving the legality of all other parties clear.

The second section of Article 21, which deals with the possibility of declaring a party unconstitutional, is confined to parties which aim to injure or destroy the liberal democratic constitution or to endanger the existence of the Federal Republic. Here a constitutional lawyer must say, firstly, that this is primarily aimed

at fascist parties, and, secondly, that in general it must be interpreted — like all penalizing provisions — restrictively, i.e., so as to affect only parties which are so subversive that their existence endangers the effective operation of democratic principles, and that such principles can only be served, and not imperilled, by the prohibition. Above all, a constitutional lawyer must say that the Article cannot be interpreted so as to affect parties which are hated by possible powerful opponents, including governments, just because they represent interests hostile to those opponents. (When I came to study the grounds advanced by the government in support of its demand, we shall see how strongly it sinned against this correct interpretation.)

The Communist Party was then presenting a firm and clear policy for fulfilling the Potsdam decisions, and therein was in particular opposing rearmament, and—by implication—all the aggressive and revanchist policies and claims that were to follow it. It was supporting peaceful reunification of Germany, and friendly relations with the Socialist states and indeed with all of Europe. There could be no political reason in a parliamentary democracy for prohibiting a party with such policies, except on the basis that any capitalist ruling class or party wants those who effectively oppose it to be politically destroyed.

This policy of the Party was reflected in its National Reunification Program adopted in 1952, which corresponded to the Constitution and hence could not possibly be covered by Article 21 ruling that a political party can be prohibited only in the event of it seeking to violate or destroy the free democratic system. Aware of this ruling, the Federal Government declared that the demand of the Communist Party that the policy of rearmament be replaced by a policy of peaceful reunification and generally by a policy of peace, of strengthening democracy, ran counter to the Constitution inasmuch as the CPG (in carrying out its policy wholly in keeping with the Constitution) insisted on the removal of the Adenauer regime. In saying this, the Federal Government identified the Adenauer regime and its policy with a free democratic system. And the Federal Constitutional Court acted on this interpretation. Clearly, then, there can be no question of any convincing legal justification for the prohibition, at best one can speak of a pseudo-juridical manipulation. In reality, the justification for the prohibition is at variance with the bourgeois-democratic ruling of the Constitution, the positive democratic and peaceful principles of which were mentioned above. In the final analysis therein lies the reason why the effects of the banning of the Communist Party, now being increasingly felt, could not but affect the very bourgeois-democratic nature of the Constitution. There is therefore no legal justification whatever for the prohibition.

The weakness of the case for prohibition which I have, I trust, thus demonstrated is

confirmed by much that took place in the course of the proceedings before the Court, and by the efforts which the government thought it necessary to make to bully the Court into deciding in its favor. (In political cases, especially where the government attaches great importance to winning—as was obviously the case here—the courts are more likely to be subject to pressure, and more likely to yield to it, than in ordinary cases.) As these proceedings dragged wearily along, and before the public hearing even began, the President of the First Chamber of the Court, before which the case was pending, had to have a personal interview with Adenauer about the proceedings, as a result of which the Chamber fixed November 24, 1954, for the opening of the public hearing. This hearing lasted nearly eight months, and ended on July 14, 1955; and the government no doubt expected—as it certainly desired—that the Court would give judgment against the Communist Party within a matter of weeks. But over a year elapsed without the Chamber being able to make up its mind to do so, and finally the government took the strong step, insulting to the Chamber, of introducing a "Bill to Amend the Federal Constitution Court Law," which directed that if the First Chamber did not give its judgment within six weeks the case should be withdrawn from it and transferred to the Second Chamber. This Bill was accepted by the Bundestag on July 21, 1956, and the First Chamber, thus—to put it bluntly—blackmailed, gave its judgment, as already mentioned, on August 17, 1956.

