

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of Peace and Socialism

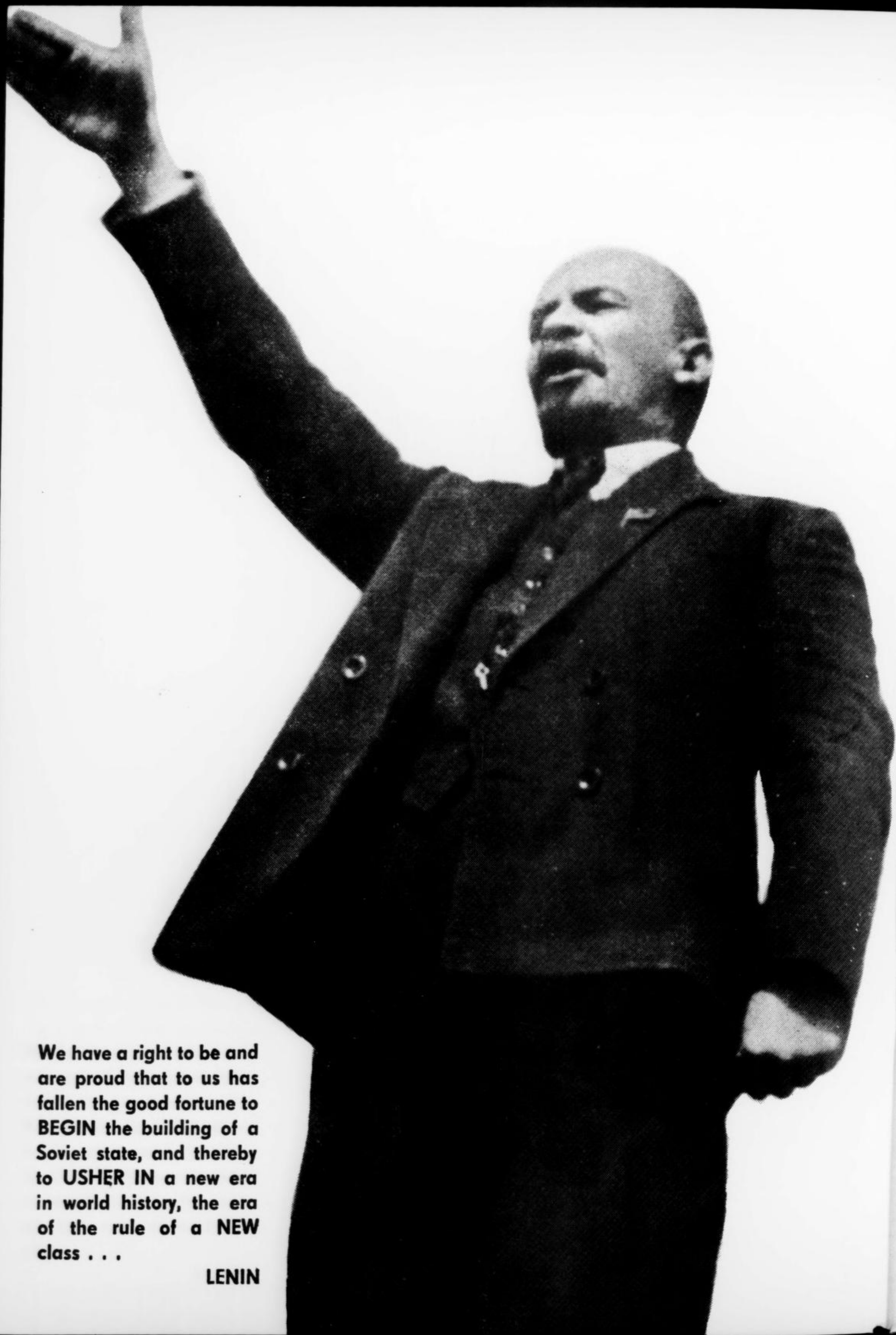


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We have a right to be and are proud that to us has fallen the good fortune to BEGIN the building of a Soviet state, and thereby to USHER IN a new era in world history, the era of the rule of a NEW class . . .

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WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

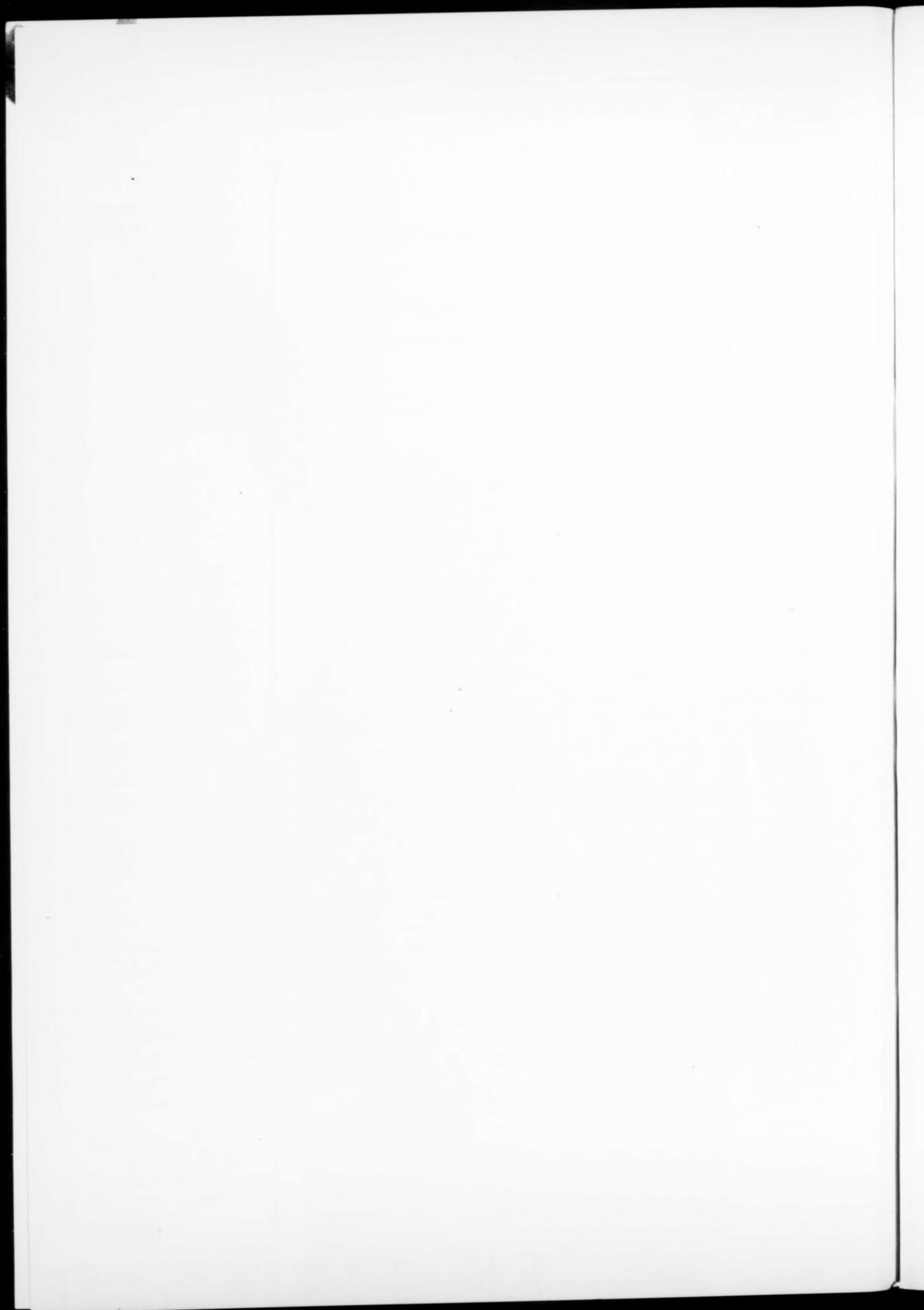
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Towards new victories for communism

LEONID BREZHNEV

General Secretary of the Central Committee,
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

ON THE EVE of the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution I wish to convey, on behalf of all Soviet Communists, fraternal greetings to all readers of *World Marxist Review*, to all Communists, and wish them further success.

In this message to readers of the Marxist-Leninist parties' information and theoretical journal, I would like to dwell first on the importance Marxist-Leninist theory has for our movement.

The October Revolution, the jubilee of which we are now celebrating, was a grand and historic victory for scientific communism. The triumph of the socialist revolution in the complex conditions of Russia owes much to the Bolshevik Party which, founded and led by Lenin, inherited from Marx and Engels, the founders of our teaching, a profound understanding of the vital part played by theory in the revolutionary struggle. And our Party, which has always devoted much attention to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism is unremitting in its opposition to all attempts to revise its principles or, conversely, turn them into lifeless formulas, or deprecate the value of theory. Thanks to this the CPSU gained prestige and became recognized as the genuine leader of the laboring masses, one with a clear vision of the ultimate goal and of the ways of attaining it, one capable of carrying our cause to victory.

Guided by scientific socialism, our Party undertook and carried out the tremendous task of abolishing the system of exploitation

in Russia and creating the world's first proletarian state. Marxism-Leninism was our beacon in the difficult job of transforming a backward country, weighed down, moreover, by social and national oppression, into a leading industrial and collective-farm power, the homeland of pioneers in conquering outer space and taming the atom. Marxism-Leninism is the very foundation of all our work in building communism in the USSR.

In present-day conditions assimilation of revolutionary theory, the defense and creative development of Marxism-Leninism acquire increasing importance in solving problems common to the Communist movement, in the work of each Marxist-Leninist party, and in combating anti-communist ideology and practice. This is necessary also because the revolutionary process is assuming immense scope, becoming more multiform, and involving more millions of people.

This huge task, which is of historic importance for our movement, can be successfully accomplished only by joint effort, by concentrating the activities of fraternal parties.

In these days of the October anniversary, I would like also to emphasize the importance of proletarian internationalism.

There is profound logic in the fact that the half-century of the socialist revolution in Russia is being celebrated by all the revolutionary and progressive forces. For Marxist-Leninists internationalism and communist partisanship are inseparable. From the very outset the October Revolution bore a deeply inter-

nationalist character. Having raised the banner of socialism in Russia, it paved the road to freedom and fraternity, to a system that knows neither exploitation nor oppression.

The October Revolution created a powerful base for the entire international revolutionary movement. The march of events over the past fifty years has furnished irrefutable proof that every step towards reinforcing the USSR is a telling blow at imperialism and of very real assistance to the liberation struggle everywhere.

Our people owe their success largely to the international solidarity of the world proletariat and of the entire revolutionary movement, and they cherish in their hearts a feeling of profound gratitude to their brothers in struggle.

The paramount importance of fidelity to internationalism in our time is determined by the gigantic scope of the revolutionary struggle which now extends to the entire world and has become the crucial factor of historical development. It is determined also by the fact that imperialism, in its attempt to halt the march of history, is increasingly relying on discord and division among the revolutionary forces.

Soviet Communists can rightfully say that all their activities are inspired by proletarian internationalism. And internationalism, the spirit of fraternal solidarity with the working people of other countries, has become an intrinsic trait of the Soviet character.

The CPSU regards the building of communism in the USSR as the Soviet people's principal internationalist duty to the revolutionary movement and to all mankind. And the nearer we approach this goal, the more evident all the advantages of the new social system in every field of endeavor, the greater the economic and political potential of the Soviet Union, the more effective our support will be-

come for all the contingents of the world revolution, and the stronger the appeal of the socialist ideals to working people everywhere.

The CPSU sees its internationalist duty in strengthening the community of socialist countries and promoting their cooperation on the basis of sovereignty, equality and fraternal mutual assistance. Fraternal cooperation of the socialist countries is essential for the development of each of them and of our community as a whole.

The CPSU considers it its internationalist duty to render all-round assistance to the forces of national and social liberation in ex-colonial countries. As internationalists, the Communists are concerned for the interests of all the peoples of our planet. The world knows of the assistance we are giving the intrepid patriots of Vietnam in their battle against the barbarous U.S. imperialist aggression, and the assistance we are giving the Arab and other peoples in defending their freedom and independence and their sacred right to work out their own destinies. Our internationalism finds expression in solidarity with the world labor movement and in efforts to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism. The world's Communists can discharge their historic mission only if there is solidarity and unity in their ranks.

The CPSU considers it its internationalist duty unswervingly to pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems, to promote peace and security and avert a world thermonuclear war.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will always be true to the banner of proletarian internationalism and will fulfil its internationalist duty to the end. And we are confident that the coming years will see new victories for the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, for the Communist cause.

The October Revolution and the transition to socialism in Germany

WALTER ULBRICHT

First Secretary, Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany

1. What is the significance of October for the victory of the revolution and the building of socialism in your country?

Carried out under Bolshevik leadership, the October Revolution redirected the course of history and, of course, exerted a tremendous influence on the national and social issues confronting Germany. Under Lenin's leadership, the Russian proletariat showed the German working class and people how a popular revolutionary movement could bring about peace and end the rule of the imperialist criminals responsible for the war. Lenin's end-the-war appeal to all the peoples had a special meaning for our people and working class.

The Spartacus League, that spokesman for Germany's front-rank workers and progressive intellectuals, enthusiastically hailed the socialist revolution in Russia. There was fraternization in the trenches, election of shop stewards in the factories, big strikes at munitions plants and powerful street demonstrations. In this way the forces were being mustered for the battle that would put an end to the imperialist war and overthrow the government of the Kaiser. The Bolshevik slogan of all power to the Soviets was echoed by the Spartacus League and accepted by class-conscious workers. At its October 1918 conference the League decided on measures in preparation for a popular rising. The fight for democratic demands and an end to German imperialism was a central element of its action program. The mutiny of the Kiel sailors and the formation of soldiers' councils were the signal for the rising.

The CPSU Central Committee Theses on the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution—

that testimonial to the valiant struggle of the Bolshevik Party and the Russian people for socialism and communism—contains this passage: "The October Revolution initiated the deliverance of mankind from the exploiting system and the realization of the ideas of scientific communism, exercising a tremendous influence on subsequent world history. It ushered in the epoch of the general revolutionary rejuvenation of the world, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism."

The past five decades have clearly brought out all the difficulties and complexities of reconstructing society along socialist lines, particularly in a country where semi-feudal relations still existed.

The victory of the Russian proletariat under Bolshevik leadership not only had an invigorating effect on broad sections of the German working class and intellectuals, but gave them a new type of organization in the fight for political power, the Soviets. This, however, had to be matched by a new type of party, such as the Bolsheviks, under Lenin's brilliant leadership, had built up in 14 years of sustained effort.

There was no such party in Germany. The October Revolution made clear to the working class of Germany, as of all other countries, the need for such a party of revolutionary action, armed with Marxism-Leninism and capable of giving effective leadership to the masses.

This applied with particular force to Germany, where the class struggle was at high tide. But Lenin's writings were not known in Germany. The Right-wing Social Democrat leaders took good care to keep the rank and

file ignorant of Lenin's stand in the polemics that were under way in the Russian and international labor movement. And it was only in the course of the November 1918 revolution that the vanguard of the German working class was able, at long last, to build a new-type revolutionary party. It was only then, also, that the need was fully appreciated for alliance with the laboring peasantry and progressive intellectuals and for an independent strategy in the fight for political power.

The October Revolution had a powerful impact on Germany, whose imperialist rulers had unleashed the war. Defeat on the battlefield and economic blockade had plunged the country into ruin and hardship. Monopoly was more highly developed than in any other European country, and, moreover, finance capital was merged with Prussian militarism and the reactionary Prussian bureaucracy. Class antagonisms were therefore especially sharply etched, but the bourgeoisie was able to cultivate a labor aristocracy, the chief supporter of Social Democratic opportunist policies. These were based on the fond hope that universal, equal and direct suffrage and the secret ballot would lead the country to socialism. The Right-wing Social Democratic leaders were anxious to prove that fundamental change was possible without proletarian dictatorship. We know how it all ended—in the collapse of the Weimar democracy in 1932.

The history of the German labor movement, from the Communist League founded by Marx and Engels to the formation of the Socialist Unity Party, revolved around the question of how the proletariat could win political power. From Lenin and the October Revolution we in the Spartacus League learned that the path to power lay through a break with opportunism and bourgeois ideology and organization of a new-type revolutionary party. That, we realized, was essential to winning over the majority of the working class and leading it to the capture of power. And in 1919, when we were able to read Lenin's *State and Revolution*, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, we drew instructive conclusions from the experience of the November revolution. We had a clear understanding of what was involved in the struggle for political power. One highly important lesson taught us by the defeat of the November revolution was that the Communist Party of Germany, inspired and guided by the theory of Marx and Lenin, must work out its own strategy and tactics in conformity with German conditions.

The Bolshevik Party's struggle for political power and the building of socialism were for us in Germany a manual of strategy and tac-

tics. All the more so, since World War I had proved that there was no future for Germany as an imperialist power. Monopoly capital, whether operating under an imperial or pseudo-democratic regime, stood no chance whatever of re-allocating world spheres of influence, and certainly could not be expected to pursue a genuine national policy. Only a government committed to friendship with Soviet Russia, whose people and government were favorably disposed towards Germany, could resist the extortionate demands of the imperialist Western Powers and launch out on a policy consonant with our national interests and with the new era in world history. Unfortunately, this became possible only after the Nazi defeat in World War II. The path advocated by Karl Liebknecht and Ernst Thaelmann would have prevented the advent of fascism and the outbreak of war.

When Nazi imperialism was smashed and the glorious Soviet Army and its allies entered Germany and the Soviet flag was raised over the Reichstag, the German Communist Party was prepared for the winning of power. It had drawn the necessary lessons from the major class struggles in Germany and from the history of the Soviet Communist Party. It followed the advice Lenin gave in his speech at the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International: all Communist Parties "must study in the special sense, in order that they may really understand the organization, structure, method and content of revolutionary work"; they "must assimilate part of the Russian experience." This fully accorded with the principles enunciated by Karl Marx, that great German thinker and founder of scientific socialism.

In 1945 German imperialism left our people a dislocated economy, a wrecked machine of government, and political and ideological confusion. It was amidst this chaos that we had to begin building the new life. Soviet officers and soldiers proved excellent teachers, sharing with our anti-fascists their experience and helping them in every possible way.

How did the October Revolution affect the building of socialism in Germany? I would like to answer by citing these two facts.

First, thanks to the experience of the Russian Revolution and such works of Lenin as *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* and *The State and Revolution*, we came to appreciate the vital need for working-class unity, the need to complete the democratic revolution by eradicating imperialism in Germany.

And there was the second lesson: socialism cannot be achieved in a single leap. As Lenin emphasized in discussing the New Economic

Policy, the Party must strive for realistic democracy and formulate and carry out a realistic economic policy.

The Bolsheviks had not only to chart the path to the winning of political power, basing themselves on the theory of Marx and its development by Lenin—they had to chart the path to socialism, step by step and amidst incredible difficulties. We, however, could draw on their experience and avoid the severity of the war-communism period Soviet Russia had to go through. But we did not simply copy the Soviet system, nor did we try to transplant it on German soil. We were guided by its basic experience and by Marxism-Leninism, and this helped us to follow a democratic path to socialism, one suited to German conditions—from anti-fascist democratic administration to the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants, domination of the working class in alliance with the laboring peasantry, the intelligentsia and other sections of the people.

2. On the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution the socialist countries are summing up the results of their economic, political and cultural cooperation. What are the prospects in this area, as you see them?

We can look back on a splendid record of cooperation between the Socialist Unity Party and the Soviet Communist Party and between the USSR and the German Democratic Republic. Our cooperation goes back to the anti-fascist struggle against Hitler and Hitlerism. It continued in the occupation period, when the Soviet Army helped us cope with the aftermath of the war and to bring life back to normal. Soviet planning experts, engineers and city commandants gave the self-government authorities valuable assistance in starting up production again and in fulfilling our compensation obligations. We cooperated mainly in the planning and organization of production, and also in developing agriculture, and here we could draw on Soviet experience in the New Economic Policy period.

It should be observed that in 1945 Berlin was a united city with a united anti-fascist democratic administration and a united economic authority. But the imperialist Western Powers refused to implement the Potsdam agreement on Germany's denazification and democratization and partitioned the country in order to bring the monopolies back to power in West Germany and to turn it into a buffer state spearheaded against socialism in Europe. This created a very complex situation for our people: the country was divided, its economic pattern and the division of labor in industry disrupted. As a result, we had not only to

reorganize the anti-fascist democratic self-government into a worker-peasant state, but also to reconstruct the economy and start new lines of production, heavy engineering, for instance. Economic cooperation with the Soviet Union progressed as both countries eliminated the damage and dislocation caused by the war.

Through the Paris agreements and NATO, West Germany was brought into the U.S.-led imperialist system and agreements were concluded to the effect that Germany could be united only within NATO and the U.S.-directed alliances. In this situation, in 1955, the Soviet Union allowed the German Democratic Republic all sovereign rights, with the proviso that it would observe the Potsdam agreements.

It then became the historic mission of the sovereign German Democratic Republic to initiate a peace policy and to work for agreement with the other equal German state. The GDR was committed to a new foreign policy of friendship with the USSR and the other socialist countries, the national-democratic states and all countries of goodwill. In home policy, and specifically in the economic sphere, we had to prove that the democratic road to socialism was not only achievable in an industrial country, but for Germany was the only road to a nation united in peace, democracy and socialism.

Cooperation with the USSR in foreign policy, military matters and the economic sphere has been developing to our mutual benefit. Gradually it has been brought into conformity with the development requirements of both countries. Of vast importance in this respect is the Friendship pipeline, which keeps us supplied with Soviet oil and has enabled us to develop a petro-chemical industry. But the most important aspect of our cooperation is the immense opportunities it offers. Our long-range plans (up to 1975) and cooperation in the scientific and technological fields allow the GDR—if it purposefully and consistently carries out a technological revolution—to advance to world production standards in its chief industries. Cooperation in foreign policy, long-range planning, science, technology and industry holds out excellent prospects.

3. How has the October Revolution influenced the interaction of internationalist and national tasks in the building of socialism in your country?

Ever since Marx and Engels founded the Communist League and issued the *Communist Manifesto*, with its famous battle cry, "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" German Marxists have been inspired and guided by the noble ideas of proletarian internationalism. Indeed,

socialist internationalism was one of the dominant ideas in the merger of the Communist and Social Democratic parties to form the Socialist Unity Party. Nor could it have been otherwise, for our Party has always been an unswerving and militant opponent of German imperialism, and it can carry out its mission only in fraternal alliance with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist and Workers' parties in the socialist and capitalist countries, and the popular-democratic parties in the newly-free countries. Now as always, internationalism is vital to our movement in Germany.

The CPSU Central Committee Theses on the half-centenary of the Revolution, which we fully approve, emphasize that October marked the beginning of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism throughout the world, and that the emergence of the socialist world system was the most important historic event after the October Revolution. The socialist refashioning of society, which now extends to more than a third of the world's population, and the growth of the socialist world system are conclusive proof that there are fundamental laws governing the transition to socialism in every country. This alone should suggest the need for close alliance between the socialist countries and fraternal cooperation with Communist and Workers' parties in the capitalist countries and with popular-democratic parties in the emergent, dependent and colonial nations.

It is a distinctive feature of the situation in Germany that peaceful solution of the national question depends not only on the solidarity of our working class and people with the working class and progressives in West Germany, but also on the strength and scope of proletarian internationalism. For only through the unity and fraternal solidarity of the socialist countries, through united action of the working class and the peace-seeking forces in the national-democratic and capitalist countries, can we advance to European security, which, in turn, will assure a peaceful adjustment of relations between the two German states. We do not draw a line of distinction between our national interests and internationalism. In carrying out our democratic revolution, and also in our socialist revolution, we benefitted from the experience of the Soviet Union and, to some extent, of other socialist countries. Our policies and practical activities have always been predicated on the laws of social development expounded by Marx and Lenin, which we have creatively applied to the specific conditions of our industrial country.

Let me cite this example. Lenin's coopera-

tive plan gave us a sure guideline. How did we apply it in organizing agricultural cooperatives? In conformity with the requirements of our development, we began by starting peasant mutual-aid groups, carried out a land reform, set up machine-hire stations to encourage joint cultivation and, after that, supported peasant initiative in organizing agricultural cooperatives. Naturally, the poor peasants were the first to join, and only when the cooperatives proved a success — after we supplied them with machinery — did the middle peasants come to see the advantages that would accrue to them. We did not expropriate rich peasants; after a certain time they, too, were allowed to join the cooperatives, though temporarily with restricted rights.

We employed similar democratic methods in tackling other major problems involved in the changeover from capitalism to socialism. This enabled us to make the economic and ideological remodelling of society a more or less simultaneous process.

In all this work our Party has sought to apply everything that was new and progressive in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, but always mindful of the fact that their problems and conditions in many ways differed from ours.

I would like to stress that the Communist International played an important role in training the cadres of Communist and Workers' parties in a spirit of proletarian internationalism. It was a center for pooling experience and for its interpretative generalization. This was of immense value to the young parties. The fact that our leading cadres were able, after the Nazi defeat, to carry out a consistent anti-fascist and democratic policy and later direct the work of building socialism, is largely attributable to the experience many of them acquired through their work in the Communist International. It need hardly be said that there were certain negative features in its activities, but as a rule these were a reflection of similar adverse features in Communist parties. The development of each Communist and Workers' party is a complex process of dissociation from bourgeois ideology, assimilation of Marxism-Leninism and accumulation of experience in hard-fought class struggles. To a certain extent that applied to the Communist International as the community of Communist parties. The experience accumulated by the Communist movement of each country, and the international movement as a whole, helps to develop the creative science of Marxism-Leninism. That the Communist and Workers' parties are now capable of independently formulating and carrying out policy is due in no small measure

to the achievements of the Soviet Communist Party in building socialism and in creatively developing Marxism-Leninism, and also to the truly historic contribution made by the Communist International. Of course, now there is no need, and no reason, for an international executive. But there is need, and reason, for fraternal unity and cooperation of all Communist and Workers' parties with the CPSU. There should also be more systematic exchange of experience between the parties, particularly those in the socialist countries. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany shared in the drafting of the statements of the 1957 and 1960 international conferences. We believe that they have retained all their validity, though they do require certain addenda.

In Germany, the interaction between our international and national tasks stands out with particular clarity. The effort for peace in Germany, for peaceful coexistence of the two German states, is intimately linked with the effort for European security and against nuclear arming. The national task of combating German imperialism — a struggle that is being waged by the Socialist Unity Party, the Communist Party of Germany and Social Democrats in West Germany — is closely associated with the struggle of fraternal parties against West German imperialism's expansionist policy, its bid for hegemony in Western Europe and its efforts, jointly with the USA, to prevent the emergent nations from choosing the non-capitalist path. National and international tasks coincide also in the struggle against the psychological warfare through which the imperialist powers hope to weaken and paralyze the socialist countries. The fundamental problems posed by the technological revolution are common to all the socialist countries, and this calls for close cooperation within the Council for Mutual Economic Aid and through unilateral and multilateral agreements. Here, too, socialist internationalism fully applies.

The democratic and socialist development of ex-colonial countries and their struggle against imperialist oppression accords with the interests of the socialist world system and the national interests of the socialist

countries and they should cooperate in helping these newly-freed nations.

In some socialist states national policy does not coincide with internationalist obligations. That applies to China, which to this day has refused to coordinate with other socialist countries assistance to Vietnam. The existence of certain groups and trends in the Communist movement is evidence that some sections of the labor movement are influenced by bourgeois ideology. There is also evidence of Left radicalism, expressed in attempts to prod the revolution by semi-anarchistic methods and to skip whole stages of development. Our Party's attitude towards these trends is based entirely on principle. The complexity of the anti-imperialist struggle and participation in it of petty-bourgeois and peasant strata has led to a relapse of the infantile disorders of the labor movement. Our Party knows from its own experience that it matured and became steeled only by mastering Marxism-Leninism and combating bourgeois ideology, Right-wing opportunism and Left-wing deviations. Our Party had to go through a long, tortuous process before it reached the level of Marxism-Leninism at which it embarked on the building of socialism.

The CPSU Central Committee says in its Theses: "The most urgent task of the international Communist movement is to ensure its unity on Marxist-Leninist principles. At the present stage, this unity is achieved through joint action in solving common tasks, by holding bilateral and multilateral meetings between parties, comradely exchanges of views, and mutual study of experience." We fully agree with that and are doing everything we can towards early convocation of an international conference of Communist and Workers' parties.

On the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany wishes the CPSU and the great Soviet people continued success in building the foundations of communism and in carrying out its Leninist foreign policy. The ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution are a tremendous creative force of modern history.

The October Revolution helped overcome Mongolia's backwardness

Y. TSEDENBAL

**First Secretary, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Chairman,
Council of Ministers, Mongolian People's Republic**

THE FIRST SOCIALIST revolution, which triumphed in Russia under the Marxist-Leninist banner, has a decisive bearing on the general trend of social progress in our time. The revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism begun in October 1917 has in the past half century spread to new countries and peoples.

The building of socialism in 14 countries on three continents, emergence and consolidation of the powerful socialist community, collapse of the imperialist colonial system, establishment of more than 70 independent national states, intensification of the working-class struggle in the capitalist countries, birth and development of the world Communist movement, loss of supremacy by imperialism and the change in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism—these have been the main results, the milestones, of the revolutionary process in the world since the October Revolution in Russia.

Ringling in a radical change in man's destiny, the October Revolution exercised a profound revolutionizing influence on world development in the post-October period, giving impulse to fundamental social transformations in all countries and rousing to freedom and national revival numerous oppressed and exploited peoples. One of these was the people of Mongolia, which languished under the boot of home and foreign exploiters. Dominated for more than 200 years by the Manchu empire, itself backward and semi-colonial, Mongolia was a benighted land artificially walled off from the outside world.

The October Revolution decisively contrib-

uted to the upsurge of the national-liberation struggle in Mongolia which culminated in the victory of the people's revolution in 1921.

The people's revolution, triumphing under the immediate impact of October, put an end for good to the centuries of colonial rule, overthrew the feudals, wrested Mongolia from the imperialist system and established a genuinely popular political system. Anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in substance, it put down the frenzied resistance of the deposed feudal class and repulsed the assaults of international imperialism, abolishing the political and economic roots of feudalism, ousting foreign capital and laying the foundation for a new Mongolian economy and culture.

The October Revolution showed the Mongolian people and those of other under-developed countries the least painful and most promising way of overcoming their backwardness—the way of non-capitalist development.

Embarking on this, the only correct way to socialism, the people of Mongolia resolved many complicated problems, wiping out economic and cultural backwardness, building up the country's productive forces, and raising the nation's standard of living. Socio-economic and cultural reconstruction was difficult, because the nation was almost totally illiterate, highly religious and steeped in the continuous all-pervading influences of the lamaist church, which, together with the feudals and with international imperialism, opposed the revolution. Due to the diabolical policy of the Manchu rulers, who sought to destroy the Mongolian people, nearly half the male population was scattered across the length and

breadth of the country in lamaseries, leading the life of parasites and taking no part in socially useful labor. It took years to eradicate this aftermath of feudalism and colonialism and to cultivate the rudiments of modern culture.

Our age-old economic backwardness was also extremely difficult to overcome, because industry, transport and communications had to be built practically from scratch, our economy being heretofore confined almost entirely to livestock breeding, which, moreover, was run on primitive lines.

The formation of cooperatives, which absorbed the individual small arat (peasant) households, was completed towards the end of the fifties and constituted a most important advance in the country's socialist reconstruction, leading to the establishment of a single socialist economic system. The experience of our socialist reconstruction shows that the non-capitalist way indicated by the October Revolution is the only way to perform the transition from feudalism to socialism.

The historic service of the October Revolution to the working people of all countries, including the Mongolian, is that having triumphed in Russia and formed the world's first socialist worker-peasant state it created the main and the most dependable bulwark in the worldwide fight for social progress.

The Soviet Union has always consistently championed the legitimate rights and interests of the Mongolian people, giving them generous and selfless aid in all fields. The support of the Soviet Union, the cradle of the October Revolution, has indeed been a most important factor in the fight for Mongolia's freedom and independence. It has helped to safeguard our revolutionary gains from imperialist encroachments, to build up a versatile economy and to raise the cultural level and living standard of the people. The truly internationalist Soviet aid is speeding the completion of socialist construction in the Mongolian People's Republic.

The greatness of the October Revolution, which initiated entirely new principles in international relations, derives also from the fact that it has for all time linked the destiny of the Mongolian people with that of the great Soviet people, laying an enduring foundation for Soviet-Mongolian friendship and coopera-

tion. Thanks to October, the Soviet people have become the Mongol's most faithful friend who has never failed to come to his assistance in times of trial.

Such sincere friendship and deep mutual understanding as exist between the MPR and the USSR are unknown in history, Soviet-Mongolian friendship, wrought by Lenin and Sukhe-Bator, founder of the Mongolian state, was always based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and served as a prototype for friendly relations between socialist countries. The people of Mongolia consider their fraternal friendship with the Soviet people a precious gain and a powerful force which nothing can destroy.

The October Revolution introduced to Mongolia the all-conquering teaching of Marxism-Leninism, and the ideas of proletarian internationalism. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, whose ideology is Marxist-Leninist, associates its emergence, consolidation and ideological tempering as the vanguard of the Mongolian people with the victory of the October Revolution, and with the growth of close fraternal relations and continuous contacts with Lenin's Communist Party, the militant vanguard and mainstay of the international Communist and workers' movement.

The scientific Marxist-Leninist propositions concerning the general laws of socialist revolution and the building of socialism have enabled us to effect the transition from pre-capitalist relations directly to socialism, turning Mongolia into a rapidly developing agrarian-industrial country.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party has always adhered to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, protecting it from distortions and from the frenzied attacks of all kinds of opportunists and traitors. Now, too, and in the future, our Party will work assiduously for the unity and cohesion of the socialist world system and the international Communist movement, which are steadily growing stronger as the historical result of the October Revolution. The Party and the people of Mongolia consider unity of the socialist countries, their friendship and cooperation, and the solidarity of Communists all over the world, to be the source of all successes and victories in the fight begun fifty years ago for the cause of the October Revolution, the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

The October Revolution and socialist industrialization

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

General Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Rumania

TOGETHER WITH the Soviet people and all progressives, Rumania is celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution which rang in a new era in world history—the era of socialist and national-liberation revolutions and popular mass actions in all continents against exploitation and oppression, against imperialism, for radical social change.

Building the new society posed difficult problems to the Communist Party and the peoples of the Soviet Union, who were the first in the world to tackle the job. On how they would cope with these problems, one of which was industrialization, depended the very existence of the Soviet Union and its advance to socialism. The October Revolution took place in a country with a relatively low economic potential, and it is a credit for the Soviet Communist Party that in the circumstances it underscored socialist industrialization as the essential condition for economic progress, for successful socialist construction, and that it guided the nation unswervingly towards this all-important goal.

Lenin always stressed the vital importance of heavy industry and its key branch, engineering for economic and social development, for expanding the nation's resources and raising the productivity of labor, consolidating the independence and reinforcing the defenses of the socialist state.

The Soviet people followed this course and worked selflessly to industrialize their country, making immense headway under the leadership of the CPSU. The nation laid the foundation of a first-class heavy industry in much less time than it took the developed capitalist

countries. This proved decisive in building the new system, defending the gains of the revolution and defeating fascism in the Second World War. At present, too, it is the backbone of communist construction. In the half century since the October Revolution, socialist industrialization enabled the Soviet Union to build a vast technical and economic potential, accounting for one-fifth of world industrial output, making impressive progress in nuclear physics and space exploration, solving many formidable problems of the scientific and technological revolution and contributing decisively to the prestige and strength of socialism throughout the world.

The experience of the Soviet Union and of those other countries that had a low economic potential when they embarked on socialist revolution proves that industrialization is the key to building a highly effective modern economy and securing continuous improvements of the standard of living. Nothing but a powerful industry can provide the impulse and keep economic development abreast of modern science and technology, assimilating fully the country's material resources and manpower and asserting the superiority of the socialist relations of production. Engineering, metallurgy, chemistry and electric power—industries decisive for any country's economic progress—are the mainspring of all production, including agriculture, of higher labor productivity and extended reproduction of the economy as a whole.

Socialist construction of the past half-century also shows how important industrialization is for social development. Expansion and diversification of industry increases the per-

centage of people employed outside agriculture, inducing ceaseless growth of the working class, the most advanced social force, furthering urbanization and the gradual improvement of living conditions in villages to equal those of towns, and imparting dynamism to social and cultural life.

The successes of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries prove that socialism generates high rates of industrialization, accomplishing it in historically shorter terms than those registered under capitalism. Furthermore, industrial development in the socialist countries is based on superior relations of production—relations of cooperation and mutual assistance contrasting with the capitalist relations based on the exploitation of man by man and of colonial peoples and economically backward countries by more developed, stronger states.

After winning political power, the Rumanian Communist Party weighed the experience of world development and the concrete situation in our country, which inherited a low economic potential from the bourgeois-landlord regime, and made industrialization the keynote of its policy. In less than twenty years we have built a modern industry which is assimilating the nation's natural wealth and labor force on an increasingly broader scale, providing new plant for all branches of material production and stimulating agriculture. Far-flung industrial building secured steady progress on the road to socialism and made our economy highly dynamic. Industrial production grew continuously, averaging more than 12 per cent annually between 1950 and 1965. In the first year of the current five-year plan, and this year, too, our industry has been expanding rapidly, with Rumania ranking among the countries with the highest rate of industrial accretion in Europe and the rest of the world.

Working perseveringly to complete the building of socialism, the people of Rumania are carrying on with industrialization, convinced that this is the best way to put Rumania among the countries with an advanced economy and scale the peaks of civilization and welfare.

In accordance with the decisions of our 9th Party Congress the accent in the present stage of industrialization, highlighted by high rates of growth, is on elevating the technical standard of industry, on greater economic effectiveness and on scientific organization, with all enterprises being oriented on securing better results with the least possible outlays. In this context, great importance is attached to

improving management and planning to suit the new stage of Rumania's socialist development. Pertinent measures are set out in the draft directives adopted by the Central Committee meeting on October 5 and 6, which have been put up for public discussion and are to be presented to the Party's national conference this December.

We are also striving to improve the general structure of our industry, the proportions in each of its branches in order to stimulate such progressive industries as electronics, automation, production of synthetic materials, and the like. The priority growth of the production of producer goods is accompanied in the current period by a more rapid growth of the consumer goods industries in order to eliminate the lag in this field and meet more fully the increasing requirements of the people. Our Party and the government have taken measures to promote comprehensive mechanization and chemicalization of farming in the current five-year plan period. This will hasten the development of agriculture and make its contribution to the country's general progress weightier. There will be a better balance between industry and farming, essential for harmonious economic development.

In the next context of the socialist world system, industrialization of each socialist country is important not only for home development, but also for cooperation and international socialist mutual assistance, for strengthening socialism throughout the world. By building up industry, each socialist country helps to expand the share of the socialist world system in the overall world industrial product. This share has grown from 20 per cent in 1950 to about 40 per cent today.

Industrialization has enabled the socialist countries to broaden their economic, scientific and technical cooperation and the exchange of material and cultural values with all countries, regardless of their social system. Rumania, for one thing, increased her foreign trade by 430 per cent between 1950 and 1966, and considerably improved it structurally. Our country's part in promoting comradely cooperation among socialist countries can be illustrated by the fact that exchanges with the fraternal countries, notably the Soviet Union, account for the bulk of Rumania's foreign trade.

Rumania is building up cooperation in production, science and technology with the other CMEA countries, with all the socialist countries, and with all states, regardless of their social system, for we consider this advanced form of international contacts essential for furthering mutually beneficial division

of labor, accelerating industrialization and making more effective use of the resources of every country.

Celebrating the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, Rumanians, in the midst of far-flung intensive construction, will give

all their strength to secure further progress of their country, knowing that this is a contribution, along with that of the other socialist states, to the consolidation of the socialist world system, to the growth of the world forces of peace and socialism.