The actual rulings of the Court tend to confirm the view that the prohibition was unconstitutional. Whilst pronouncing the prohibition of the Communist Party as a Party, the Court stated that, nevertheless, any and every citizen had as fully as before the right to be a Communist, and to preach his Communist philosophy and policy, Marxism-Leninism. And it further declared that the command laid on every citizen by the Preamble of the Constitution and Article 146 to work for the reunification of Germany had priority over the decision to prohibit, so that the prohibition would lose its force if it proved to operate against reunification. (It would not be practicable in law for the Communist Party to act on this ruling by—say—publicly re-opening its offices on the ground that the prohibition has demonstrably hindered reunification in that it has enabled the government so to behave as to push the possibility of reunification further and further away; for the prohibition is binding on everyone until it is revoked. But the ruling is very important, and shows how weak the case for prohibition was.)

So much for the legal aspect; what of any political justification for the demand when it was made?

THE GOVERNMENT'S MOTIVES

The real motives of the government for seek-

ing prohibition may not be the same as the reasons actually advanced, but they may overlap.

No doubt the one overriding motive was the "idiocy" of anti-Communism, and the Cold War which was and is linked with it. Anti-Communism is in a sense indigenous in West Germany, with its reactionary ruling class, its Nazi-riddled government, its desire (particularly in the early fifties) to please its benefactor, the USA, and its particular hatred of socialism and the socialist world. One could give many illustrations of this; one worth quotation is the speech of the sinister figure of Strauss on November 11, 1956: "We live in an era of technological development in which the combined strength of our allies is sufficient to wipe the Soviet Union off the map." Strauss is now of course one of the most influential ministers in the recently formed coalition government.

Another important motive lay in the fact that the Communist Party presented the one really serious opposition to all the policies and desires of the ruling class, which had of course no belief in or wish to serve democracy, and wanted nothing of Potsdam. What it wanted was more and more power for itself, and all the safety for monopoly capital that can be achieved in the twilight of the capitalist era; and it naturally sought to intensify the Cold War in order to keep socialism at bay wherever possible, and to re-establish West Germany as a state heavily armed by itself, with great profit to itself; and it looked forward to the fulfilment of its revanchist ambitions by the recapture of all the territories—including East Germany — which had been within the frontiers of Germany on December 31, 1937. Anti-Communism was the very breath of its body. The Communist Party in the early fifties was the buttress of the still active and numerous opponents of rearmament. If they could get rid of the Communist Party, they would find all their tasks and their hopes much easier to fulfil; and they felt—rightly, as it proved—that they could get the Court to pronounce a prohibition.

If they could do this, copying the similar operations of Hitler after the Reichstag Fire, they need not worry so much about the Social Democrats or the many liberal elements in other parties. The Social Democrats were less resolute opponents, more easily cajoled or bought over; one may illustrate their weakness by reminding readers that they have fully accepted the government's proposals for "Emergency" legislation to impose a dictatorship, and this too when the Trade Unions are rightly expressing the strongest opposition to it. It would also have been more difficult to get the Court to prohibit the Social Democratic Party (the SPD) and both it and the liberal opposition would in any case be weakened by the elimination of the Communist opposition, as well as by the steps which the government was presumably already planning, namely, the great flood of political prosecutions

which was to follow, sapping the courage and sealing the mouths of all but the most stout-hearted, and producing a nation of conformists reminiscent of what happened in 1933 and onwards.

When one turns to the grounds actually put before the Court by the government, one finds the Communist Party's opposition to re-armament—a legitimate political attitude shared by millions, which could not possibly fall within any proper interpretation of Article 21—was put forward prominently. Just as prominent—and just as constitutionally worthless—was the MacCarthy-like complaint, to which months of the public hearing was devoted, that the Party preached the doctrines of Marxism, including the dictatorship of the proletariat *if* a revolutionary situation should arise. The government also relied on the Party's "Program of National Reunification", i.e., its political view as to how the duty admittedly lying on everyone to seek reunification should be carried forward, and on its support of the unofficial referendum on the question of re-armament and the making of a peace treaty, which the government had succeeded in prohibiting.