The October Revolution and the struggle of Bulgarian communists for socialism

STANKO TODOROV

Political Bureau Member and Central Committee Secretary,
Bulgarian Communist Party

ON THIS, the most meaningful jubilee of the century, one's mind goes back to the days in October 1917 that shook the world. We Bulgarian Communists take pride in the fact that from the very first day of the Revolution it was hailed by Dimitri Blagoyev, the founder of our Party, as an event of epochal importance. Bulgaria was one of the first countries in which the great ideas of October found a ready response in the minds and hearts of the people, and where Bolshevism became the theoretical foundation, the strategy and tactics of the Marxist party. Our Bolshevik orientation was of crucial importance for the future of our Party and our people. Nor was it fortuitous; it was the result of tradition and of many political, ideological and moral factors.

The adoption of Bolshevism under the influence of the lessons and experience of October was but the logical sequel to the Party's earlier development. For even its early activities were strongly influenced by the revolutionary ferment in Russia at the close of last century. The link between the Bulgarian and Russian revolutionary movements was symbolized by Dimitri Blagoyev, who organized one of the first Marxist groups in Russia. Un-

der his leadership the revolutionary wing of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Labor Party (the *Tesniaki*) developed into a revolutionary Marxist proletarian party supremely devoted to the working class cause. And from the very outset it took a consistent internationalist stand and waged an unswerving struggle against opportunism and bourgeois nationalism, for peace among the nations. It was these qualities that brought it so close to the Bolsheviks, though some of the carry-overs from the Social Democratic past still made themselves felt.

The *Tesniaki* adopted Lenin's theory and tactics and Bolshevik forms and methods of work, and in this too they were strongly influenced by the October Revolution. The Party had an active share in the founding of the Third, Communist International. The adoption, in May 1919, of the Bulgarian Communist Party's Policy Declaration firmly placed it under the banner of Leninism.

Lenin did much to help us become a true Bolshevik party. In his talk with Georgi Dimitrov in 1921 he gave the Party valuable advice on its policy after the First World War. He advised it to concentrate on strengthening its ranks as the vanguard of the work-

ing class, build up a worker-peasant alliance, train cadres devoted to communism and capable of influencing the masses. He urged the Bulgarian Communists to be realistic in their policy and activities, and work tirelessly for a victorious revolution in Bulgaria. What we learned from the October Revolution and the numerous ordeals we had to go through helped us become a party of the new, Bolshevik type.

This process of Bolshevization was consummated in the anti-fascist rising of September 1923 in which, for the first time, we squarely posed the question of power, the nature and motive forces of the maturing revolution. We led the armed rising against the fascist dictatorship. Our correct policy in relation to the Small Farmers' Union was of immense importance in forming a durable and militant alliance of workers and peasants. Our Party was able to apply the united front tactic in rallying the working people around an integrated democratic program, and the fight for democracy was closely linked with the fight for socialism, for a workers' and peasants' government.

After the defeat of the heroic September rising our Communist Party applied Lenin's tactics of combining illegal with legal activities and energetically combated Right and Left deviations from Party policy. The success of socialist construction in the USSR, the uninterrupted growth of Soviet economic and political might, was a source of inspiration, confidence and strength for all Bulgarian Communists and progressives. Soviet achievements helped the masses assimilate the ideas of October and enhanced the influence of the Communist Party in its struggle to rid the country of the fascist dictatorship.

In the early days of the Soviet Union's Great Patriotic War, our Party, true to its national and international duty, directed all its energies to organizing armed struggle against the Nazi invader and his Bulgarian accomplices. It initiated and led the Fatherland Front, which united all progressive and democratic elements under the slogan of national salvation. Our Party organized an insurgent army to fight the enemy.

The example of the October Revolution, the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet Union's victories in the Second World War played a very big part in the winning of our freedom. Skillful political leadership by the Communist Party and creative application of Leninism made for the victory of the September 9, 1944 popular rising, which was the starting point of our socialist revolution.

The victory of the socialist revolution cleared the way for applying Soviet experi-

ence in Bulgaria. The general laws governing proletarian revolution and the building of socialism, the constructive nature of which was first manifested in the Soviet Union, were now given full scope in Bulgaria. By adapting these general laws to our concrete conditions, the Party was able to work out solutions for the key problems of socialist construction and in this way make a worthy contribution to the common effort of the Communist movement to develop and enrich the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

Soviet experience in industrialization became our starting point in remodelling the ineffectual economic structure inherited from capitalism. With Soviet assistance and with the cooperation of other socialist countries, Bulgaria has been able to make considerable headway in industrial development. Today industry contributes 50 per cent of our national income, compared with 15 per cent in 1939. The share of producer goods in gross industrial output grew from 22.6 per cent in 1939 to 56.1 in 1966. Our iron and steel, engineering and chemical industries now account for 40 per cent of the gross industrial product. Rapid progress is being made also in the light industries. As a result, in a number of important goods Bulgaria now ranks with developed industrial countries.

We have also successfully applied Lenin's cooperative plan. In Bulgarian conditions agricultural cooperatives proved to be the most suitable form of bringing the peasants to share in the building of the new society. The backward Bulgarian village is now but a memory of the past. Our socialist agriculture is large-scale, mechanized and highly productive; output has increased 150 per cent since 1939. More machinery is being used and our agriculture is confidently advancing to world productivity levels.

The cultural revolution in the USSR likewise exerted a tremendous influence on Bulgaria. We have the greatest respect and affection for our own cultural heritage with its age-old traditions, on which we draw for inspiration and guidance, but the present flourishing state of our science and art owes much also to the Soviet Union.

In Bulgaria and other countries socialism has demonstrated its ability to solve pressing social problems, overcome the contradictions and eliminate the social maladies inherited from the exploiting society. Socialism has changed the way of life of millions; it has given them a new standard of prosperity inconceivable under capitalism; it has brought just distribution of material and cultural benefits, so far as this is possible at the present stage.

Ours is a rejuvenated Bulgaria with a stable and rapidly advancing economy, a united people reaching out to the summits of social progress. Bulgaria stands out as a convincing example of the grandeur of the ideas and deeds of the October Revolution, of friendship and cooperation within the socialist world community. The vast fraternal assistance of the USSR continues to be of special importance in our advance on the socialist path.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the vanguard of the world Communist movement. Throughout these fifty years it has proved worthy of its historic mission, always setting an example of fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Today, too, it is guided by Lenin's teaching, finding creative solutions to the theoretical and practical problems involved in the building of communism.

The October Socialist Revolution and the successive revolutionary transformations in the world, of which the socialist system is

the most important, provide cogent proof of the role and strength of international solidarity of the workers and of the world Communist movement. Now, with imperialism dealing blows wherever it can, in a frenzied attempt to halt the world revolutionary process, our unity and solidarity acquires very special importance. All this underscores the urgency of a world conference of Communist parties to discuss the pressing problems of joint struggle against imperialism, for new victories for socialism and communism. The Bulgarian Communist Party condemns every variety of splittism as detrimental to the unity and solidarity of our movement and playing into the imperialists' hands.

The cause of October continues its triumphant march. It has become the cause of the Bulgarian people, the banner of their Party. All our successes and achievements, all our plans for the future, are illuminated by the torch of October and by the great ideas of Lenin.

The October Revolution and social progress in Hungary

BELA BISZKU

Political Bureau Member and Central Committee Secretary,
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

FIFTY YEARS AGO the bourgeoisie was inclined to regard the October Revolution as a passing episode. In fact, it did everything within its power to make it a passing episode. Today few doubt that the October Revolution was an event of epochal importance, one which the world has to reckon with now and in the future. The international significance of the October Revolution is now generally admitted, but the international significance of the path it set is still the subject of much discussion. Lenin, it will be recalled, drew attention to its international significance and

applicability: "I am speaking of it in the narrowest sense of the word, 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 own country. It must be admitted that certain fundamental features of our revolution do possess that significance."

The struggle of the Hungarian working class, its reverses and victories, fully corroborate the validity of Leninism, which is inseparable from the international significance of the road started by the October Revolution.

Classes and parties learn primarily from their own experience, against which they measure the impact and significance of international developments. And it was their experience that led the Hungarian workers and people to appreciate the international validity and universality of the October Revolution and its laws of development.

The struggle of the Russian proletariat had a strong influence on the Hungarian revolutionary forces even way back in the early years of the century. The eighteen months between October 1917 and March 1919 convinced the basic mass of Hungarian workers that they could win social emancipation only by following in the footsteps of the Russian workers. The Hungarian Soviet Republic was a direct continuation of the October Revolution.

Why did October exert such a widespread and deep influence on Hungary? Landlord-capitalist rule was undergoing a profound crisis—semi-feudalism had aggravated social antagonisms, the poverty of the masses had reached a point where the working class would no longer accept the old way of life, and the country's rulers could no longer govern by old methods. There was another contributing factor — the presence of returned prisoners of war who had seen, and many of whom actively participated in, the October Revolution and the Civil War in Russia and brought to our people Lenin's message. All these factors strengthened the impact of the October Revolution and, at the same time, furnished added proof of its international significance. The second and final victory of the socialist revolution in Hungary should be seen as a stage in the worldwide process started in October 1917.

The 1919 Hungarian workers' government was drowned in blood by the superior forces of international counter-revolution. But looking back over the past half-century, we can say that the restoration of capitalism was temporary and unstable, whereas the workers' revolutionary struggle and working-class power were, historically, permanent and durable. Throughout the 25 years of fascist dictatorship, the existence and development of the Soviet Union, its growing influence, its consistent proletarian internationalist policy, were a source of inspiration to all Hungarian Communists, revolutionary workers, peasants and intellectuals. In the face of incessant persecution, the Communists defended the Soviet Union as the embodiment of the new world of freedom, and they knew that they were defending the interests of the Hungarian people, of their social and national emancipation. They did not yield to the anti-Soviet

pressure of the counter-revolutionary forces, which combined terror with slander and torture with demagoguery. Nor did our Party succumb to the chauvinistic propaganda directed against other countries. It condemned the imperialist peace treaty concluded after World War I, and in the face of continuous nationalist propaganda it consistently sought to promote the international unity and militant solidarity of the working class.

By their struggle for national independence and completion of the democratic revolution after Hungary's liberation by the Soviet Army, our Communists prepared the socialist revolution. It was carried out by other methods than those of 1918-19, for we were working in a changed internal and international situation. The popular democratic revolution enriched our experience and enabled us to draw new conclusions which, far from refuting, confirmed and enhanced the international significance of the basic features and the development path of the October Revolution. And by following that path we were able to make rapid progress. In a matter of two decades we laid the foundations of socialism and today, in close alliance with the peasantry and intelligentsia, our working class is building full-scale socialism.

Our experience has shown that the revolutionary proletarian party became the leading force of the nation because it abided by Marxism-Leninism, applied it to Hungarian conditions and remained true to the principles of proletarian internationalism and the ideas of October. The fact that our Party has always been part of the world Communist movement multiplied our strength in the dark days of fascist tyranny. And it multiplies our strength today too, when the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is the recognized leader of the country. Ours is a Party of patriots and we regard the progressive heritage of the past as our own. We regard the socialist revolution as the continuation of earlier social and national revolutions. Without idealizing it, we nevertheless cherish the revolution of 1848 as the pre-history of 1919 and 1945. National nihilism in the Hungarian labor movement was a survival of reformism and we discarded it in favor of Leninism. We are firmly convinced that nationalism is incompatible with the ideas of October, regardless of whether it operates under Rightist slogans or is masked by "Leftist" phraseology. In the worldwide contest between socialism and capitalism anyone opposed to the Soviet Union and the socialist world system, anyone who seeks to undermine its unity, plays into the hands of imperialism.

The golden jubilee of the October Revolution

tion has a very special meaning for the Hungarian people. We are convinced that what we have been able to accomplish—our defense and strengthening of working class power, the socialist refashioning of agriculture, expansion of the productive forces and satisfaction of the rising requirements of the people, and the economic reform designed to achieve that, and also our socialist foreign policy—we are convinced that they all serve to promote international socialism and realization of the ideas of the October Revolution.

In the days of our Soviet Republic, in May 1919, Lenin addressed a message of greeting to the Hungarian workers. It is probably true to say that, more than anyone else, Lenin was

keenly aware of the implications of the first Hungarian proletarian dictatorship and the dangers, internal and external, that threatened it.

Lenin's revolutionary optimism was a tower of strength for the Hungarian Communists in their temporary defeat, when they had to go through many trying ordeals and correct many errors and distortions. Time and again, our enemies pronounced the Party "dead and buried," but each time it rose anew to continue the struggle. "Be firm! Victory will be yours!" Lenin told the Hungarian workers. History has confirmed that prediction, but Lenin's appeal retains all its validity today.

The fiftieth anniversary of October

ZENON KLISZKO

**Political Bureau Member and Central Committee Secretary,
Polish United Workers' Party**

FIFTY YEARS AGO the workers, peasants and soldiers of Russia, led by Lenin's Party, tore down the old system and founded the world's first socialist state. This event, the most significant in modern history, changed the course of mankind's development, ringing in an era of socialist victories. Deposing capitalism and the imperialist government in the biggest country of the world, the October Revolution abolished exploitation and oppression, gave freedom to the peoples of the former tsarist empire and defied the imperialist policy of aggression and unjust wars, proclaiming peace for the war-weary masses.

In half a century, socialism transformed backward Russia into a powerful socialist state leading the world in rates of development, the standard of education, and in science and technology. As a result of the decisive Soviet effort in the Second World War, culminating in the defeat of fascism, socialism emerged beyond the limits of one country. More European and Asian nations embarked on socialism, forging a socialist world system, changing the relation of world

forces and stimulating the anti-imperialist national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, which swept away colonialism and liberated scores of nations. Socialist ideas have reached the remotest corners of the world. The might of the Soviet Union is the main factor of world peace and the main deterrent to imperialist policy.

The past fifty years bear out the impact made by the October Revolution on the destiny of the Polish people, who in 1918 were able to regain independence after 130 years of enslavement. Faithful to the principles of internationalism, the Council of People's Commissars enacted a decree on August 29, 1918, repealing all agreements and treaties between the former Russian Empire, Prussia and Austria-Hungary concerning Poland's participation, which, it said, violated the right of nations to self-determination and was contrary to the sense of revolutionary justice of the Russian people, who recognized Poland's indisputable right to independence and territorial integrity.

A quarter of a century later, having crushed

Hitler, the Soviet Union played a decisive role once more in restoring our independence and enabling Poland to reunify her traditional lands along the Baltic coast, the Oder and Neisse. The historic victory enabled the working people of Poland to take power and begin building socialism under the leadership of our Party.

The past fifty years have strengthened the ties between the peoples of Poland and the USSR, continuing the glorious tradition of joint struggle in tsarist times by Polish workers and those of Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Lithuania. Polish revolutionaries, true to the traditions of struggle "for our freedom and yours," to the ideas of internationalism, supported the October Revolution and gave their lives for it.

The thousands of Polish workers, peasants and soldiers who fought for the socialist revolution in Russia regarded it as a beacon of their own country's national and social liberation. Poles were numerous in the Red Army and in its various units—the Warsaw Red Regiment, the Warsaw Red Hussars, the Lublin and Sedlice infantry regiments, the Mazowiec Red Cavalry, etc.

Many of Lenin's closest associates were Poles, who held top posts in the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government. Felix Dzerzhinsky, a member of the Bolshevik Central Committee, was Chairman of the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage. Bronislaw Weselowski was active in the central organs of the Central Committee, Franciszek Grzelszczak in the Central Executive Committee and Felix Kon in the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. There were Poles among the distinguished Red Army commanders—Michal Lewandowski, Romuald Muklewicz, Bronislaw Bortnowski, etc. The book of Polish veterans of the October Revolution lists nearly 8,000 names.

Their struggle was a source of inspiration for the Polish Communists in the inter-war period, when they countered the anti-Soviet "western fortress" policy of the bourgeois-landlord government, which spelled disaster, with the idea of solidarity with the Soviet Union. It was also a lodestar in the life-and-death struggle of the Polish Workers' Party against the Nazi invaders at the blackest hour in our nation's history.

The conception of lasting alliance with the Soviet Union was not built on class interests alone. It was also consistent with Poland's national interests. This amalgam of interest represented a new, higher stage in the political conceptions of the Polish revolutionary movement, in Polish Marxist-Leninist thought,

epitomizing the harmony of national with socio-revolutionary aims, of internationalism with patriotism.

The ideas of the October Revolution became the keynote of Poland's socialist reconstruction, of the solution of her national problems and of the new trend in her relations with her neighbors. As People's Poland developed, Polish-Soviet friendship grew deeper on the basis of Leninist principles.

People's Poland and the Soviet Union, like our Party and the CPSU, have wrought bonds of unbreakable friendship and close, versatile cooperation based on equality and mutual respect. Friendship and cooperation are an important factor in our two countries' economic and cultural development and act as an effective barrier to revenge-seeking West German imperialism, buttressing Poland's sovereignty and international position. Both early and modern history show that a powerful and flourishing Soviet Union is consistent with Poland's supreme interests, just as a strong and independent Poland is consistent with the supreme interests of the Soviet Union. Polish-Soviet friendship, always promoted by our Party and its revolutionary antecedents, has now taken deep root among all sections of the Polish people.

Speaking at the unveiling of a revolutionary monument in Sosnowiec, Wladyslaw Gomulka, our First Secretary, said:

"The legacy of the Great October Revolution is our common legacy, for we belong to a world whose genealogy began with the October Revolution and which derives its strength from that revolution. To the building of this new world we have always made, and will go on making, our due constructive revolutionary contribution."

Developments show that the main regularities of social reconstruction set into motion by the October Revolution are the same for all countries following the socialist path although in each reconstruction naturally proceeds in its own way. Also, the experience of the socialist countries bears out the fact that their politico-ideological and economic cooperation is vitally important for their development, their rapid economic and cultural progress, their sovereignty and their position in the world. Their cooperation and the unity of the world Communist movement are a basic condition of success in the socialist system's competition with capitalism, a precondition for effective struggle against imperialism and for fresh socialist victories. It is an objective necessity springing from the very substance of our struggle. Lenin said: "Complete victory over capitalism cannot be won unless the proletariat and, following it, the mass of

working people in all countries and nations throughout the world voluntarily strive for alliance and unity."

The approach to the common socialist tasks, to the common struggle against imperialism, is the main criterion of a Communist party's and a socialist country's internationalism. If priority is given to narrowly understood national interests, overlooking the interests of the world Communist movement, this may, and often does, lead to nationalism and impairs the unity of the socialist forces.

Man's hopes of peace, menaced today by a nuclear disaster, are associated these days with the October Revolution, the world Communist movement, with socialism.

In recent years the international situation has become alarmingly complicated. The brutal aggression against the people of Vietnam launched by U.S. imperialism has created dangerous tension and poisoned international relations.

In this atmosphere of strain caused by the U.S. war in Vietnam, a new, gross violation of standards of international coexistence occurred this June when Israel launched her aggression against the Arab people.

On our European continent peace is jeopardized by the policy of the Federal Republic of Germany. Supporting the reckless policy

of the United States, Bonn clings on frantically to the revisionist revenge-seeking policy initiated by Adenauer and Erhard.

First and foremost, world peace depends on the further growth of socialist strength, on the defense capability and economic potential of the socialist states, on the consciousness and intrinsic unity of the socialist societies, on the unity of the socialist camp and its joint action with the revolutionary working-class movement and the anti-imperialist liberation movement of the peoples.

Acting on this belief, our Party will work on for world communist unity in fighting imperialism. A world conference of Communist and Workers' parties at which we could exchange views and work out a common standpoint on the key international issues in which Communists must present a united front will, we hold, serve this purpose well. To prepare jointly and as well as possible such a conference of fraternal parties is our important internationalist duty today.

On the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution we Communists look back with pride at the path travelled by our movement, which confirms the everlasting vitality of the ideas of October, ideas which are leading mankind to higher social forms in an environment of peace and progress.

Embodiment of the ideas of the October Revolution in socialist Czechoslovakia

JIRI HENDRYCH

Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee,
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

THE DESTINY OF the peoples of Czechoslovakia and the history of their fight for socialism are linked intimately with the Great October Socialist Revolution. The fifty years of socialism in the Soviet Union coincide closely with the fifty years of the Czechoslovak Republic. The ideas of October are exercising an influence on our peoples above all for their social content, but are, at the same time, the foundation of our national existence and statehood.

By overthrowing the bourgeoisie in an imperialist country claiming preponderance in Central Europe, the Russian proletariat, led by Lenin's Communist Party, undermined the foundation of the Austro-Hungarian empire, which had impeded the political and national development of Czechs and Slovaks. The overthrow of tsarism in multinational Russia, the decrees on peace and on the self-determination of nations, gave expression to the ideals of the Czech and Slovak proletariat and our peoples as a whole. The October Revolution bared the bankruptcy and falsehood of the policy pursued by the Social Democratic leaders and the leaders of bourgeois nationalist groups, who tried to pervert these ideals.

However, it was not only the constitution of Czechoslovakia, but also the tragic finale, after Munich, of the bourgeois idea of Czechoslovak statehood that bore out the vital necessity for us of an alliance with the Soviet people. History shows that Czechoslovakia, a small country in the heart of Europe, can exist only as a socialist state, shoulder to shoulder

with the Soviet Union. The demise of Czechoslovak bourgeois society, followed by the six bitter years of occupation, convinced our peoples that the Soviet Union is the only power that can guarantee us peace, work and life. Thanks to the glorious Soviet victory over fascism and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army our peoples could rectify the mistakes of the past.

Conscious of the importance of the hour, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia took the lead in the national, democratic and, later, socialist revolution, building a socialist society, embodying the ideas of the October Revolution in Czechoslovakia and linking our destiny with that of the Soviet Union.

The ideas of October have had currency among our people for a long time. Czechoslovaks tackled the building of socialism in circumstances differing from those of the Soviet Union. Loyal to Lenin's heritage, our Party used the ideas of October creatively, suiting them to our national and political traditions, and to the fact that Czechoslovakia is a developed industrial country.

Socialist ideas transformed the political and social structure of our Republic. The power of the bourgeoisie, and with it exploitation of man by man, were abolished. Augmented by hundreds of thousands of people, the strength of the working class, now the ruling class in the country, has increased. Its composition and structure are changing. Its proficiency is rising steadily, and it is gradually being caught up by the scientific and technical revolution,

laying the foundation for an advanced socialist society and its transition to communism.

After the countryside was collectivized, a new class, that of cooperative peasants, appeared. Despite numerous difficulties and temporary setbacks in realizing the ideas of the October Revolution, the countryside is overcoming the backwardness of the past. Our socialist villages are turning into residential areas and urban complexes: new houses are being built for the cooperative peasants, the old hovels have disappeared, and so have the old methods of farming. It is in agriculture that we have the greatest accretion of personnel with a secondary and higher education as compared with the other branches of our economy.

The new, socialist intelligentsia is growing rapidly in both quantity and quality. The burgeoning scientific and technical revolution has under socialism the best possible opportunities to mobilize the potentials of the human intellect and pave the way for maximal scientific, technical, cultural, and artistic development. The number of schools, research institutes and cultural institutions is growing steadily and the increasing number of scientific discoveries is stimulating the growth of the productive forces and of society.

A new socialist generation is growing up in this new environment. It faces conditions and opportunities that the older generation did not know. It has its own crises and its own dreams, and searches for its own ideals and paths into the future. Socialism is impregnated in the consciousness and aspirations of this generation; it has become the content of its life. More and more young people are joining in the social process and assuming responsibility for the future of socialism. The position of women and other social groups has changed radically.

In the question of nationalities, too, Lenin's ideas have yielded wonderful results. The building of socialism has witnessed the reconstruction of formerly backward Slovakia and paved the way for its prosperity, enabling Slovaks to constitute themselves freely as a socialist nation. Faithful to the ideas of Oc-

tober and drawing on the experience of the Soviet Union, our Communist Party has ensured for the Slovak people national existence and a political order guaranteeing the free development of Slovakia within the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Rapid socialist industrialization has changed the face of beautiful Slovakia. A powerful industry has appeared there. The Slovak working class has grown, and Slovakia's agriculture has been rebuilt along socialist lines.

Thus, with the national minorities — the Hungarians and Ukrainians — given every chance to develop, a nation socialist in character has constituted itself in Slovakia. The fraternity of Czechs and Slovaks has grown stronger, serving as the international basis of our Republic.

The 12th Congress of our Party, held in 1962, centered its attention on some of the new trends set in motion after the building of socialism in our country was completed. At its sittings in January 1965 and later, our Central Committee occupied itself with new aspects of our socialist development, creating the pre-conditions for the economic reform now underway. Our 13th Congress in 1966 could therefore project the line of the preceding congress on the strength of an exhaustive analysis, outlining further perspectives. It set a wide range of tasks related to the scientific and technical revolution, implementation of the economic reform, completing the political system of socialism and raising the cultural level of the people.

As a result, the realization of the ideas of the October Revolution in our country is entering a new stage. The Communist Party is always keenly aware of the end goal of the stupendous social reconstruction begun in October 1917 — communism. Promoting socialist principles in our society, combating survivals of the past, acting hand in hand with the international Communist movement and benefiting from the direct aid of the Soviet people, our Party is paving the way to further successes, the embodiment of the revolutionary legacy of October 1917.

The October Revolution and the struggle of the French communists

WALDECK ROCHET

General Secretary, French Communist Party

THE GREAT OCTOBER Socialist Revolution and the Soviet Union's socialist experience are conclusive proof that the working class can build socialism, a society free of exploitation and dedicated to the promotion of human happiness. In proving that, the Soviet Communist Party has rendered a great service.

Socialism transformed backward tsarist Russia into a great industrial power that is leading the world in social and scientific progress.

Crises and unemployment have long been abolished in the USSR; living standards, woefully low in the past, are steadily improving; satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements is constantly increasing; the remarkable progress in education is admitted even by socialism's enemies. All that is the result of socialism.

And one need only recall these and other Soviet achievements to appreciate that the Revolution and socialism in the USSR have done more for human progress than any other system of society or government.

Nor will we ever forget the Soviet Union's decisive role in crushing Hitlerism, in the worldwide advance of socialism, the development of the national-liberation movement, the defense of peace and peaceful coexistence against aggressive U.S. imperialism.

Beyond doubt, we have learned much, very much, since the Revolution and the founding of the French Communist Party.

We have learned, for example, that the building of socialism calls for a herculean

effort, entails overcoming tremendous difficulties and possible errors.

The experience of socialist construction in many countries shows that though certain general principles hold good for all countries, there is no definitive model of socialism applicable everywhere and at all times.

The October Revolution and the victory of socialism in other lands have created new conditions enabling such countries as France to follow a path different from that of the Russian Communists in 1917.

The choice of paths to socialism depends primarily on the situation in each given country, its traditions and the political experience of its working class and people.

That there are many forms of transition to socialism has been confirmed by experience, and there is every reason to believe that this multiformity will become greater still.

As for France, at this juncture no one can accurately predict what form the transition will take. However, the position and orientation to the French Communist Party are perfectly clear: all its activities are aimed at creating favorable conditions for peaceful transition to socialism, for attainment of the socialist ideal as a result of the democratic movement of the entire working population. And if we can now assume that a country like France will peacefully advance to socialism, that is possible only because of the October Revolution and the emergence of the socialist world system. In other words, because socialism has been built in the Soviet

Union and other countries — and this has considerably weakened world capitalism—we can follow an easier path than the one the Russian Communists had to follow in other conditions. For potentialities in our age are determined not only by the class struggle in our own country, but also by the new alignment of international forces.

We say there can be no full or universal democracy outside of socialism. For only socialism provides society with a consistently democratic basis, eliminating the social inequality that stems from capitalist ownership of the basic means of production and distribution.

And so, socialism first creates economic democracy by abolishing capitalist exploitation and, consequently, all exploitation of man by man. Socialist society lives by the principle: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," whereas in capitalist society those who do not work, the rich, are a privileged class. Already in this respect socialism accords with the most democratic and humane aspirations.

But socialism, as we understand it, implies also the widest political democracy. First, because it presupposes government by the working people, that is, a new form of power which enables the masses directly to share in administering the state and guarantees all citizens the basic rights and freedoms.

MODERN FRENCH CAPITALISM

Working towards a correct strategy and tactics in the battle against imperialism, for peace and democracy, we attach great importance to a close analysis of state-monopoly capitalism.

The French monopoly bourgeoisie make the fullest possible use of the government machine to increase their profits, accumulate more capital and accelerate the process of concentration in the interests of the top monopoly concerns. Using the national budget, nationalized industry, the credit mechanism, generous government subsidies, loans, tax exemptions, etc., Big Business redistributes a large part of the national income in its own favor. For instance, scientific research and technological development, which require large investments, are increasingly financed by the state, but the results are turned over to the monopolies and become a source of huge profits.

Economic planning, as exemplified by the Fifth Plan, is to a certain extent effective, but is entirely oriented on monopoly interests.

An analysis of the plan will show that it is designed to accelerate the concentration pro-

cess in the interests of the monopolies, enable them to increase their profits and investment reserves, while restraining wages and welfare appropriations.

A typical example: under the Fifth Plan wage increases are restricted to 2.8 per cent a year (or three percent in the case of skill reclassification). But the plan makes no effective provision for price rises, so that even a slight increase in prices, service charges or rents above the official guidelines, depresses the purchasing power of the worker, or at best leaves it at the same level. Even in their most favorable interpretation, these figures are evidence of the government's intention to freeze wages.

In fact, it has already instituted certain measures towards that end and is even toying with the idea of under-employment — a "limited" reserve of unemployed as a means of keeping wages down. For 1970 the plan envisages a surplus of about 600,000, most of them young people, not in the labor force, and, more shocking still, a 54-hour work week. And this despite the rapid rise in productivity and all the florid speeches about "civilized leisure."

The same tendency is present in every other part of the plan: cut workers' incomes and welfare expenditure to a bare minimum in order to raise profits and finance the celebrated *force de frappe*.

And attendant on this policy are attempts to gear public affairs, indeed the life of the people, to the interests of the monopolies which, in turn, are adroitly using the personal power regime to bring this about. The big capitalist concerns do not simply operate within the state. State-monopoly capitalism merges the might of the monopolies and of the state into a single mechanism designed to preserve the capitalist system and assure to the monopolies still bigger profits through intensified exploitation of the working class and robbery of wide sections of the population.

TOWARDS ANTI-MONOPOLY UNITY

At the same time, however, the social base of the anti-monopoly and democratic movement is steadily being widened. The contributing factors are the antagonism between the working class and the bourgeoisie, the continuous growth of the army of labor, and the growing realization by non-industrial workers that their interests coincide with those of the proletariat. This provides a more solid foundation for an alliance of the working class and other non-monopoly sections of society.

The apologists of state-monopoly capitalism have tried, and failed, to present it as a sys-

tem that has outgrown capitalism and has resolved all its contradictions. It has done neither; in fact, it has accentuated the contradictions, though it has modified some of their aspects. For example, the working class is advancing new demands. One of them is guaranteed employment, vitally necessary because of the take-over closure of factories. The working class is combating redundancy dismissals, low wages, inhuman speed-up, long working hours. But in all cases the main blow is aimed at the monopolies.

The spread of the strike movement is exemplified by the big stoppages and demonstrations in 1966 and earlier this year, involving millions of workers in the public and private sectors. Another development is growing working class unity, of which the agreements both between local trade unions and between national trade union federations provide striking evidence. The working class is now bigger and better organized than thirty years ago. And thanks to Communist influence, it has demonstrated its ability to use democratic freedoms and institutions in the fight for its demands and become a rallying center for all social strata suffering from monopoly domination.

There are more office workers, too, and they are no longer a privileged group; in fact, they are coming increasingly closer to the industrial worker in status and economic position. The army of wage and salary workers is thus growing.

There have been changes also in the peasant community. Peasant farmers now have twenty times more machinery than thirty years ago and their labor productivity has increased three or four times over. But the big problem is this: will technical advances benefit the peasant masses, will the changing structure of agriculture, necessitated by modern production, be in the interests of the working farmer or—as is the case today—directed against him, with resultant ruin of hundreds of thousands of small farms? The Fifth Plan envisages liquidation of 600,000 peasant farms, but the actual figure will very likely be bigger. The peasants are combating capitalist reconstruction of agriculture, with its wiping out of small farms. They are advancing new slogans, more in keeping with the present development of technology, for instance, state assistance to rural cooperation.

Parallel with such more or less traditional demands as lower prices for the manufactured goods the farmer has to buy, safeguards for family farms, transfer of the land to those who till it, prominence is being given to the demand for state-aided organization of agricultural cooperatives. These demands add up to

an anti-monopoly solution of the pressing problems facing the peasantry.

There has been a rapid rise in the number of professionals. Here, too, the situation has changed radically in the past thirty years. There are more school teachers, scientists, technicians and engineers, but in terms of material well-being many of them are in much the same position as the worker. Their urge for creative activity, freedom and knowledge, their search for solutions to the great technological problems of our age are hampered by the profit lust of the monopolies and the power lust and rigid conservatism of the ruling element. All this brings the intellectuals into the anti-monopoly struggle.

Continued concentration, a process jointly conducted by the monopolies and their state, is arousing resentment among artisans and small businessmen.

Of course, Big Business does not destroy all small and medium enterprises, but most of them can survive only if they are prepared to accept monopoly tutelage. But acceptance of monopoly control is not the only solution. There is another—association with the nationalized sector on terms that guarantee the small and medium entrepreneur independence and help him modernize and expand his enterprise.

Though the capitalist economy is not going through a major crisis similar to that of 1929, it has to contend with many difficulties. It averts stagnation and “stabilization plans” only at the cost of varying degrees of inflation, such as we see in the United States, that citadel of imperialism.

ROLE OF THE SUBJECTIVE FACTOR

State-monopoly capitalism accentuates the antagonism between the tiny group of monopolists and the mass of the people. It sharpens the contradiction between the high degree of socialized production, which requires economic regulation, and the egoistic interests of the finance magnates, who are obstructing the kind of planning the country needs.

Never before have distribution of the national income and of the tax burden been so flagrantly unjust, nor the degree of exploitation so shockingly high. Military spending has reached colossal dimensions. All aspects of technological progress and research are controlled by big private companies and used in their drive for profit and power. The people, their representatives, are denied any share in the making of major decisions.

Lenin pointed out that state-monopoly capitalism is the prelude to socialism in the sense that it “socializes” capitalist production,

thereby preparing the material, economic and technical basis for transition to a socialist economy under optimal conditions. But Lenin also pointed out that state-monopoly capitalism cannot be converted into socialism without a struggle.

The transition requires more than the existence of objective material conditions favoring socialism as a new economic system. There must also be the subjective factor, that is, a revolutionary and democratic movement strong enough for the working class and its allies to deprive the monopoly bourgeoisie of state power. It should always be borne in mind that this, and conversion of monopoly enterprises from private to collective property, which entails public ownership of the basic means of production and distribution, is a prime condition for the transition to socialism.

There is still another prerequisite. The working class and its vanguard must accompany the struggle for immediate demands with long-term programs and concrete economic development plans to expand the nation's productive forces and assure higher material and cultural standards for its people.

The draft joint program adopted at Communist Party congresses meets these requirements.

PROGRAM OF STRUGGLE FOR GENUINE DEMOCRACY

What our Party has proposed to other democratic parties and organizations is a democratic rather than socialist program. It is predicated on the fact that, at the present stage, the majority of the French people are not prepared to fight for the immediate implementation of socialism.

However, there can be no question of simply "renovating" the present regime, or of renovating the Third or Fourth Republics. This would correspond neither to the present conditions nor to the aspirations of the people.

In this age, with monopoly dominating the country's economic and political life, political democracy, if it is to be real, must be combined with economic democracy, with efforts for progress and social justice.

Our orientation, therefore, should be on a regime of genuine democracy which, while not yet socialism, would nevertheless introduce far-reaching economic and social reforms capable of hamstringing the power of the monopolies and paving the way to socialism.

The monopoly bourgeoisie has no use for parliamentary democracy, with its discussions between diverse trends, its public control, albeit minimal, of the administration, and the

tribune it provides for voicing popular demands. Hence, the parliamentary system is being replaced by authoritarian rule.

We must put an end to the economic rule of the moneybag aristocracy. We must sharply curtail its power if we want the government and parliament to cease being its instrument, and if we want the people to have a decisive say in economic and political affairs.

The new democracy can only be a living, concrete democracy deeply rooted in the masses. And this presupposes, in particular, democratic administration of the nationalized sector through elected representatives of the workers. It presupposes also control of factory and office workers of every aspect of economic activity; more power to the factory committees; freedom for trade union activity in the factories. The nature of nationalization depends on overall government policy; on the other hand, there can be no real democratic overall policy without the nationalization of such monopolized industries as iron and steel, chemicals, electronics, nuclear power, oil and gas, aircraft, not to mention the big banks and insurance companies.

NATIONAL INTERESTS AND THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

Needless to say, the national interest, too, makes these measures necessary.

A study of modern capitalist society, dominated more and more by the big monopolies, will show that it is a theatre of struggle between two opposite trends—the trends towards internationalizing the productive forces stimulated by the scientific and technological revolution, on the one hand, and on the other, the tendency of the ruling element in the imperialist countries to exploit the mechanics of state-monopoly capitalism serving their egoistic interests as an instrument for augmenting their country's competitive capacity in the capitalist world market.

The increasingly vigorous and alarming penetration of foreign capital into our economy, with U.S. investments rising 163 per cent in the past seven years, coupled with the foreign take-overs of French enterprises, as in the case of the Bull concerns, reveals that the monopolies are either unwilling or unable to repulse foreign domination. This is one more reason why it is time for the people to take management of the economy into their own hands.

We must not lose sight of the fact, of course, that the main contradiction in the modern world is that between imperialism and the socialist world system, which explains why the imperialists are seeking to regroup

their forces in the fight against socialism.

Today, the working class in capitalist countries like France has to reckon with such new factors as the capitalist integration unfolding in Europe through the Common Market and other international bodies. The workers have to further their demands and democratic aims in a struggle that is at once national and international in complexion, against monopolies dominating the Common Market.

The French Communist Party demands that the existing European institutions should be democratized and put under the control of parliaments and that workers' organizations vested with effective powers, notably the trade unions, should be represented on their governing bodies in order to safeguard the interests of the working population and the national interests.

At the same time, the Communist Party demands that in conformity with the present economic level the connections of the French economy should reach beyond the restricted Common Market framework and encompass, in broad cooperation, all European states without any economic, political or social discrimination.

It is essential in the national interest to work for good will among all peoples and states without exception, for peaceful coexistence and for progressively broader economic and cultural relations.

Fighting for European unity today means fighting against Bonn's revenge-seeking aspirations and for the recognition of the German Democratic Republic, against West Germany's access to nuclear weapons in any form, and safeguarding the frontiers established through the victory over fascism. Also, it means working for France's withdrawal from the aggressive NATO bloc on expiry of the Atlantic Pact in 1969 and for the replacement, in the interest of peace, of the existing military blocs by a system of European collective security embracing all the countries of Europe.

But peace is indivisible and concern for European security must not divert our attention from the grave developments in Asia, where aggressive United States policy is causing unspeakable suffering and creating the danger of a world conflict. We emphatically reaffirm our solidarity with the people of Vietnam.

URGENT PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

Reforms effected under a genuinely democratic regime, as we conceive it, would add to the influence of the working class and to the prestige of its organizations. Inasmuch as democracy would then become an unintermit-

tent uphill process, such reforms would bring about a partial qualitative transformation of society. New responsibilities would be shouldered by the masses. The middle classes would become accustomed to working hand in hand with the workers and would familiarize themselves with the workers' aims. Gradually, they would realize that socialism is the only solution to the urgent problems of the day.

The fight for democracy is thus a vital part of the fight for socialism: the triumph of democracy brings into focus the socialist perspective. Maurice Thorez liked to say that in our time there is no long historical interval between the democratic and socialist stages, for now fight for democracy is conducted under the leadership of the working class, which embodies the socialist idea.