Surely, one must conclude that the proceedings were in effect a trial of opinions (*Gesinnungsprozess*), and that the prohibition was juridically unjustifiable and a purely political act of the government.

RESULTS OF PROHIBITION

The results were and are grave and far-reaching. In general they form part of the picture of the dangerous revival of Nazism in West Germany, which is being resisted with much too little force, but would have been very strongly opposed by the Communist Party, and through its example by many other elements too. One can really say of almost every political development of the government of West Germany, firstly, that it is dangerous and ought to be resisted, and, secondly, that it would have been far more effectively resisted had the Party remained legal. I shall examine some of these developments:

There is the destruction or crippling of almost every progressive organization and individual in the country. One by one—even, sometimes, dozen by dozen—they are accused of carrying on in one form or another the work of the illegal Party, the evidence consisting often enough of nothing more than that they advocate or oppose measures which, however good or bad they may be, are also advocated or opposed by the Communist Party.

For example, people have been accused of Communist activity because they support proposals to establish an atom-free zone in Central Europe, or for a non-aggression pact between the NATO Powers and the Warsaw Treaty Powers, or for the prohibition of atom weapons. Things have gone so far that citizens are in practice faced with the choice of either conforming fully with government policy or find-

ing themselves prosecuted for Communist activities. And there is scarcely any organization with public or political objects — apart of course from the numerous neo-Nazi and revanchist organizations tolerated by the government—which is still left free to operate except the churches and the trade unions (and even the latter, as we shall see, suffer a good deal).

Organizations of women, of youth, of Victims of Nazi Persecution (the VVN), the peace movement, and many others, have been either directly suppressed or so gravely hampered as to be unable to work effectively. Over 300,000 political prosecutions are pending, the majority of these prosecutions — often of people who have never had any connection whatever with the Communist Party—are based on allegations that they are doing the work of the illegal Party. As the famous liberal advocate who has defended many such cases in West Germany, Dr. W. Ammann, has put in, those so prosecuted include not only Communists but non-Communist opponents of nuclear armament, pacifists, Social Democrats, theologians, university professors, members of Trade Unions and trades councils, political journalists, editors, and publishers. (Although most prosecutions are related to allegations of Communist activities, there are also, under recent amendments of the Criminal Law, many charges of "endangering the state" in respect of activities which in a normal democratic state would be regarded as no more than legitimate political controversy).

Opposition to revanchism, to re-armament, and to the "Emergency" dictatorship legislation are also treated as illegal Communist Party activity under the extended interpretation given by the Courts, whereunder in effect the advocacy of anything which is also advocated by the Communist Party is held to be criminal. And, whilst the Trade Unions remain legal, their activity is in practice hampered by prosecutions launched against active trade unionists on the same charges of "Communism."

Whilst we have seen that the Court ruled that individual Communists are free to preach Communism, in practice any ex-member of the Communist Party who stands as a candidate for the Bundestag finds himself prosecuted, and often imprisoned, for doing so.

Another important head of the results of prohibition lies in the present position of the potentially very dangerous problem of relations between the two German states. Neither Germany nor Europe can be really peaceful until the relations between these two states are normalized. But the political standpoint of West Germany in the last ten or eleven years has been, and still is, that West Germany is the only German state and has the sole right of representing Germany and Germans, and — worst of all—that West Germany will "liberate," i.e., take over by armed force, the German Democratic Republic. (As long ago as September 1953, Adenauer said publicly: "Let us talk no more of reunification, but of the liberation

of the Eastern region").