Yet genuine democracy, followed by the building of socialism, is an objective not only of the working class, but also of other groups and social strata hit by monopoly. Hence the need for the cooperation of all democratic parties, primarily Communists and Socialists. And that is what we are working for.

Cooperation of all the democratic parties with a stake in socialism, combined with the favorable conditions that result from the changed balance of world forces, may enable the workers and their allies to follow the peaceful and democratic way in effecting the socialist revolution. Protecting and extending their democratic gains, resisting attempts to abolish them and continually enriching democracy may give the workers an opportunity to convince the majority of the nation of the necessity for socialism. The prime condition for this positive and constructive evolution is the consent of the Socialist Party to work sincerely and vigorously for working-class unity and a democratic alliance. For it must renounce all forms of anti-communism and all collaboration with parties of the reactionary bourgeoisie.

Although relations between the French Communists and the Socialist Party have improved visibly in the past few years, tendencies towards class collaboration still persist in the Socialist Party and other Left formations, impeding united action and the alliance of all workers and all democratic and anti-monopoly forces.

In view of the profound change in the correlation of forces in favor of socialism, the determination of our Party to do its utmost to create favorable conditions for the peaceful transition to socialism in France is an important factor furthering the rapprochement between Socialists and Communists.

But among the principal ideological issues

that have of late been an object of controversy, one of the most important was whether we, the French Communists, considered the one-party system—as in the Soviet Union—obligatory for the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Obviously, this question had a decisive bearing on Communist-Socialist relations, because the Socialists are opposed to the idea of a one-party system during the transition to socialism. But at our 15th, 16th and 17th congresses we in effect, removed this obstacle by declaring ourselves for a lasting alliance of Communists and Socialists both in conquering power and in building socialism.

As we see it, in France the conditions of transition to socialism differ substantially from those in the Russia of 1917.

The reason for the one-party system—that of the Communist Party—in the Soviet Union is rooted first and foremost in the historical conditions in which the October Revolution took place. After the October Revolution Lenin admitted of several parties being represented on the Soviets. What was more, in November 1917, at the suggestion of the Bolsheviks (Communists) who had a clear majority in the Soviets, representatives of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries entered the Council of People's Commissars. But they resigned in March 1918 and in July organized a rising in Moscow in collusion with foreign diplomatic missions with the aim of overthrowing Soviet power.

The rising was put down in a few hours, but by this gamble the Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks unmasked themselves and were completely discredited. In this struggle, in which the fate of the socialist revolution hung in the balance, the Communists remained the only party of the Revolution trusted by the working class and the people.

Yet, though the CPSU was legitimately the only ruling party by virtue of the historical conditions of the Russia Revolution, Lenin never advanced any theory that in all countries, in all circumstances, the train of events should follow the same pattern. It was Stalin who some time later postulated the theory that the one-party system is obligatory during the transition to socialism. But we hold that his was an arbitrary generalization of the specific circumstances in which the October Revolution had taken place.

The one-party system need not necessarily fit in with all situations and suit all countries; in certain cases the setting of such a condition may even retard the advent of socialism, impeding unity among socialist and progressive forces.

This, for one thing, is the case in our country, where a large Socialist Party exists alongside the Communist Party and where united action by Socialists and Communists is essential for the unity of the working class and for rallying all democratic and progressive forces around it.

Striving to create favorable conditions for such unity, our Party said at its 15th Congress in 1959:

"The democratic and national revival of France, as well as the advance to socialism, cannot be accomplished by one party; what is needed is a loyal and durable alliance between the working class, the working peasantry, the intellectuals and the middle classes in the towns. This presupposes an alliance between the Communist Party and the other democratic parties."

THE PEACEFUL WAY AND PLURALITY OF PARTIES

This attitude is not an isolated one in the world Communist and working-class movement. After noting that Communists are critical of the ideological position and Right opportunist practices of Social Democracy, the 1960 Statement of 81 parties points to the necessity of a united Communist-Socialist front also in winning power and building socialism. The Statement says:

"In the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of working people, the extension and preservation of their democratic rights, the achievement and defense of national independence, for peace among nations, and also in the struggle to win power and build socialism, the Communist parties advocate cooperation with the Socialist parties."

When we say that it is possible to effect a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism with a plurality of parties and with the use of a genuine parliament, we do not mean, of course, that socialism can be achieved without a struggle of classes and without mobilizing all forces of the working class and its allies.

For the people to have no dangerous illusions, it is essential to act on the Marxist proposition that the big bourgeoisie will never voluntarily relinquish power. The transition to socialism, whether peaceful or not, calls in all cases for militant unity of the working class and for the mobilization around it, or by its side, of all democratic, progressive and national forces. In other words, the majority of the people has to be won in order to prevent the isolated big bourgeoisie from resorting to civil war.

The resolution of our Eighteenth Congress says:

"Whatever the form of the transition to socialism, it presupposes the winning of political power by the working class in close alliance with the working peasants and the middle strata in the towns."

This means that the peaceful way to socialism in France with a plurality of parties depends not only on the wishes of the French Communist Party. It also presupposes certain conditions relating to the other democratic parties. It is essential, in particular, that the Socialist Party should once and for all turn its back on class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and work effectively for democracy and socialism.

Hence, we have to look into the following important question: what will be the nature and what will be the functions of the political power that the working class and its allies should establish in order to achieve socialism?

In France, plurality of parties, the parliamentary system, and municipal freedoms are important factors of political and public life. Transition to socialism will necessitate strengthening and democratizing all these institutions, which presupposes freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and association, the right to strike and all the other human and civic rights. The rights of the minority should be enforced within the framework of the new law democratically established by the majority.

THE NEW POWER

The other basic aspect of the same problem is to determine the content of the political power which the working class and its allies must establish to protect the new social system from attacks at home and from without and to ensure the socialist reconstruction of society.

Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, named this new people's power the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

The Marxist conception of proletarian dictatorship hinges on two fundamental ideas: the leading role of the working class in building socialism and the political domination of workers over the reactionary bourgeoisie with a view to ultimately abolishing all classes. This imparts to the new power a provisional or transitional complexion and, at the same time, makes it a broad democracy for all the working population and for the people as a whole.

The new political power of the workers may in practice assume different forms depending

on the concrete conditions in each country, but in all cases, including that in which a plurality of parties is preserved, it must fulfil the following two basic requirements:

1. Ensure the broadest democracy for all working people and the people as a whole, in order to enlist their participation in various forms in building socialism and administering public affairs.

2. Defend the new system of socialist democracy against sabotage by the former exploiting classes aiming to regain power and restore capitalism.

We believe, therefore, that all the democratic parties with a stake in socialism and representing the majority of the people should, within the framework of socialist law, ensure the security of the new working-class power and of the building of socialism.

Supporters of reformism maintain that socialism can be established without impinging on the capitalists and their interests. But they have not established socialism in any of the countries where they have held power. All they have done was to manage the affairs of capitalism. Yet the purpose of achieving united action by working-class and democratic forces with a view to winning power is not to manage capitalism's affairs, but, on the contrary, to end monopoly domination by establishing a genuine democracy that will pave the way to socialism which will abolish the exploitation of man by man.

THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

It should be stressed that the working class is by virtue of its place in society the moving spirit and natural leader of all the forces fighting for democracy and socialism.

For the same reasons, the experience and activity of a strong Communist Party as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class taking guidance in Marxist-Leninist principles is one of the essential preconditions of victory. The Communists will not accomplish their mission, therefore, unless they concern themselves above all else with creating and organizing a close alliance between Socialists and Communists and collaboration with all the other social and political forces that have a stake in building socialism.

Of late, certain facts have created more favorable prospects for united action in France by Socialists and Communists.

The Socialist Party has been compelled, in fact, to revise some traditional social-democratic conceptions. Under pressure of the facts, for example, the leaders of the French Socialist Party were forced to abandon the

legend of a "Soviet menace." The cold war, which had nearly twenty years ago driven the Socialist Party into the anti-communist camp, has abated as a result of the crisis of the aggressive NATO bloc, although the crisis is reflected in the Socialist Party unevenly and is accompanied by recurrences of outdated attitudes. Besides, the aggressiveness of U.S. policy is dissipating illusions among Socialist workers as to the virtues of the "free world." Furthermore, Socialists and Communists hold similar views on such important issues as, say, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. In face of the Soviet economic and technical successes, the preconceived hostility towards the Soviet Union which could be observed among rank-and-file Socialists is gradually giving place to respect. French Socialists are beginning to realize that to deny the socialist character of the Soviet Union, as some leaders of the Socialist International are doing, is to sidestep all serious grounds for discussion. Some Socialist leaders have lost their admiration for the methods of their Scandinavian comrades. They have said publicly that socialism has not been achieved in the Scandinavian countries, because capitalist ownership of the means of production was left intact.

Furthermore, the idea that power should be won not simply for managing the affairs of the bourgeoisie is gaining ground despite everything among the militants and the rank-and-file Socialists.

Incontestably, too, the new propositions ad-

vanced by the Communist Party are helping to clear away many of the obstacles. Our stand, the Communist stand, is clear. And all may rest assured that we shall make every effort to achieve united action conforming with the interests of the workers and the people as a whole.

We are giving our hand to all workingmen, all democrats, regardless of their views and religious beliefs.

MASS ACTION—THE DECISIVE FACTOR

It is clear that if unity facilitates mass action, then, in the final count, it is mass action that decides everything.

Consequently, support of the masses will make the necessary unity unavoidable. The far-flung and vigorous struggle of the classes, the decisive intervention of the masses, will condition the winning of democracy and then the advance to socialism.

A grand battle will ensue, calling for patient, tenacious and long efforts. But we shall fight the battle to a victorious end. Fifty years ago the victory of the Russian working class led by Lenin's party rang in a new era in man's history, the era of socialism and communism.

Faithful to the lessons of the October Socialist Revolution, the French Communist Party will carry on its successful fight against imperialism, for peace, for democracy and socialism.

The October Revolution and Finland

VILLE PESSI

General Secretary, Communist Party of Finland

EVERYWHERE, PEOPLE are reflecting on the fiftieth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, giving deep thought to what the October Revolution has meant for the Soviet Union, for the international working-class movement and, generally, for the development of mankind.

Progressives lay the accent on the immense Soviet achievements in all fields, especially its role in the fight for peace and the independence of the peoples. We Communists have more grounds than anybody else to underscore the successes of the world's first socialist country, because they bear out the correctness, the vitality of Marxism-Leninism, of scientific socialism.

There are those, however, who want to cast a shadow on the jubilee celebrations. They make up monstrous lies to pervert the image of the Soviet Union. This alone is reason enough for us to speak about the anniversary. The attitude to the Soviet Union born of the October Revolution is now the watershed between the forces of peace and those of war, between the forces of progress and those of reaction.

Early in the century the labor movement of Russia and Finland acted hand in hand on a number of issues. Apart from the class solidarity that sprang from the struggle for better living conditions and an agrarian reform, the labor movement of our two countries fought together against Russian tsarism, the common enemy. The firm stand of the Russian Bolsheviks in respect to Finland's liberation from tsarist rule was epitomized by the articles and speeches of Lenin. So it would appear that when the Soviet government granted Finland her independence in

December 1917, the relations between the young Soviet state and Finland should have been friendly and based on mutual trust. But Finland's example reveals all too clearly that the bourgeoisie holds its class interests higher than those of the nation. Although the bourgeoisie professed independence as its aim, it sought support against the Finnish workers from Russian tsarism and, after the February revolution, from the Russian bourgeoisie. For instance, in the summer of 1917, when the labor majority declared the Diet the supreme legislative organ, the Finnish bourgeoisie obtained the help of the Russian bourgeoisie in dissolving parliament. And after Soviet Russia granted us independence, the Finnish bourgeoisie in 1918 sought the assistance of the German imperialists to suppress the working class. What was more, it sent troops to fight the young Soviet state. It saw in the Soviet Union a dangerous example of how the people can, on capturing power, arrange life without capitalists, and this was at the root of their hostility.

Instead of benefiting from the new international relations shaped by the October Revolution, which annulled tsarist treaties and abolished national oppression, the ruling Finnish bourgeoisie capitalized on the prejudice and bitterness bred by years of tsarist oppression to kindle chauvinism and anti-Soviet sentiment. Propaganda media, the school, historiography and literature were oriented on preventing the historical truth. The main argument was that Finland had won and safeguarded her independence by resort to arms in 1918 and again in 1939-1944. Those who called for good-neighbor relations and a policy of peace, especially we Communists, were brand-

ed as "Moscow agents" and traitors.

During the past war hundreds of Finnish Communists were sentenced to death or imprisoned. Yet the real traitors were those who had hitched Finland to Hitler's war chariot and stubbornly refused, in defiance of Finnish interests, to seek an armistice, signing the so-called Ribbentrop treaty with Germany as late as 1944.

Referring to this treaty at a meeting held in Helsinki under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party in July 1944, J. V. Keto, reputedly a Left-wing Social Democrat, said: "To my knowledge, few treaties in history have been as incongruous and pernicious as this one. Germany gave Finland insignificant aid, while Finland rendered Germany very effective support. Germany has maneuvered Finland into engaging a considerable Soviet force, thus delaying the destruction of German troops in southern sectors of the eastern front . . . This has cost us the lives of many young people, listed daily in the casualty reports published by our newspapers."

For Finland the Soviet victory over fascism meant a radical change. Democratic rights were restored and the Communist Party, like the labor movement as a whole, gained new perspectives.

After 1944, Soviet-Finnish relations have followed the principles that shaped Soviet foreign policy since the October Revolution. The public in Finland recognizes and appreciates the necessity and the advantages of friendly relations. The decisive impact of the October Revolution on Finland's independence is more tangible today. It is now generally recognized that October was a necessary precondition for Finnish independence, and it is only proper therefore to celebrate in deep amity the anniversary of events that have meant so much for both our nations. To be sure, the Rightists are still reluctant to admit the truth; they "celebrate" Finnish independence mostly with an emphasis on past feats of arms.

Yet the advantages for the Finns of Soviet friendship are patently clear. We have witnessed both a policy of war and one of peace, and know from experience the greater worth of the latter. But prejudices kindled by the bourgeoisie over thirty years persist here and there, and it is up to our Communist Party, therefore, to clarify the issue, though the constructive activity of the Soviet Union itself, above all its peace policy, does more in this respect than anything one can say. Nothing could influence the Finns more than Soviet foreign policy. I refer not only to Soviet policy vis-à-vis Finland, which, naturally, is

important to Finns, but also to the Soviet attitude to all international problems—its persevering efforts for an international detente, its work for peace in all international organizations, its firm stand at times of acute tension and open conflict, its stand on racial discrimination and its nationalities policy at home.

If our students and young intellectuals are becoming more radical and are showing more interest in socialism, this is due largely to the climbing prestige of the USSR, its dynamic foreign policy and its stand on international issues. A mere two decades ago the young people often compared Soviet policy to that of the United States, accusing both of imperialism. Now, this is a thing of the past. By reason of the imperialist policy of the United States, its prestige has plummeted.

The October Revolution made a very strong impact on the Finnish people, but naturally its influence is greatest among the workers. In 1917, when decisive revolutionary events brewed in Russia, the Finnish revolutionary movement gained momentum, culminating in the November general strike. But the Social Democratic Party let the favorable situation go by the board, and in 1918 the bourgeoisie drew the Finnish working class into a civil war. The workers fought courageously, but when German imperialist troops came to the aid of the bourgeoisie it gained the upper hand and killed off the fighters for the workers' cause.

Speaking of the weaknesses of the old Social-Democratic Party of Finland, Comrade Otto Kuusinen pointed out that it had not primed itself sufficiently for the revolution and failed to prepare the working class. Instead of *working for* revolution, the party was, in effect, *dragged* into it. This political half-heartedness and organizational unpreparedness typical of Left Social Democrats was, Kuusinen said, at the root of the many failings that came to the surface in the revolutionary government and in the guidance of the working-class struggle.

The experience of the Finnish labor movement has borne out the lessons of October about the importance of a revolutionary party. The Communist Party of Finland was among the first Communist parties to come into being after the October Socialist Revolution. Soon, the working class of many other countries arrived at the same conclusions, and many Communist parties were founded in 1919 and later.

The world Communist movement has grown rapidly in the past ten years, with a total membership approaching the 50 million mark.

The Statement of the 1960 meeting of Communist and Workers' parties points to the importance for the world movement of the experience of the CPSU. "The experience which the CPSU has gained in the struggle for the victory of the working class, in socialist reconstruction and in the full-scale construction of Communism," the Statement says, "is of fundamental significance for the whole of the world Communist movement. The example of the CPSU and its fraternal solidarity inspire all the Communist parties in their struggle for peace and socialism, and represent the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism as applied in practice. The historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU are not only of great importance for the CPSU and communist construction in the USSR, but have initiated a new stage in the world communist movement and have promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."

But the October Revolution is important not only for the Communist parties. Its influence is felt in all spheres of the labor movement. Take, for example, the workers' economic and social demands. Improvements in the Soviet Union—and, in the past few decades, in other socialist countries — are making an imprint on workers' demands in other countries, and the bourgeoisie is finding it increasingly difficult to reject them. Another field where its influence is felt is social security, a field in which the socialist countries have made good progress (free medical services, old age pensions, disability pensions, sick pay, etc.).

The Soviet example is prominent in the question of women's equality. The condition of women, their equality at work and in society, and facilities for happy motherhood are subjects of public discussions in Finland, in which the example of the Soviet Union, where women enjoy equal opportunities in spheres and professions closed to them in capitalist countries, is often invoked. As before, the principle of equal pay for equal work is flouted in Finland, although she ratified the International Labor Organization decision on this score.

In face of growing unemployment, the bourgeoisie is defying women's equality by urging married women to give up their jobs. Another acute problem is that of child care while mothers are at work. This is why there is a lively interest in Soviet experience, not only among Communists and the Democratic Women's League, but also among bourgeois quarters favoring feminine emancipation.

With the signs of a capitalist crisis and recession coming into evidence and unemploy-

ment rising perceptibly, the socialist solution to these problems is creating a deep interest. People ask why no unemployment exists in socialist countries, how these countries run their economy and what role the trade unions play in production. Finnish workers are wondering how to combat dismissals and secure a distribution of investments that would provide more jobs. There is much talk of production democracy. Originally this implied freedom of assembly and organization, but now also connotes workers' control and participation in management.

Factories are closing down and hundreds of people with years of service are losing their jobs. It is very important for them to know that the pattern can be changed, guaranteeing work not only in words, through the Constitution, but in reality, where no worker could be dismissed unless another job was provided and technological progress brought about, cause not redundancy, but improved living conditions.

One of the main tasks of the labor movement in Finland is to secure the maximum unity of action. The Communist Party has always worked for it, and good headway has been registered in some areas. At factories, in trade unions, and wherever workers come in contact with each other, the need for co-operation has sunk in and ways have been devised to achieve it. But the anti-communist sentiment that prevailed in the Social Democratic Party for dozens of years was an obstacle. The friendly relations between Finland and the Soviet Union have thawed much of the ice of anti-communism in the Social Democratic Party in recent years, paving the way for joint action, as witnessed, among other things, by Social Democrat-Communist collaboration at government level. But it would be a mistake to think that anti-communist views no longer exist and that matters will go well from now on. There are still difficulties and prejudices, but prospects for joint action have improved perceptibly.

For the people of Finland, the immediate proximity of the Soviet Union is itself a factor furthering socialism. It offers good prospects for the building of socialism in our country, such as did not exist in, say, 1918. The correlation of forces in the world has changed. The forces of socialism and peace wield a decisive influence, increasingly preventing international imperialism from interfering in the revolutionary struggles of other nations; such interference is obviously doubly difficult in a country neighboring on the Soviet Union. The statement of our Central Committee, *The Marxist Theory on the State and Finland's*

Road to Socialism, adopted in October 1965, says in part:

"Nobody can yet say accurately how socialism will be effected in Finland and what forces and what opposition will affect the final solution. But the stand and will of the Communist Party of Finland are clear. All its activity, all its plans, are centered on accomplishing the socialist revolution in Finland by peaceful means . . .

"The preconditions for peaceful development are more favorable in Finland than in many other West European countries. Our relations with the Soviet Union are good. We follow the building of socialism in the Soviet Union from a close distance. The greater its achievements are in the near future and the more rapidly production develops in the socialist countries, the more appreciative will be the public of the advantages of the socialist

economic and social system."

The relations between the Soviet Communist Party and the Communist Party of Finland have always been good. We maintain many contacts and a lively exchange of delegations. On all questions discussed, the viewpoints of our two parties coincide. With Soviet-Finnish relations becoming more versatile, party delegations have delved into problems tabled for settlement at government level, particularly those related to economy and culture, and the discussions were unfailingly useful.

No area of international life has escaped the influence of the October Revolution. Imperialist forces have become more active of late and are bent on turning back the clock of history. But nothing on earth can detract from the developments since October. The socialist cause is making good progress.

An inspiring example for the people of Iran

REZA RADMANESH

Chairman of the Bureau of the CC, People's Party of Iran (Tudeh)

THE CRITERION of every historic event is the impact it has on the material and spiritual life of society, the influence it exerts on large areas of the world. Measured against these requirements, the Great October Socialist Revolution has no parallel in history.

Performed fifty years ago in one of the chief bulwarks of international imperialism and reaction, it brought to reality the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin on one-sixth of the earth's surface, thereby demonstrating its truth, viability and strength. It was a telling blow to the ideologists of capitalism, opportunism and reformism in the labor movement,

social chauvinism and reactionary nationalism.

The October Revolution differs from all preceding revolutions which only replaced the power of one exploiting class by another. It wrested power from the exploiting minority and turned it over to the exploited majority. It put an end to the era of capitalist world domination, seriously undermined capitalism and opened up a new era of which the main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The revolution was victorious in a country which, though only mid-way in its capitalist

development, was already an imperialist power; a country with a strong residue of feudalism with some of its peoples living in colonial and semi-colonial conditions, and with tribal relationships persisting in some areas.

Led by Lenin, the Bolsheviks were able to bring into a single movement against the war, into a powerful democratic stream, the workers' struggle for proletarian dictatorship, the peasants' struggle for land, and the oppressed peoples' struggle for emancipation.

The Bolsheviks found the best path to socialist revolution and after its victory the best forms of building socialism in a huge country in which there still existed elements of different socio-economic formations.

It can safely be said that the revolution and the subsequent building of socialism in the USSR provide a heartening and instructive example to countries at different stages of social and economic development.

Soviet Russia became the center of attraction for all the forces combating capitalism. It was only logical that their growth and development should have led to the emergence and consolidation of the socialist world system, enhanced the role of the working class in the life of the nation and made communism a powerful factor of progress.

The October Revolution wrought a fundamental change in the destinies of colonial and dependent nations. Their struggle for freedom now went beyond national or local bounds and became part of the world revolutionary process. Lenin pointed out that the socialist revolution would not, in the main, be only a struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie of each country, but a struggle of all colonial, oppressed and dependent nations against world imperialism.

And under the stimulating influence of the

In the many centuries of world history there have been thousands of leaders and scholars with fine words on their lips, never put to practice. You, Lenin, are an exception. Not only did you speak and teach, but you translated your words into reality. You have created a new country. You have shown us how to fight shoulder to shoulder. You encountered thousands of obstacles along your path, which I also encounter along mine. I want to follow your path and though my enemies are against it, my people will always commend me for it . . .

SUN YAT-SEN

October Revolution and Lenin's analysis of the national and colonial problem at congresses of the Communist International, Lenin's theory of revolution took firm hold in the colonial and dependent countries. Communist parties were formed in some of them and worked out their revolutionary strategy and tactics in keeping with their specific conditions. The development of the national-liberation movement has been closely linked with the growth and strengthening of the Soviet Union, the birthplace of the socialist revolution and, after World War II, with the socialist world system and the workers' struggle in capitalist countries. The movement thus entered a new stage.

* * *

On the eve of the October Revolution Iran was virtually a dependent state, the result of the 1907 treaty which divided the country into Russian and British spheres of influence, and of rapacious exploitation by the two warring coalitions during the First World War. It was in this situation that the historic salvo of the *Aurora* infused new courage in our people. The Iranian national-liberation movement entered a new phase.

The October Revolution gave our people a new neighbor, a new friend and protector of their freedom and independence — Soviet Russia, a country ruled by a workers' and peasants' government.

In the very first months after the revolution, the Soviet government, headed by Lenin, annulled the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907 and all agreements which in one or another way restricted or impaired the Iranian people's right to freedom and independence.

The Soviet government also repealed the capitulations and annulled all public and private debts, totalling more than 100 million rubles; this enabled Iran to force the other powers to repeal the capitulations in 1928.

The October Revolution eliminated the danger to Iran's sovereignty and independence. It freed her of the yoke imposed by tsarist Russia and created the necessary preconditions for breaking out of political and economic dependence on the imperialist powers. The most pressing task was to end British imperialist domination and give the country democratic government.

That was the aim and substance of the 1918-19 national liberation movement which spread to a large part of the country and, after the conclusion of the shackling 1919 treaty with Britain, grew into an armed rising which in 1920-21 engulfed the provinces of Iranian Azerbaijan, Gilan and Khurassan.

The defeat of the movement was due to the relative weakness of our working class, disunity and strife within the movement itself, leftist deviations and adventurism of some of its leaders and, last but not least, direct intervention by British imperialism which, following the coup d'état of 1921, placed the country under Reza Khan.

Though the 1918-21 anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic movement was suppressed, it laid a deep imprint on Iranian life, and this was to play a definite part in subsequent events. The onerous treaty of 1919, which virtually converted Iran into a British possession, was annulled. Britain was compelled to end the military occupation and withdraw all her forces from Iranian territory. The 1921 treaty with the Soviet Union—Iran's first equal treaty with a great power—laid the foundations for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The founding of the Communist Party in June 1920 was one of the high points of the 1918-21 movement and was largely inspired by it and the October Revolution. The Party became an active and independent factor exerting a strong influence on the movement for national freedom.

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The suppression of the 1918-21 movement and the introduction of a reactionary regime prevented us from utilizing the favorable situation created by the October Revolution. In common with other countries bordering on the USSR, Iran became an imperialist base, a link in the blockade-chain surrounding the first socialist state.

The vacuum in Iran resulting from the overthrow of the tsarist regime was filled by British imperialism, not by the national patriotic forces. Her position thus strengthened, Britain proceeded to introduce new methods of exploiting the country and made certain structural changes in its government.

Anti-communism and opposition to democracy became the underlying principle of home and foreign policy. Communist activity was savagely suppressed; contacts with the USSR were cut to a minimum, though their political and economic advantages were obvious to all. The Communist and other progressive parties and trade unions were banned; the Mejlis was turned into a caricature of parliament. The ruling element, dutifully following policies laid down by the imperialists, renounced Iran's traditional neutrality and signed the Saidabad military pact.

The net result was that Iran, besides remaining an economic appendage of the im-

perialist powers, was turned into a staging ground for their military and political gambles. Militarization of the regime and alliance with the reactionary imperialist forces—it was by this dual tactic that the Iranian government hoped to maintain itself in power.

Its fallacy was glaringly demonstrated in the critical period of World War II. The 20-year dictatorship of Reza Shah, that tool of imperialism and reaction in the Middle East, began to crumble in the very first days of the war. Communists and other progressive elements, many of whom had spent years in prison and exile, founded the Iranian People's Party (Tudeh), the continuer of our people's revolutionary traditions. In a very short time it developed from a few small nuclei into an influential force and gave leadership to the popular liberation movement.

That movement spread to the entire country, reaching its zenith in 1945-46 with the armed rising in Iranian Azerbaijan and Kurdistan, where a democratic government was formed within the Iranian state. But this time, too, it was suppressed with the help of the U.S. and other imperialists.

The victory of the Soviet Army and the emergence of People's Democracies in Europe and Asia projected socialism beyond the borders of one country and made it a world system. This changed the whole balance of world forces to the advantage of socialism and the disadvantage of imperialism. And the change strongly affected the political and economic situation in Iran, a country bordering on the Soviet Union, the bulwark of the socialist world system. Again our country became one of the most vulnerable links in the system of world imperialism and reaction. That was the background to the new upsurge of the liberation movement in 1951-52, culminating in nationalization of the oil industry, severance of political ties with British imperialism and the Shah's flight from the country. Unfortunately, this time, too, as a result of collusion between Anglo-American imperialism and Iranian reaction and of differences within the national-liberation movement, the struggle ended in defeat. Another reactionary coup was staged in August 1953. This time the Iranian ultras were helped by direct British imperialist intervention.

The following basic conclusions can be drawn from these developments:

1. With the passage of time the influence of the October Revolution, far from diminishing, has steadily and rapidly increased. The process begun in 1917 gained momentum and led to the emergence of the socialist world system, which has become a decisive factor in the making of world history.

2. Iranian experience, notably the liberation movements of 1945-46 and 1951-53, clearly show that imperialism, particularly American, is the chief enemy of Iranian freedom and independence and the biggest obstacle to progress and meaningful reform.

3. With the changed alignment of forces in favor of socialism, the Iranian national-liberation movement has been growing in strength and scope, taking in ever new class and social strata and advancing more concrete democratic demands.

* * *

The 1921 coup was carried out after the victory of the October Revolution, in the first stage of the general crisis of capitalism and at the height of the liberation movement. Its obvious purpose was to suppress that movement, bolster the position of British imperialism and check the spreading influence of the October Revolution. The 1953 coup was staged at a time when the national-liberation movement had led to the nationalization of oil, when British imperialism had quit the Iranian political scene and the position of U.S. imperialism had been weakened. Understandably, it caused more damage than the 1921 coup, and our Party regards it as a tragic chapter in the modern history of Iran.

The regime imposed on the country after the coup nullified all the gains won by the people in years of hard-fought struggle. It factually cancelled the oil nationalization law, abandoned neutrality, acceded to the Baghdad Pact (Cento) and turned the Iranian market over to the imperialist monopolies.

Far from resolving social contradictions, it aggravated them and plunged the country into a profound economic and social crisis. The government made certain concessions in an attempt to adapt itself to the changing relation of forces at home and internationally. Its most important measures in this respect were the agrarian reform and improvement of relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

However, all its measures were superficial and inconsistent. Besides, the agrarian reform was deliberately designed to promote capitalist relations in agriculture without encroaching on the basic interests of the big landowners. And while slightly revising its policy on political and economic relations with the socialist countries, the government has been careful to safeguard the basic interests of the imperialist monopolies.

Two factors were largely responsible for this change of Iran's policy, which continues to be oriented on the capitalist world system,

but takes into account the existence of the socialist world system.

The first factor is the chronic economic crisis, nonfulfilment of the five-year plans, discontinuance of American "aid," mounting pressure by political parties and groups within the country and abroad. The second is the Soviet Union's policy of peaceful coexistence and its disinterested economic aid, splendid examples of which we see in Egypt, Afghanistan, Iraq and other countries; the changing alignment of world forces in favor of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism and to the detriment of imperialism.

The recent policy changes are doubtlessly a positive development. Our Party believes, that, irrespective of the government's motivations, they help to strengthen Iran's political independence and her efforts towards economic independence. Accordingly, our Party has urged maximum improvement of relations with the socialist states.

Though the government has consistently upheld monopoly interests and has repeatedly vowed allegiance to the West, the U.S. and British imperialists look askance at its economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and there has been a good deal of criticism by the Western press and radio. The great popularity in Iran of closer ties with the socialist countries, despite objections and criticism from some myopic politicians, is in itself proof that our Party is following a correct course.

In analyzing the political and economic changes of the past few years, one must be careful to avoid two errors: first, categorical

For the first time on November 7, 1917, the working class won power not for some historic moment a second long, but for good. For the first time, the working class won not a battle, but the whole war, a difficult, brutal and bloody war, against the exploiters of the world.

The Communist must never let this lesson escape his field of vision. It is a lesson that we must constantly impregnate in the whole working class.

November 7, 1917, was the beginning of the greatest turn in man's history. The decisive victory of the Russian workers, peasants and soldiers over the united landowners and capitalists has changed the face of the world. No significant political development in the world can escape the influence of the existence of the Soviet Union. A new epoch has begun in the history of the class struggle.

ERNST THAELMANN

negation of the positive aspects of these changes, which could only isolate us from the people and their aspirations, for the realization of which we are fighting. Another mistake would be to overestimate these changes on the assumption that, though they do not affect basic landowner and monopoly interests, they represent a fundamental change in the government's anti-democratic and reactionary policy. That view has no justification in reality and can only mislead the people, indeed, encourage them to accept and support the regime.

* * *

A cursory survey of Iranian history over the past fifty years will show that the ruling element has consistently striven to prevent the spread of socialist ideas and to shape home and foreign policy in total disregard of the worldwide influence of the October Revolution. In fact, at one time the government ignored the very existence of the Soviet Union.

Our Party has always stood at the head of the genuine national and democratic forces in combating that policy. It has gone through many ordeals, has made many sacrifices and has always displayed courage.

Today, too, we firmly believe that revolutionary ideas know no boundaries. What socialism offers the people cannot be concealed, obscured or discounted by anti-Communist propaganda, war bases, prison or torture. It should be perfectly clear that Iran, like every other developing country, cannot cope with her numerous economic and technological problems without the generous assistance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. And that is precisely why we take a positive view of the present government's efforts in this direction.

Our country sorely needs fundamental reforms in every field of public, economic and political life.

The national and democratic aims of the

Iranian people can be attained only through democratization, and the process should begin with a general amnesty, release of political detainees, return of political exiles, re-establishment of civil and social freedoms, including freedom of parties, trade unions and other public organizations. Reforms that have no support among the people and are not of a democratic nature are bound to be short-lived and cannot produce the desired and much needed radical changes.

There is one more important prerequisite for Iran's development, economic democratization: a thorough agrarian reform in favor of the peasants, abolition of monopoly control of the economy, a larger and democratically administered public sector, restriction of the private sector in order to increase the national income and provide the necessary investment funds to assure high growth rates. All these measures can be carried out, but only if Iran follows a non-capitalist path. Otherwise, notwithstanding partial reforms, the obsolescent economic structure will remain and so will the country's backwardness, that evil legacy of flunkeydom to imperialism.

Foreign policy, too, should follow a democratic course that accords with the national interest. That can be achieved only by adopting neutrality, combating neo-colonialism, extending and strengthening ties with the socialist countries and promoting friendship and cooperation with the emergent nations committed to peace, freedom, democracy and progress.

The People's Party, inspired by the ideas of October and creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to Iranian conditions, continues to work for a free, prosperous, independent and progressive Iran. And such an Iran can be built, but only through deep-going change in the social, economic and political fields. Our Party firmly believes that dedicated effort and unity with other national and patriotic trends will enable it to overcome all difficulties and fulfil its great mission.

October and the Italian workers' movement

ALDO TORTORELLA

Member of the Leadership, Italian Communist Party

THE IMPORT OF THE October Revolution was grasped the moment the first vague reports reached Italy. That applied both to the reactionary forces and to that part of the masses which had taken a stand of protest and struggle before and during the war. For the reactionary forces the October Revolution—was the very embodiment of evil, a triumphant bestial force, in short, an enemy that had to be destroyed. As for the masses, despite the hesitation and misgivings of many Socialist leaders, they reacted with more demonstrations and strikes to press their demands for peace and bread, and their slogan, "Follow the example of Russia," was brought to every corner of the country in songs of protest composed by anonymous authors.

The Italian big bourgeoisie could not even mask its hatred of October by diplomatic hypocrisy. Its initial reaction became the kernel of a clear class attitude which was later to lead to fascism and war, and after Italy's defeat and the failure of the cold war, to more oblique and subtle forms of struggle. But never, not for a single moment, did the big bourgeoisie abandon its hatred of October, for it knew only too well that the revolution in Russia had projected the class struggle beyond national bounds and made it worldwide.

Similarly, the initial reaction of the more progressive section of the masses (discounting, of course, its early immature expressions) hardened into a clear-cut class policy which became the touchstone of the sincerity of labor leaders and which, almost immediately, precipitated a split between the real Socialists

and those who, though vowing allegiance to socialism, were merely intent on "improving" capitalism by unessential reforms.

The attitude to the October Revolution — its assessment, what contacts should be maintained with the new power—became a widely discussed issue, and not only by historians and foreign-policy experts. It became a crucial issue of Italian policy and had a strong impact on the position within the country and its labor and Socialist movement.

It was the *Ordine Nuovo* group led by Gramsci that gave the correct answer to the much debated question of how to regard the October revolution. And it will be recalled that Lenin subsequently approved the group's political program as a counterweight both to opportunism and to those who suffered from the infantile disorder of "Leftism."

Gramsci and the *Ordine Nuovo* were quick to appreciate the universal significance of the revolution (in addition to its immediate and vast political impact). They were able, in other words, to realize that the popular slogan "Follow the example of Russia" had to be recast into a clearly defined and purposeful political formula. They realized that one had to see the essence of the October Revolution, understand how it became possible and what historical changes it had wrought. "History is being made in Russia," the *Ordine Nuovo* wrote, emphasizing in this terse formula (which was later superseded by a more accurate and substantiated one) that it was not merely a revolution affecting a single people, a single nation, no matter how great

and important, but an event destined to redirect the course of history.

The question then asked was: Does solidarity with the Soviet Republic imply only internationalism? And the reply, clear and precise, was given by the Italian workers and peasants in their support of the workers' and peasants' republic: besides internationalism, they were motivated by national considerations; they were acting as a sovereign people, as citizens of Italy, for, certainly, Italy as a nation had nothing to gain from hostility towards the new state. And in the solidarity movement the proletariat again showed that it was the most vigilant custodian of the nation's vital and permanent interests, the sole champion of its fundamental freedoms.

Such, in brief outline, are the origins of the policy adopted by the Italian Communists towards the October Revolution, and that policy was predicated on the understanding that as a socialist force they must draw on the experience of October and, in terms of government policy, work for close relations with the Soviet Republic.

How were the lessons of the October Revolution assimilated? How was the question posed of relations between the Italian labor movement and the party which was preparing to build the world's first socialist state?

The answer to the first question was not easy and, of course, it could not be automatic. The heart of the matter was the assessment of Leninism. If Leninism was to be regarded as a regional or provincial political doctrine, then obviously, there was nothing we could learn from it. But if Leninism contained a universal idea, was a universal doctrine, then each contingent of the labor movement, in whatever part of the world, ought to learn from it.

The Communists, having exposed Bordiga's infantile "Leftism," took the second path. In the labor movement and outside it, they were faced with the dual accusation that by embracing Marxism-Leninism they had become a new dogmatic sect, latter-day Talmudists, and that by proclaiming preservation and development of the first socialist state of paramount importance, they were sacrificing the interests of the Italian proletariat to those of the Soviet Union.

The polemic and struggle over these two inter-related issues has not been finally resolved to this day, as is evidenced by the attitude of the Right-wing Social Democrats and the adventurists of the so-called Left. But there is ample factual evidence to show that Gramsci and Togliatti were right from the very start. One has only to cite the fact that

the Italian Communist Party has become a force representing the majority in the labor and socialist movements.

And no matter what some may think or say, the Italian Communists were able to achieve this not despite, but because of, their constant ideological link with Leninism and their fraternal international contacts; because, also, they have firmly abided by the Leninist principles and practice of internationalism. The Italian Communist Party draws on Leninism for its basic propositions relating to the concept of party, alliances and power, concepts which before Lenin were singularly nebulous and confused.

Leninism is a living doctrine that stimulates thought and creative search. It has given us the concept of the party of a new type, the forms and methods of alliances in specific Italian conditions, the strategy of structural reforms, and of the struggle for power in conformity with Italy's independent path to socialism. The propositions which the Communists have had to elaborate and uphold likewise have their origins in Leninism. Other parties have been paralyzed by dogmatism; it has affected those who have rejected Lenin's texts as a kind of new Talmud.

Today these men are to be found either in the ranks of unprincipled opportunists or among outright adventurists. Neither has produced any new ideas, anything resembling a new policy; neither has discovered or analyzed anything of relevance to Italian society, the problems confronting the country, its road to socialism. Only the Communists, armed with the principles and methods drawn from Leninism, are effectively studying the problem of the South and the agrarian question, the changes taking place within Italian capitalism; only the Communists are endeavoring to dissect the anatomy of change in order to chart the path ahead.

And those who reject or shy away from fraternal international contacts with the forces that brought the October Revolution to victory and built the first socialist state—what other international positions have they won, and how have they served the Italian proletariat? Here, too, the answer is largely spelled out by the facts. And the facts show that without preservation and development of the first socialist state there would never have been the present change in the correlation of international forces which made it possible first to defeat fascism and nazism and after that to win, in Italy and throughout the world, general or partial victories in the interests of the working class and the working people as a whole. Our Communist Party's choice of fra-

ternal international contacts — especially, at critical moments, with the forces that performed the October Revolution — proved worthy of Italian patriots and revolutionaries, who cherish the genuine interests of the working class and the nation. Conversely, those who rejected that choice or abandoned it in favor of anti-Sovietism have, in the end, found themselves in the opposite camp, among the enemies of the Italian workers and people. And those who, while not sharing the Communist choice, remained loyal and eschewed anti-Sovietism, sooner or later joined the Communists in fighting the vital battles of the Italian people. That was so in the struggle against fascism, in the Resistance movement, and in the fight for the Constitution and for reform.

It can therefore be safely said that Communist internationalism, far from contradicting the requirements of the Italian people, helps us adopt independent and responsible positions based on an analysis of the requirements of our people's struggle for democracy and socialism.

And this explains why, within the Italian labor movement, it has always been the Communists, strong in their internationalism, who have initiated crucial political proposals designed to assert the right of the working class to leadership of the nation and insist on an independent Italian policy. Those within the labor movement and outside it who criticized the Communists for their internationalism have demonstrated their inability to take independent political initiatives, and have been reduced to subservience to other powers. That applies to the Demo-Christian leaders affiliated to the U.S.-tied "white international," and to the leaders of the Social Democratic Party affiliated to an international in which, apparently, links with the U.S. are a decisive factor.

The facts show that, in fraternal discussions with other parties and in mapping out the general direction of policy and struggle, Communist internationalism takes into account national interests, national choice and, consequently, is based on the complete independence and responsibility of the Italian (and every other) Communist party. The examples are many. I need cite only one of the latest, the Middle East crisis. One of the factors that enabled the Communists to avoid the traps set by the imperialists and to steer a correct and far-seeing course in this complex situation — and Comrade Luigi Longo emphasized this at a meeting of our Central Committee — was their internationalist outlook, their ability to utilize for the benefit of the Italian labor movement and people the inestimable experience

of the party that stands at the head of the first socialist state.

On another issue, too, the establishment of relations with the USSR, the facts show who was upholding the interests of the Italian nation and who was working against these interests. Many were the calumnious attacks on the Italian Communists for having maintained, at every stage of the Party's development, that friendship with the Soviet Union was in Italy's national interests. The Communists were branded as a "fifth column" of the USSR, at first by the fascists and later by the reactionaries who seized power after anti-fascist unity was undermined.

The criminal character and disastrous outcome of the fascist aggression against the USSR made it glaringly clear that the Communists had been right and that the fascists were enemies not only of communism, but of Italy and of the whole of mankind. And now too, in the second postwar period, people are coming to see that the Communists are pursuing a correct policy. It is publicly admitted (and implicitly in some of the government's measures) that Italy only stands to gain from normal trade relations with the Soviet Union, broader economic intercourse, and an end to the absurd arrangement of one-way trade. The admissions go further still. Many in the non-Communist camp admit that economic subjection to the United States has had adverse consequences in such important areas as scientific research and technological progress, and that the time is ripe for a radical revision of Italy's economic ties in order to safeguard her jeopardized economic independence.

Naturally, economics are only one aspect of the problem. In the broader context of foreign policy, too, there have been second thoughts in political circles which only yesterday considered loyalty to NATO a sacred duty and denounced all Communist proposals as ideologically motivated.

The Soviet Union's responsible and firm policy of peace stands out in sharp contrast to America's criminal escalation in Vietnam and throughout the world. And the contrast has shown many, including people in the Catholic and Social Democratic camps, that our appeal for liquidation of alliances (which has been repeatedly and consistently urged by the Warsaw Treaty powers) is not due to ideological motivations, but fully accords with Italy's national interests. Of course, the battle over this issue has been tense and hard-fought. The U.S. and its servitors are doing everything they can to keep Italy in line. But there is also this important and characteristic fact: even those who counsel unqualified "Atlantic loy-

alty" (loyalty, that is, to the United States) find themselves compelled to camouflage their extremism out of fear of public opinion, which is now markedly less swayed by anti-Sovietism and markedly more hostile to Washington's war policy.

That victory, too, has been won thanks to the operation of the ideas generated by the October Revolution and to the existence of the first land of socialism. Fifty years ago the news of the October Revolution inspired faith and courage among progressives and fear and dismay among the ruling classes. But at that time capitalist statesmen and their paid pens could with near-impunity slander the first workers' and peasants' state.

Things have changed since then. Today the

President of Italy, about to visit the United States, finds it necessary to announce, on the eve of his departure, that he also intends to visit the USSR. This should not, of course, be taken to mean that the present Italian government is abandoning the dangerous policy of subjection to the United States, but it is a measure of the path that has been travelled. For even those committed to pro-imperialist policy are obliged to mask their actions, knowing that the majority of the Italian people do not share their views and want a policy of peace and fraternity, one that would put an end to imperialist injustice and violence. They want to follow the path set by the October Revolution fifty years ago.

Impact of the idea of October

STANLEY B. RYERSON

Member of Central Executive Committee, Communist Party of Canada

THE INFLUENCE of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the thinking of people in the capitalist "West" is both more complex and very much more profound than we ourselves sometimes realize. Not only is there the direct effect, expressed in active interest in and admiration for the stupendous Soviet achievement, on the part of wide sections of working people and intellectuals; and in adherence to Marxism-Leninism and support of the Communist and Workers' parties by those who have found in the October Revolution the fundamental answer to the dilemmas and questionings of our epoch. There is, as well, a broader and more subtle area of influence which Communists have perhaps not yet studied with sufficient care. This failing on our part is made easier by the fact that what I have called the direct influence is to some degree measurable, quantifiable: in terms of publications, organizations and so forth. But

the broader, indirect influence is more intangible, less accessible to "administrative measurement." This does not mean that it is negligible. In some ways it is crucial for our ability to reach those new contacts and currents that constitute one of the main potentials of growth for the revolutionary left.

Consider, for example, the remarkable growth in recent years in Britain, the United States and Canada of articulate (and sometimes not so articulate) criticism of what is referred to as "the Establishment," "the set-up," "the system." What is being called in question is the socio-economic structure of society. This questioning is particularly noticeable among young people, church people and intellectuals; it is present, in somewhat different terms, among workers in industry who face the most direct and brutal pressures of monopoly capital.

This social criticism is directed against the

most variegated aspects of capitalist society: chemical pollution of the air of cities, of the water of lakes and streams; pollution of the minds of children and of adults by the money-mad owners of the private mass-media; waste of material and human resources and neglect of social needs by governmental authorities acting in the service of finance-capital; national and racial inequalities, and brutally repressive measures taken against the forces of protest; the enormity of the crime against the people of heroic, embattled Vietnam being perpetrated by U.S. imperialism and abetted by its accomplices in Ottawa and London . . . This criticism, which points in the direction sometimes of radical reform, and sometimes leads toward revolutionary action, starts out from the actual evils engendered by capitalist society: it is not "imported" or "foreign-inspired," as the CIA-FBI high command would like people to believe. It derives from state-monopoly capitalism itself.

At the same time, the example set on the world-historical plane by the breakthrough to a new society, to socialism and then communism, represented by the series of revolutionary transformations headed by the October victory, and all its manifold achievements — this constitutes a most powerful leaven of influence. Thanks to it, people are beginning to recognize as a fact that the *social structure of alienated, anti-social class society is not eternal*. There is another, tremendously viable alternative order of society.

It is awareness of such a momentous truth that leads men of science like the Canadian historian Dr. Gordon Rothney, in an article in the Quebec magazine *Culture*, to speak of the October Socialist Revolution as the greatest turning-point of our epoch: "Over . . . the

An independent Czechoslovakia would have been inconceivable without the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917. The October Revolution dealt a lethal blow to the military coalition of Austria-Hungary and Germany and gave powerful impetus to the liberation movement of the peoples of Austria-Hungary which gave birth to independent Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovakia would not have gained her freedom and banished the Nazi occupationists without the Soviet victory over Hitler Germany and the immediate aid of the Soviet Army.

KLEMENT GOTTWALD

past fifty years, the most important change of world history has been the spreading to hundreds of millions of people of the doctrine which originated in western Europe with Karl Marx, and the phenomenal rise in importance of the governments which have adopted it . . . the original Communist government, that of the Soviet Union, has risen from being one of the world's feeblest in 1919 to a position of power second to none. The success of communism as a political creed in the twentieth century is easy to explain. The trend of history is toward equality; and communism offers far more equality than does the market economy of western capitalism." (*Culture*, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, p. 33.)

It is in the shattering of the myth of unshakeable permanence of the old order of things, that the October storm rendered a first, immense service to mankind.

In the present deepening crisis of the old society, certain fundamental truths are coming to be grasped and understood thanks to the pioneering achievements of the Soviet Union. Man's real relation to nature, the boundless potential of human creativity and ingenuity, was revealed in the breath-taking achievements of Soviet cosmonauts, space science, technology. What Galileo said of the nobility of the mission of exploration of the universe was demonstrated by Gagarin, Tereshkova, and their courageous fellow explorers of the Cosmos:

" . . . To investigate the true constitution of the universe—the most important and admirable problem that there is . . . The greatness and nobility of this problem entitles it to be placed foremost among all questions capable of theoretical solution." (Galileo Galilei, 1613.)

Socialism has not only come to grips with the theoretical solution of such questions, but has pioneered in their *practical* solution. In the Cosmos, and in the realm of society itself. Man's relation to man—the real nature of human society—was and is illuminated by the October victory. If today in social science, despite all resistances of reactionary pressures, questions of class, class structure, class relationships, are now being examined and discussed in our universities, it is not only because the development of monopoly-capitalism has made it an inescapable matter of recognition—but it is likewise because the revolution in class relationships that started in 1917 has implications for all of class society, and cannot be evaded. The power of the working class, the working-class science of Marx and Lenin, the political leadership of the Communists—these have become a vital force in world consciousness. Studies of class structure in Canada, such as John

Porter's *Vertical Mosaic*, are an intellectual event testifying to rapidly growing awareness of the social reality. And this is so even when a social scientist like Porter polemizes with Marxism, resists its influence even while conceding the fact of the class reality that Marxism has made comprehensible.

The impact of October, and of the idea it represents, merges with and animates the deep-going processes working towards the democratization of human society. The inspiration of the events of 1917 themselves helped shape to a very large degree the modern world Communist movement; they have influenced profoundly the worldwide national-liberation struggles of the peoples against imperialism, against national and racial oppression.

In our day, not least important among the many facets of this pervasive influence is the moral impact: the heightened sense of responsibility for man's fate, for his survival in face of thermonuclear destructive power, for his flowering and rise to truly human stature on the basis of new mastery of nature and of his own social organization. In the crisis of the

spirit that accompanies the crisis of imperialism, the act of creation of a socialist and ultimately communist society has defied all the "powers of darkness." There is thus a growing sense of responsibility among socially-conscious working people and intellectuals, which is combined with a heightened sense of confidence because of the existence of the new, Socialist world system. Of this sense of moral-historical responsibility among intellectuals, the Canadian Marxist writer, critic and historian Margaret Fairley has written: "Not until men really see will they begin to act . . . Our first responsibility is to understand the contemporary struggles, our second is to express them in our own work. Our third is to help young people to break away from empty, non-committal attitudes which are fashionable . . ." In this process, progressive workers and intellectuals who challenge the reactionary status quo, who assert human values in the face of an inhuman imperialism, draw inspiration, directly and indirectly, from the beacon-light of the world's first Socialist Revolution. The October storm prepared the springtime of mankind.

The October Revolution—beginning of the epoch of socialism and communism

BORIS PONOMARYOV

Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU

FROM THE SUMMIT of the 1960s we see the international character of the October Revolution with especial clarity. In all respects it has been the greatest turning point in the history of mankind. It was the October Revolution that began the chronicle of the socialist epoch. Here is how Lenin described the historic role of the Revolution: "The abolition of capitalism and its vestiges, and the establishment of the fundamentals of the communist order comprise the content of the new era of world history that has set in." The theses "Fiftieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution," issued by our Central Committee, sum up the results of the heroic deeds accomplished by our people. They generalize the Party's experience in directing the building of the new society and the fight against class enemies at home and in the international arena.

The nature of the new epoch was determined chiefly by the fact that the October Revolution gave a new direction to the development of human society and accelerated the march of history. The worldwide impact of the October Revolution lies in that it was the first to resolve problems that matured not only in Russia, but also on an international scale. The triumph of the Revolution in Russia shattered the myth that the stability of capitalism was "in the nature of things," showing that capitalism was not eternal and that its replacement by socialism was on the order of the day. The October Revolution expressed most fully and all-sidedly the world's pressing need for social progress. That made it the starting point of the world socialist revolution and the base for its further growth.

The victorious development of the world revolution in the past 50 years is the direct result of the activity of the new forces of social progress set in motion by the October Revolution:

—for the first time in history the proletariat became the ruling class and obtained the possibility of carrying out its mission of leader of the revolutionary remaking of reality with the aid of such a powerful instrument as the State. The international proletariat has thus finally asserted itself as the central force of the new epoch;

—the world communist movement, the militant vanguard of all the forces of progress, was revitalized. In due course it became the mightiest political force of our time;

—the October Revolution aroused to active struggle and drew into the liberation torrent huge masses of the oppressed classes and nations of all countries;

—communism, turned from an Utopia into a science by the genius of Marx, Engels and Lenin, began to be translated into living reality. The socialist ideology began to spread irresistibly throughout the world.

These factors have been decisive in fundamentally changing the face of the world in the past five decades. The most important revolutionary achievements in this short time were: the building of socialism and the transition to building communist society in the USSR; the socialist revolutions in other European and Asian countries after the first socialist country defeated nazism; the formation of the socialist world system and the victory of the revolution in Cuba; the national liberation revolutions, which, benefiting from the changed

balance of world forces in favor of socialism and socialism's active support, have destroyed the colonial empires; the emergence of over 70 young sovereign national states, which have become an independent factor of world politics and of which the foremost have adopted a socialist orientation.

The movement towards socialism started by the October Revolution is an immutable law-governed process of modern history. Neither the maneuvering and counter-attacking of imperialism nor the transient deviations like those engendered by the anti-Leninist policy of Mao Tse-tung and his group, can upset this law.

As repeatedly stressed by the fraternal Parties, the building of communism in the USSR is the forward line in the general front of the world's revolutionary reconstruction. A continuation of the work started by the October Revolution, it is a mighty factor of social progress in the modern world.

I.

SOCIALISM IS THE PRINCIPAL GAIN OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The October Revolution gave birth to a fundamentally new form of social organization. For the first time, the responsibility for the destiny of human society was undertaken by a class imparting to historical development the nature of a consciously regulated process in the interest of the people. That the existence and development of a society without exploiters and exploitation, and without private ownership of the means of production has been proved possible, is, in this sense, of fundamental importance.

The prophecies of the enemies of the October Revolution proved untrue.

Today, one sees clearly the main result of the colossal work stimulated by the October Revolution. The foundation for communist civilization has been laid in the USSR and other socialist countries. The features of this civilization are at different stages of development from country to country, and, naturally, there is much that is specific and distinctive about them. Nonetheless, they are manifesting themselves in real life and represent a materialization of the common socialist ideal.

For all its peculiarities, mirroring the process of building socialism in our country, the *socialist economy* that has taken shape and now functions in the USSR is characterized by features inherent in, and common to, the economy of socialist society.

The *determining feature* of socialist economy is public ownership of the means of

production, giving broad scope for public control over the development of production in the interest of the working class and the people as a whole. Public ownership breaks down the barrier of private ownership which obstructs balanced, crisis-free economic growth. It makes possible and objectively necessary scientific planning of the economy as a nationwide complex. Violations of the objective laws and voluntarist "leaps" disorganize economic life and ultimately result in grave setbacks, which boomerang against their proponents.

Over the past 50 years socialist economy has proved its extraordinary viability. This has enabled our country to withstand the trials of the Civil War, to cope with the difficulties of building socialism in one country, and to win the battle against fascism.

The *second feature* characterizing socialist economy is its ability to secure accelerated rates of growth and a high level of development of the productive forces, which Marxists have always considered a major and indispensable attribute of the new social system destined to replace capitalism.

By and large, our country had to build up the industrial and technical basis of socialism from scratch. Our experience shows that given certain material and economic conditions and a correct policy, the new social relations make it possible to build such a basis in a short period. We have turned into reality Lenin's dream of showing "each and everyone strikingly and in a way that he can see for himself that socialism harbors gigantic forces." Socialism proved its superiority over capitalism by securing high stable rates of economic development. The average annual growth of industrial production in 1929-1966 was 11.1 percent in the USSR, whereas it was four per cent in the United States and 2.5 per cent in Britain and France. Compared with the pre-Revolution figures our country's national income increased 33-fold, the industrial product 66-fold, and the output of engineering more than 500-fold. This is a qualitative change and a giant step forward that could never have been achieved without the triumph of the proletarian revolution.

The *third feature* of the socialist economy, which has likewise stood the test of time, is that the desire to secure the utmost satisfaction and advancement of the material and cultural requirements of the people is its main motive force. Socialism forms and enriches these requirements and fills them with an ever deeper spiritual content. It creates the most rational forms of satisfying requirements, which cement society.

For this reason, socialism gives rise to absolutely new ideological and moral production according to work done. This rules out exploitation of man by man and embodies in practice the social justice attainable in our conditions to which the workingman has aspired over the centuries. A foundation is being created for the best possible combination of the interests of society, of the collective and the individual, and for the establishment and consolidation of truly humane relations. The more consistently the principle of payment according to work done is implemented, the better does it promote moral stimuli, which are an important aspect of the current economic reform. This socialist principle harmoniously combines material and moral incentives.

Marxist-Leninists are aware that the principle of payment according to work done is historically transient. Our end goal is to bring about the triumph of the communist principle of distribution according to needs. But the switch to that principle is not possible until a much higher level of the productive forces and social consciousness is attained. Any underrating, let alone renunciation of the "according-to-work" principle under present conditions, and any skipping of stages cause grave harm to society and is a negation of the Marxist-Leninist approach to building socialism.

Good headway has also been made in the past 50 years in the sphere of satisfying the material and cultural requirements of Soviet people.

There is no doubt that, but for a number of circumstances, we would have made considerably greater progress in this sphere. For many years, our country was the only socialist island in the world. It suffered two big assaults by the shock forces of imperialism. To repulse aggression and rebuild the war-ravaged economy took up some twenty years in all. Today, the Soviet Union is compelled to spend huge sums on ensuring reliable defenses for our country and the whole socialist world system, and curbing the aggressive imperialist forces. Thereby, we are fulfilling an important internationalist duty and preventing a nuclear world war. The Soviet people are doing this consciously, although the cost of it is very high. This shows what possibilities will arise for raising the standard of living and the cultural level of the people once the restrictive effects of unproductive expenditure necessitated by the existence of imperialism, finally cease.

The experience gained in building socialism in our country shows that the revolutionary

remaking of society is an intricate process, in which new problems and tasks arise continuously, requiring a deep-going analysis and thoughtful solutions. Most of the socialist countries are now busy improving the forms of socialist economic management to keep abreast of the requirements of world scientific and technical progress, the modern international division of labor and the level reached by socialism as a social formation. The economic reforms under way in many socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, are serving this purpose.

The purpose pursued by our Party in improving the economy is to enhance the efficiency of socialist social production, to make the most of the advantages of the socialist system and to apply creatively the principles of the socialist economy: democratic centralism, planning, cost accounting, and harmony of material and moral incentives. It must be emphasized that contrary to its various critics, the current economic reform does not impair the principle of planning. On the contrary, it strengthens and improves planning, and creates the most favorable conditions for the building of communism.

In the past 50 years profound changes were wrought in the sphere of social relations. The road opened by the October Revolution led through acute class struggle to the abolition of the exploiting classes and the final elimination of class antagonisms.

The character of the working class, the leading class of society, underwent a fundamental change. Its numerical strength increased many times over and its professional and educational level rose. It stands invariably in the forefront, building the new socioeconomic system. It is the most advanced class dedicated to the ultimate abolition of all class partitions and distinctions, to the building of a classless society.

Socialism has radically changed the peasantry. The experience gained by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has proved irrefutably that the peasant can shake off the private proprietor individualism, go over from small-scale private farming to large-scale collective farming and become a full-fledged and active force in building socialism and communism. The consistent implementation of Lenin's idea of an alliance between the working class and the peasants was a mighty lever in the socialist reconstruction of the countryside and the socio-political consolidation of society as a whole.

A new, people's intelligentsia emerged in the building of socialism. Its interests are inseparable from those of the workers and peas-

ants, and it devotes its ability, knowledge and talent to the building of the new society.

The socio-political and ideological unity of all classes and social strata in the Soviet Union is unique in history.

The October Revolution put an end to the antagonistic antithesis between mental and physical labor and between town and country, creating the prerequisites for the eradication of the essential distinctions between them.

The October Revolution rooted out national and racial oppression and hostility, the cause of a great waste of social energy and a roadblock to progress. Socialism gave formerly downtrodden and oppressed nations the conditions for swift economic and cultural progress and enabled them to build up their own statehood. Intensive intercourse between nations is overcoming the national egoism cultivated over the centuries, promoting respect for the national features and traditions of every nation and nationality and furthering the friendship and understanding between peoples, and their sense of socialist internationalism.

The experience of the multinational Soviet Union in building socialism and communism shows that to bring nations closer it is essential to ensure a profound day-to-day internationalist upbringing for the people and to carry on a relentless struggle against national prejudices and survivals of bourgeois nationalism, for they do not disappear automatically after the triumph of the socialist revolution and seriously impede cooperation among nations. That is the only way national barriers can be torn down and fraternity of peoples secured.

The half-century of the world's first socialist state has proved that socialist society is one where illiteracy is wiped out, where culture and education attain a high level. Practice proves that the new, socialist culture is inconceivable without all the values of man's cultural and material heritage, values that comprise the treasure-store of the human spirit and are made accessible to the masses thanks to the establishment of socialist social relations.

The October Revolution has led to the abolition of the antagonism between society and the individual and created the conditions for moulding the harmoniously developed individual. As socialist social relations improve, man's spiritual world grows richer and broader. Among other things, this is borne out by the emergence from the very heart of the people, from among the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia of men who won distinction in science, technology and the arts.

The ways and means of reconstructing

reality along socialist lines have been conclusively tested in the fifty Soviet years.

The experience of preparing the October Revolution and that of building socialism and communism bring out in relief *the leading, inspiring and mobilizing role of the Communist Party*. It was the Communist Party that has played the decisive role in preparing the victorious October Revolution and in the building of socialism and communism.

It was the Party that worked out the theory of socialist revolution in relation to the imperialist epoch. It rallied to the revolution the working class and broad sections of the peasantry. It was the Party that worked out the science of building the new, socialist society. At each historical stage, it substantiated in theory **the basic tasks of socialist construction** and the tasks that arose during the armed clashes with imperialism. The opponents of Leninism—the Trotskyites, the Right opportunists and the nationalists—were resolutely combated, which was a necessary precondition for the triumph of Lenin's ideas in theory and practice.

The fifty years of Soviet society show convincingly that the people owe their success in having built socialism and in communist construction to the theoretical, organizational and political work of the Party.

Today, the Soviet Communist Party has nearly 13,000,000 members, and this despite the strictly individual selection practised by the Party in accordance with Lenin's instructions. This is an indication that the Party has the undivided support of the Soviet people.

The successes achieved by the Communist Party in the Soviet period are rooted largely in the fact that under the leadership of the great Lenin, long before the October victory, the Party strengthened its vanguard role in the labor movement, among all workers, in savage battles against tsarism and capitalism, winning the trust of the working class and its allies. Work with the masses has always been a prime concern of the Party.

Continuous concern for effective defense of the gains of the October Revolution has been an important aspect of Party work. The history of the first socialist state is punctuated by bitter clashes with domestic and foreign class enemies. The Party has always brought up Communists and all Soviet people in a spirit of readiness to defend the gains of October.

Given the leading role of the Party, the most important instrument for changing society is the socialist state. The substance, significance and functions of the proletarian dictatorship, experience showed, is a fundamentally new stage in the development of democracy, of

democracy for the overwhelming majority, which distinguishes it radically from all preceding forms of democracy.

It has been shown in practice that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a creative and constructive instrument, and not one of destruction only and that this positive function is rooted deeply in its very essence. Of the utmost importance for all countries, especially those with a peasant population, is the fact proved in practice that the dictatorship of the working class effects an alliance of workers and peasants and secures the peasants' transition to the socialist way.

Experience also revealed the historic limits of the working-class dictatorship: in the course of the progress towards socialism it becomes the political organization of the whole people. The socialist state of the whole people consummates the mission of the proletarian dictatorship and serves as the principal instrument in building communism. It performs the task of organizing society along strictly scientific lines and converting it into a harmoniously geared mechanism. This task is being effected in the following main directions:

- raising planning to a new level conforming to the fully matured objective laws of socialist economy, ensuring fully utilization of commodity-money relations as one of the important laws governing socialist society and taking into account the demands of the scientific and technical revolution;

- organizing information, communications and operational management in keeping with modern scientific and technological standards, which considerably strengthen the elements of regulation in socialist economy and allow for a more timely and accurate compilation and correction of economic plans;

- combining more harmoniously the material, political and ideological instruments of leadership and of stimuli for social development;

- improving the education and training of specialists and setting up an effective system of preparing highly-skilled workers for all fields;

- introducing a broad system of studying and registering public opinion as a condition for the further development of socialist democracy and its effectiveness, and adopting a number of other fundamental measures.

Fulfilment of all tasks of communist construction is indissolubly linked with the improvement of socialist democracy and the development of new forms of self-administration.

All these problems are mirrored in the

Party Program, the decisions of the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU and of Central Committee meetings which have in recent years reviewed the socio-economic problems of communist construction. A major event in the life of our Party, one that added to its role at the present, new stage, was the plenary meeting of the CC, CPSU in October 1964, which confirmed the Party's unbending will strictly to abide by and develop the Leninist norms of Party life and the principle of collective leadership.

The past five decades have shown how much work it takes to reorganize society along socialist lines. Lenin wrote: "It is something new, unprecedented in history and cannot be studied from books."

Lenin emphasized that in Russia it was much easier to start a revolution than to bring it to completion and build socialism. What he had in mind was that the socialist revolution had triumphed initially in a country whose economy was backward and badly ruined by the imperialist war and the foreign intervention, and where the peasantry and the petty-bourgeois strata comprised the overwhelming majority of the population. For a long time, our country bore up single-handedly against the entire world system of imperialist states. A choice had to be made between consciously restricting the standard of living and by heroic effort rapidly building a powerful economy and strengthening the country's defense capacity, or being crushed by the united forces of reaction. Time had to be won at all costs. This predetermined the tempo of industrialization and collectivization in the USSR and gave rise to a number of specific methods of resolving the tasks of socialist construction.

In the past 50 years our people have known the joy of great victories and the bitterness of losses, temporary setbacks, errors and miscalculations. At one stage the development of Soviet society was hampered and clouded by the Stalin personality cult. As the theses issued by the Central Committee of the CPSU on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution point out, the cult, alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, magnified the role of one man, causing a departure from the Leninist principles of collective leadership and violations of socialist legality. These perversions injured our society, but did not change the nature, or shake the pillars, of socialism. We owe this to the strength of our Party and the strength of the Soviet socialist system. People everywhere see this from the concrete facts of Soviet development.

Everybody knows that the efforts put in by our people in surmounting the difficulties that

face all pioneers, and the sacrifices they have made, were not in vain. They have helped, and will still help, other peoples to advance to socialism with incalculably less difficulty, by an easier road. Thanks to what Lenin's Party and the Soviet Union have accomplished, other peoples can get an idea of communism from practical deeds, from an existing society. True, there is still much room for development, there is still much that can be corrected and finalized. But the main task advanced by the October Revolution, that of building and irrevocably establishing socialism, has been successfully accomplished.

II.

WHAT PRESERVING CAPITALISM MEANS

One of the main theses of modern anti-communism is that social revolutions fall short of their aims from the point of view of social progress, that they are "too costly."

There is no denying that until now social revolutions involved destruction and sacrifice. This is due to revolution being a product of antagonistic society. But the responsibility for the sacrifices does not rest with the revolutionary classes. This the October Revolution has borne out undeniably. The long Civil War, the intervention and blockade for which our people had to pay so heavy a toll, belong in the criminal record of counter-revolution and international imperialism. Now, we have perfectly valid grounds to say: it is an objective law of the socialist world revolution that every new country embarking on socialism does so in increasingly favorable conditions and can, provided the Communist Party pursues a correct policy, follow the socialist way with fewer difficulties and less sacrifice. Thus, every new revolution can reveal its benefits to the working class, to all the people, in a relatively shorter time. The constructive content of a socialist revolution can be brought to the surface in a shorter time in history under the present conditions. That, too, is an increasingly tangible indication of the international role of the October Revolution.

Conversely, it is an objective law of capitalism that it exacts increasingly heavier sacrifices and imposes new hardships and suffering on millions of exploited and oppressed with each passing decade, with each year of its history.

The history of capitalism over the past 50 years has shown that the continued existence of that outmoded system has brought on calamities on a scale surpassing anything man suffered in the past. The "price" paid by the

peoples in this period, adds up to the tens of millions of lives cut short in various wars, the millions who perished in fascist gas chambers and concentration camps, to racialism on the rampage, to the horrible physical and moral suffering caused by mass unemployment, chronic undernourishment of the population of whole continents, massive corruption of the youth and the spiritual degradation of whole generations. The responsibility for this lies with imperialism.

During the past 50 years mankind suffered unprecedented losses from the imperialist policy of militarism and war, and from armed reprisals against the forces of progress. The Second World War alone claimed a toll of 50 million dead and 23 million maimed. The material losses inflicted by the Second World War exceeded \$300,000 million. But even after this capitalism did not change the main trends of its foreign policy. In our day, too, when a new world conflict—entailing the use of nuclear and missile weaponry—could destroy whole nations, preparations for, and conduct of, wars continues to be the basis of the foreign policy of imperialist states.

Suffice it to say that the U.S. spent more than \$20,000 million on the war against the Korean People's Democratic Republic. The wanton U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam has also already cost some \$50,000 million.

With every passing year, the arms race is becoming more and more ruinous for the peoples. During the past fifty years or so the number of people called up for military service in peacetime has increased 5-fold and the cost of maintaining armies—30-fold.

The expenditure of NATO since its inception already exceeds \$1,000,000 million. World spending on arms is in the neighborhood of \$130,000 million a year. Over 100 large iron and steel works like the Bhilai plant could be built every year with that money. Even a fifth of the yearly military budgets, combined with the internal resources of the developing countries, would be enough to deliver all these countries from hunger, epidemics and illiteracy in some 10 to 15 years.

Peacetime military spending and war costs in the past fifty years add up to \$3,500,000 million. This sum exceeds the national incomes of all countries in the past two years.

Modern militarism has a ruinous effect on social progress also because it subordinates the main forces of science and technology to its own ends. The genius of many scientists is side-tracked from creative labor and used to the detriment of humanity. About two thirds of the world's scientists squander their talents on war ends and create ever new weapons of

mass destruction and annihilation.

In 1913 Lenin wrote: "On all sides, at every step one comes across problems which man is quite capable of solving *immediately*, but capitalism is in the way." Since then man's resources have grown immeasurably. But during that time capitalism has erected, mainly through militarization, new formidable obstacles to the solution of urgent tasks vitally important to the peoples of the world.

The continued existence of capitalism in the fifty years since the October Revolution has prolonged the sufferings of hundreds of millions of people in the colonial and dependent countries. When the oppressed peoples, inspired by the October Revolution, rose to struggle for freedom, imperialism countered this striving with a series of destructive colonial wars.

Many thousands of dead, crippled, and homeless, towns and villages destroyed, and economies dislocated — those are the aftermath of the forced retreat of capitalism from the colonies and dependencies.

Plunder of the peoples of many former colonies by the monopolies continues to this day. As a result of non-equivalent exchange alone the third world countries are losing thousands of millions of dollars annually in their trade with the capitalist countries. At the same time, per capital food production in the former colonies is decreasing every year by one to two per cent. While the imperialist monopolies grow richer from colonial profit, the peoples of the newly-free countries continue to languish in poverty and age-old backwardness. They know from experience the "price" of the continued existence of capitalism in America and Europe.

The history of the past fifty years demonstrated that the notorious "social peace" in the Western world is nothing but a myth. The numbers of strikers in the industrially advanced capitalist countries was 74 million between 1919 and 1939, and 262.9 million between 1946 and 1960. The number of strikes rose accordingly from 165,600 to 285,900.

Capitalism inflicts enormous economic losses on society. As a result of unemployment, the USA lost over 9,500 million working weeks between 1929 and 1966, and, we might note, this figure does not take into account losses due to part-time employment or concealed unemployment. Capitalism's inability effectively to use the productive forces it has developed is becoming ever more apparent. After the Second World War critical reductions in production, even though not as catastrophic in scale as between 1929 and 1933, became much more frequent. Constant under-capacity operation of plant is responsible for

considerable under-production of commodities. We know, for example, that between 1953 and 1960 the USA thus lost about 18.5 million worker-years.

In their efforts to perpetuate the existence of the exploiting society, the ruling classes, as the past 50 years have shown, resort to brutal methods of government. The most monstrous of these was fascism, nurtured by the capitalism of the twentieth century.

The cult of cruelty and violence, the cult of sadism, which is part of imperialist reaction, found its fullest expression in fascism.

In our time the activities of the ultra-reactionary cliques and organizations in the leading capitalist countries, the revival of fascism in West Germany, the recent fascist coup in Greece, the revelations concerning preparations for a similar coup in Italy in 1964, the many recent coups by Latin American "gorillas," the growing activity of the "ultras" and "hawks" in the United States—all this shows that the imperialist tendency towards "reaction all along the line," noted by Lenin, continues to be a grave menace to mankind.

Imperialism obstructs the normal development of international contacts between nations by setting up aggressive military blocs and closed economic associations, by its policy of neo-colonialism, and creating hotbeds of tension and intervention, including military intervention, in the affairs of other peoples. It gravely impairs cultural intercourse between peoples by its policy of anti-communism, by cultivating prejudices against the socialist system, against the most progressive ideas of the century of which the bearers are Communists. It disunites the peoples by whipping up racial hatred and enmity between nations. It corrupts public opinion in the greater part of the world by gangster methods of political advertising and misinformation.

Cumulatively, this enables us to assess how heavy are the losses — material, moral, and social—inflicted on society by the existence of capitalism, and how it entrammels social progress. Imperialism's biggest and foulest crime against humanity is its struggle against socialist society, a brutal and insidious struggle, armed and non-military, which it has been waging since the first day of the October Revolution.

The present epoch has placed the abolition of capitalism on the agenda of history. The world socialist revolution, ushered in by the October Revolution, is successfully solving this world historical task. The revolution is tearing asunder the fetters capitalism has clamped on social progress. It is a powerful locomotive of history. This is seen clearly from the

results of the October Revolution, which cut the Gordian knot of capitalist contradictions and enabled the people of our country to resolve problems mankind has been struggling with for millennia. In only half a century we have made enormous progress in resolving these age-old problems. As regards its internal development, contradictions and conflicts involving sacrifice and privation, have become for Soviet society a thing of the past.

III.

THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES— CONTINUERS OF THE CAUSE OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The principles and the ideas of the October Revolution owe their vitality and tremendous efficacy to the fact that they are being developed by the mighty forces now furthering the world socialist revolution: the socialist world system, the international working class and the national liberation movement.

The socialist world system is the principal revolutionary factor of our time. Its formation has radically altered the co-relation of forces in the world in favor of socialism and of all those fighting against imperialism. This is a most important development in the 50 years since the October Revolution.

The specific ways in which socialist countries are developing testify to the fact that socialism has deep national roots, releasing the tremendous social and political energy of each nation. The accumulation of experience of socialist construction has acquired an international character. The collective experience of the socialist countries is the priceless possession of the world revolutionary forces, a powerful catalyst of further social progress in the world.

The emergence of socialism beyond the boundaries of one country and the struggle between world socialism and world capitalism have produced new conditions for the struggle of the working class of the advanced capitalist states and for the national liberation movement. At the same time the Marxist-Leninist theory that under all circumstances a revolution is the product primarily and chiefly of the internal development of individual countries is fully valid to this day. Revolution can neither be exported nor prodded from without.

Contemporary revolutionary movements are the rightful successors and continuers of the cause of the October Revolution on new soil and in new conditions.

The international working class now con-

sists of the might of the socialist commonwealth and the working-class movement in all other parts of the world. Therefore it can play an increasingly bigger role in the solution of the radical problems of today. The achievements of socialist countries, the new economic and political positions which the working class movement has wrested from monopoly capital and the growth of the working-class movement in the Latin American, Asian and African countries have turned the international working class into an effective global force. The working class of the capitalist countries exerts a growing political influence on the international situation. It is more and more actively interfering not only in the home but also in the foreign policy of governments and by its actions gives the ruling classes less and less elbow-room for maneuver. Without appreciating this role of the working class it is impossible to understand the state of things in the non-socialist part of the world. The fight waged by the working class in France, Italy, Federal Germany, the USA and Great Britain, the citadels of imperialism, in many other capitalist countries and in the newly-free countries in defense of progress and the freedom of the peoples, against reaction and aggression, is a substantial contribution to the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle.

The cardinal interests of the working class in the struggle for socialism conform with the interests of the bulk of the people. Herein lies the source of the unprecedented numerical growth of the workers' allies. Besides such a traditional ally as the peasantry, socialism is now manifestly supported by large sections of office workers, intellectuals and the middle urban strata. This enlarges the army of social revolution and creates conditions for its successful consummation in forms dictated by concrete conditions.

In different countries the revolutionary movement has attained varying stages of development. This calls for diverse forms and methods of struggle. When we say that all revolutionary forces are following the path blazed by the October Revolution, this does not mean that they are simply repeating what took place in Russia, in the Soviet Union. In our opinion, to continue the work of the October Revolution means finding—in line with its ideas and lessons—specific ways and means for carrying out the international task initiated by it on a global scale.

The national liberation movement has become a mighty and active force. Together with the revolutionary movement of the workers in the capitalist countries and the socialist

world system it forms a single anti-imperialist stream.

Lenin predicted that the struggle of the peoples of former colonies and dependencies for their political and economic emancipation, initially directed against imperialism, will on reaching a certain level of development, become increasingly anti-capitalist in content. Today we witness the emergence in the zone of national liberation of a number of countries orientated on socialism which have made substantial headway in effecting deep-going social reforms.

In these countries the socialist orientation unites the proletariat, the peasantry and middle urban and rural strata. In contemporary conditions, with socialism becoming the decisive force of world development, these countries, even though their working class movement is still embryonic, can come to socialism through a number of intermediate stages by developing the non-capitalist path. The national liberation movement, whatever specific forms it assumes or whatever difficulties it encounters, is a component of the revolutionary process of transforming the present-day world.

The world Communist movement acts as a uniting factor in this process. Communism plays this role largely because it is a vehicle of proletarian internationalism.

Proletarian internationalism is always concrete. Its nature and distinctive features are determined by the specifics of each historical epoch. During the initial stage of the revolution the most important task was, as all Communist parties stressed at the time, to defend, to safeguard the world's first worker and peasant state. This was necessitated both by the common international interests of the working-class movement and by the national interests of each of its contingents, because the consolidation and development of the Soviet state was at that time (and is to a certain extent today, too) a key link in the international struggle for socialism.