In my view, one must also link with the results of the prohibition the whole development of militarism and revanchism, with their demands for the retaking of all territories which were within the German Reich in 1937, i.e., not only the whole of East Germany but large parts of Poland and portions of the USSR. (The demand for the Sudetenland, in Western Czechoslovakia, which was not taken until 1938, is often added, as are sometimes Austria and parts of Switzerland). It may be that this development would not have taken place if the Communist Party had remained legal, but it would clearly have met with much more difficulty if that had been the case. Nor must one underestimate the dangers of this policy, which is linked with the well-known "Forward Strategy" which the West German government has succeeded in having adopted as NATO policy; the essence of this is the stationing of German and other NATO forces in mass on the very edge of East Germany and Czechoslovakia, so that at any moment a sudden and heavy attack can be launched on those countries and carried on into Poland over the famous "Oder-Neisse" line which is the frontier not of West Germany but of East Germany. (It is interesting that in a map published in August, 1966, in *Der Spiegel* the West German forces are shown as linking the frontiers not only of East Germany and Czechoslovakia but of Austria as well).

But the most sinister development of West German politics at the present time is the proposal to pass legislation — under the general title of "Emergency" (Notstand)—which will enable the government at any moment, by a simple declaration, to take full dictatorial powers tragically similar to those conferred on Hitler by the "Enabling Laws" in the summer of 1933. (This is the classical Fascist step, taken by any ruling class when it fears that it can no longer maintain power if the ordinary democratic safeguards are allowed to continue; it simply eliminates the safeguards and replaces them by dictatorship). As can be deduced from what I have written about the Constitution it is a pretty formidable task to draft valid legislation for this purpose, and it is estimated that the government will need to secure some 84 amendments to the Constitution to get it through; but it is pushing it forward actively. The Social Democrats have accepted the scheme, but the Trade Unions oppose it. It would of course have been opposed by the Communist Party, and their opposition would have strengthened that of all the liberal and other elements who oppose it.

Generally, of all the results of the prohibition which I have been discussing, it may be said that, if there had never been any prohibition, they would either not have been carried through, or would have been carried through more slowly and with greater difficulty; that they are nearly all breaches of the Constitution, in that they destroy the parliamentary

democracy which is the essence of it; and that they combine to make West Germany into an authoritarian, indeed a police, state. One is justified in asking about the eleven years of West Germany without a legal Communist Party:

Has parliamentary democracy even survived? Is the political system in general worse than it was? Is the Constitution operating better? Is justice working well? Or on the other hand is the country nearer to becoming a police state and a Hitlerian dictatorship?

Are human rights protected? Is there freedom of opinion or controversy? Are the rights and interests of the workers better safeguarded?

Is West German policy at home or abroad any better? And has the immense re-armament made the country any more secure?

Is reunification, or peaceful co-existence and cooperation between the two German states, any nearer?

Is peace in Europe in any less danger from West Germany? Is international tension any less?

Before passing to the question of the withdrawal of the prohibition, I must consider shortly the present position of West German policy, and especially its foreign policy for its lack of success may make it in some ways more dangerous. As I have already stated, the essence of this policy is the claim that the German Democratic Republic does not exist and should not be recognized, that West Germany is the sole German state, representing all Germans and entitled to rule over all Germany—indeed, having regard to the “1937” doctrine, over much more than Germany; and that no country which recognizes East Germany should be allowed to have relations with West Germany. Now, it is well recognized outside West Germany, and is becoming recognized inside the country, that these claims are increasingly failing to be realized, in fact cannot be realized, and may lead to world war if any attempt—either through “Forward Strategy” or otherwise—is seriously made to realize them. They are in truth barren, and the rulers of the country have led themselves into a blind alley, from which they can only escape by a substantial change of front, which they will be unwilling to make.

It is probably to their at least partial realization of the position into which they have drifted that they have recently showed signs of making attempts to improve their relations with the socialist countries; this is at first sight reassuring, but we can alas! draw little

comfort from it so long as they continue rigidly to refuse to recognize the German Democratic Republic and to maintain their moves toward dictatorship, their demands for the 1937 frontiers, and their “Forward Strategy.” The danger exists that, in the blind alley, and unwilling to make any real change in their policy, they may be tempted to perilous war-like adventures.