The Soviet people remember gratefully the support they received from the international proletariat in the difficult time of the Civil War and foreign intervention, when it came out with the slogan "Hands off Russia." The Soviet people felt this support as they tackled the unprecedentedly difficult task of turning the backward, war-ravaged country into a great socialist power with a mighty industry and agriculture.

Soviet Communists were never guilty of a one-sided view of proletarian internationalism. Relying justifiably on the aid and the support of the international proletariat, the

CPSU has always viewed the defense and building of a new society in our country not as a purely national aim, but as an internationalist duty, as a contribution to the common struggle of the working people of the world against imperialism.

But we have never lost sight of the other side of the matter, furnishing to the best of our ability practical assistance to the fighters for democracy, national independence and socialism in other countries.

During the great anti-fascist war of the 1940s all these aspects of proletarian internationalism became interlaced and were embodied in a titanic joint effort which resulted in the total defeat of imperialism's shock force that had intended to smash the world liberation movement and its mainstay—the Soviet Union. The historical results of the international exploit performed by the Soviet Communists, the Soviet people, and Communists and progressives in other countries during the Second World War was that human civilization was saved from imperialist reaction which had degenerated to Nazi vandalism, that new socialist countries appeared in the world and alongside them there emerged a group of peoples that had broken out of the colonial prison and launched a struggle for national rebirth and social progress.

In the contemporary stage internationalism's principal function is the channelling of all revolutionary contingents into a single stream. It is no exaggeration to say that in the final count the future of mankind is largely dependent on the solution of this task.

Today:

—internationalism is one of the most important conditions for successfully combating war and the threat of war engendered by imperialism;

—internationalism is an essential prerequisite for successfully building a new society in the countries of the socialist commonwealth;

—internationalism is solidarity with, and constant mutual support of, the socialist commonwealth, the world proletariat, and the national liberation movement;

—finally, internationalism is an instrument of the ideological education of the working people of all countries inasmuch as internationalism opposes national strife and racial enmity which the exploiting classes never fail to use to preserve their rule.

The present situation makes particularly great demands on the international communist movement, which is both the principal vehicle and the principal exponent of proletarian in-

ternationalism—a mighty instrument in the fight against the reactionary and imperialist forces on the world arena.

In present-day concrete historical conditions the highest manifestation of proletarian internationalism is concern for strengthening the unity of the international communist movement. The desire for this unity, for agreed positions on fundamental issues of world politics, is coming into evidence more and more among the Marxist-Leninist parties. The Karlovy Vary Conference held this April unquestionably played a significant role in strengthening and furthering this tendency.

We know that communist cohesion is of great significance for ensuring concerted action by all progressive forces to counter the frenzied attacks of imperialism. Unity of action and the solidity of communist ranks is an earnest of the further development of the historic offensive by the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

At present the international Communist movement experiences serious difficulties. But it has the victorious revolutionary experience of the past fifty years behind it. It has become so mature and powerful that beyond all doubt it will find the means to overcome these difficulties. One of the most important means, in our opinion, is the joint convocation by Marxist-Leninist parties of a new world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. At this conference it would be possible jointly to analyze the course of the worldwide struggle of the revolutionary forces which today is more complicated and many-faceted than it has ever been in the past and, relying on the collective thinking of world communism, to designate the most efficient means for solving our common tasks at this extremely responsible stage of historical development. There is no doubt that the Communist movement will in future too, live up to the mission that history has assigned it.

IV.

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

The October breakthrough in the then uniform capitalist world, the world of exploitation and oppression, has enabled socialism to win such positions over the past 50 years that today, for the first time in history, it is possible to put the task of ridding mankind of the nightmare of world war on a thoroughly realistic foundation.

The working class, Marx said, must prove to the world that it acts on the arena of history "as an independent force, conscious of its own responsibility and capable of dictating peace." The working class of Russia proved this by its deeds. Later, it was also proved by the working class of other socialist countries, and by the peoples of the non-socialist world working against the danger of war. It has never been more obvious that the international working class truly has a stake in peace, that it is truly aware of its responsibility and is actually capable of effectively safeguarding peace and the security of nations.

From the outset, socialism heralded the salvation of human civilization from the destruction and degradation of imperialist wars. The Russian Revolution brought out the social forces and created material resources capable of directing international relations towards solutions meeting the interests of all nations.

The Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet state have done everything possible to deprive the imperialists of their monopoly on armed power. One need only picture the Soviet Union on the eve of the Second World War lacking the necessary armed strength of the international technical level of the time to realize what would have happened not only to socialism in the Soviet Union but to the entire world revolutionary process. One need only picture the United States possessing a nuclear monopoly in our day to realize the fatal consequences this would have on the contemporary revolutionary-liberation movement.

The emergence of the socialist state and the general growth of the revolutionary working-class and national-liberation movement have brought about deep qualitative changes in the whole system of international relations. In the old days, the imperialists put down the liberation movement of the peoples without hindrance. After the victory of the October Revolution, the situation began to change. Needless to say, the imperialists still persist in conducting their aggressive foreign policy. After the Second World War, the imperialist powers started nearly a score of aggressive wars. But the overall result is nothing like what the imperialists managed to achieve in the past. Moreover, socialism and the other revolutionary forces have become so strong that it is now possible to bend imperialism to settling issues peacefully, issues which it used to "settle" with impunity by means of war. Under pressure of the peoples' liberation struggle, supported by the socialist countries, the imperialists were forced to grant national

independence to dozens of African countries. In Vietnam, the U.S. aggressors have been suffering one inglorious defeat after another in face of the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, who rely on the all-round and continually growing assistance of the socialist countries and the support of the progressive forces of the world.

But imperialism is farthest from the thought of surrendering voluntarily. It is resorting to various maneuvers and creating new seats of tension in its drive to suppress the liberation movement of the peoples.

It is in order to mention this in connection with the events in the Middle East. Everybody knows that the UAR, Syria and other Arab states freed themselves from colonial oppression and embarked on a consistent struggle against imperialism. Losing one position after another imperialism has long been nurturing plans to arrest the advance of the foremost Arab states, which have been strengthening their independence and achieving social progress. For many years, imperialist propaganda fomented strife between Israel and the Arab states.

Attempts to portray the Middle East conflict as a result merely of national animosity between the Arabs and Jews are worlds removed from the actual state of affairs. The main reason behind the conflict is that international, notably U.S. imperialism decided to use the Israeli ruling circles to try to overthrow the progressive regimes in the UAR, Syria and other foremost Arab countries, and to establish a neo-colonialist order in the whole of the Arab world.

Our Party, the Soviet people as a whole, have taken a consistently internationalist, class stand in relation to the Middle East problem. We draw a line of distinction between the ruling circles of Israel and the working people of that country. We are opposed to the preaching of racial and national exclusiveness and stand for the right of every people to have its own independent national state. This is one of the basic principles of Soviet foreign policy. Any other approach to this problem is always exploited by the imperialist forces to conceal the true aims behind their acts of aggression.

Through the efforts of the socialist states and other progressive forces the aggression has been stopped and a ceasefire achieved. But the situation remains complicated and a concerted effort by all peace-loving forces is needed speedily to abolish the consequences of the Israeli aggression and provide peaceful conditions for the development of the Arab countries along the path of peace,

national independence and social progress. The anti-imperialist front must do everything to condemn the aggressor morally and politically, make him withdraw from occupied territories, strengthen the international positions of the UAR, Syria, Algeria and other Arab states, and render them other necessary assistance. The Middle East conflict has shown that the imperialist reactionaries are still strong enough to create temporarily superior strength in certain sectors of the anti-imperialist front, thereby partially slowing down the revolutionary process. But it is safe to say now that once again imperialism has failed to break the anti-imperialist front and attain its aims in the Arab East.

The world balance of forces is not constant and invariable. International issues are not automatically settled in the way the Communists would like them to be settled. It is obvious that such decisions depend on two interconnected factors: the objective alignment of class forces in the world arena and the correct policies of the forces championing peace and social progress.

Continued effort and sustained struggle are essential to further strengthen the positions of socialism at the expense of imperialism. This depends not only on the Soviet Union's nuclear-missile strength, not only on improving the military organization of the Warsaw Treaty countries, but also on vigorous and correct action by all the anti-imperialist forces.

An important element of the overall balance of forces is the degree to which the socialist community is united and the extent to which the action of all the revolutionary contingents is co-ordinated. It should be borne in mind that imperialist strategy is designed to undermine the socialist camp from within, to range the countries against each other and to capitalize on differences between the revolutionary forces.

The revolutionary forces have countered imperialist strategy with a political strategy of their own. Its basic propositions were set out in the program documents of the international Communist movement: the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. It is designed to ensure the most favorable conditions for the unfolding of the forces of revolution and social progress, to bridle the imperialist forces and prevent a thermonuclear world war.

The success of this strategy depends on the correct policy of each revolutionary contingent and on this policy being co-ordinated with the stand of the other revolutionary detachments. We know from experience that

wherever the Communists act in concert they are successful in combating imperialist strategy.

The problem of unity is all the more pressing because the divisive line of the Mao Tse-tung group raises for all of us the problem of compensating for the losses it causes. To do so we have to combat resolutely the divisive actions of the Mao group. On this struggle depends the effectiveness of our rebuff to the aggressive acts of imperialism and of our effort to ensure international security.

The purpose of Soviet foreign policy, as the 23rd Congress of the CPSU noted, is to join other socialist countries in securing favorable international conditions for the building of socialism and communism; to cement the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, their friendship and brotherhood; to support the national-liberation movement and establish all-round co-operation with the young developing states; to uphold consistently the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, to repulse resolutely the aggressive forces of imperialism, and to safeguard mankind against another world war.

Accordingly, we consider it wrong to say either that support of the anti-imperialist struggle tends to undermine the basis of peaceful coexistence or that support of the principles of peaceful coexistence tends to weaken the anti-imperialist struggle. We believe that there is an intrinsic connection between the struggle for peaceful coexistence and the anti-imperialist struggle.

For the socialist countries peaceful coexistence is not an end in itself. It is not only their interests that it serves. It serves the cause of building up the positions of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries and helps them to wage their struggle for the interests of the working class and all working people. It can be—and is being—used with success by the young national states to develop their productive forces, strengthen their economic potential, promote social progress in the interest of the working people, and ward off the encroachments of neo-colonialism. When skilfully and consistently used, this principle helps to enhance the prestige and build up the positions of progressive regimes in the national liberation zone.

The imperialists are deliberately pursuing policies designed to distort the principles of peaceful coexistence. In particular, U.S. rulers go through the motions of recognizing these principles in relation to the Soviet Union, whose might they cannot afford to underestimate. But they refuse to follow them in

relation to some socialist states and the newly-free countries. That is an approach our Party firmly rejects.

There have been assertions of late that now that the historical irreversibility of the transition to socialism on a worldwide scale has become apparent, the principle of peaceful coexistence has become obsolete. Some theorists declare that this principle is a hindrance to the development of the revolutionary process. These are absolutely groundless declarations and "theories." They only sound revolutionary, but are essentially harmful to the revolutionary movement. The principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems is really furthering the anti-capitalist class struggle of the working class and its allies for the victory of socialism in the countries of the non-socialist world.

It will be recalled that all the Communist Parties stated clearly and explicitly at their international meetings in 1957 and 1960 that the struggle to prevent another world war is the Communists' primary task. The formulation and consistent implementation of this slogan is known to have played a tremendous role of late not only in averting a world war, but also in strengthening the positions of all the social forces working for democracy, national independence and socialism. The communist movement, which regards peaceful coexistence as a form of class struggle in the world arena, has succeeded in stimulating the activity of the masses in the struggle against monopoly capital domination. Repudiation of the principle of peaceful coexistence would not only sharply worsen the international situation and confront mankind with the threat of a thermonuclear conflict at any moment, but would also deprive the Communist Parties of many of their allies in the joint struggle against imperialism, for social revolution.

That is why Marxist-Leninists oppose the Leftist, adventurist demands to resort to thermonuclear threats on every imaginable occasion and reject the reckless calls to run the risk of world war in every conflict.

V.

MARXISM-LENINISM: A THEORY FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY RENOVATION OF THE WORLD

Our Party undertook a tremendous historical responsibility when it assumed leadership in the world's first victorious proletarian revolution and started the work of the socialist transformation of society. To be equal to

this responsibility and to determine the correct political line for each given moment, the Party has had to generalize continuously world events and the experience of the masses at home, and to draw the necessary theoretical conclusions. On their correctness and workability depended the future of the Revolution, the prestige of Marxism as a theoretical guide and the ideological basis for human progress in our day.

Theory was now to take a direct part in shaping the new reality. This is where the bold and gigantic theoretical labors of Lenin and the Party's best minds have been so productive. In organizing socialist construction, Lenin and the Party worked out such key questions as those of the period of transition to socialism, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the importance of this alliance for the victory of socialism, the development of a new type of state system, the establishment of co-operatives in agriculture, socialist industrialization, economic planning, the emergence and development of socialist nations, the forms of development of the multinational socialist state, and the cultural revolution. Much was done to develop Lenin's teaching on the Party as the leading and guiding force in the building of socialism and, later, communism.

It is safe to say, therefore, that the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union is the crowning achievement not only of the Soviet people's selfless labor and the Party's political and organizational work, but also of the development of the theory of scientific socialism and its ability to generalize new phenomena and light the way for revolutionary practice.

The transition of Soviet society to building communism has increased the role of scientific theory and has put before the Party new and major theoretical problems. Their elaboration was central to the work of the 20th-23rd Congresses of the CPSU: in the new Party Program and the decisions of the Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee from 1964 to 1966. The CPSU produced a theoretical substantiation for the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, the formation of communist social relations, the need for the further unfolding of socialist democracy and the perfection of relationships between the socialist nations.

Through their collective efforts, the Marxist-Leninist Parties have made a weighty contribution to the elaboration of such major problems of the day as the laws governing the emergence and development of the socialist world system and the social progress of states

liberated from colonialism, to the elaboration of the theory of the socialist revolution in the new historical conditions, and to the conclusion that it is possible to avert world war, etc.

We regard the political and theoretical activity of the fraternal parties as a common gain of the communist movement, as a basis on which the Communists will continue to multiply their successes as they carry forward the great cause of the October Revolution.

Favoring a continuous exchange of ideas and opinions in the international communist movement, the CPSU has striven to adopt and use all the best that is yielded by Marxist-Leninist thinking in the fraternal Parties. The CPSU regards its contribution to revolutionary theory as part of the joint theoretical effort of the fraternal parties.

The independence of the Communist Parties both in the political and the theoretical sphere, their increased possibilities and experience in developing Marxism-Leninism, call for still greater attention to the observance of the internationalist approach in matters of theory. This is the only approach that ensures the development of Marxism as a truly worldwide revolutionary doctrine. It is the only approach that helps make it a guide to action for all revolutionaries wherever they may be.

All the prospects of world social development and mankind's future are connected with Marxism-Leninism.

It is clear that these prospects are inseparable from the scientific and technological revolution and its vast possibilities. It is equally clear that the tremendous growth in scale and complexity of socio-political processes entails the solution of fresh theoretical problems aimed at placing the sweeping scientific and technical progress of the 20th century at the service of mankind.

The socialist transformation of the world and the tremendous headway of science and technology are essentially two complementary revolutions. In what sense? When the technological revolution and its results are controlled by the victorious workers it becomes a powerful force serving the interest of the working class, the people as a whole, the cause of peace and progress. Making the most of the results of the technological revolution, socialism sets the mainstream of historical development in the latter half of the 20th century.

The content of the scientific and technological revolution—the maximal and accelerated development of the productive forces—coincides with the main task of social revolution in the 20th century. Thus, both revolutions

are a reflection of the irreversible and basically single process negating the old and creating the new, communist civilization.

In making use of modern scientific and technological achievements, socialist society, already in existence in a number of countries, is certain to turn into reality the principle proclaimed by Marx and Engels: "The free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

* * *

What, in the final analysis, has the October Revolution yielded to mankind?

In general terms the answer may be:

—socialism has triumphed, and the transition to communism has begun in the Soviet Union, a vast country sprawling across two continents;

—socialist revolutions have won in 13 other countries on three continents, and most of these countries have made decisive headway in building socialism;

—there has emerged a socialist world system, the greatest historical gain after the October Revolution and a mighty bulwark of all the revolutionary forces of our time;

—the peoples of the ex-colonies and dependent countries have, with the support of world socialism and the revolutionary working-class movement, overthrown imperialist oppression, crushed the colonial empires and embarked on independent development, with the most advanced of them adopting the socialist orientation;

—October and the other victorious socialist revolutions have radically improved the conditions in which the workers in the capitalist countries are fighting for their vital interests and ultimate goals, and have helped them to gain important victories in the struggle for democracy, for socialism;

—the Soviet Union, the first socialist country, has played a central role in ridding

humanity of the menace of fascist enslavement and has rescued entire peoples from destruction. The defeat of fascism has created an atmosphere of universal hatred of violence against peoples and of infringements on their freedom and independence, and helped raise the democratic movement throughout the world to a basically new level;

—the Soviet Union, the socialist world system and the international revolutionary working-class movement are playing a decisive role in averting thermonuclear war and are the main force in the effort to banish world wars from the life of society;

—the fifty years of the October Revolution have helped to instil socialist ideas in the minds of men all over the world, and have made Marxism-Leninism the focal point in the spiritual life of contemporary society; they have strengthened the faith of hundreds of millions that social justice will triumph and showed that it is up to them, their own hearts and minds, to realize these ideas.

In all this lies the lasting significance of the contribution made by the October Revolution to the history of human civilization. Today, on the eve of its 50th anniversary, we can repeat in deep faith Lenin's prophetic words: "The victory of Communism is inevitable. Communism will triumph."

The Communists of other countries, just as we Soviet Communists, rightly regard the anniversary as a symbol of unbreakable international brotherhood and loyalty to the cause and ideas of the October Revolution, which unite all of us.

Generalized by the Marxist-Leninist Parties, the experience gained in this revolutionary half-century contains a charge of tremendous ideological and political force and will undoubtedly help the further spread of the immortal Marxist-Leninist ideas in all countries, and will bring fresh victories to proletarian internationalism and the cause of the socialist transformation of the world.

Fifty years of the general crisis of capitalism

R. PALME DUTT

Communist Party of Great Britain

THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL situation is serious.

In Vietnam the barbarous war of the most powerful imperialist state against a small Asian nation has now reached a state of intensification and a scale of expenditure, arms and armed forces employed without equal since the Second World War.

In the Middle East the long continuing aggression of imperialism and the oil monopolists against the Arab peoples and liberation movement, both with direct armed actions as in the Suez War ten years ago or Aden today, with the deployment of armed forces as with the role of the United States Sixth Fleet in the eastern Mediterranean, or utilizing the rulers of Israel as a satellite instrument of aggression in the services of the western imperialists, has reached a new and extreme height with Israel's latest aggression against the Arab peoples.

In Europe the German militarists and monopolists and direct heirs of Hitler and Nazism have been re-established in power in West Germany by the western imperialists, have been allowed to develop their armed forces so that they now have the largest army in capitalist Europe, and only require access to nuclear weapons in order to complete their preparations for openly proclaimed aims of expansion at the expense of neighboring states in Europe.

Nuclear weapons are piling up with ever-increasing range and destructive power. All the repeated proposals of the socialist countries for the banning and destruction of all nuclear weapons have been consistently refused by the western imperialist powers. The

western powers have equally refused to give a pledge, given by the socialist countries, never to use nuclear weapons first. Even the attempts to draw up a nuclear non-proliferation treaty have been so far frustrated, and there is a sharp danger of the wider extension of possession of nuclear weapons. The prospect of nuclear weapons becoming available to the aggressive West German militarists is dangerously close.

Both the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the President of the United States have recently spoken of the possible close prospect of a Third World War. On May 11,

No other event in human history has had such a powerful impact on social development and on the destinies of all the nations as the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

... The land of triumphant socialism plays an outstanding part in uniting the international proletariat; it is the rallying center for all true friends of labor. In the present international situation, the attitude towards the Soviet Union is the dividing line between friends and foes of the working class and socialism, supporters and opponents of democracy and peace. The attitude to the great land of socialism is the touchstone of the sincerity and integrity of every labor leader, every workers' party, every workers' organization, every democrat in capitalist countries.

GEORGI DIMITROV

1967, U Thant said: "I may be wrong, but I am afraid we are witnessing today the initial phase of World War Three." On the same day that this report was published the United States press released an account of President Johnson having said to his daughter: "Your Daddy may go down in history as having started World War Three."

At the same time in the economic sphere the last report of the United Nations Economic Survey of Europe has stated that the three years 1965-1967 show for the first time since the Second World War a fall in the rate of growth. This is contrasted with the "vigorous pace" of growth of the socialist countries in Europe with an increase in industrial output of 8.4 per cent during last year. The battle between the rival monopolists as expressed in their fight over world currency, over the dollar, sterling and gold; or over tariff blocs like the Common Market, have reached a new intensity. The Gatt agreement finally reached for the Kennedy Round of Tariff Reductions was aptly described by *The Economist* as "a Rich Man's Deal" — in fact, at the expense of the poorer nations. Meanwhile the hundreds of millions in the poorer countries, the so-called "developing" countries, that is, the ex-colonial countries which have won state independence, but are still in the grip of colonial economy and the superior economic power of the imperialist monopolies, are struggling with the most elementary problems of poverty and hunger; and the gulf between the rich imperialist exploiting countries and the poor countries exploited by imperialism is officially recognized by western economists to be every year becoming greater.

Such is the present stage of the outcome of half a century of the general crisis of capitalism.

During these same 50 years the advance of socialism and national liberation has spread over the greater part of the world. This half century has seen the decisive opening phase of the most far-reaching transformation in human history—the transformation from the old class society of exploitation to the new classless society of socialism entering on the path to communism.

Certainly there has been no lack of problems, dangers and difficulties in the advance of socialism and national liberation. There is no lack of grave dangers and grave problems today. But these problems and difficulties of the world of socialism and national liberation are problems of growth—of particular mistakes or false paths which can be chosen at given moments and stages in the course of advance, but which can be corrected, and do not negate the general record of advance and

achievement. They are not the problems of the organic sickness of a dying social order.

The speed of the transformation is the most striking characteristic of his half century.

One hundred and twenty years ago this month, in June 1847, the Foundation Congress of the Communist League met in London. One hundred years ago saw the first publication of Marx's *Capital*—the classic masterpiece which laid bare the laws of motion of capitalist society and its future destiny to be superseded by socialism through the victory of working class revolution. Only half a century passed between the appearance of *Capital* and the fulfilment of the Marxist prediction with the first victory of the socialist revolution. The second half century since then has brought an even more rapid transformation, with the advance of the original socialist country to the acknowledged position of the second world power alongside and soon to challenge the priority of the strongest capitalist country; with the extension of socialism over one-third of the world, and with the relegation of imperialism to a minority sector in the world balance. What will the third half century bring?

The October Revolution was the historic answer of the progressive forces of the world to the general crisis of capitalism. The general crisis of capitalism opened with the war of 1914. Imperialism was already dying capitalism from the beginning of the 20th century, and doomed to be superseded by socialism. But by 1914 an extreme point was reached in the contradictions of imperialism. Since the imperialists had already divided up the world, the continuing drive to expansion could only find expression in the mutual conflict of the imperialist powers for re-division. Hence the explosion of 1914, which brought about a type of war never before known—no longer a local or colonial or national or regional war, but a world war fought on a total scale with reckless expenditure of resources and human beings by all the imperialist powers. This climax of the contradictions of imperialism threatened humanity with destruction, since the logic of imperialism could reach to no solution in this situation save an endless chain of enlarging world wars. Only the opening of the world socialist revolution could break this chain and free the path forward to the solution of this problem for the future of mankind.

The forces of the working class were not immediately ready and strong enough to fulfil this task when the signal of the general crisis of capitalism was sounded by the outbreak of the war of 1914. Marxism had clearly and concretely predicted this situation, not only

in the writings of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, but in the unanimously adopted resolutions of the old Socialist International at Stuttgart, Copenhagen and Basle, with the key formulation inserted by the Lenin-Luxemburg amendment defining the tasks of the socialists and the working class in the event of the outbreak of the impending imperialist world war. When the war broke out in 1914, the first visible effects of the general crisis of capitalism were entirely negative and destructive. The old International collapsed; the majority of the leadership of the main Social Democratic parties in Western and Central Europe broke all their pledges and lined up with their imperialist rulers; millions of workers were fighting and slaughtering one another for imperialist aims. Those were black and difficult days. Those of us who had to fight in small minority groups on behalf of international socialism in those dark days can testify what 1917 meant, with a burning consciousness which can hardly be imagined by those for whom the Soviet Union has always existed. We had to meet the ceaseless taunts of the enemy that the International was dead; that the model German Social Democratic Party, which we had been accustomed to look to as the model party, was bankrupt; and that nationalism had proved stronger than socialism. We could only reply that the International lived in the minorities who were fighting, and that the victory might be delayed, but would yet be certain, because there was no other path.

We clung to the decisive formulation of the resolution of the International as our compass, without knowing then—those of us who were only younger rank and file socialists without fuller experience—that the formulation which guided us was in fact the formulation of Lenin and that Lenin was thus already exercising leadership for the whole international

In 1917 we were at an historical crossroads. When the peoples emerged from the terrible catastrophe of World War I, with half of Europe destroyed, every sensible person realized that the cause of the catastrophe should be sought in the very structure of the capitalist system, the source of all the contradictions and ulcers of imperialism. The need was to reject capitalism, overthrow imperialism and adopt socialism. That was the path indicated by the Great October Socialist Revolution and Lenin.

PALMIRO TOGLIATTI

movement. We hailed the heroic Irish Easter Rising in 1916, and the role of our own socialist pioneer James Connolly, executed by Henderson; but we did not realize, as Lenin understood, that this was the sign even though premature, of the approaching European revolution. When the Russian Revolution opened in March 1917, this was indeed the transformation of the situation for us, and we followed with passionate intensity the conflicting forces involved. I recall how later a fortnight before the October Revolution, while still a socialist student, having already experienced two civilian prisons and one military prison, I was expelled from Oxford for the propagation of Marxism, but before this expulsion had had the satisfaction of carrying (in June, 1917) a resolution proclaiming that the victory of a second, socialist revolution in Russia was essential if the counter-revolution was to be defeated and pledging support to this approaching socialist revolution—possibly one of the earliest resolutions of support in Britain to the Bolshevik Revolution.

This was the situation in which the victory of the October Revolution became recognized as the greatest event in human history, the opening of the new path for the future of mankind, and the answer to the general crisis of capitalism and the imperialist world war, and the historic vindication of Marxism.

From this point history has developed along two paths, the path of socialism and the working class, with which henceforth has been inseparably associated the struggle of national liberation against imperialism, and the path of the remaining capitalist world still dominated by the big imperialist powers.

Fifty years of experience have now demonstrated the outcome of these two paths. The world of socialism has now advanced to a series of states comprising one-third of mankind. Of the 1,200 millions under colonialism or semi-colonial domination in 1919 only 30 millions remain today under direct colonial rule. The balance of the world has thus turned decisively against imperialism.

Nevertheless, capitalism, though weakened, has continued in existence during these 50 years. The established imperialist powers in western Europe and North America continue in their old centers of power, even though many have passed through a number of economic and political convulsions. Further, imperialism by the new strategy of neo-colonialism is still able to carry on a far-reaching range of exploitation and maintain political influence and penetration in many of the newly independent countries. Capitalist relations still cover the greater part of world economy.

At first the rulers of capitalism did not un-

derstand the profundity of the change which had taken place. They affected to despise the emergence of the new Bolshevik regime as a temporary phenomenon which would soon break down; and they exerted their efforts to hasten this breakdown by their wars of intervention. When these wars of intervention failed they confidently predicted the inevitable breakdown of a regime which was violating the ordinary sacred laws of capitalist economy. Half a century ago Winston Churchill in October 1920 predicted in the *Sunday Express*:

"Let the Bolsheviks drop communism. Let them leave off enforcing this unnatural system which paralyzes human effort and dries up the springs of enterprise and wealth. If they will not do so, nothing will save the cities and towns of Russia or the economic and scientific apparatus of the country. We shall soon be increasingly in the presence of that complete downfall of every form of life in Russia except village life, which Mr. Wells foresees."

Today Soviet industry turns out more goods than Britain, France and West Germany taken together; and that same *Sunday Express* within four decades of the Churchill prophecy, was claiming the pioneering primacy of the Soviet man-rocket as an achievement which "will be ranked with the primitive spark of fire among the turning points in man's progress."

The early illusions have steadily shrivelled in the test of experience. At the very same time when world capitalism was passing into its biggest world economic crisis without precedent, the Soviet Union was entering on the First Five Year Plan for the building of socialism. Sneers were still expressed, though with less confidence, at the very idea of planning the whole economy of a country as an obviously infantile illusion. Today when the Soviet Union has become the strongest industrial power in Europe, with every prospect of becoming the strongest industrial power in the world, this early attitude of patronizing contempt has given place to anxious emulation and comparisons, with endeavors to claim still superiority in one or another special sphere.

The truth is that, while capitalism has survived over still two-thirds of the world after these 50 years, all the contradictions of capitalism which exploded in 1914 have continued to operate in an extending variety of forms, and with ever sharper intensity during these fifty years. If we consider the experience of these fifty years as a whole they have seen a world economic crisis on a scale never before known in the era of classical capitalism; the

emergence of fascist dictatorships leaving in the shade all previous types of tyranny and terror; and a second world war far exceeding the first in scale and destructiveness. All these are phenomena revealing the deepening instability of the capitalist world in the era of the general crisis of capitalism.

But at the same time since the October Revolution this continuation of the deepening contradictions of capitalism has developed in the context of a new contradiction—the contradiction of capitalism and socialism existing alongside one another in the form of states. Thus the October Revolution has profoundly affected the development of the contradictions of capitalism. All the economic laws of imperialism and all its contradictions continue to operate, but within a world in which socialism and national liberation have become the dominant historical factor. In consequence all the policies of imperialism during this epoch have become confused and torn between conflicting and mutually incompatible trends. Lenin analyzed this situation at an early stage when he wrote:

"Two tendencies exist: One which renders the alliance of all imperialists inevitable; the second, which drives one group of imperialists against the other. Two tendencies neither of which rests on a firm basis."

The truth of this schizophrenia of modern imperialist policy has been abundantly illustrated by the story of two world wars. The Western imperialist powers, headed initially by Britain and subsequently dominated by the United States, fought the first world war to smash German imperialism; then rebuilt it as a bulwark against the Soviet Union; then fought the second world war to smash it again; and now have rebuilt it again, this time in a Germany partitioned by them for this purpose, as a bulwark against the Soviet Union. Meanwhile within this framework the inter-imperialist contradictions of the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Japan continue, with constantly changing proportions of strength and consequent shifts in relations.

After the Second World War the monstrous system of the cold war and the old Dulles strategy of "rolling back the frontiers of communism" became the dominant ruling line of the capitalist world. All this has now begun to crumble in the face of reality; the Dulles Doctrine has passed into the dustbin; and NATO is in crisis. In the first period after the Second World War the United States dominated the capitalist world and made the Western European countries its subsidized satellites. The United States is still the strongest imperialist power, but no longer with the

same degree of predominance; and the challenge from western Europe is openly voiced by France. France and West Germany are allied in the "European Economic Community" or Common Market. But in face of the considerable preponderant productive, industrial and trading strength, as well as dangerously developing military strength, of the West German monopoly capitalists in contrast to the French (the measure of inter-locking not excluding the rivalry) President de Gaulle has not hesitated to take steps for insurance against domination by his close partner and ally, and has made this clear from the outset by publicly proclaiming recognition of the Oder-Neisse frontier of Germany and establishing close cooperation with the Soviet Union. West Germany is still so far the favorite partner of the United States in Europe. France sees in the grouping of the Six a means of resisting American domination in Europe. West Germany swears by NATO, and is livid at any suggestion of withdrawal of NATO troops from West Germany. France has kicked out the NATO occupying troops and military headquarters. But this is only to deal with the relations of French and German imperialism.

Still further contradictions arise with the role of Britain and the United States. Britain initially refused to join the Common Market, and endeavored to set up its alternative combination of the Seven against the Six, but now, having failed hopelessly in this maneuver, is making a second application to join, the first having been rejected. At the same time as Britain plays a subservient role to the

The October Socialist Revolution put an end to capitalist and landowner power. The workers and peasants established their own power, government by the Soviets. The factories, mines, banks, railways became the property of the people. The land was transferred to the peasants. Having won freedom, the Russian people called for world peace.

. . . The cause for which the Russian workers are fighting with such valor and for which they give their lives, is the common cause of the workers everywhere. And over enemy trenches, cities reduced to ruins, areas devastated by artillery fire and inhabited by people condemned to death, there sounded the clarion call of Marx, the battle cry of the Russian revolution, Workers of all Lands, Unite!

MAURICE THOREZ

United States, Anglo-American conflicts of interests are visible all over the world, and flared into the limelight at the time of the Suez War. Thus the whole capitalist world reveals ceaseless instability and contradictions reflecting the general crisis of capitalism.

It might have been thought that this experience of 50 years should have sufficiently demonstrated to the blindest the contrast in the outcome of the two systems, the superiority of the socialist system and the deepening decline and inevitable downfall of capitalism. But the representatives of a dying social order are never willing to recognize the verdict of history, and like the Bourbons, still seek to cling to their illusions. Indeed, these modern Bourbons learn nothing and forget everything. Today the old-fashioned ideologists of capitalism still seek to claim the superiority of capitalism as a supposed system of "free enterprise," when it is more and more in fact completely dominated by monopoly in every sphere and in the major countries turned into state monopoly capitalism. The more ingenious and would-be up to date ideologists of capitalism seek to claim that there is today a "new capitalism" which has thrown off the vices of the old, conquering the problem of recurring crises and entering on an era of soaring productive triumphs, full employment, the welfare state, the affluent society, and the approaching abolition of poverty.

All this is in reality an old song. Nearly 40 years ago the 14th edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica carried an article on capitalism proclaiming that capitalism was successfully solving the problem of the old cyclical crisis:

"Capitalism is accused of responsibility for avoidable unemployment, arising from periodic alternations of climaxes and depressions in trading activity, of 'booms' and 'slumps'. It is certain, however, that though there must always be some tidal movement of rise and fall, the former violence of these rhythms is now much abated in times of peace owing to longer experience and fuller knowledge."

This was published in 1929 on the eve of the biggest world economic crisis ever known, with 50 million unemployed.

In our day, the American journal *Time* in its issue of May 31, 1963, sings the same tune again: "Recessions are becoming briefer, shallower and less frequent, and periods of prosperity are lengthening." This assertion has been sufficiently belied by the officially recognized figure of more than three million unemployed in the United States, the new growth of unemployment in Britain and Western Europe, and the actual experience of the so-called "Stop-Go" economy.

Similarly, President Hoover declared in

1928: "We in America today are nearer to the triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of our land." Forty years later President Johnson has today proclaimed his grand new crusade for the abolition of poverty; but the funds intended for this purpose have had to be cut down in face of the mounting requirements for the war in Vietnam.

It is true that in the present period there has been an enormous growth of technology and productive output in the capitalist world, even though not at as rapid a rate of growth as in the socialist world. But to regard this as proof of the healthy condition of contemporary capitalism is to misunderstand the essence of Lenin's definition of imperialism as dying capitalism. Lenin made clear that the epoch of imperialism did not exclude the productive growth of production and the productive forces, but that the contradictions were sharpened by this growth.

The advance of science and technology in our era is heavily frustrated in the capitalist world by the diversion of the main resources and research to military purposes and the starving of constructive development. At the same time the new problems raised by automation, which are only beginning to make themselves felt in their full impact, demonstrate how the growth of the productive forces today is beating against the limitation of the private ownership of the means of production.

Similarly it is true that the increasing strength and advancing struggle of the working class and democratic forces in the capitalist countries have won important social advances in the current period, notably with regard to the extension of the health and education services, and provision for the unemployed, the sick and the aged, if still on a very inadequate scale.

But when these gains are boastfully proclaimed as achievements of a new "people's capitalism," it is important to remember that it is precisely the prior example and achievement of the socialist Soviet Union, increasingly visible and known to the peoples all over the world, which has played and is playing a key part in stimulating the various current measures of social reform in the capitalist world.

Lenin always taught that reforms are the by-product of the revolutionary struggle. This is being demonstrated today on a new extended scale in the present parallel existence of socialism and capitalism in the world. In sphere after sphere can be shown how each successive innovation of socialism has first been derided in the capitalist world, then imitated and finally proclaimed as a unique

achievement of the supposed "new capitalism."

Take planning. When the first Five Year Plan was inaugurated in 1928 there was no limit to the contempt which was expressed by all the spokesmen of capitalism for the obviously impossible notion of endeavoring to plan the whole economy of a country. Today planning has become the watchword of every capitalist government. Indeed recently the Conservative ex-premier Harold Macmillan has boasted that in 1932 in his book "The State and Industry" he introduced the "then novel" and "almost revolutionary . . . idea of planning" which at the time was considered "disreputable" and a "dirty word," but has now "been generally accepted today" (H. Macmillan Autobiography 1966).

Or take the conception of "growth" and "growth rates." In all the traditional expositions of capitalist economic theory before 1917, and even up to the second world war, this conception played no role save as a general abstract conception of the "increase of wealth." It is the successive Five Year Plans which first brought to the forefront the method of systematically measuring the annual growth of output in each field of the economy and in the economy as a whole. Today the conception of "growth" and "growth rates" has become the most fashionable catchword favored by a leading school of contemporary capitalist economists.

Similarly with the "welfare state." Full employment was first reached in the Soviet Union by 1931. It became a catchword in the capitalist world after the Second World War, though favored more as a slogan than in practical fulfilment.

A universal free health service was first established in the Soviet Union. Today the innovation of a universal free health service is proudly proclaimed as the invention of Aneurin Bevan in Britain after the Second World War—not so free in fact, in view of the heavy insurance contributions deducted from wages.

But while the examples of socialist achievement in the Soviet Union and the demands of the working class in the capitalist countries have compelled the modern capitalists to make concessions of a type which were previously unknown, this has not removed the hardships and insecurity of the class system of capitalism. The most recent researches of progressive economists in the United States and Britain have revealed with overwhelming evidence the mass of poverty which continues to exist in spite of the "welfare state." The old operations of capitalism, of unemployment,

and of ceaseless attacks on wages and labor conditions continue. The example of the Wilson Labor Government in Britain has strikingly demonstrated this.

But in addition to the permanent contradictions of capitalism the modern period of the general crisis of capitalism has brought many new types of contradictions unknown to the old classical capitalism and revealing the increasing disequilibrium of the system today.

The most glaring example of this is the continuous inflation throughout the capitalist world. During the nineteenth century the advance of production and productive technique found its reflection in a general lowering of prices. Today with the vastly greater increase of productive power the opposite process takes place. The purchasing power of the British pound sterling is now officially equal to that of three shillings and fourpence in 1900. This is to leave out of account the extreme examples of runaway inflation or repudiation of old currencies which have taken place in a large number of capitalist countries, including leading capitalist countries during this period. In current capitalist orthodoxy, including in official governmental expression, continuous inflation is now assumed as a permanent feature of the functioning of the miraculous "new capitalism." The whole Keynesian "revolution" in capitalist economic theory, which was initially regarded as heterodox and has now become official orthodoxy, with its formulations to stimulate investment and production by deficit financing, rests on a basis of systematic inflation. This systematic inflation which means in fact continuous expropriation from those with small savings and low incomes for the benefit of the big monopolists and speculators, is now established as one of the pivots of the functioning of modern capitalism, in exact contradiction to all the previous conceptions of thrift and saving which were regarded as the essential popular foundation for the stability of capitalism.

Even more striking a demonstration of these new and increasing contradictions is the growing gulf between the richer imperialist exploiting countries and the mass of the poorer ex-colonial countries. All official observers, even in the imperialist countries, have noted this increasing gulf between what they are pleased to call the "developing" nations and the "developed" nations. This increasing exploitation of the colonial or ex-colonial peoples has found characteristic expression in the movement of the terms of trade, with the rising prices of industrial goods, exported by the imperialist countries, and the falling prices or relatively lower increase of prices of the food and raw materials supplied from the

countries with a colonial economy. U.N. statistics recorded that during the 12 years 1950-1962 the volume of exports from the so-called "developing" countries (i.e., colonial or newly independent ex-colonial countries) to the so-called "developed" countries (i.e., imperialist countries) more than doubled, while the volume of the exports from the latter to the former only increased by slightly more than half, so that for the same or an increased volume of goods these exploited countries were receiving less goods in return.

The 1966 World Bank Report calculated that the public debt of 97 "developing" countries rose from \$28,000 million in 1963 to \$36,400 million at the end of 1965—3½ times as much as in 1955, and that interest payments alone represented nine per cent of the total export earnings of these countries. The Barclays Bank monthly review of October 1966 stated that during 1965, even on loan accounts alone "the poor countries transferred more to the wealthier countries than they received from them that year."

This increasing gulf is producing an explosive situation in the capitalist world. A foretaste of this was seen in the United Nations Trade and Development Conference in 1964 in which the imperialist powers found themselves confronted with the so-called "bloc of 75 states" presenting the demands of the exploited nations.

At the same time the imperialist powers, finding the methods of economic penetration and indirect political influence of their current neo-colonialist strategy insufficient for their purpose have increasingly resorted to the technique of organizing direct military coups and the establishment of military dictatorships in a whole series of newly independent countries, as in Ghana, Nigeria and Indonesia. This method has most recently extended also to the European continent with the military coup in Greece.

Thus all the contradictions of capitalism in this 50th year after the October Revolution are deepening and dangerous. In a famous speech Sir Winston Churchill spoke of this present century as "this terrible 20th century." Ironically enough he was making this speech in honor of the inventor of dynamite, Nobel. "Since Sir Alfred Nobel died in 1896 we have entered an age of storm and tragedy . . . the fearful question threatens us: have our problems got beyond our control?" "Over 12 years we have slithered from one crisis to another," the British Chancellor of the Exchequer Thorneycroft said in his resignation speech in 1958: "It is the road to ruin." Lest this may be thought to be only the gloomy outlook of the pessimistic leaders of

Conservatism we might quote the parallel declaration of the Labor Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir Stafford Cripps in September 1949: "At the end of the war we all thought that things would be easier than they turned out to be. We have been trying to deal with them by a series of temporary expedients, which have led to a series of crises as each expedient became exhausted." The current Wilson Labor Government has never tired of dilating on the gravity of Britain's crisis, the "Thirteen years of Tory misrule," and the desperate measures which they are compelled to impose on the working class and people in their effort to maintain the declining world

imperialist power of Britain.

All this is the language of a dying social order. For us this century is not "the terrible 20th century," however cruel the ordeals that mankind has had to pass through and may still have to suffer in this final struggle with the old gangster capitalist order. It is the century of the advance of socialism and national liberation, of the leap forward of mankind into the realm of free humanity. We greet this 50th anniversary of the October Revolution which opened the new epoch, and we look forward with supreme confidence to the fulfilment of the aims of the pioneers of the October Revolution in these coming years.

The path of the developed countries to socialism

IB NORLUND

Member of the Executive Committee and Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Denmark

NOWADAYS NO ONE challenges the epochal significance of the October Revolution. But views differ on its impact and lessons.

Those who speak for the old world regard the revolution as the greatest of sins and long for a return to what, for them, is Paradise Lost. "We must do everything," one of these gentry is quoted as having said, "to prevent the 83rd anniversary of the October Revolution being celebrated in the year 2000." Wishful thinking. Doesn't he know that there is no turning back for those who have tasted of the tree of knowledge?

The labor movement as a whole regards the October Revolution as a victory, but here, too, views vary on the applicability of its experience. The following remarks concern some of these problems and their bearing on the working-class struggle in developed capitalist countries.

From time to time we are told that the

October Revolution cannot be regarded as a "model" for the transition to socialism, i.e., a model of socialist revolution in developed capitalist countries. That is worth looking into, for the term "model" has in our day acquired many different meanings.

The argument is absolutely correct if we take the term "model" in its common usage, as a pattern, say, for cutting out a suit. But creative political activity is much more complicated than making a suit to measure. At one time, when the communist movement was in its infancy, this complexity was not always understood. During the 1920 general strike in Denmark against the monarchy, the Communists advanced the slogan "For a Danish Soviet Republic." As was only to be expected, it had no appeal and proved embarrassing to the Communists. But in our day all Communist parties work on the premise that the forms of transition to socialism and

the institutions through which this will be effected must grow out of specific national conditions, traditions, etc.

Indeed, the concept "model" now has many connotations. Modelling has become an important branch of knowledge. For instance, the *Klaus Cybernetical Dictionary* describes models as "analogies that enable us to establish definite reverse connections," and these analogies represent "certain functional or structural relationships." It is furthermore emphasized that reference is only to substantive analogies. This form of cognition can be applied also to political science.

To negate the importance of the October Revolution as a model for other, future revolutions, and to maintain that its experience is of no topical value, is to tread on very thin ice indeed. Yet theories of this kind are current. A book purporting to explain the policy of the Danish Socialist People's Party takes this as its main thesis: "From the very outset, the principal mistake of communism in relation to Western Europe has been to take as its starting point a revolution in an underdeveloped country (Russia in 1917) and seek to apply its experience to Western Europe" (Gert Petersen, *The Path of Socialism*. Copenhagen, 1966, p. 127). The author refers, in particular, to the theory expounded by Zinoviev in the 20's that Leninism is the doctrine of proletarian revolution in technically backward agrarian countries. That is now being exploited to negate, categorically, the applicability of a number of basic propositions of Leninism.

The fact, however, is that October does not belong to the type of revolution in underdeveloped countries. It was the first victorious proletarian revolution, and in that lies its universal significance, which Lenin emphasized in these words: "Certain fundamental features of our revolution have a significance that is not local, or peculiarly national, or Russian alone, but international."

October provides the first example of the workers' class struggle being carried to victory. And to this day there has not been a single victorious revolution in which the experience of October has not been actively applied. On the contrary, there are many examples of how negation of this experience stalemated revolutions and did not lead to the abolition of capitalism, despite all the fine talk of introducing socialism.

The rise and development of Leninism is very closely linked with this first and decisive working class victory. It is, therefore, wrong to regard Leninism merely as Marxism applied to the specific conditions of Russia in 1917. Leninism represents, in addition, the

further development of Marxism in a new period, one in which the world transition to socialism has already begun.

The victory of the October Revolution was won under the leadership of the Russian working class, which by 1917, even judged by international standards, was already highly developed. To regard it as a "ragged proletariat" is to flout all the known facts.

And it is equally wrong to contend that the Communists made a mistake in refusing, under the influence of the October Revolution, "to explore opportunities for revolution in highly industrialized societies, a subject uppermost in Marx's studies" (Ibid., p. 107). And Petersen continues: "The specific form of socialist revolution in countries of the underdeveloped type — and this applies to Russia in 1917 and to China in 1949 — is of needs characterized by inner contradictions due to peculiar conditions that make it necessary to have a strong state and undermine the democratic tendency intrinsic in socialism" (p. 190). This, we are told, is the inevitable consequence of accelerated industrialization, which requires a strong state "that hampers the formation of special socialist relations of production" (p. 121).

These statements call for the following comment.

1. The working class Marx studied in the mid-nineteenth century was far less developed than the Russian working class in 1917, and the West European countries were no less in need of accelerated industrialization.

2. The victorious working class will always have to demonstrate the superiority of socialist relations of production over capitalist. That applies also to the development of the new productive forces created by the technological revolution.

Naturally, present-day conditions have produced many different forms of the tasks facing the working class, but they have not fundamentally altered the nature of these tasks. Rapid development of the productive forces will always be associated with the promotion, and never with the hampering, of "special socialist relations of production," with all their inherent democracy. However, at times of tense struggle, especially when repelling a foreign enemy, the objective necessity might arise of limiting democracy to a certain extent, but only as a temporary measure. Errors that might occur under these conditions do not represent a law-governed process, but rather deviations that are overcome with more experience.

3. The character (model) of the revolution is above all determined by the alignment of

the opposing class forces. And in this context, the influence exerted by the working class is determined not only by its numerical strength, but primarily by its ideological and political leadership, which it exercises through alliances. The Russian working class proved extremely skilful in this respect, thanks to the Communist Party and its Leninist leadership. A wrong solution of this problem is the root cause of many of the cardinal difficulties and shortcomings of the Chinese revolution.

Just as the classical bourgeois revolution, the French Revolution of 1789 was extremely instructive for all subsequent bourgeois revolutions—even those that differed in some of their specific features—so the experience of the first proletarian revolution provides a general theory of the transition to socialism. For the class tasks of revolutions of one and the same type are, fundamentally, the same. Working-class parties in capitalist countries can only create additional difficulties by disparaging the universal experience of the October Revolution and denying the possibility of drawing “analogies that enable us to establish definite reverse relationships.” That holds good even if their struggle in many respects shapes out differently. There is no justification for rejecting experience that has led to good results and to victory, and every justification for preserving the purity of our teaching and preventing its distortion by Right and Left opportunists.

In recent years there have been in the West Left opportunist interpretations of the transition to socialism. More often than not they are the result of an impatient, rather than revolutionary, attitude towards the facts. There have been attempts to provide theoretical proof that the Chinese revolution is the latest and best model of revolution. However, the present stage of the Chinese revolution reveals, above all, evidence of departure from the general theory of Leninism and of the lessons of the October Revolution, as a result of which its socialist gains are in jeopardy. What is more, we have evidence of the deprecation or complete negation of the leading role of the working class and its ideological guidance of the revolution. The people’s material and cultural interests are artificially counterposed to the interests of the revolution. This rules out the very possibility of using the struggle for immediate demands and democratic reforms to advance the revolution. It also implies refusal, in advance, to work out any strategy of peaceful transition to socialism. This flatly contradicts Lenin’s idea of the revolution following a peaceful path. Shortly before the October Revolution,

it will be recalled, he displayed a deep interest in the possibility of the revolution’s peaceful progress, towards which, he wrote, “we must work with the greatest energy.”

And it is not without significance that Right-wing authors too—Petersen for instance—maintain that “today it is the Chinese (Maoists) who are the most consistent exponents of the classical Communist views and are endeavoring to promote socialist revolution in the industrial West on the basis of the old 1917 blueprints.” But, as already pointed out, that assertion is in many ways wrong.

There is still another argument purporting to disprove the universal validity of the experience of the October Revolution. Like nearly all socialist revolutions, we are told, it took place “in a society where the material prerequisites for socialism had not matured” (Petersen, p. 125), with the “complete absence of democratic traditions” (p. 86). And this, the author says, condemned the revolution to be a “variety of Blanquism” (p. 81). But all these disquisitions bypass the fact that the October Revolution was the most all-embracing people’s revolution known to history, one, moreover, deeply associated with militant democratic traditions and carried out in a country which was obviously ripe for socialism. All this theorizing, calculated to prove that the transition to socialism cannot be based on the lessons of the October Revolution, resolves itself into something that has little to distinguish it from the traditional Social Democratic notions of a gradual growing over into socialism, something that has never materialized.

Much can be learned from the experience of the October Revolution also in elaborating strategy, which in our day can be premised on realistic opportunities for peaceful transition to socialism. It is not simply a matter of copying the October Revolution, but of analyzing Lenin’s ideas on the prerequisites for the revolution’s peaceful progress.

Lenin believed that if the Soviets, the organs of direct democratic rule, were to take over full state power, then “the struggle of classes and parties *within* the Soviets could have assumed a more peaceful and painless form,” assuring the victory of the working class, though at first its more consistent representatives did not command a majority in the Soviets.

Other of Lenin’s ideas on the subject are of topical interest too.

“Had the Soviets possessed full state power,” he wrote, “the main shortcoming of the petty bourgeois groups, their chief sin, that of trusting the capitalists, would have

been overcome, would have been criticized by the experience of their own measures. The change of classes and parties in power could have proceeded peacefully within the Soviets, provided the latter wielded exclusive and undivided power. The contact between all the Soviet parties and the people could have remained stable and unimpaired." (*Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. 25, p. 184.)

And so, Lenin centered attention on overcoming the vacillating petty-bourgeois attitude towards the capitalists, and in this the decisive factor, he emphasized, was stable contact with the masses and mass activity.

"One must not forget for a single moment that only such a close contact between the Soviet parties and the people, freely growing in extent and depth, could have helped peacefully to get rid of the illusion of petty-bourgeois compromise with the bourgeoisie." (*Ibid.*)

This concerns fundamentals that have a direct bearing on the working-class struggle in developed capitalist countries. There must be a clear understanding that the *heightened activity of the masses* is decisive in assuring a peaceful path to socialism. That is precisely what the Right-wing opportunists overlook both in their writings (the Petersen book, for example) and in their practical politics. This applies to the policy of the so-called Socialist People's Party in Denmark; its steady drift to the Right has precipitated a serious crisis in its ranks.

Peaceful transition to socialism should be understood as a steadily intensified struggle for major reforms and political measures designed to protect the interests of the working people. However, it is important that the methods of struggle be tested against results, so that the masses and their political representatives have a clear picture of the methods required to combat monopoly domination. But this, in turn, is possible only if the struggle is accompanied by expansion and intensification of mass activity. This, in fact, is the essential starting point of all our struggles.

Mass activity plays a decisive role also in converting reforms into political weapons of the working-class. One might recall Lenin's classical formulation: "Revolutionaries, of course, will never reject the struggle for reforms, the struggle to capture even minor and unimportant enemy positions, if these will serve to strengthen the attack and help to achieve full victory. But they will never forget that sometimes the enemy himself surrenders a certain position in order to disunite the attacking party and thus to defeat it more

easily." (*Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. 5, p. 74.)

Both these propositions retain all their validity today,

It should always be borne in mind that reforms are concessions won in struggle, and there must be unrelaxing effort to make them effective and prevent enemy maneuvers to vitiate them. To this should be added that one and the same reform can have widely different political implications, depending upon conditions. For instance, no one in Denmark is likely to say that nationalization of rail transport in the closing years of last century was a revolutionary development. But in other countries, where nationalization is the result of struggle, it is such a development. On the other hand, the very modest concessions wrested from the German occupation authorities by strike and other mass actions during the war were of much greater political significance.

In discussing reforms as links in the peaceful transition to socialism, we can find many ideas in the experience of the October Revolution. In the autumn of 1917 Lenin drew up a program of far-reaching reforms of which he wrote "it will *still not* be socialism but will *no longer* be capitalism. It will be a tremendous step *towards* socialism, a step from which, if complete democracy is preserved, there can no longer be any retreat back to capitalism, without unparalleled violence being committed against the masses." (*Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. 25, p. 360.)

The nature of reforms, of course, depends on the conditions obtaining in the given country, on time and place. But that the struggle for fundamental reforms plays a definite role is a proposition that has universal application. The possibility of preventing "unparalleled violence" and imposing a peaceful transition will likewise depend on the activity of the masses and their determination that democracy shall be respected. And mass activity must be on a scale that will make recourse to violence politically fatal for the reactionary forces.

In our time we can speak of new ways and means of creating a revolutionary situation. Nothing has changed the proposition that the moment for radical change comes only when the "lower levels" of society no longer want to, and the "upper levels" no longer can, live in the old way. This produces a critical situation for the whole of society, a national crisis.

Needless to say, the forms of a revolutionary situation can differ widely. And it is precisely in this context that the growing role

the masses play in society opens up new opportunities. We should not expect a national crisis resulting from the deep poverty that comes with a breakdown of the old society. The decisive factor in mass reaction is the people's awareness of the vast gap between what could be done and what is being done to improve their conditions. If we work vigorously to bring this contradiction to the surface, this could create a revolutionary situation, but only if monopoly capital is faced with barriers that will prevent it from forcing through its policy. That requires effective realization of democratic rights, establishment of democratic organizations, institutions, etc. But they will be strong only if they rely on the activity of the masses.

Peaceful transition to socialism should,

therefore, be seen as a period of extreme tension, a period of broad and active mass struggle. It would be strange, indeed, if major social revolutions did not entail such tension.

In drawing up their programs and in directing their activities towards the socialist refashioning of society, the Communist parties proceed from specific conditions. But for all of them the ideas and the living and victorious experience of the October Revolution are of permanent importance and of immense value. The mastery of these ideas is, at the same time, a test of our understanding of reality.

It is proper and fitting, in connection with the present exchange of views, to draw attention to this aspect of the Communist parties' creative efforts to chart new paths to socialism.

A powerful stimulus to the liberation struggle in India

N. E. BALARAM

Member, National Council, Communist Party of India

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION marked the greatest event in the life of all mankind and ushered in a new era of our history—the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism. A progressive nationalist poet from Tamil Nad, Subramanya Bharathi (Madras) hailed the revolution as the dawn of Krithayuga. By Krithayuga is meant the golden age—the new era of equality and noble deeds, an age without sins, crimes and oppression. The fiftieth anniversary of that great revolution falls in the same year as the twentieth anniversary of India's independence and the mind goes back to the early days of our independence struggle, to the closing years of the First World War. The war crisis shook British colonial rule in India to its foundation. Realizing this, the Indian revolutionary democrats, the Indian masses, and the national movement

were unfolding activities which were to open a new phase—the mass phase—in our liberation struggle.

It was the victory of the Great October Revolution in Russia that gave form and content to this new phase and made it the dawn of freedom for the oppressed peoples all over the world.

The imperialists deliberately circulated another version about the revolution. Their propaganda line was that the Bolshevik revolution had unleashed a spate of lawlessness and anarchy, that religious freedom and morality were at stake and that Russia was being pushed back inexorably towards a state of barbaric primitivism. This was an ideological and strategic move to isolate the national-liberation movement from the mainstreams of the world working-class movement. But this proved a miscalcula-

tion. Indian national revolutionaries abroad as well as democratic leaders of the national movement at home and progressive publicists in India recognized the significance of the October Revolution. They saw that a new force had arisen, a force that was bound to be the friend of our liberation struggle. Many gave open expression to their strong convictions on this score.

A committee of national revolutionaries in India addressed an appeal to Lenin asking for his support to India's fight for freedom. Such national democratic leaders as Balagan-gadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai went down on record recognizing the historic significance of the October Revolution and greeting it warmly, rebutting the slander campaign of the imperialists in India.

Mahatma Gandhi, though critical of the ideology of the October Revolution, strongly repudiated the idea of a "Bolshevik menace" which the British colonialists were propagating in India. He also expressed his good will towards Russia and admiration towards the great Lenin.

Due to the impact of the October Revolution the anti-imperialist movement began to acquire a new life and fresh perspectives. In his *Survey of Indian History* Sardar K. M. Panikkar, a noted historian and a diplomat for several years, wrote: "The Russian revolution was the single biggest event of this century which influenced the political and moral development of this country." He was neither a Communist nor a revolutionary thinker.

The British colonialists were the first to recognize this truth. Within five months of the collapse of the tsarist regime came the declaration on the Montagu reforms. A year later followed the report, which explained the nature of the constitutional reforms envisaged in this declaration. (*Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*). The report inter alia says: "Though the Russian Revolution landed that unfortunate country in anarchy and dismem-

berment, in India it was viewed as one directed against autocracy. Moreover, it gave an impetus to the fond aspirations of India."

But neither their slander campaigns against the Soviet Union nor their offering of fake reforms were able to stop the mighty advance of the national-liberation movement. Due to the tremendous influence of the October Revolution and the new situation inside India new forces and new struggles began to develop.

The October Revolution was able to engender the utmost confidence and inspiration among the working class of India. In the national struggle, which continued up to 1922, it was the working class which first entered the arena. Comrade S. A. Dange, General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, has this to say about the struggles of those days. "The First World War and the Russian Revolution enhanced the class consciousness of the working class. So also they paved the way for great strike struggles. The workers began to raise demands relating to higher wages, dearness allowance, bonus, reduction in working hours, etc., from 1919. In 1920 the workers of Bombay declared of their own that if the working hours were not reduced to 10 hours they would strike. The government and the capitalists acceded to this demand and legislation to this effect followed in 1922. It was during this period that a strong trade union movement began in India." (*The Indian Trade Union Movement*, p. 20). Comrade Dange was pointing out the significant change that had taken place in the trade union movement after the October Revolution. Qualitative changes have taken place in the mode of organizing strikes, raising demands and building up the organizations.

Within the first six months of 1920, about 200 strikes were organized in the country with about one-and-a-half million workers participating. There were big political and economic struggles during that period. Under the impact of the great mass upsurge of the first civil disobedience movement led by Mahatma Gandhi and of the subsequent withdrawal of that movement from active struggle, a number of militant cadres of the national movement in search of new paths for India's liberation struggle turned to the philosophical and political ideology of socialism.

The message of the October Revolution brought them nearer to Marxism. The Communist movement began to take shape in India during the period of 1921-1925. The Communist Party of India was able to exert considerable influence on the form and content of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle from the early days.

Though its roots may be in the past, the workers' revolution has its task in the future. Lenin is the hero of this future, whose foundation is today being laid by the workers. The workers are building their future with free hands which, unaccustomed yet to being unshackled, are unsure now and then, but nonetheless free. Yes, man is now making the ascent predicted by Engels "from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom."

BELA KUN

Though the Communist Party was very young it had a clear vision and perspective about India's future. It had chalked out a new goal, a new program, and a new path. The goal was complete independence from foreign imperialism. The program was to unite the broadest masses to smash the grip of the British colonialists on our economy, to abolish feudalism and landlordism and to establish democracy for the people. The path was the path of mass revolution, of awakening, mobilizing and uniting the revolutionary classes of our society, the working class, the broad masses of the peasantry, and the rural poor and the democratic middle class. It was this new goal, new program and new path that gave the anti-imperialist movement a new turn. In the beginning the Communist movement was by and large confined only to provinces like Bombay, Bengal, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. It spread to South India somewhat later. But on the whole the impact of the Communist movement was significant.

Besides the Communist movement there were other movements which were also inspired to a large extent by the October Revolution. The leaders of these movements were not Communists, because at that time there was no Communist movement in South India. They had their own journals propagating their own progressive views and in those journals, like *Yuktivadi* in Kerala, they printed articles explaining the significance of the October Revolution. Some of the leaders of these movements later joined the Communist Party.

Even in the early twenties there were journals like *Maryada* (Hindi literary journal), *Navayugom* (Madras), *Nanashakthi* (Madras) which published articles about the Russian Revolution. The editors and contributors to these journals were not Communists, they were young progressive intellectuals, but they were very much attracted by socialist revolution. For instance, Prem Chand, a great progressive novelist in India, expressed his firm belief in Bolshevism in 1918 in an article he published in *Maryada*.

In literature also the impact was felt. The influence of socialist ideas was evident in the writings of Bharathi in Madras (a revolutionary democrat throughout his life) and Prem Chand, and poets like Vallathol and Changanpanka in Kerala (all these poets were ardent nationalists). The great poet Rabindranath Tagore once visited the Soviet Union and paid glowing tribute to the achievements of the socialist revolution.

The new program and the perspective that emerged in India after the October Revolution became the banner of the militant wing of our

national movement. This program and perspective took more concrete shape in the fire of mass struggles influenced both by mistakes and achievements. They became popular amongst the masses, and in the ranks of the Indian National Congress which was at that time the national united front of all anti-imperialist forces fighting for the country's independence. They were popularized not only by the Communists but also by other revolutionary groups and, in general outline, by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. In particular, they were expressed in popular terms in his presidential address to the Indian National Congress (1938) in Lucknow.

Thus, after the great mass struggles of the second massive disobedience movement of the early thirties, under the impact of massive repressions and thanks to the experiences derived from setbacks and victories, the anti-imperialist movement in India matured not only as a force fighting for independence, democracy and social progress, but also as a force of world significance in the fight against fascism and war.

This took place owing to the further achievements of the victorious socialist revolution. The breathtaking progress of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the transformation of backward Central Asian regions of Russia into thriving industrial Soviet Republics, the emergence of the Soviet Union as a mighty industrial and military power, and especially the Soviet efforts to build a worldwide front against fascist aggression and war, for the freedom and security of peoples and nations and for world peace—such were the achievements which exercised a profound influence not only on India, but also on China, where the revolution advanced in the context of the united front against Japanese aggression, and on many other Asian and African countries.

The peoples fighting for their freedom began to recognize the socialist Soviet Union as their sincere friend and ally in their life-and-death struggle against imperialist enslavers. In India of the pre-independence days anniversaries of the socialist revolution became occasions for militant demonstrations for the ideals of the "Red October" and its great architect—Lenin.

The heroic and self-sacrificing efforts of the Soviet people in completing their five-year plans of socialist industrialization and agricultural development, their success in building up the military might of their country, coupled with their far-sighted initiative for building the world front against fascist aggression and war, and for peace, ensured their historic victory over Hitler fascism. For the first time in history the world saw a socialist nation mak-

ing stupendous self-sacrifices to defend its system and thus creating the conditions for the liberation of other peoples and nations.

The gigantic contribution of the Soviet Union to the victory over Hitler fascism in the Second World War not only intensified the crisis of world imperialism; it also sounded the death knell of colonialism and literally heralded the dawn of independence to the bulk of the oppressed peoples.

The victory of the Chinese revolution, the emergence of People's Democracies in Europe and Asia, the rise of scores of newly-independent nations in Asia, the onward march of the African revolution since the fifties, and the appearance of the bastion of socialism in Cuba at the very backdoor of U.S. imperialism—those are the milestones of the march to freedom heralded by the Soviet victory.

Fifty years back when the guns of the *Aurora* announced the victory of the October Socialist Revolution and the radio message of

peace without annexations and of the implementation of the right of self-determination went round the world, only a handful believed that human history had reached a turning point, and that the era of the end of imperialism and colonialism, of the dawn of freedom, had begun. Imperialists and their agents sought to build a wall of slander propaganda to stop that message, cracked the whip of repression to kill its heroic career.

But the transforming power of the revolutionary ideas of the October Revolution could not be arrested. These ideas reached the masses of the oppressed peoples and their national movements, they endowed them with new form and content, new wisdom and ideals. For fifty years these national movements advanced step by step, at every stage drawing support and inspiration from the continued success of the socialist revolution, winning victories as they matured, and as their leading revolutionary classes became stronger.

The October Revolution and the communist movement in Ceylon

MERENNA MENDIS

Member, Political Bureau, CC, Communist Party of Ceylon

THE GREAT OCTOBER Revolution is the most important event in recorded human history. It sounded the death knell of Imperialism and Capitalism and marked the epoch of the victory of socialism, liberation of all oppressed peoples on earth and abolition of the exploitation of man by man.

The October Revolution translated into action and practice the all-conquering theories and thoughts of Marx and Engels and Lenin, scientifically worked out on the basis of studying human history and the dialectics of nature.

The October Revolution not only created a powerful socialist state, it paved the way for

the creation of a powerful socialist world system.

During and after the Great Patriotic War against fascism and Nazism, the Soviet Union also dealt crushing blows at imperialism thus weakening it for all time. This paved the way for nearly 90 per cent of the former colonies and oppressed peoples winning freedom and independence and shaping the destinies of their countries.

Thanks to the October Revolution and the socialist world system headed by the Soviet Union, and thanks to the defense potential of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp,

even the smallest nation can win national independence and choose its own path to progress which was unthinkable in the past when the backward countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America were prey to the imperialist vultures.

The most important task facing the Communists today is the consolidation of the ranks of the international Communist movement. It is for this reason that the Ceylon Communist Party supported the proposal made by some brother parties to convene a meeting of Communist and Workers' parties to review the general line of the international and workers' movements adopted at the International Communist and Workers' Parties' meetings in 1957 and 1960, in Moscow.

It is to the extent that the ranks of the Communists are welded together that it will be able to mobilize the international labor movement and the national liberation movement, *the three great currents of our time*, in a single torrent to carry forward the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution on a global scale for the final and complete victory of socialism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, as was pointed out, had great international significance, influencing the working-class movement throughout the world and the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It greatly influenced the national and working-class movements in Ceylon.

When the October Revolution took place in 1917, the British imperialists who held Ceylon under colonial rule, sought to hide from our people the real facts about this Revolution. But this did not prevent the truth percolating through the barriers of suppression and distortion.

It was only after the formation of the first Left groups in Ceylon in the early 1930's that the October Revolution began to exert a decisive and beneficial influence on the entire development of the working class and progressive movement in our country.

In 1931 Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, the President of the Ceylon Communist Party, was elected to the State Council, the supreme legislature of Ceylon, and in his speeches both inside the Council and out began to speak of the benefits that the October Revolution had brought to the Soviet people. His activities at a time when spectacular Soviet progress in all spheres contrasted sharply with the economic depression that gripped the capitalist world fell on fertile ground, led to a large number of working class and other progressive sections accepting the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and laid the foundation for the for-

mation of the first socialist party in Ceylon—the Lanka Sama Samaja Party.

At the very first public meeting of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party held in Colombo almost every speaker spoke of the great achievements of the USSR after the Revolution and called upon the workers of Ceylon to emulate the example of their Soviet brothers if they too were to build a just social order in Ceylon. At the first Congress of the Party, the President said in his Presidential address:

"Every rise in the standard of living in the USSR, every victory under her successive Five-Year plans, every little growth in her relative strength infuses into the oppressed of the world fresh courage to continue the determined struggle in which they are engaged."

With the formation of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, progressive youth leagues and militant trade unions, the national liberation movement in Ceylon gained a new impetus and for the first time the slogan of complete independence was raised. And the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, which was a broad united front of all progressive forces fighting against imperialism, for full national independence and socialism was inspired by the October Revolution and its creation, the Soviet Union.

On the eve of the Second World War, a section of the leadership of the Lanka Sama Samaja (Socialist) Party under the influence of Trotskyism expelled the Communists and other pro-Soviet forces from the Party. The Communists had to organize themselves under the name of the United Socialist Party based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Continuous activity to popularize the Soviet Union, the first

The October Revolution sounded the signal for the workers' offensive in different parts of the world. Under the impact of the October Revolution the workers and peasants of Japan rose up in the famous rice riots of 1918. This, the starting point of the modern Japanese revolutionary movement, was born of the rising wave known as "October". . .

After the October Revolution the influence of Marxism-Leninism increased, and, the class struggle growing more acute, the workers followed the Marxist-Leninist line and began to play a leading role, working assiduously to create a truly proletarian party.

SEN KATAYAMA

workers' and peasants' state in human history, was launched.

When the Second World War began, the United Socialist Party was banned by the British colonialists. It was only after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union that Communists were able to function again legally. In 1943 they formed themselves into the Ceylon Communist Party. The Soviet Union's heroic struggle against Hitlerism had a great impact on Ceylon. Ever-increasing sections of our people began to display a new interest in the Soviet Union and in socialism.

Soviet foreign policy during the war helped Ceylon to advance her own fight for independence. The Ceylon National Congress, at that time the only organization of the national bourgeoisie, came out for full independence as its main object. Previously it stood only for dominion status within the British Empire. Hence the Communists too joined the Ceylon National Congress and led the agitation for full freedom from the British imperialists.

At that time the Communists also began to popularize the Soviet policy regarding their different nationalities, how the former tsarist prison-house of nations had been transformed by the October Revolution into a truly equal fraternal union of diverse peoples living in amity and building socialism together. This greatly helped the Ceylonese people to learn about the real way of solving their own national question and foiling the plots of the British imperialists who at that time were attempting to create disharmony between the various communities in Ceylon in order to continue their colonial rule.

When the USSR entered the war against Japan, with whom Ceylon too was at war, she became a real ally of Ceylon and Soviet prestige in Ceylon was at its highest. It was conceded by all right-thinking sections that it was the Soviet armies that sealed the doom of militarist Japan and brought peace to our own country as to the rest of Asia.

Soviet postwar policy of liquidation of all remnants of fascism and opposition to all forms of colonialism everywhere had a great effect in Ceylon and encouraged us in our own struggle for independence, which at that time was reaching its culmination.

Ceylon gained her independence from the British in 1948, but unfortunately the governments that existed up till 1956 were pro-Western in character and did not seek to consolidate our newly-won independence by opening diplomatic and trade relations with the USSR. On the orders of the U.S. and British imperialists, those governments erected an iron curtain between Ceylon and the

USSR and prevented contact between the peoples of our two countries.

It was only after the formation of the government led by the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in 1956 that full relations were established to our immense benefit in many spheres. This began a new chapter in Ceylon-Soviet relations, a new period in which the results of the October Revolution began to be felt not only in the realm of ideas, but also in the sphere of economic and technical aid to Ceylon.

The contacts between the various organizations of the Soviet Union and Ceylon, as well as the exchange of numerous delegations of parliamentarians, trade unionists, teachers, dancers, writers, artistes, religious leaders and distinguished public personalities have contributed to better understanding between our two peoples, greater sympathy in Ceylon for the all-conquering ideas of the October Revolution.

But in the past ten years since the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations between the two countries, Soviet influence in Ceylon has been felt in the most decisive field, namely in the sphere of Ceylon's economy.

In 1958 an Agreement on Economic and Technical Cooperation was concluded between the USSR and Ceylon whereby the USSR agreed to grant on the most favorable terms, a line of credit to Ceylon. With the help of such generous disinterested aid on the part of the USSR, we have been able to set up in recent times an iron and steel plant, a tire and tube factory, a refrigeration plant for the storage of vegetables, a grain mill and elevator and many other big enterprises.

The iron and steel plant with a rolling mill which has a capacity of 60,000 tons a year and a tire factory capable of turning out 360,000 sets of tires and tubes a year are not only the two biggest industrial enterprises in Ceylon now, they are also the pioneers of Ceylon's heavy industry, which will bring about the industrialization of Ceylon and help us free ourselves from the shackles of neo-colonialism.

Ceylon's trade relations with the USSR too have continued to progress satisfactorily till today they amount to no less than Rs.200 million annually.

When Ceylon set up a Petroleum Corporation to compete with three foreign oil companies in Ceylon in the import and distribution of oil, the U.S. imperialists retaliated by cutting off their so-called aid. But Ceylon turned to the USSR, was able to get Soviet oil, and heartened by this gesture went on to com-

pletely nationalize the foreign oil trade in Ceylon.

This was a powerful blow against the imperialist oil companies in Ceylon. It not only led to the consolidation of the economic independence of Ceylon, it raised Soviet prestige in Ceylon to new heights and deepened Ceylon-Soviet friendship still further.

Between 1956 and 1965 Ceylon also joined the other resurgent countries of Asia and Africa in aligning themselves with the USSR and other socialist countries inside UNO to carry on the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence, for disarmament, for the national independence of nations still fighting for their freedom, and against the intrigues of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. This community of aims succeeded in forging new links of alliance between the USSR and Ceylon.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU had favorable effects in Ceylon. The correction of errors resulting from the personality cult, the restoration of the norms of socialist legality, theoretical propositions advanced at that congress and later ratified by the International Communist and Workers' Parties Conferences in 1957 and in 1960, helped Ceylon Communists to reorientate policies and establish closer links with democratic forces in Ceylon in its fight for complete national independence, democracy, social progress and peace.

In 1960, on the basis of this alliance, we were able to defeat reaction and help elect to power the government led by Mrs. Bandaranaike which till 1964 was able to deal powerful blows against imperialism and advance the cause of the national liberation movement further.

Though the present reactionary rulers, with

the help of the imperialists, were able to gain temporary power in March 1965, they have become weaker and the regime is facing crisis after crisis. The ruling clique headed by the United National Party lost all the seven by-elections it contested during the last congress to the three-party progressive alliance.

The three main progressive national parties, namely the Sri Lanka Freedom Party of Mrs. Bandaranaike, Lanka Sam Samaja (Socialist) Party and the Ceylon Communist Party have formed an alliance and have been working very closely together during the past two and a half years. On the basis of this political unity, the vast majority of the trade union movement in the country has set up a Joint Committee of Trade Unions to organize and coordinate the economic and political struggles of the working class.

Thanks to the tremendous influence exerted by the Great October Revolution and the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Ceylon has grown into a major national political party within a short period of two decades.

The Ceylon Communist Party, the labor and progressive movement always advanced on the basis of friendship and solidarity with the Soviet Union. The Ceylon Communist Party considers anti-Sovietism as anti-communism, and slander of the Soviet Union as slander of the world Communist movement, from whichever quarter they may come.

There can be no doubt that in the future too we shall continue to advance towards socialism on the basis of such solidarity, inspired by the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the achievements of the world's first workers' state, the Soviet Union.

Lessons of October and contemporary revolutionary movement in Latin America

FRANCISCO MIERES

Communist Party of Venezuela

THE GREATNESS OF the October Revolution lies not only in that it was the first victorious socialist revolution on our planet, and not only in that it greatly accelerated the march of history and laid an imprint on all its subsequent development. The epoch-making significance of the October Revolution, the urgency and universality of its lessons, derive from the fact that it was, if one may say so, an "exemplary" and "model" revolution.

Not in the sense, of course, that all subsequent revolutions had to copy it exactly. What we mean is what modern science would call an "optimal regimen of interaction" between the objective conditions and the subjective factor of the revolution, between the imperatives of social development and their reflection in the consciousness of the class hegemon, between the spontaneous movement of the masses and the creative, purposeful activity of the vanguard party.

The fifty years that have passed since then have been so rich in revolutionary upheavals and transformations that they are without parallel in history. And yet the speed, depth and effectiveness with which the revolutionary movement developed in the extremely difficult conditions of Russia in 1917 are, perhaps, unsurpassed.

And even today, when dozens of revolutions have enormously enriched the experience of social change in countries and continents with varying levels of development, interest in the experience of the pioneer revolution is as great as ever.

I would like to speak about the significance of some of the lessons of the October Revolution for the present-day revolutionary movement in Latin America.

A concentrated expression of these lessons is to be found in the fundamental works by Lenin. Of particular interest and special importance for the revolutionary movement of our continent, it seems to me, are his *April Theses*—one of the most instructive documents of Marxism in the field of methodology and in the theory and politics of the socialist revolution.

1. I have in mind chiefly the *methodological approach* to the problems of revolution.

The *April Theses* take exception to making a fetish of theory, which leads to slavish worship of a concept elaborated for the concrete period, say, for one definite revolution. When the events of February-March 1917 partially confirmed the theses drawn up in 1905 but at the same time created an entirely new situation that could not be foreseen in the 1905 formulas, Lenin, taking into account the lessons taught by life, elaborated a new, brilliant concept which reflected the entire complexity of living reality and aimed at changing it. It was not fortuitous, and certainly not merely for the sake of using colorful metaphor, that Lenin invoked Goethe's famous words: "Theory, my friend, is grey, but green is the eternal tree of life."

Lenin pointed out that theory, being a generalization of experience, i.e., of the past, reflects real processes only in a very general and approximate form. Hence in regard to the future, only still more general and approximate hypotheses can be put forward, hypotheses which should be treated with extreme caution, since their relevance and effectiveness can be verified only by constantly comparing them with reality through practical

experience. Without this realism, without the ability constantly to rejuvenate itself, to replace the alien and the old with one's own and new concepts engendered by the concrete situation, Marxism would become something like a religion, a barren determinism, and Marxists would be turned into historians and annalists. Genuine Marxism is not a closed system woven from absolute truths, but an eternally young, developing organism. The source of its vitality—materialist dialectics—presupposes that it will undergo not a few changes. And therefore a genuine Marxist politician, guided by the compass of historical and materialist dialectics, should at a definite moment be able to brush aside any (including Marxist) theoretical concept if it does not reflect the given concrete (in time and in space) reality, and hence cannot be used for changing this reality.