PROSPECTS OF WITHDRAWAL OF PROHIBITION

I have to consider both whether the prohibition ought now to be removed, and how this can be brought about.

Almost everything that I have written goes to show that the prohibition should never have been imposed, and ought at any and every moment that has followed to have been withdrawn; it follows automatically that it ought now to be withdrawn. Every argument of justice, democracy, constitutional law, political and human advantage, and even of expediency, calls for withdrawal; after all, any country that claims or purports to be a normal democracy should be as anxious to withdraw the prohibition of a political party as a normal healthy citizen would be to have a bullet removed from his stomach. The “blind alley” also contributes to the argument, for withdrawal would improve the atmosphere, and give parliamentary democracy an opportunity, even as late as this, to work better, and to create a real parliamentary opposition to the dictatorship moves.

How can the withdrawal be achieved? This can only be done by popular pressure from—mainly—the people of West Germany. The pressure must be strong enough to force the government to act; the struggle may be long, but it may be hastened by the government's other difficulties; and it is already resulting in many Petitions, carrying thousands of signatures, coming forward. (Article 17 of the Constitution gives the fullest right to present Petitions).

It is alleged by opponents of the demand for withdrawal that it is constitutionally impossible to withdraw the prohibition, once it has been imposed by the Court. This sounds like nonsense and indeed is nonsense. The juristic arguments advanced in support of this assertion have been convincingly answered by many lawyers, and I need not now develop the arguments; but one can be quite sure that, once the pressure becomes too strong for the government to resist it, it will conclude that there is no legal obstacle.

D. N. PRITT

Israel: war, the road to fascism

THE AFFINITY of the Israeli extremists with the U.S. imperialist aggressors could not be more obvious. But what many are talking about today is their spiritual kinship with the West German militarists dreaming of new blitzkriegs. Here are a few West German comments on this score. "We once fought a total war," says *Bildzeitung*, "while Israel has won a total victory." And the *Rheinische Post* chimes in. "In effect," it says, "it is a victory for us as well, for self-confidence aroused by memories of Rommel and his pupil Moshe Dayan is welling up in German hearts."

Developments in Israel are disturbing. The Dayan group, as the daily press attests, represents the most aggressive element in Tel-Aviv. It says that Israel has no intention of pulling back from territory seized in the aggression against the Arab countries. Outrages against the Arab population in the occupied areas, committed on Dayan's initiative, have compelled many to flee their homes. In an interview to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* on July 7, Dayan again claimed the "right" to "preventive war," that is, to a renewal of the aggression.

The internal policy of the ultra-nationalists is no less disturbing. Their immediate aim in a bid for unlimited power is to amalgamate the social-chauvinist parties (RAFI, MAPAI, Achduth Haavodah, etc.), buttress their alliance with the traditional political organizations of the big bourgeoisie and, in effect, establish a one-party system. The long-term aim is to install a fascist-type military dictatorship. More than once in history, nationalist hysteria (inflamed by either victory or defeat) has been a breeding ground for fascism.

In Israel today it takes moral courage to oppose the wave of chauvinism and national hatred. And there are men who possess this quality. In the *Knesset* (parliament) Israeli Communists headed by Meir Vilner and Twafig Toubi alone protested against the resort to war, urged an immediate pull-back to the armistice line and denounced the outrages in the captured territory.

Reactionaries are taking revenge on the Communist internationalists. Police break into their homes and security agents hound them at every step. In Nazareth, Haifa, Jaffa and elsewhere many have been arrested without formal charges. The Communist deputies in the *Knesset* are continuously obstructed. A conspiracy of silence has been organized in regard to their public speeches.

To discredit the internationalists at home and abroad, reactionary propaganda charged that the Communists had lined up with Arab

extremists in calling for the destruction of Israel. Yes, as Vilner pointed out in a letter to Jean-Paul Sartre published in *L'Humanite*, "the right of Israel's existence as a sovereign state has never been a subject for discussion."

The Communists proclaimed publicly that the war of the Eshkol-Dayan-Begin government was not a "preventive defensive action" but an "aggressive war, which was planned beforehand together with the governments of the USA and Britain and with the support of the West German government." Its chief purpose, the Communists stressed, was to overthrow the anti-imperialist regimes in the United Arab Republic and Syria, with a subsequent break of relations between the Arab countries and the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

Obviously, the main motive of the aggression — protection of foreign oil monopolies and Western strategic bases in the Middle East — has nothing in common with the true interests of Israel and her people. Hence, the Communists declare, the armed venture "has caused the most serious harm to the national interests of the State of Israel and its international position. The war has not strengthened the security of Israel but has shaken it even more: it has not brought nearer Israeli-Arab peace, but has put it off further."

In face of the vicious campaign against Soviet policy in the Middle East, the Israeli Communists, locked in struggle with Right and "Left" chauvinists, are stressing that the Soviet Union has always worked against armed conflict between Israel and the Arab countries and is now doing its best to eliminate the consequences of the aggression and to safeguard peace and security in the region. "The Soviet Union," says a statement of the Israeli Communists, "was and remains a faithful friend of the workers of Israel and of the people of Israel."

The Communists warned against the threat created by the aggressive war to the democratic gains of the people. The inclusion in the coalition government of RAFI (Ben Gurion-Dayan party) and GAHAL (the bloc of the big bourgeoisie) is a prelude to an offensive against democratic rights, terror against the opponents of the war and further maltreatment of the Arab population.

The hostilities, which added to the tax burden, were used as a pretext for floating a war loan. Unemployment has risen, real wages have fallen, and social and trade union rights are being impaired. The task of the day is to build up a united front to safeguard the rights of

the workers and to thwart all attempts to undermine the workers' gains.

The true patriot, the Israeli Communists say, is he who combines fighting for the well-being of his people with proletarian internationalism. As they see it, the future of the Israeli people will not be secure until armed gambles and territorial claims are abandoned, until the Palestine problem and the Arab-Israeli conflict are settled by recognizing the rights of the Palestinian Arabs. Warlike chauvinism must be swept away and the democratic freedoms and rights of the workers respected. This would bring peace. The Arab countries would recognize Israel. Normal relations would yield acceptable solutions for all other disputed issues. Conversely, continued generation of hate, nationalism and chauvinism—providing the soil for fascism and renewed gambles—presages national disaster.

Developments in Israel after the aggression against the UAR, Syria and Jordan, which culminated in *de facto* annexation of Arab territory with a population of more than a million, only confirms Marx's postulate that no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations.

The danger today is the rising influence of the fascist-like ultras, who, bidding for a "positions of strength" policy want to hold on to the seized Arab lands and to suppress all who oppose their predatory tactics. The courage with which the Israeli Communists are discharging their internationalist duty (which, despite all slander, complements their genuinely patriotic duty) has won for them the admiration and support of Communists, democrats and progressives all over the world.

L. KIN

Poet, revolutionary and humanist

TWENTY-FIVE years ago the fascists executed Nikola Vaptsarov, one of those fine Bulgarian poets and writers devoted to the working people and to the Communist Party. The radiant image of the man and fighter epitomizes the words and deeds, the poetry and action of revolution.

Vaptsarov lived at a very turbulent time in Bulgarian history. The years of his creative maturity, 1935 to 1942, coincided with the years of acute struggle between the old world which had spawned fascism and the world of socialism and freedom. Thousands of workers led by the Bulgarian Communists fought courageously against the Bulgarian brand of fascism.

In this difficult situation Vaptsarov did his proletarian and civic duty, writing immortal revolutionary songs.