2. The significance of revolutionary theory elaborated independently and "in torment."

This is not to say that one can do without Marxist theory in general, and especially in the process of the revolution. Such a theory—the guide to revolutionary action—can be evolved only as a result of the long cultivation in the revolutionary movement in a given country or area of the life-giving ideas of Marxism, as a result of accumulating one's own experience, as a result of one's own persevering and painstaking searching—as the *theory of one's own revolution*. Lenin regarded this process as one of the conditions for the Bolshevik victory. Wrote he: "Russia achieved Marxism—the only correct revolutionary theory through the agony she experienced in the course of half a century of unparalleled torment and sacrifice, of unparalleled revolutionary heroism, incredible energy, devoted searching, study, practical trial, disappointment, verification, and comparison with European experience."

The need for such a "laborious achievement" of theory is urgently felt in Latin America where Marxist-Leninist parties have been active for almost half a century and where the revolution is objectively on the order of the day. Unfortunately, we received the legacy of October, which became the basis of our revolutionary movement, rather tailored and distorted. This was mainly at the time the international Communist movement had begun to feel the impact of the rigidity of centralized monolithism and the consequences of what is known as the personality cult. This was one of the reasons why our theoretical work was not distinguished for either richness or originality. It did not draw on the reality of our

countries, nor did it have the ability for genuine self-regeneration.

But now, things are beginning to change, due in large measure to the creative spirit and to the regeneration in our entire movement initiated by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, and mainly by the Cuban revolution. The Cuban revolution challenged everything, upset everything, stripped the sacred shams from the altar, and subjected everything to criticism (not always correctly, let it be said) and gave rise at first to much vacuity, unresolved problems, doubts, confusion and oversimplification. But out of this chaos would come ultimately the Latin American theory of revolution—in much the same way as, thanks to the efforts of European Communists in the recent years, there came into being the theory of the revolutionary reconstruction of the highly-developed countries presently under the rule of state-monopoly capitalism.

The new study of, and new confrontation with, our reality of the second half of the 20th century is just beginning, and it is far from easy. But for us this study is a must; it is necessary in order, among other things, critically to comprehend and assimilate the experience of Cuba whose importance for our continent cannot be overestimated. For otherwise we would fall into a trap and repeat the old mistake in a few form, i.e., turn the Cuban experience into an ossified scheme and superficially "adjust" it to the realities of each country. Although in space and in time, and also in its social content, the Cuban revolution is the closest to other Latin American revolutions, this does not mean that there are no distinctions between them. And, analyzing the experience and lessons of the Cuban revolution, it is essential to distinguish between the particular, that which was typical only of the Cuba of the late 1950s, and the general, that which is typical of the whole of Latin America and valid in this decade, too.

Each Latin American Communist party, in overcoming the old and not so old dogmas, should independently chart the road, strategy and tactics of the revolution in its country. But this does not mean that we have to fence ourselves off from the outside world and start from scratch. Such a "cure" would be more pernicious than the disease. Fortunately, this is not the case, as can be seen from the fact that it was the victory of the socialist revolution on our continent which helped us, Latin Americans, realize that the spirit and, at times, even the letter of the lessons of October are much closer to us than we used to think before. The victory of the Cuban revolution enabled us to rediscover the Russian revolu-

tion—not as something heroic and instructive but dim and distant, but as something which is very close to the revolutionary reality of our day.

3. The character of the revolution.

The Russian “model” of revolution, being in the broad sense of which we have spoken above a *general “model” of the socialist revolution*, cannot but reflect certain *specific features of the socialist revolution in a non-fully developed capitalist country*. It is this that brings the October “model” closer to Latin America and in a greater measure, we believe, than to the current revolutionary processes in countries of the imperialist West or in the majority of the newly-free countries of Asia and Africa.

Indeed, the conflicts developing on our continent are, in effect, similar to those that took place in Russia at the time. Thanks to the working of capitalism some of our countries have already reached—and others will soon reach—the border separating backwardness from the stage of large-scale industry and self-sufficiency. The bulk of our continent, no longer in the ocean of backwardness, is nearing the coastline of development. This makes for their inherent unity, distinguishes Latin America from other underdeveloped parts of the world, and underscores the specific character of the modern Latin American revolution in general. The degree of capitalist development in Latin America is often defined as the “average level,” qualitatively similar to that reached by Eastern and Southern Europe by the time of the First World War, specifically, the level of pre-revolutionary Russia (quantitatively, Latin America has in general surpassed that level).

The major economic aim of the Latin American revolution is industrialization plus an agrarian revolution. As regards its initial tasks, the revolution can be compared with the bourgeois revolutions carried out in some West European countries in the past century. But in this century other countries solved these tasks *as a result of socialist revolutions*, the fiftieth anniversary of the first of which we now observe. This great lesson of October, reaffirmed in our hemisphere by Cuba, signifies that the working class undertakes the solution of tasks which confronted the bourgeoisie but which can no longer be resolved by the latter.

Indeed, capitalism on our continent cannot surmount the barrier of backwardness and, hence, dependence along the lines of spontaneous or, should we say, “normal” evolution. Therefore the Latin American industrial bourgeoisie—if it wishes to advance at all—must

choose one of two alternatives: either free itself from “external strangulation” in a sharp clash with imperialism and the oligarchy, or try to persuade imperialism to loosen the deadly embrace and help it in its difficult advance, offering still closer “union,” i.e., dependence, in exchange. One has only to pose the question in this way to realize how unlikely is the possibility of a clash between the Latin American bourgeoisie and North American imperialism.

On our continent, too, the bourgeoisie has lost its progressive character. Those of its segments which during the Second World War and immediately after it comprised the so-called *national bourgeoisie* with its inherent anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy spirit, gained in strength and grew in size, and now comprises part of the *big bourgeoisie*, closely linked with foreign monopoly capital and the commercial-landlord oligarchy, enjoying the protection and support of the Pentagon-trained “gorillas.” Rapid concentration has intensified this “selection.” The remainder of the *middle bourgeoisie*—or its newly-emerging elements—are too dependent on the big bourgeoisie, the oligarchy, foreign-monopoly capital and the state sector to play any more or less independent political and economic role. Hence today the national bourgeoisie is, at best, a residual phenomenon, belonging to history rather than to present-day reality; its political significance and its role in promoting the revolutionary process are steadily declining.

It follows, then, that it is only the working classes which, in our opinion, can enter the lists against U.S. imperialism and the local oligarchies in order to abolish the dependence and backwardness, surmount the barrier of underdevelopment, and take the path of genuine independence. It follows, moreover, that this development can only be along socialist lines.

The anti-imperialist, agrarian revolution and the socialist revolution are two components of the Latin American revolutionary binomial. The latter is the consummation of the former, and the two are the beginning and the end of an inherently uniform process. In Latin America the anti-imperialist revolution not only paves the road to deep-going socialist changes but, in a way, helps to achieve them. Such was the case in Cuba. Also in Venezuela, where the foreign monopolies account for two-thirds of all the material values produced, seizure of power by the anti-imperialist forces and the nationalization of the monopoly-owned enterprises would create the decisive preconditions for socialism. That is why we define our revolution as a “national-liberation

revolution in the direction of socialism"; in so doing, we maintain that the movement is a continuous one, and that the task of the revolution is to "win power for the working people."

4. *Correlation of the internal and external factors in the development of the October Revolution.*

It is sometimes said that the October Revolution is the proof that nowadays revolutions can triumph only on the scale of one country and that hence it is wrong to speak about a *continental* revolutionary process.

It should, however, be borne in mind that the October Revolution was carried out in the framework of an all-European crisis, in the situation created by the First World War. In this sense the Bolsheviks carried out their revolutionary activity in 1914-17, in keeping with the resolution of the Basle Congress of the Second International held in 1912, which pointed to the possibility of a revolutionary situation arising on the entire continent in the event of war and urged the parties to bear in mind this possibility. In 1915-17 Lenin vigorously upheld this resolution and denounced those parties which had refused to reckon with the decisions of the Basle (and Stuttgart) Congress for the sake of lending support to the bourgeoisie of their countries.

In reality, the October Revolution and the revolutionary battles of 1918-20 in Central and Southern Europe and even in Britain proved the existence of a *revolutionary situation in Europe*. The revolutionary upswing, which after the Second World War engulfed practically the whole of Europe and the countries of East and Southeast Asia, proves the possibility of a simultaneous ripening of revolutionary conditions in the vast areas of the world.

We hold that it would be wrong to adduce the law of uneven development of capitalism and the *possibility* of a victorious revolution in one country taken separately as a proof of the *impossibility* of a more or less simultaneous development of revolutions in supra-national complexes (continents, sub-continents regions), especially when the national components of the latter are characterized by economic, social and historical similarity, identity of strategic goals, etc.

This is a highly important matter for Latin America.

5. *The strategic road of the revolution.*

As regards the general strategic road in Latin America there exists practically complete unanimity: armed struggle here is the rule, and the peaceful way—the exception. In

this respect, too, there is a great similarity with the Bolshevik way of posing the question of the roads of the revolution.

Our Party maintains that Venezuela has been and remains within the framework of the rule. A recent meeting of our Central Committee pointed out that the "decision to take to arms was correct," and it also reaffirmed the general concept of the "non-peaceful revolutionary road to national liberation and socialism" in Venezuela. It would be wrong to believe that our Party came out for a different road of the revolution and, even less so, that it advocates a line which would fit into the framework of the existing regime, or that it deems it possible to carry out the Venezuelan revolution through the ballot-box. Electioneering is a tactical episode and not a substitute for our strategic line. And if confusion arose on this issue, the explanation is that some people spread versions distorting the content of our line and policy.

6. *The beginning of the revolution and its tempo.*

We hold that in this respect, too, the rich experience of the Russian revolution summed up by Lenin in his "*Left-Wing*" *Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, is highly instructive for our parties. The beginning of revolutionary action and its "tempo" in each country are determined on the basis of a concrete, thoroughgoing assessment of the degree of maturity of the preconditions for the revolution, on the one hand, and, on the other, the choice of those forms of revolutionary action which would most effectively accelerate the process as a whole in the direction of a revolutionary outcome.

At the same time revolutionaries throughout the continent should pay close attention to the features and degree of maturity of the conditions for the revolution on the scale of Latin America as a whole. Today it is clear that the objective poles of the revolutionary situation (economic and political crisis) have already taken shape in our part of the New World. Because of this an upward trend becomes rather pronounced among the masses; but the lagging of the subjective factor and the difficulties arising therefrom are also obvious. In their totality these circumstances produce not an immediately revolutionary situation but a preliminary stage of the revolutionary process which can rapidly spill over into it and which, in my view, was correctly defined as a *pre-revolutionary situation*.

However, within this general continental framework there are diverse concrete conditions and trends in the different countries. In

some, for example, the pre-revolutionary is growing into a revolutionary one, in others the reverse is true. In the latter the situation is particularly difficult, for much effort must be expended there to turn the tide and bring about a resurgence of the revolutionary forces. It is in this kind of situation that the Communist Party of Venezuela has been working in recent years. And this is the sole reason why our Party has taken a number of tactical steps in search of the road to revive the revolutionary situation, without renouncing its strategic tasks but, on the contrary, working to bring nearer their solution.

* * *

Thus, it can be said that our continent is

confronted with problems similar to those which were resolved by the Russian revolution half a century ago. If this is so, it will be correct to say that, pregnant with revolution, Latin America is now closer to the Russia of the time of the victory of Leninism than any other region of the world. Therefore, when we speak about the significance of October for Latin America, it is clear that the point at issue is not so much the past as it is the present, directly facing the dawn of the socialist future. And the impression is that of Lenin himself, bearing in mind the lessons of October, addressing the people of our continent with the Latin words "*De te fabula narratur*"—"Our history is addressed to you, your job is to continue it."

Anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America after October

WALDO ATIAS

Central Committee Member, Communist Party of Chile

THE REVOLUTION made by the Russian people fifty years ago has powerfully influenced the march of history. The past half-century has seen the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, victorious proletarian revolutions, the rise of the socialist world system, the collapse of the colonial system.

The conflagration lit by the October Revolution spread to Latin America. Its peoples broke out of Spanish and Portuguese colonial rule in the early years of the last century only to find themselves under the tutelage of British, U.S. and German imperialism. Despotic governments representing oligarchical groups betrayed the national interests and kept the people in a state of exploitation and oppression. The foreign-monopoly stranglehold prevented the continent's political and cultural development. The monoculture economies im-

posed on our countries were meant to keep them as sources of cheap raw material and cheap labor power, where investments promised quick and high profits. Progress in agriculture was obstructed by the big landowners, the latifundists, who reduced the peasants, particularly Indian and Negro, to semi-slave status.

The revolution in far-off Russia had a cogent lesson for our peoples, who lacked organization and revolutionary leadership. It furnished a compass for their liberation struggle in the new world alignment. There was the heartening realization that in the world's biggest country the working class had captured power, had fought back foreign aggression and counter-revolution and had launched on the building of a socialist society.

In 1922 Luis Emilion Recabarren, the or-

ganizer of the Chilean labor movement and founder of our Communist Party, wrote of his visit to Soviet Russia: "I went there to see for myself whether the workers had really taken over political, and consequently economic power . . . I went there to see whether the working masses had fully and finally abolished capitalist exploitation and tyranny . . . And I am fully convinced that the Russian workers are in possession of political and economic power, and no force on earth can change that . . . I am convinced, also, that the exploiters have been expropriated and that there is no return to a regime of exploitation and tyranny such as we still tolerate here in Chile."

The rise and growth of most Latin-American Communist parties was influenced by the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union.

They projected into the movement the ideology of the working class, united in their ranks the foremost representatives of our proletariat—still in the formative stage—the peasantry and progressive intellectuals. Mastery of, and the ability to apply, Marxism-Leninism enabled them to work out revolutionary strategy and tactics. Their courage and devotion as vanguard fighters against imperialism is the best guarantee of ultimate victory.

Though our revolutionary movement has developed along national lines and on national soil, it has acquired rich international experience. Proletarian internationalism is not an abstract doctrine, but the sum total of the theoretical and practical principles underlining labor's revolutionary struggle and, consequently, a crucial component of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Ever since the October Revolution solidarity with the Soviet Union has been its very cornerstone, and it is to this solidarity that we owe many of our achievements. That has been conclusively proved by experience, and it should be perfectly clear that proletarian internationalism—or anything that claims to be proletarian internationalism—cannot be based on anti-Sovietism.

On a world scale, proletarian internationalism is manifested in solidarity with Vietnam and other peoples attacked by imperialism. In Latin America it finds expression in the defense of the Cuban revolution and the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement, notably in such countries as Bolivia, Colombia, Guatemala and Venezuela, where an armed struggle is in progress, and in countries where the revolutionary movement has been driven underground.

Proletarian internationalism implies the search for the best forms of combining the

general principles of Marxism-Leninism with distinctive national features. Underestimation of such national features, or mechanical application of other countries' experience, can lead to errors that might endanger the revolutionary movement. On the other hand, it would be wrong to lay too much emphasis on national specificities and underestimate the common laws governing the world revolutionary process.

The liberation movement now unfolding in various parts of Latin America has many common features and, of course, a common enemy. These common features stood out saliently in the national-liberation wars of last century, for there were no clearly delineated national boundaries, and Latin American patriots fought for freedom not only in their own, but in other countries too.

Today the imperialists have put out their own slogan, "interdependence" or "ideological frontiers," and use it as the pretext for armed intervention in any part of the continent where their position is in danger. It would be only natural for us to oppose this reactionary slogan with our own slogan of consistent revolutionary solidarity, up to and including direct participation by revolutionaries of one country in the liberation struggle of another, on the understanding, of course, that such participation would be at the request and under the leadership of that country's revolutionary movement.

Though the liberation movement has many features in common, we must always take into account the national character and the diverse forms of the revolutionary movement in each country.

The main aim of all revolutionaries is to free their country. This is their best contribution to the triumph of the world revolution. Lenin pointed out that "there is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own country*, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this, and only this, line, in every country without exception."

The national character of the revolution implies that in each given country the revolutionaries, being conversant with its conditions and peculiarities, must define strategy and tactics that will carry the revolution to victory.

In this context mention should be made of another link between the October Revolution and our own times—the rich experience of the October Revolution, which triumphed under Lenin's leadership. The Latin American

movement must learn skilfully to use this experience. In charting strategy and tactics, Lenin was always able to steer a clear and dynamic course in a rapidly moving situation, modify tactical slogans, bring to the foreground forms of struggle best suited to the changing tide of events. He fought the Rightists, who sought to hamper mass action at the height of a revolutionary crisis, and the Leftists, who wanted to prod the masses into action in a situation not ripe for action.

Hard and fast patterns are alien to Marxism-Leninism. We should not *a priori* reject one or another form of struggle. What we should do, in the process of struggle, is measure our tactics against practical results and when necessary change them and find the means that will assure continued development of the revolution.

We must be able accurately to judge the situation, display flexibility and boldness in shaping strategy and tactics. This is especially necessary in view of Washington's present policy towards Latin America. The U.S. is encountering serious difficulties, the result of acute contradictions between the North American monopolies and the mood and aspirations of our peoples, and the result also of the growing strength and unity of the anti-imperialist movement. The imperialists know that all these economic, social and political contradictions create an explosive situation and Washington is experimenting with plans which, it hopes, will dull these contradictions. For one thing, it is trying to find a formula that would take the edge off class antagonisms in Latin American countries. To that end, it is relying more heavily on such forms of "aid" as the celebrated Alliance for Progress, on largesse dispensed by various philanthropic organizations, and also—its latest device—on economic integration schemes and plans for a Latin American Common Market. These, it claims, will extricate the continent from its economic difficulties.

Chile holds a special place in this maneuvering. In fact, it is receiving more American "aid" per capita than any other country. The reason for this American generosity is simple enough: the peculiar character of Chile's political development calls for "soft" methods rather than intervention or coups d'état such as in Santo Domingo, Brazil, Argentina and other countries.

The strategic purpose is to prevent unity of the patriotic and anti-imperialist forces. The short-range purpose is to prevent unity of the workers and peasants. And to do this the imperialists encourage limited capitalist-type agrarian reforms, even at the risk of pro-

voking the resentment of their traditional allies, the big landowners.

Still another imperialist maneuver is to isolate the proletariat from the urban lower middle class and win over the latter by a combination of sops and anti-communist propaganda.

However, the victory of the Cuban revolution and subsequent developments have shown many people, of diverse social strata and of widely different levels of political understanding, that it is not enough to combat reaction in their own country: there must be a movement to end U.S. imperialist domination. This maturing anti-imperialist consciousness expresses itself in many different ways, from support of self-determination and non-interference to joining the revolutionary movement.

The social base of anti-imperialism is thus being extended. A sizable segment of the lower middle class in town and country is going over to revolutionary positions and actively sharing in the battle for national liberation and socialism. Some, in fact, are embracing Marxism-Leninism and are joining the Communist Party, or give it more or less active support. Others are forming their own political organizations or affiliating to Left parties.

Founded under the influence of the October Revolution, the Latin American Communist Parties have throughout all these years waged a self-sacrificing struggle. Its results can be seen in the growing class consciousness of the proletariat and the anti-imperialist sentiments of the people at large. Our Communist parties are the best organized and most disciplined part of the revolutionary movement, and without them it would be impossible to work out a continental revolutionary strategy and tactics.

That should not be taken to mean that the Communists consider themselves the only revolutionaries and demand an exclusive right to leadership of the movement. Our party believes that expansion of the political and social base of the national-liberation movement is of the utmost importance, for it would make for united action on a much broader scale, and this might well prove decisive.

The U.S. government resorts to every conceivable maneuver in its persistent attempts to retard the development of the revolutionary process in Latin America, but in the end it always falls back on armed intervention, the export of counter-revolution to its southern neighbors. That is what it is doing now, working through the reactionary Leoni regime in Venezuela and similar regimes in other countries. It is using the Organization of

American States to plot and prepare fresh aggression against Cuba. It is also maneuvering to create, *de facto*, inter-American armed forces that could be despatched to any country where the revolutionary movement threatens imperialist control.

All this calls for heightened revolutionary solidarity, closer and firmer unity of all the anti-imperialist forces. That is a task of cardinal importance.

Fifty years ago the revolutionary enthusiasm of the Russian people brought to social, political and economic reality the ideas of Marx and Engels.

The Soviet Union's entrance into the world arena put an end to the worldwide domination of a system based on exploitation. In this half-century the Soviet Union has advanced along uncharted paths and built a new society.

The example it has set, the assistance it and other socialist countries have rendered, the unity of the world communist movement, and the strength and unity of the world anti-imperialist front—they all help peoples still languishing under capitalism to fight, with courage and perseverance, to bring nearer the day when the banner of peace, democracy, socialism and communism will be raised in every part of the world.

October and the struggle of the people of the Congo (Brazzaville)

BERNARD KOMBO

National Revolutionary Movement Party, Congo (Brazzaville)

THE OVERTHROW of the regime of Fulbert Youlou, on August 15, 1963, was a definite setback for imperialism and a victory for the people, and not only of the Congo. For the Abee was one of the most venal servitors of imperialism and neo-colonialism. To appreciate the importance of this victory, one must go back to the colonial period, with all its contradictions, and to the changes that have taken place since independence.

French colonization of the Congo (Brazzaville) was practically completed by 1880. The country was turned into a sphere of exploitation by French capital, a purveyor of raw materials and a market for French goods. This contributed in no small share to the development of French capitalism.

At that time the Congo had not yet passed through the feudal stage. The colonial invasion facilitated the formation of new social classes and strata, notably the working class and, somewhat later, the bourgeoisie. The development of local capitalism and colonial exploitation led to the emergence of a working class before the bourgeoisie had asserted itself.

Concentrated on the plantations, railway construction and in the mines, our workers were subjected to horrible conditions—corporal punishment was widely employed, working hours were practically unlimited, wages were beggarly. Artisans and peasants were rounded up in the villages and driven to the forced labor camps and mines. This naturally engendered a feeling of hatred for the colonial rulers and a burning determination to break through to freedom. Stepped up exploitation during the First World War evoked a wide protest movement which found expression in refusal to pay taxes, carry identity cards or receive seed and food from the colonial authorities.

But this was a passive movement; there was as yet no purposeful struggle against colonialism. Tribal insulation was a major impediment to organizing such a struggle. Furthermore, the imperialists did everything they could to foment tribal strife.

That was the position at the time of the October Revolution, which radically changed the course of world affairs. Our people, exploited, oppressed and steeped in poverty,

now had before them an example to follow and a friend to rely on. They now knew that there was a realistic possibility of winning through to liberation and starting on the road to a brighter future.

The October Revolution indicated that road to the oppressed nations everywhere. China was liberated; the Vietnamese people launched their victorious fight against French imperialism, culminating in the victory of Dien Bien Phu.

By enriching the theory of Marx and Engels, Lenin and the October Revolution proved that to win freedom an exploited people must have a vanguard revolutionary party, a proletarian party armed with Marxism-Leninism. As Lenin pointed out, the Bolsheviks learned this after long years of search, experience, struggle and sacrifice. But in the end they found the answer to the people's aspiration for freedom, and this made for the rapid emancipation of more than half of the world's population. Lenin's prediction came true: the foundations of imperialism were undermined; the colonial system collapsed.

After its defeat at Dien Bien Phu, French imperialism, which was also being dealt heavy blows in Algeria, realized that its only chance of retaining its position lay in assuming a new guise: colonialism became neo-colonialism.

In the colonial days the imperialists had to build up a machine to keep the people in submission—police, army, gendarmerie, and a bureaucracy that was to play an important part. To it the imperialists handed over the national flag and a place in the United Nations, in return for defense of imperialist interests. Local officialdom had already been closely cooperating with the French reactionary parties.

This was the social structure when independence was proclaimed: working class (and revolutionary intelligentsia), peasantry, agricultural laborers, landowners, urban bourgeoisie and lumpen-proletariat. The urban bourgeoisie was sharply divided into the national bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie.

The country's future development depended largely on the role played by each of these classes.

The bureaucratic bourgeoisie which took over from the imperialists set up a neo-colonialist regime which proved even more brutal than its colonial predecessor. Little or nothing had changed—the people were subjected to the same harsh exploitation, and this time not only by foreign capital, but also by a government that dutifully served it. The following figures provide some idea of the workers' position: unskilled workers received 3,000 to

5,000 colonial francs, skilled workers from 8,000 to 15,000, whereas members of Parliament were paid 250,000, Cabinet Ministers 400,000 and the President of the Republic 700,000 francs. To that should be added supplementary, and more often than not illegal, income which, of course, was never made public.

The comprador bourgeoisie was closely linked with and dependent upon the imperialists and acted as their paid agent. The national and petty bourgeoisie, composed mostly of traders, small businessmen and clerks, was also, basically, a parasitic stratum.

It can truthfully be said that our bourgeoisie, all of it, was basically a parasitic growth on society. And to this parasitism was added the colonial-type exploitation characteristic of all such countries as ours. This social structure only made the poor poorer, and for them the only solution was struggle. That explains the instability of succeeding neo-colonial governments, further accentuated by discord within the bourgeoisie itself. The petty bourgeoisie hated the bureaucracy because it levied high taxes and kept salaries low, but it also hated the national bourgeoisie because it kept living costs high. All this made for continuous unrest. No government could hope for a durable stay in office — it would be toppled the moment the unrest broke through to the surface.

It was precisely such a situation that led to the three-day strike and the overthrow of the Youlou regime on August 15, 1963. The events of that day came as a surprise to the world, but also to Congo progressives, who were not yet properly organized.

The army did not interfere. Indeed, the soldiers welcomed the change, for there was sharp dissatisfaction over low pay and the presence of French troops. A new government was formed as a result of a compromise between the progressive and reactionary forces, both of which had good reason to welcome the ouster of Youlou. The reactionary forces were headed by the powerful Catholic church operating largely through the pro-French Confederation of Christian Trade Unions and the press.

There was a popular demand for a single, united party, a united trade union center and united women's and youth mass organizations. The adamant opposition of the Catholic church and the forces backing it provoked fresh demonstrations and attacks on churches and the headquarters of the Catholic unions. The people organized in Vigilance Brigades to press their demand that the clerical element be kept out of the government.

A new government was formed, this time

made up exclusively of progressives. A united party was founded in July 1964, followed by the organization of a united trade union federation, women's and youth leagues, all of them accepting the Party's leadership.

Because of its parasitic character, the bourgeoisie of Tropical Africa proved incapable of carrying out the historic mission which, in its time, had been carried out by the European bourgeoisie. Our people realized that it was not enough to change the government; the country's development path had to be changed too. That is why the inaugural congress of the National Revolutionary Movement adopted scientific socialism as its guide in working to abolish exploitation and set the country on the road to progress.

The Charter adopted by our Central Committee contains the following provisions:

1. The National Revolutionary Movement, which is still a mass organization of the national front type, must gradually be developed into a vanguard party, for only such a party, equipped with revolutionary theory, can build the new society;

2. The land must belong to those who till it;

3. All the means of production must be made public property;

4. The aim of the Congolese people is a socialist society.

It might be asked whether a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like ours can bypass the capitalist stage (considering that ours is a foreign capitalism) and build a socialist society? The answer can only be in the affirmative, because now, after the October Revolution and its historic achievements, we are no longer alone. We can draw on the experience, friendship and assistance of the socialist countries.

The October Revolution and Leninism proved a veritable school for us: they taught us—to use a figurative expression—to read and understand the book that is the Congo. And we now know how to transform the Congo, with its vast natural resources, from a backward into a free and prosperous country. In this respect our experience can serve as an example for other parts of Tropical Africa and represents a contribution to the world revolutionary movement.

We have only four years of practical experience, not very much, but enough to warrant the following conclusions:

1. Our working class is still numerically

small and lacks proper training. It can take over and maintain power only through a broad united front encompassing all social strata which, at a definite juncture, can play a progressive part. But the working class must direct and control this united front.

2. To do that, its Marxist-Leninist vanguard must work with and among the masses.

3. The success of the united front will depend in large measure on firm alliance with the peasantry.

4. The peasantry is the most numerous, but at the same time the most scattered, class and this makes its organization especially difficult.

5. The bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie are the most dangerous foe of the revolution, the chief ally of imperialism, which uses them to maintain its domination. In its bid for peasant support the bureaucratic bourgeoisie operates through the landowners and the tribal chiefs. It exploits tribal divisions whenever the situation develops to its advantage.

6. A united mass party is one form of organizing and leading the United Front. However, it has to be made more homogeneous and gradually developed into a vanguard party.

7. The state apparatus presents the most difficult problem. All our countries have inherited their police and military forces from colonial days, and, of course, they are hardly suitable to the building of the new life. The recent coups that shook Africa are evidence of that. Consequently, we must lose no time in building up a well-trained people's militia capable of counteracting any possible army bid for power. Using the positions built up in the course of this work, we shall reorganize the army too.

8. Youth, which has known the bitterness of unemployment and poverty, plays an important part in all our countries. The active youth is the shock force of the revolution.

Such are the conclusions we can draw from the four years of struggle. The experience of the October Revolution, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has for us been an inexhaustible source of political guidance. That is why now, on the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution, at a time when U.S. imperialism is carrying out its genocide in Vietnam, our eyes again turn to the Soviet Union, whose people blazed the trail to the emancipation of man.

The greatest event of our time

MADEIRA KEITA

Member, National Committee for the Defense of the Revolution,
Minister of Justice, Republic of Mali

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, which put power into the hands of the people and led to the constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the world's first worker-peasant state, is the greatest event of our time which exerts a profound influence on the development of all peoples.

The colonialists walled off the peoples of Africa from the Soviet Union. Everything was done to conceal from Africans the truth about that country. We had no personal freedom, nor the right to form associations. Associations were banned for fear that they may spread communist ideas. African experienced all the humiliations of colonial oppression.

It was through the French progressive democratic movement that we in West Africa learned indirectly about the ideas of the October Revolution, the most outstanding event of the twentieth century which ushered in a new era in man's history. This influence increased steeply at the time of the Popular Front in France, when progressive French literature began to reach us, and trade unions, known as "associations of friends," first appeared to safeguard the working people's interests.

We learned much from the French General Confederation of Labor, the *Secours populaire français* and the French Communist Party, which helped us form Marxist circles. These taught Marxism to our trade unionists and leaders of mass organizations and political parties, fashioning direct contacts with the ideas of the October Revolution.

Interest in the Soviet Union soared during the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45. Its brilliant victories over Hitler's armies aroused our

admiration and gave us faith. We learned of the Soviet Union's economic and cultural successes, but, naturally, we were most interested in developments in the Soviet Asian republics, some of which had been in 1917 at the same or even a lower stage of development than we in 1945-50.

When we learned that areas with a population that had been almost entirely illiterate were keeping pace with the rest of the country, that they produced scientists and engineers, and officers for the victorious Soviet Army, we fixed our attention on the socialist system, which had emancipated the former tsarist colonies in Asia. Those backward countries owe it to socialism and to the fraternal alliance built on trust that they have risen to their present high level.

The Marxist teaching, socialist ideas, gave us the perspective we needed in our fight against colonial domination, imperialism and capitalism. The October Revolution and the developments of 1939-45 opened our eyes to the possibility of crushing the colonial regime by organized popular struggle. It helped us understand that in our time a backward country can ascend the pinnacles of progress if it mobilizes all forces and relies on the solidarity of other nations.

Not only did this stimulate our fight for emancipation and independence; it led us to the conclusion that independence was not a goal in itself and that we had to find ways and means of overcoming the aftermath of colonialism, creating modern states and achieving socio-economic and cultural progress.

We in Mali decided in 1960 to embark on

the socialist path. We knew that difficulties lay ahead, but we also knew the difficulties that the Soviet people had coped with and how heroically the workers bore all the hardships of building socialism. We also had the benefit of the experience of countries liberated from fascist occupation that had embarked, with success, on the socialist road.

The knowledge that the Soviet Union and the socialist camp exist in the world and that we can depend on their solidarity, helped us understand the Marxist proposition that newly-independent nations lacking an industry,

an infrastructure, national personnel and a developed national bourgeoisie, can bypass the stage in which a bourgeoisie emerges and takes power. That is why we opted for socialism.

All of us, in effect, are pupils of the great Lenin. Even in countries where the ruling groups chose economic liberalism and subordination to capitalism, it is gradually sinking in among the people that nothing but socialism can bring salvation. I am certain that socialism is the path that all the peoples of the world will ultimately follow.

Mankind's path to progress

AMILCAR CABRAL

General Secretary, African Independence Party of
"Portuguese" Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, now fifty years old, liberated the oppressed classes and peoples not only in the tsarist empire, but also elsewhere in the world. It destroyed the tsarist bourgeois-landowner state and built a socialist one in its place. Led by the immortal Lenin, it showed the peoples that the exploiters can be flung off, that social justice and welfare can be secured for all.

Today, when people who cherish peace, freedom and progress are celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution, it may be proper to recall that without that revolution, without the sacrifices of the workers and the other progressive classes of Russia and without many years of Lenin's fruitful activity, there may have been no other socialist states nor the progress we witness today of the national liberation movement.

It will be recalled that after the Berlin conference of 1884-1885, which divided our continent among the imperialist powers, our peoples fell prey to ruthless colonial oppression. There could have been no deliverance for us, we hold, in this century at least, without the profound changes wrought in the world by the October Revolution.

The building of socialism in the Soviet Union and the rapid progress made by many peoples who were at a low level of socio-economic and cultural development when the revolution erupted, showed us Africans the realistic way for ending poverty and backwardness.

Securing staggering economic successes based on the scientific and technical achievements of our time, the socialist state grew into that necessary force which provides the oppressed African peoples with concrete aid in their fight for national liberation.

The Soviet victory over the imperialist forces headed by fascist Germany showed us that socialism generates a moral, as well as material force to repulse enemies of the peoples. We know that more than twenty million Soviet people laid down their lives in the Second World War not only for their own socialist society, but for the right of all nations to rule their own destiny.

The October Revolution brought about profound changes in the world, leading to the emergence of the socialist camp, today a determinative factor of world development and the main, historically necessary ally of all

peoples fighting for freedom, notably the peoples of Africa.

It will be no exaggeration to say, therefore, that the freedom struggle waged today by the African peoples, our people included, began at the moment when the October Revolution triumphed under Lenin's leadership.

Our struggle has passed definite stages of development conditioned by the concrete situation in the country and that in Africa and the world. Today, as a result of our armed national-liberation struggle, "Portuguese" Guinea is, in effect, only partly occupied by the colonial forces. The struggle is grim in these areas, which are shrinking steadily as we attack the scattered and isolated Portuguese garrisons and drive closer to Bissau, the capital. Armed operations will soon open on the Cape Verde Islands, and we are certain that nothing on earth can arrest the victorious growth of our national-liberation movement.

At the price of great effort and sacrifice, our Party has increased agricultural production in the liberated areas and keeps the population and army steadily supplied with food. We have built schools and hospitals and have opened shops selling necessities to the people. Measures are being taken to buttress the political structure of the country and the Party, which is the nation's leading force. The Party is doing its utmost to develop

friendly relations with the progressive African countries and those forces elsewhere that support our cause, notably the socialist countries.

It is only fair to say that, of course, we owe our success first and foremost to the heroic struggle of our own people, but we also know that much depends on the concrete assistance of our allies from the socialist camp and in Africa, with a special stress on the effective aid rendered us by our friend, the Soviet Union.

On the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution, we wish to convey our greetings to the Soviet people and to assure them of our solidarity. At the present stage, our continuously expanding struggle, which we shall carry on until we liberate our country, is proof of this solidarity, furnishing added evidence of the vast perspectives opened up to all peoples on earth by the October Revolution.

We want to assure the Soviet people that we shall never forget the aid they have rendered us in the struggle for peace and progress. We shall do everything we can to develop and consolidate the friendly relations and fraternal cooperation of our two nations. To the Communist Party of the Soviet Union we express our solidarity and declare our determination to extend fraternal contacts with it in the name of the national liberation of the peoples, of world peace and progress.

Vietnam fights for socialism

This article by Tran Quang Huy, member of the Central Committee, Vietnamese Working People's Party, and director of its Educational Department, is a slightly abridged text of his contribution to the International Symposium on the 100th anniversary of *Capital*, held in Berlin in September.

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION had its reverberations in Vietnam. It brought to our people the ideas of Marx and Lenin and started a process of fundamental change in our movement for national liberation. Our pioneer Communists, led by Ho Chi Minh, applied these ideas to Vietnamese conditions. Ho Chi Minh wrote in 1924: "Capitalism is a two-headed beast that sucks the lifeblood of the workers of its own and of colonial countries. To kill it, we must destroy both heads. If we destroy only one, the beast will not loosen its stranglehold, and a new head will grow in place of the one we destroyed."

The Vietnamese Communists have fought with energy and fortitude to carry the revolution to victory. They had before them three principal tasks:

1. Organize a Marxist-Leninist party, the vanguard of the working class and the leader of the revolution.

2. Organize the workers, peasants and all working people to fight colonial and feudal oppression; disseminate the ideas of Marx and Lenin.

3. Tie up the Vietnamese national-liberation movement with the labor movement in capitalist countries, primarily France, and with the national liberation movement in colonial and semi-colonial countries, above all China and the French colonies.

The Communist Party of Indo-China was founded early in 1930. Its first political program declared that the Vietnamese revolution must achieve two interconnected aims:

1. Eliminate imperialist and feudal oppression.

2. Create the requisites, after independence, for direct transition to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage.

From the very outset the working class has stood at the head of the revolutionary struggle. Having developed in a colonial, semi-feudal country, our working class comprises only a

small fraction of the nation, but, like the international working class generally, it represents the new productive forces and is therefore the most advanced, revolutionary, organized and disciplined class.

Its distinctive features are deeply rooted in the history of its rise and growth. First, it took shape and form before the emergence of the national bourgeoisie, when Vietnam was still a colony of the French imperialists. Second, our working class stems directly from the laboring peasantry, with which it has retained very close ties. And it should be emphasized that these ties are the very foundation of the durable worker-peasant alliance in the revolution. Lastly, from the very start our working class has been led by a revolutionary party that faithfully abides by Marxism-Leninism. That is why reformism has never found a receptive soil in our movement which has resolutely combated all attempts at political and organizational division.

All this has favored working class leadership of the revolutionary struggle. There is also this to be taken into account: the Vietnamese working class entered the political arena after the October Revolution, that is, after the Russian workers had won power. This was a cardinal factor in our struggle. Important too was the fact that in neighboring China the Communist Party raised the banner of national and democratic liberation. All this enhanced the political role of our working class. In short, the spread of Marxism-Leninism and its practical application in the national and workers' movements gave us a correct understanding of the leading role of the working class in the revolution.

The struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie for leadership in the revolution was, in substance, a struggle to win over the peasants. The founding of a working-class party, its creative application of Marxism-Leninism and its slogan of "National independence, land to the peasants" predetermined the attitude of

the peasantry: it has sided with the revolution and has firmly supported the working class in fighting imperialism and feudalism. And together with the working class—the leader of the popular democratic revolution — the toiling peasantry makes up the principal force of the revolution. Our peasants are a major revolutionary factor. That is just as true today as in the past. They have a high sense of revolutionary consciousness, a strong militant tradition, a high fighting capacity, inherited from sixteen centuries of incessant struggle against invaders. But it required alliance with the working class for all these qualities to manifest themselves in the revolutionary movement.

When the Popular Front came to power in France, our Party was able to mobilize the peasants against the reactionary colonialists and initiate a powerful, and in many ways successful, democratic anti-fascist movement of workers, other urban strata and the laboring peasantry against aggression, for better conditions, for freedom and peace.

During the Second World War our Party set up a ramified network of revolutionary bases stretching over the length and breadth of the country. It organized the armed forces that fought the Japanese militarists and French imperialists; it started, developed and led the revolutionary movement of workers and other urban strata. And when the proper conditions matured, the signal was given for the armed rising of August 1945 which overthrew the old regime and put the people in power. The August revolution united the peasant movement with that of the workers and working people generally and mobilized all the popular forces, of which the working class, the peasantry and their combat army were the core.