Born in 1909 in the town of Bansko in the foothills of the legendary Pirin, Vaptsarov was brought up on the revolutionary traditions of the fight for freedom against the Ottoman yoke which persisted there until 1912.

As a pupil in the navigation school in Varna, Vaptsarov came under communist influence. Upon leaving school in the early thirties, he worked as a mechanic in a factory, a working-class environment in which his revolutionary outlook developed. He joined the Communist Party and after taking part in a strike found himself victimized. Moving to Sofia, he endured much hardship, working twelve hours a day as a stoker and later as a mechanic.

His poetry is that of a worker immersed in revolutionary action. A collection of his verse, "Song of the Motor," appeared in 1940, serving notice of his unique gift. In the disturbing summer of 1941 when Hitler's armies, which had by then occupied Bulgaria, assaulted the Soviet Union, Vaptsarov devoted himself to underground work, helping the Party's Central Committee prepare for an anti-fascist uprising.

Arrested by the Bulgarian fascist police, he was tried by a military court, sentenced to death, and shot on July 23, 1942.

Vaptsarov occupies a prominent place in the constellation of those writers and poets who gave their lives in the fight against fascism alongside Federico Garcia Lorca, Julius Fucik and Mussah Jalil. Posthumously awarded the World Peace Council's international prize, he is known in many countries and his poetry has been translated into many languages.

The impact of Vaptsarov's poetry derives from his closeness to the people, to the working class and the Communist Party. Its strength is in its ardent party spirit and deep faith. Communist ideas were the poet's lifeblood. They were uppermost in his thinking, in his hopes and in his outlook. His poetry was a part (small perhaps but extremely active) of the great proletarian cause.



His favorite hero was the worker who has attained to consciousness of his place in society, full-blooded and spiritually rich, reflecting the finest qualities of the builder and remaker of society.

His verse is austere and truthful. Its realism blends with revolutionary romance, to which it owes its special charm. It has the power of arousing our emotions, taking us out of the present into the enticing future world. It exudes optimism and confidence in the historical mission of the workers, called upon to overthrow the old world and build the new society of social justice. And one of the sources of this optimism is the Soviet Union where man's cherished dreams are being realized, the bulwark of the people's fight for freedom, for a better life and for lasting peace.

Every line Vaptsarov wrote speaks of his joy of living. Nor is this the fondness of the dreamer in the ivory tower; it is the vibrant love of the man fighting for his class, for the happi-

ness of his people. For a man of that kind life has a special value.

The militant humanism in his poetry stems from the poet's socialist outlook, the influence of Soviet literature, above all of Maxim Gorky. Vaptsarov spoke of the influence exerted on his poetry by Soviet literature in the following terms:

"Everything I stand for as a poet I owe to the great Russian and Soviet literature, the clarion of love for man and progress."

He responded to its sound always, even on his dying day.

The enemy, motivated by an animal hatred of Communists, slandered them as men without patriotism and serving as foreign agents. Vaptsarov pilloried this lie by writing deeply emotional poetry about his land. Nor is his patriotism a hidebound nationalism. He has respect and brotherly affection for all nations. A true Communist, his love of country blends

with his admiration of other peoples.

He wrote delightful poetry about Bulgaria, the beauties of his native Pirin and the exuberant romance of the mountain people. Yet one of his finest poems is dedicated to a far-away country convulsed in struggle against fascism. In the 1930's Vaptsarov closely followed the events in Spain, whose people were locked in battle with international fascism. His heart went out to the Spanish republicans, and his poetry glorified revolutionary Spain.

The poem written just before his execution is filled with emotion, reaffirming his unshakable faith in his people.

Nikola Vaptsarov died in the prime of life. Twenty-five years have passed and his native Bulgaria expresses its gratitude to him for what he did and what he stood for. It will never forget him!

*Mladen ISAYEV,
Bugarian poet.*

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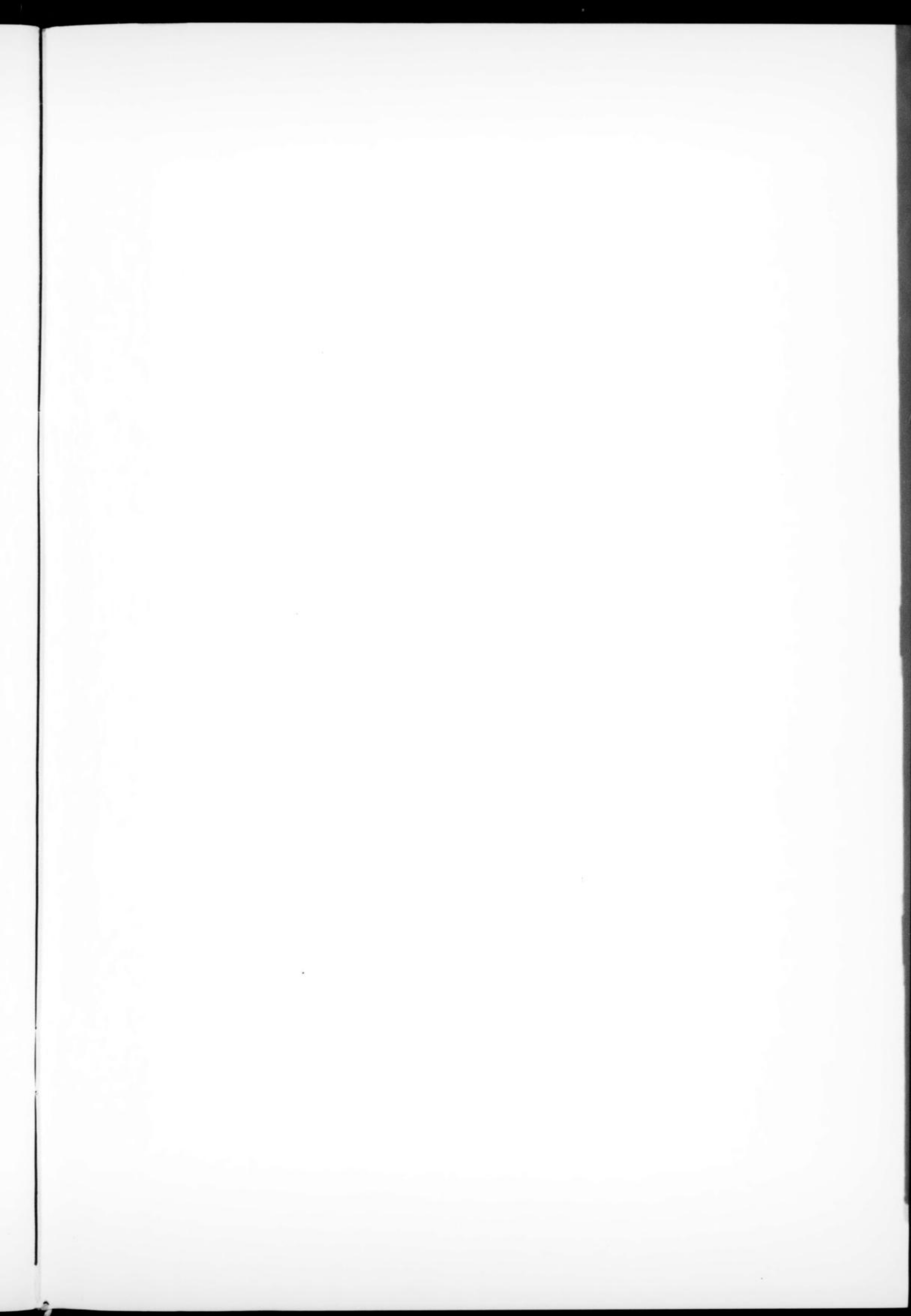
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