The present war of liberation in South Vietnam, led by the National Liberation Front, began with isolated peasant risings and developed into a political struggle in which the experience of the August revolution is being widely applied and carried further. The triumph of the August revolution and the victories scored in the present liberation fight in the South show that the working class and toiling peasants represent the principal fighting force of our national democratic revolution. The high degree of organization of this force is one of the secrets of our victorious revolution.

In the North, workers and cooperative farmers have united to form the principal force of the socialist revolution. Together with other sections of the population they are building up the country's defensive strength, are redoubling their efforts to further the battle our people are waging for the salvation of the Homeland and for national re-unification, giving every support to the freedom fighters in South Vietnam in their war against U.S. aggression.

In setting out to organize this principal force of the revolution, our Party creatively applied Marxism-Leninism, particularly its theory of the leading role of the working class and the need for a worker-peasant alliance. In a back-

ward agrarian country like ours, with a numerically small working class and a huge peasant population, this was a difficult and complex process. It required a correct revolutionary policy based on the position of the working class but, at the same time, conforming with the interests of the laboring peasant population.

In the popular-democratic revolution our strategy was to combine anti-imperialist with anti-feudal struggle, the accent being on the former. The anti-feudal struggle was allocated an auxiliary role, that is, it was conducted step by step as the anti-imperialist movement grew in strength and scope. And in line with this strategy, at every stage of the revolution our Party had skilfully to combine anti-imperialist with agrarian policy. In other words, we had to shape our united front policy in such a way as to win over all sections of the population, all patriots, including even part of the landowners (chiefly small landowners and intellectuals of landowner background) and give the peasants land and democratic government. In this way we broadened the liberation front and strengthened its base, the worker-peasant alliance.

In the socialist stage of the revolution the task was to lead our backward agrarian country, with its preponderance of small-scale production, to socialism without having to go through the capitalist stage. Accordingly, our Party has sought to combine socialist industrialization with agricultural collectivization. But there is this important specific feature: cooperative farms are being established at a time when we do not as yet have a developed industrial structure. We must rely on the agricultural cooperatives in making our first steps in industrialization so that later, when we have an industrial base, notably heavy industry, we can accelerate the technological revolution in agriculture and gradually mechanize all farm operations. In combining industrialization with collectivization (with the accent on the former), our Party is gradually strengthening the principal force of socialist revolution in North Vietnam.

To do this, the Party had first to mobilize and train the worker and peasant masses, particularly the latter, in working-class ideology. This is a central problem, and it has to be effectively resolved in the course of the national democratic revolution and has to be taken into account also in every stage of the socialist revolution.

At the same time the Party is mustering all available forces for a concentrated offensive on what is now doubtlessly our main enemy. The experience of our revolution shows that the united front is the pivotal factor in assuring the success of revolutionary transformations. The organization of such a front depends primarily on the Party's ability to give active and timely leadership to the movement for national and democratic emancipation. That, in fact, is the conclusion drawn by the international Com-

unist movement from its many years of revolutionary struggle.

History teaches us that there is an intimate connection between class and national issues in the national-democratic as well as in the socialist revolution. The bourgeoisie has abandoned the national-democratic revolution or proved itself incapable of carrying it to completion. The working class has become the natural and reliable champion of the nation's interests and aspirations.

Being fully aware of this organic link between class and national issues, our Party was able to overcome the Right and Left deviations which treated class and national issues as separate entities. It is doing everything to unite the nation, the entire people, to advance the national-democratic revolution, carry it to consummation throughout the country and continue socialist construction in our partitioned homeland.

For more than ten years North Vietnam has been forging ahead along the socialist path, and in the last three years it has had to fight a difficult war. The socialist revolution in North Vietnam is a complex of comprehensive transformations that will carry the country from a backward, fragmented and predominantly private-property economy to a socialist collective-property economy. The road leads from small-scale production, depending mainly on manual labor, to large-scale mechanized socialist production; from a backward and feeble economy to a modern and balanced economic structure. This process of revolutionary change is the synthesis of three revolutions—in relations of production, in technology, in ideology and culture. The three are part of the shift to socialism, of which the central element is industrialization, and here the technological revolution is of decisive importance.

Our Party believes that, in the concrete conditions obtaining in North Vietnam, industrialization can be carried out only by using agriculture as the chief lever in developing industry and, first and foremost, a strong, broadly-based heavy industry. By rationally using rural labor power and supplying the farms more machinery, we shall alter the division of labor and heighten agricultural productivity, and in this way make more labor power available for industry. One of the key tasks in this context is to work out a proper balance between agriculture and industry. And here, in addition to accelerating the upbuilding of a centralized industry, we must encourage and stimulate local industry. Concretely, every province with a population from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 must become an economic complex with well-developed agriculture and local industries. The growth of the latter is necessary not only as a part of socialist industrialization, but also as part of the war effort. For the war, which involves all our people, requires close unity of political and military struggle. Our guiding principle here is: fight the enemy wherever he appears, defend every village, every inch of

land, utilizing the resources of the battle areas.

In their struggle to save the country from American aggression, our people rely primarily on their own forces and resources, but they also receive generous assistance from fraternal socialist countries and the people of the whole world. Notwithstanding the widespread devastation caused by the U.S. imperialists, the socialist revolution continues its onward march; there has been no halt in the building of socialism. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam—that socialist outpost in Southeast Asia—is unflinchingly standing up to the storm and dealing telling blows to the U.S. imperialists. It will continue to do its duty to its brothers in the South, giving them every support in their battle for freedom. And that battle is driving the enemy into a hopeless position and has given inspiration to our numerous friends throughout the world. The U.S. imperialist aggression is added proof that a system condemned by history cannot halt, let alone reverse, the march of history. The people of Vietnam are successfully fighting the U.S. imperialists not only in the political field; they can defeat the U.S. aggressor on the battlefronts too. Vietnam has demonstrated this beyond all doubt, and even our enemy will have to admit this.

North Vietnam's victories in this costly war imposed upon it by the U.S. imperialists have already reduced to naught America's vaunted "absolute air superiority." But these victories have wider implications—they show that America's savage war, for all its escalation, cannot prevent the building of socialism in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. By their barbarous air attacks, the U.S. imperialists can cause us certain losses and create temporary difficulties, but they cannot prevent North Vietnam from continuing the building of socialism, nor from fulfilling its mission as a strong rear base in the great battle for freedom.

Our Party is keenly aware that imperialism, led by the U.S., offers a grave threat to peace and is seeking to hamper the development of the socialist world system and the world revolutionary movement. But our Party is also keenly aware that imperialist aggression is a sign of weakness, not strength. Marx taught us to judge phenomena by their essence, not by surface features. Even in the early days of its rise and rapid growth, capitalism carried within it the seeds of its doom. Today we are dealing with a moribund capitalism that is being attacked from many sides. More than ten years ago our Party decided that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam would carry forward and develop the gains of the August Revolution and follow the socialist path. That decision was made at a time when the U.S. was already preparing its war of conquest. When the war was unleashed, our Party decided that North Vietnam would, on the one hand, fight back the enemy and, on the other, accelerate the building of socialism. Our people appreciate the importance of this dual tactic. The U.S. imperialists thought that with their

overwhelming economic and military might they could crush the 14 million Vietnamese in the South, defeat North Vietnam and bring its 17 million people to their knees. Grim reality has dispelled that insensate illusion. Resistance to the aggressor increases with every passing day, and we are firmly convinced that our righteous cause will triumph.

Besides attacking industrial targets, the U.S. imperialists have kept up a steady air offensive against villages, dams and irrigation works and are using chemicals to destroy crops in an attempt to disrupt agriculture, still the mainstay of the Vietnamese economy. But our cooperative farmers know how to counter that. They continue to work in the fields and open fire on every American pirate plane, and many have been brought down in this way. Our cooperative farmers are performing miracles. Suffice it to say that in many areas they are growing five tons of rice to the hectare, much more than in any other Southeast Asian ex-colonial country, and in some cooperatives the per hectare yield is as high as seven tons.

The U.S. imperialists are directing their savage attacks against industrial centers in the North, but production continues because many of our factories were evacuated in good time. Local industry is making good headway, in fact growing at a faster rate than before the war.

The transport system is one of the chief targets of the U.S. air pirates. But what are the results? I might cite this statement from the *Paris Monde*: "For more than 29 months now U.S. planes have daily attacked the same bridges, which have been invariably restored."

Despite all these difficulties, the material needs of the population are fully met and food prices remain at prewar levels. The cultural and health services, work in research and technology, are developing faster than in peacetime. I might cite these figures: school attendance has risen from 2,900,000 in the 1965-66 school year to 3,500,000 in the current year, and the number of students in higher specialized secondary schools from 26,000 to 40,000. Practically all villages, even the most remote, have day nurseries and kindergartens. Education,

care for mother and child and medical care for the population generally acquire special importance in time of war. Many factories, offices, schools, military units, even cooperative farms run their own cultural facilities. Our all-out struggle against aggression lends added urgency, and popularity, to the Master Science and Technology movement.

A while ago we celebrated the twenty-second anniversary of the August revolution, which placed power in the hands of the people. We won the war against the French imperialists, and we are confident that we will win the war against the U.S. imperialists. The impressive victories already won in the struggle for national salvation and socialism are largely due to our mastery of Marxism-Leninism, under the banner of which our people have been fighting for more than a third of a century. And they will crush U.S. aggression, liberate South Vietnam and build a peaceful, united, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam.

There is nothing dearer to the Vietnamese than national independence, freedom and socialism. The working class, all our people, are deeply grateful to Marx and Lenin for having indicated the road to these goals, and for having given us such an effective weapon as the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

We are living in an age of which the distinguishing feature is the triumph of socialism and communism. And to meet the demands imposed by this age, Communists in every part of the world are raising aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and are working to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the decisions of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings. They are uniting to deal concentrated blows at international imperialism and its leader, the U.S. imperialists. The Vietnamese Communists will exert every effort to discharge their duty in this struggle against U.S. imperialism, for the salvation of their country. They are determined to make a significant contribution to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and peoples of the world.

The October Revolution and the socialist world system

"THE WORLD'S REVOLUTIONARY renovation initiated by the October Revolution, embodied in the victory of socialism in the USSR, has been carried forward by the victorious socialist revolutions in other countries. The emergence of the socialist world system is the biggest development in history after the triumph of the great October Socialist Revolution." These lines out of the Theses of the Central Committee of the CPSU could serve very well as a concise summation of the papers presented at the international scientific conference held this September in Moscow under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the Secretariat of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, attended by leading economists from Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the Mongolian People's Republic, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

The conference was an indication that research in the fraternal countries is centered on complex problems related to the development of world socialism, as evidenced by the subject matter and the content of the papers presented. These dealt with the international significance of the October Revolution and the impact of its political and economic programs on the building of socialism in the various countries; the general regularities and specifics of the socialist mode of production from country to country and internationally; vital problems related to the development of the multi- and bi-lateral forms of the international socialist division of labor, and the competition of the two world systems, on which original and interesting views were set out.

The speakers dwelt on the consolidation of the socialist community on the basis of Lenin's principles of proletarian internationalism. They flayed the notion that economic cooperation among socialist countries is bourgeois in character and repudiated the anti-communist "theorists" who argue the "insolubility" of contradictions in the socialist world system.

To make progress, the speakers stressed, socialist construction must employ in a creative way the experience of October and the general laws of the transition to socialism discovered by Marxism-Leninism.

Building an advanced socialist society now figures as the task of the day in many fraternal European countries. The Communist parties and the governments there have therefore initiated a shift to new systems of economic management and planning and are banishing the factors of the old administrative system, which has exhausted its positive properties, is inconsistent with the needs of today and acts as a drag on the economy. Up-to-date economic guidance, speakers noted, presupposes a further democratization of management, better planning and broader use of the commodity-money relations. They noted, too, that the international socialist division of labor could well benefit from the reform, there being as yet untapped possibilities of establishing cooperation between enterprises in the respective socialist countries, buttressing the profit principle in foreign trade, building joint projects in the fuel and raw materials industries, extending multilateral settlements, enhancing the organizational and coordinative functions of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid and introducing flexible administrative forms of cooperation in harmony with the specific interests of the countries concerned.

Improvement of the mechanics of cooperation is an expression of the principle of socialist internationalism. The recommendations made at the conference may indeed help make the international socialist division of labor more effective and bring out in bolder relief the advantages of socialism over the bourgeois system.

To accelerate this process, the collective experience of the revolutionary reconstruction of the world needs to be summed up in concert, and the Moscow conference has made a weighty contribution to this end.

B. Ladygin

"Ten Days" is still a living thing

THE NAME OF John Reed is inseparably connected with the great Socialist Revolution of November 7, 1917, fifty years ago. He took part in it, identified himself with it, told millions about it with extraordinary clarity and dramatic skill, and gave his life for the Socialist society that the Revolution brought in. And his masterpiece, "Ten Days that Shook the World," won the highest praise from V. I. Lenin, who said:

"With the greatest interest and never slackening attention I read John Reed's book, *Ten Days that Shook the World*. Unreservedly do I recommend it to the workers of the world. Here is a book, which I should like to see published in millions of copies and translated into all languages. It gives a truthful and most vivid exposition of the events so significant to the comprehension of what really is the proletarian Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. These problems are widely discussed, but before one can accept or reject these ideas, he must understand the full significance of his decision. John Reed's book will undoubtedly help to clear this question, which is the fundamental problem of the international labor movement."

Lenin's wishes were fulfilled. "Ten Days that Shook the World" was published in millions of copies and translated into many languages. A Soviet film version reached many more millions. A stage version was playing to crowded houses when I was in Moscow in 1966. "Ten Days" is still a living thing. And a new American edition, with the imprint of International Publishers, will soon be inspiring American youth again.

The new American edition will carry a preface by Nadezhda Krupskaya as well as Lenin's famous foreword. In this preface Lenin's wife answers a question that has puzzled many: How was it possible for a visitor from distant America, who was meeting Russians for the first time, "to convey the feelings of the masses" so vividly, and "to grasp the meaning of the events of the great revolution?" John Reed could do this, she replied, because he was a "Revolutionary" and a "Communist."

Without this revolutionary consciousness, she explained, he could not have understood the masses' revolt or written this book. "Ten Days that Shook the World," she said, "will have importance for future generations . . . particularly the youth." It is an "epochal" book.

This new edition will rescue "Ten Days" from its enemies in America. An edition now before the public is poisoned by a slanderous anti-Soviet introduction and by a series of anti-Soviet footnotes. This dirty work was done by Random House, Inc., a bourgeois publisher, by a renegade—Bertram D. Wolfe—who left the Communist Party with the notorious Lovestone, the CIA man.

"Ten Days that Shook the World," like the Socialist Revolution, belongs to the world. Its



author, however, was as American as the forests of his native Oregon. He was a partisan of the American working class, who gave his shining talents to striking coal miners, textile workers and oil workers years before the Russian workers took power. He was an American anti-imperialist when he rode through Northern Mexico with General Villa's revolutionary army while he was in his mid-twenties. He was a fearless foe of imperialist war when he was placed on trial and almost sent to the penitentiary after President Wilson and Wall Street joined the capitalist blood-bath in Europe. And—finally—he became a Marxist-Leninist in the crucible of revolution and helped found the U.S. Communist Party.

John Reed was not born into the class for which he laid down his life. He came from a comfortable, middle-class home in Portland, Oregon, went to Harvard University, wrote poems and satires for student journals, became manager of the university musical club and captain of its water polo team, and did not have his first experiences in the class struggle until his twenty-sixth year. Then his love for people and his hatred of injustice led him into battle on the workers' side. And his talents expanded in these struggles until they reached their climax in *Ten Days that Shook the World*.

John Reed was a rising young member of the intelligentsia when he took his first step towards the socialist future. He was a popular member of the editorial staff of the *American Magazine*, a leading bourgeois journal in New York City. His stories and poems were praised by well-known writers and his income was satisfactory. But this life did not satisfy him. He was not yet a Marxist, but he was disgusted with capitalist selfishness and cruelty. He wanted more freedom of expression than his editors permitted. He began contributing to *The Masses*, a brilliant cultural journal with a revolutionary outlook. He began reading Marxist literature. He met William D. Haywood, an experienced and magnetic revolutionary workers' leader, who was directing a strike of 25,000 wretchedly paid silk workers in Paterson, New Jersey, near New York City. Haywood told him that Valentino Modestino, a striker, had been murdered by a company detective, and hundreds of workers were arrested. He asked the young writer to help them. John Reed went to Paterson to investigate, and was himself thrown into prison.

That arrest was a turning point in John Reed's life. The prison became his classroom, and the imprisoned strikers his teachers. The strikers came from many lands in Europe. They belonged to the IWW—The Industrial Workers of the World—whose constitution

declared that, "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common." Haywood was imprisoned with them. He told them that John Reed was on their side, and they welcomed the young writer as one of their own.

This prison abounded with rats and bugs and had almost no sanitary facilities for its crowded inmates. Many prisoners had been savagely beaten. But John Reed was thrilled by their courage, solidarity and high spirits as they sang workers' songs together. And the lesson of those prison days stayed with him through life.

John Reed devoted the next two and a half months to the strikers after his release. He was so busy that he slept in his clothes when he slept at all. He led the singing at strikers' meetings, addressed gatherings of sympathizers, and directed a gigantic pageant of the strike that brought 15,000 persons to Madison Square Garden in New York. A thousand strikers took part in this democratic performance. And he told the strikers' story in vivid prose in *The Masses*.

This was John Reed's first class struggle report. It was a moving story of workers' unity and a searing exposé of the cruelty of their enemies. But it was only a beginning. And several months later he was riding with General Villa, the peasant guerrilla chief, whose army had taken 17,000,000 acres of land from the rich Terrazas family and given it to the peons of Northern Mexico. This was a people's revolution. And guerrillas told their new friend that, "These lands used to belong to the rich, but now they belong to the *campaneros*."

John Reed rode into battle with the *campaneros*, while men were dropping out of their saddles around him. He slept in the deserts with them, ate tortillas with them and loved them. The guerrillas hated the "gringos," as they called the citizens of the northern power that stole half of Mexico's territory and exploited Mexico's people. But the *campaneros* accepted John Reed as one of their own. And one young soldier fervently told him: "... We shall sleep in the same blanket and always be together. And I shall take you to my home, and my father will make you my brother."

The best writing that John Reed has yet done appeared in a series of articles for the *Metropolitan Magazine*, and in his book, "Insurgent Mexico." This magazine series, said Rudyard Kipling, "made me see Mexico." John Reed gives us the wild, naked beauty of the desert, with its giant mountain ranges blotting out half the sky. He shows General Villa covered with dirt in the midst of battle,

while he rides up and down the lines without a trace of fatigue. But most of all John Reed loved to describe the rank and file peasants and cowboys, who were fighting without pay for liberty and land.

John Reed won much support for the Mexican Revolution from honest men and women in the USA. He strengthened opposition to the U.S. mining companies and the Rockefeller oil pirates, who clamored for intervention. To the shame of the USA the Rockefellers had their way. President Wilson invaded Mexico in 1914 and again in 1916. But the continent's anti-imperialists long remembered "Insurgent Mexico." It was a worthy forerunner of the greater book to come.

John Reed had just come back to New York when he was called to Colorado to investigate a ghastly Rockefeller atrocity. The oil family's coal miners had been striking for seven months against industrial peonage. The miners lived in company villages, were policed by company gunmen, got beggarly wages, and were evicted from their company houses when they joined the union and went on strike.

The evicted families found refuge in little tent villages. Their solidarity was unbroken despite hunger, cold and a series of murders. And on April 20, 1914, some 400 gunmen and State troops attacked a tent village near the town of Ludlow. This tent village was a stronghold of the miners' union, and soldiers told John Reed that they were ordered to kill every human being in it. The attack began with a long machine-gun barrage. Then the tents were soaked with Rockefeller oil and burned to the ground. When the massacre ended the burned bodies of eleven children and two mothers were found under one of the tents. And John Reed wrote that soldiers told him that "the fearful screaming of women and children continued" while the troops looked for loot.

I have read many accounts of the Ludlow massacre, but John Reed's is the most revealing. Its 14,000 words of masterly reportage first appeared in the *Metropolitan Magazine* under the title, "The Colorado War." It was later reprinted in "The Education of John Reed," by John Stuart (International Publishers). The title of this book is well chosen. John Reed was maturing as an artist and a revolutionist.

John Reed's eyes were fixed on the workers, and his ears were tuned to their words throughout his long report. We hear a Mexican miner telling the writer of the "river of friendship" that he found in the union. We see Louis Tikas, the heroic Greek miner, sacrificing his life in the effort to save burning

women and children. He was plunging into a flaming tent when State troops grabbed him, smashed his head with a rifle butt and pumped bullets into his back. We see "doctors, ministers, hack drivers, drug clerks and farmers" joining "the fighting strikers with guns in their hands" after the massacre. We get dozens of incidents that blend into a symphony of mass action.

John Reed also presented the enemies in unforgettable lines. The young revolutionary writer visited every battle front and talked to men on both sides as he did in Russia later. He met Rockefeller gunmen, who were under bond on murder charges in other states. He discovered that Colorado State troops were recruited from strikebreaking agencies and paid with Rockefeller money. He listened to the cynical stories of soldiers, who did the killing. He quoted General Chase's boast that, "We will kill every damned red-neck striker." He examined the armored railroad train that shot up tent villages. He entered the Trades Assembly Hall of unionized workers in Trinidad, Colorado, where John D. Rockefeller, Jr. father of Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York State—was described on a blackboard as a "pious hypocrite who worships Christ in New York and goes gunning for miners in Colorado."

And I wished, as I reread John Reed's Colorado report, that his fearless pen could be at work in Vietnam, where the burning of women and children continues.

The Colorado report was written in cold anger. John Reed was a sensitive poet with an eye for delicate shadings of color and an ear for nuances of speech. But his style in this report was different from the style in "Insurgent Mexico." He presented the harsh facts of the mine war simply and bluntly. He could not sing of victory. A heroic struggle had ended in temporary defeat. The strike was lost when President Wilson sent Federal troops to Colorado. But John Reed knew that the miners would rise again. His life was now entwined with the struggles of the working class.

The Colorado experiences underscored the lessons John Reed was learning from Marxist books. The ferocity of the capitalist state had become very plain. And his contact with the enemies of the workers helped to prepare him for the counter-revolutionists he would meet in Russia later.

This class war background helped to immunize John Reed against propaganda for America's entry into the imperialist world war. That jingo propaganda swept many American Socialists off their feet. Walter Lippman — Reed's Harvard classmate — a young so-

cialist, fell early. Upton Sinclair and others yielded in 1916 and 1917. But John Reed had seen the selfishness and cruelty of the capitalists who were financing the war cries. He remembered Colorado, Paterson, the Standard Oil refineries at Bayonne, New Jersey, and other industrial battlefields that he had visited. He wrote many appeals for peace. He spoke at many meetings. And when Congress was about to declare war he declared his opposition to the capitalist butchers again.

"Whose war is this?" John Reed asked *The Masses'* readers. "Not mine," he replied. "I know that hundreds of thousands of American working men, employed by our great financial 'patriots,' are not paid a living wage. I have seen poor men sent to jail for long terms without trial . . . Peaceful strikers and their wives and children, have been shot to death, burned to death by private detectives and militiamen. The rich have steadily become richer, and the cost of living higher, and the workers proportionately poorer. These toilers don't want war . . . But the speculators, the employers, the plutocracy — they want it, just as they did in England and Germany."

John Reed had seen the horrors of war. He visited the French, German and British fronts as war correspondent after the shooting began in August 1914. He fraternized with unhappy conscripts, who were dying for their masters on both sides. He was inspired by an interview with Karl Liebknecht, the heroic socialist, who voted against war credits in the Reichstag. But he was shocked by another Social Democratic deputy, who proudly told him that the German Party was "collecting dues in the trenches; and that, when requested, the Government deducts the dues from the men's pay and hands it over to the Party organization." John Reed found, to his distress, that the great majority of socialist leaders in France, Britain and Germany, deserted internationalism when the capitalist bloodbath began. And one of his articles carried this warning: "Do not be deceived by talk about democracy and liberty. This is not a crusade against militarism, but a scramble for spoils. This is not our war."

This article was suppressed by *The Metropolitan*, a liberal magazine with socialist pretensions. But John Reed's dramatic sketches of life in the trenches and behind the lines were very popular. The editors needed the famous young author. They sent him to the Eastern front in 1915. And there he found more death than before.

Typhus and bullets were depopulating Serbia. John Reed visited villages where almost everyone had died. He saw thousands of little crosses in the typhus cemeteries. On the

mountain summit of Goutchevo he walked through the Valley of Corpses, between deserted Austrian and Serbian trenches, where dogs were tugging at the rotting bodies of conscripted peasants. "In one place," wrote Reed, "the half-eaten skeletons of an Austrian and Serbian were entangled, their arms and legs wrapped about each other in a death grip that could not even now be loosened." Ten thousand bodies were heaped close together for six miles.

This chapter closed with lines that were symbolic of the contrast between life and death. John Reed rode out of the Valley of Corpses into "fruit orchards heavy with blossoms . . . under high wooded hills that caught the sun like silk. Everywhere springs poured from the hollows, and clear streams leaped down canyons choked with verdure, from Goutchevo, which the Turks called 'Mountain of Waters' — from Goutchevo, saturated with the rotting dead. All this part of Serbia was watered by the springs of Goutchevo; and on the other side they flowed into the Drina, thence into the Save and the Danube, through lands where millions of people drank and washed and fished in them. To the Black Sea flowed the poison of Goutchevo . . ."

No other American correspondents dared to write in this way, even if they had had the talent to do so. They were paid to glorify war. But John Reed knew that his countrymen needed the truth. He visited Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Bulgaria, Turkey and Russia on a seven months' truth-telling tour. And he came home a passionate fighter for peace.

But freedom to tell the truth was now much restricted. *The Metropolitan* was feeling the pressure of advertisers and bankers. Ex-President Roosevelt, a strutting jingo, had become a contributing editor and urged American intervention in almost every number. John Reed was allowed to write a few honest articles, but the break came at last. And he told a friend that he would never write anything that did not express his hatred of capitalism and that did not aid the revolution.

Then Congress declared war, mass arrests began, and John Reed met the test that many young men are meeting today. He declared that he would not fight for Wall Street. And he was taking an active part in the anti-war movement when the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers began to spread in revolutionary Russia. He wanted to reach Russia at once. But no bourgeois editor would send him. His trip was delayed while friends collected funds. And he did not arrive in Petrograd until September.

The historic Ten Days were approaching.

General Kornilov's putsch was crushed. The Bolshevik slogan—"All Power to the Soviets"—had become a mass slogan. Soldiers were rebelling; peasants were seizing estates; the masses were turning to Lenin's Party in the struggle for peace and land. And John Reed joined the revolutionary current that was sweeping Russia.

John Reed now felt the power of the masses as never before. He attended their meetings. He spent days and nights with soldiers and workers. He fraternized with Red Guards at the Smolny Institute and saw much of Bolshevik leaders. And he studied the people's enemies as well. He interviewed Alexander Kerensky, the timid and slippery head of the Provisional Government, and talked to big businessmen, right wing Socialist leaders and other foes of workers' power.

Then the Ten Days began. John Reed entered the Winter Palace with the victors on November 7. He heard Lenin tell the Congress of Soviets the next day that "We shall now begin to construct the socialist order." He saw this construction begin amid incredible difficulties. He rejoiced in the defeat of the first waves of counter-revolution. He wrote many appeals to German troops to make peace at the front and join the revolution. These appeals were distributed in the German trenches in large quantities. And he returned home in spring to tell his countrymen the truth about the Revolution.

John Reed had helped to weaken the German front. President Wilson had no gratitude for this, however, and the young author was arrested when he returned to New York for things he had written in *The Masses* in 1917. His diaries, notebooks and hundreds of Russian newspapers were seized. And he could not begin writing his well-documented book until his material was restored six months later.

Meanwhile John Reed began a series of more than a hundred speeches in defense of the Revolution. He was also busy defending himself in the courts. He boldly denounced Wilson's intervention in Soviet Russia when put on trial with other editors of *The Masses*. He might have been sentenced to twenty years in prison if convicted, but the jurors disagreed. A jury acquitted him in another "sedition" trial, and a third "sedition" indictment against him was finally dropped.

John Reed, however, continued to denounce the undeclared war against Soviet Russia in which American conscripts were dying. And in late 1918 he helped to bring Lenin's "Message to American Workers" to his people. This story has escaped Reed's American biographers, but I heard it in Moscow from the

lips of Peter Travin, the veteran Bolshevik, who carried the famous message through the *cordon sanitaire*. Travin's feat was astonishing. His difficulties were enormous. But he ran into new difficulties after he slipped over the side of his ship in New York. Then the editorial of a small Russian-language paper insisted that the message appear first in his pages. But John Reed was wiser. He insisted on the widest possible circulation in the capitalist press as well. He said this could be done. He took the message to Washington and showed it to U.S. Senator Hiram Johnson of California. Johnson was a Republican and a capitalist, who believed that the intervention was bad for his class. Lenin's message convinced Johnson that the Soviet Government wanted peace. He told the American people about it from the Senate chamber. And Lenin warmly approved John Reed's tactics when Travin made his report.

"Ten Days that Shook the World" came off John Reed's pen rapidly when his papers were returned in the autumn of 1918. It was finished the next January and it made its appearance in March like the sun bursting through the clouds. It illuminated our revolutionary horizon at once. It was hailed by Walt Whitman's biographer and closest friend, Horace Traubel, and other vanguard intellectuals. Many radical workers could think of little else for some time. My own copy passed from hand to hand and was read to pieces. And the mass campaign that brought American conscripts home from Archangel was speeded by the knowledge and inspiration that came from Reed's book.

A Russian edition with Lenin's foreword came next. Clare Sheridan, the British sculptor, made this entry in her diary during a visit to Moscow in September 1920: "I am told by the Russians that . . . 'Ten Days that Shook the World' . . . has become a national classic and is taught in the schools."

"Ten Days that Shook the World" was soon appearing in many languages in Europe and Latin America—and later in Asia. New editions came out in the USA. My wife has a special "Russian Famine Edition" that she bought in March, 1922. All profits and royalties—fifty cents out of every dollar—went to feed starving people in the Volga region, who were suffering from foreign intervention.

"While a man lives in the hearts of his countrymen, he can never be dead," said Louise Bryant, Reed's widow, in a preface to the Famine Edition. "And he can never be dead while his work goes on."

John Reed's work has gone on through the years. I know many Americans, whose understanding of Communism was enriched by

"Ten Days that Shook the World." Among them was Henry Winston, the Negro chairman of the Communist Party, who lost his sight but not his political vision in prison. "This was the first Marxist book I read as a youth," he told me.

This classical story of Revolution "is journalism raised to the level of the highest art," declares John Howard Lawson, the well-known playwright and critic, in his introduction to the new International Publishers' edition.

John Reed's magnificent report must be read as a whole. Each part adds meaning to the rest. The following portrait of Lenin at the Congress of Soviets might stand alone, however.

"It was just 8:40 when a thundering wave of cheers announced the entrance of the presidium, with Lenin — great Lenin — among them . . . Dressed in shabby clothes . . . Unimpressive, to be the idol of a mob, loved and revered as perhaps few leaders in history have been. A strange popular leader—a leader purely by virtue of intellect . . . but with the power of explaining profound ideas in simple terms, of analyzing a concrete situation. And combined with shrewdness, the greatest intellectual audacity."

John Reed was supreme among U.S. reporters in describing mass action. He brings a host of details into a mass picture, and weaves these details together into one living thing. We see this technique to perfection when singing Red Guards, armed women and children pour out of Petrograd to defeat the enemy on November 13. And beauty and triumph glow in the following gem as John Reed is returning to Petrograd:

"Across the horizon spread the glittering lights of the capital . . . like a dike of jewels heaped on the barren plain.

"The old workman, who drove, held the wheel in one hand, while with the other he swept the far-gleaming capital in an exultant gesture.

"'Mine!' he cried, his face all alight. 'All mine now! My Petrograd!'"

Some of John Reed's finest lines are taken from the lips of ordinary workers and soldiers. Joseph North, the author of "No Men Are Strangers," is especially fond of a conversation between a young soldier and an arrogant middle-class intellectual near Petrograd. The intellectual abuses the Bolsheviks and Lenin. He calls the soldier an "ignorant peasant" who knows nothing of socialism. The soldier admits that he lacks education. He only knows that "there are two classes in society—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie," and Lenin says "what I want to hear." The argu-

ment runs for two pages like a scene in a play. The soldier's answer about the "two classes" is repeated again and again. And the dialogue ends with the soldier insisting that "whoever isn't on one side is on the other."

The completion of "Ten Days that Shook the World" gave John Reed more time for the political activities that brought the Communist Party into being on September 1, 1919.

The Socialist Party was in crisis. Many good socialists were in prison. Middle-class right wingers controlled the Party executive, but a revolutionary left wing, based on the American working class and on a policy of firm support for embattled Russia, was coming together. John Reed helped to prepare the left wing's manifesto, became a leading member of the left wing executive, wrote for its organs, the *Revolutionary Age* and the *New York Communist*, and spoke at many meetings. And I remember the applause that always greeted him.

John Reed's popularity with progressive workers was demonstrated in a national referendum of the Socialist Party, when he was selected as the Party's international representative by a vote of 17,235, compared to 4,871 for a right winger. In the same referendum balloting 12 left wingers were elected to the Party's 15-member national executive committee. But the members' decision was ignored by the right wing bureaucrats, who entrenched themselves in power by the expulsion of more than 50,000 militant Socialists, most of them members of the foreign-language federation of the Party.

These expulsions started the decline of the Socialist Party. It has shriveled to a shadow today.

The details of the founding of John Reed's Party, the Communist Party, have often told. The Party was founded in Chicago while the Socialists were holding their national convention in that city. A large group of left wingers, with Reed as one of the leaders, tried to take the seats in the Socialist convention, to which they had been elected. They wanted to explain their revolutionary positions to honest delegates before taking further action. Police were summoned by the right wing bureaucrats and the left wingers were ejected. Other left wingers decided to boycott the Socialist convention entirely. This difference in tactics resulted in the formation of two temporary Communist Parties, which later united. And John Reed played an active part in the unification.

William W. Weinstone, a founding member of the Communist Party, has vivid recollections of John Reed at this time. "I remember Jack Reed as a passionate fighter," he told

me. "I remember his pride in the fighting spirit of the American working class and his confidence in its future and his devotion to the principles of international solidarity."

John Reed returned to Russia as a correspondent for *The Liberator*—the successor to *The Masses* — after the Party's founding. Soviet territory was still blockaded, so he crossed the Atlantic as a stoker on a Scandinavian ship under the name "Jim Gormley." In Norway he stowed away on a ship for Finland, and then made his way quietly to Russia.

In Moscow John Reed was given a warm welcome. And guides have shown me the chair in a small office in the Kremlin where he held long conversations with Lenin, who liked him very much.

That was cruel autumn and winter. The Soviet economy had been almost wrecked by Whiteguards and interventionists. The enemy was still raging. The people had little to eat and John Reed lived with workers on tiny rations of bread and fish. But his articles for *The Liberator* were full of enthusiasm for the indomitable Soviet people.

My wife and I followed him—44 years later—to the industrial city of Serpukhov. I spoke in the same Hall of Nobles where John Reed addressed hungry workers in early 1920. We met old workers, who had tramped many miles through the snow to hear him. And we felt immense pride in our great countryman,

when we saw a street named after John Reed and attended a big meeting in his honor.

John Reed was working on a second book, *From Kornilov to Brest-Litovsk*, when word came that mass arrests of Communists were going on in many cities. The home front was calling. Reed tried to slip out through the *cordon sanitaire* by way of Finland. But Baron Mannerheim's police threw him into an icy, solitary cell with little to eat. He won his release by threats of a hunger strike after three months. He was not allowed to go home, and returned to Moscow in bad health, but with spirits unbroken.

Socialism was triumphing again in 1920. The major counter-revolutionary armies were defeated. Revolutionary ideas were spreading in Asia. John Reed was sent to Baku as a delegate to the Congress of Oriental Nations. Two thousand Asians were present from many lands. Indians and Chinese were among them. John Reed was much inspired. But on the way back he was bitten by a typhus bug—a deadly legacy of counter-revolution.

John Reed died in Moscow on October 17, five days before his 33rd birthday. Soviet leaders and thousands of workers followed him to his resting place under the Kremlin wall. His friend Haywood who initiated him in the class struggle, lies near him. John Reed would be 80 on October 22, this year, had he survived. But to those who knew him he seems eternally young. Art SHIELDS

In memory of an ardent revolutionary

IN THE HILLS OF Bolivia on October 8 Major Ernesto Guevara was wounded and captured in a battle with anti-guerrilla forces and then killed by mercenaries of U.S. imperialism. The sad news overwhelmed with grief the Communists of the world, all revolutionaries, all upright men and women. The death of Comrade Guevara is a heavy loss not only for the peoples of Cuba and Latin America, but for the whole world revolutionary movement.

Ernesto Guevara was born into an architect's family on June 14, 1928. Awake to the socio-political problems of his day, the young doctor soon realized, as he later recalled, that all the ills of man stem from a social pathology that only revolutionary methods could cure.

Followed years of wandering across the length and breadth of Latin America. Guevara was 26 when the magnetic appeal of revolution led him to Guatemala. The developments of the next few months and the massacre of the Guatemalan revolution organized by U.S. imperialism strengthened him in his belief that Yankee imperialism was the peoples' main enemy, that in Latin America the fight against this enemy had to be universal and that armed imperialist violence should be countered by the revolutionary violence of the people.

Escaping repressions, Ernesto Guevara went to Mexico, where he soon met Fidel Castro and the Cuban emigres preparing an armed revolutionary uprising in Cuba.

The role played by Che (this was the nickname given him by his comrades-in-arms, which soon appeared in the world press) in the guerrilla fighting in Cuba is well known. He was one of the twelve revolutionaries, headed by Fidel Castro, who survived the *Granma* landing and formed the guerrilla nucleus in the Sierra Maestra mountains. Che's indomitable courage, his warcraft, discipline and deep faith in revolutionary principles quickly made him a leader of the rebel army. In 1958, a guerrilla column led by him and his friend, Camillo Cienfuegos, broke through into the heart of the island on Castro's orders. The 500-kilometre march was punctuated by battles which became decisive in the fight against the Batista dictatorship (the battle of Santa Clara). On January 4, 1959, Che's column entered Havana.

After the overthrow of Batista, Guevara held important posts in the revolutionary government, including those of director of the Nation-

al Bank of Cuba and Minister of Industry. He made a weighty contribution to the victorious development of the Cuban revolution and was the first Cuban revolutionary leader to declare in the summer of 1960 that the Cuban revolution was "in its complexion a Marxist one." Later, he was one of the most active builders of the new, socialist Cuba, highly prominent in promoting Cuba's friendship with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp, the building of national industries and the intensive revolutionary education of the people.

Moved by his revolutionary, internationalist and humanistic convictions, Major Guevara resigned his official posts and left Cuba in the spring of 1965 to battle imperialism in other, still oppressed countries. It was in the performance of this revolutionary mission that he died a hero's death in the heart of the South American continent.

Not only did Che Guevara have the sparkling gift of military and revolutionary leadership, which made him a legendary hero in the eyes of the youth of Latin America and the world; he was a revolutionary thinker and left behind a theoretical legacy that lends itself to further investigation and discussion in regard to the basic problems of the liberation movement.

Che's courage and devotion, tested in countless trials, his unshakeable loyalty to his convictions won him universal respect, and even our enemies pay him due tribute. Always eager to be in the stream of life, unafraid of the truth, however bitter, his revolutionary activity was imbued with a critical spirit, a unity of thought, word and deed that won him the admiration, affection and trust of the people.

In his last work, published a few months ago, Ernesto Guevara called fervidly for revolutionary unity. "The hour has come," he wrote, "to moderate our differences and devote everything we have to serving the struggle . . . If we unite to make our blows stronger and more accurate and the all-round assistance to the embattled peoples still more effective, how wonderful and how much closer the future will become!"

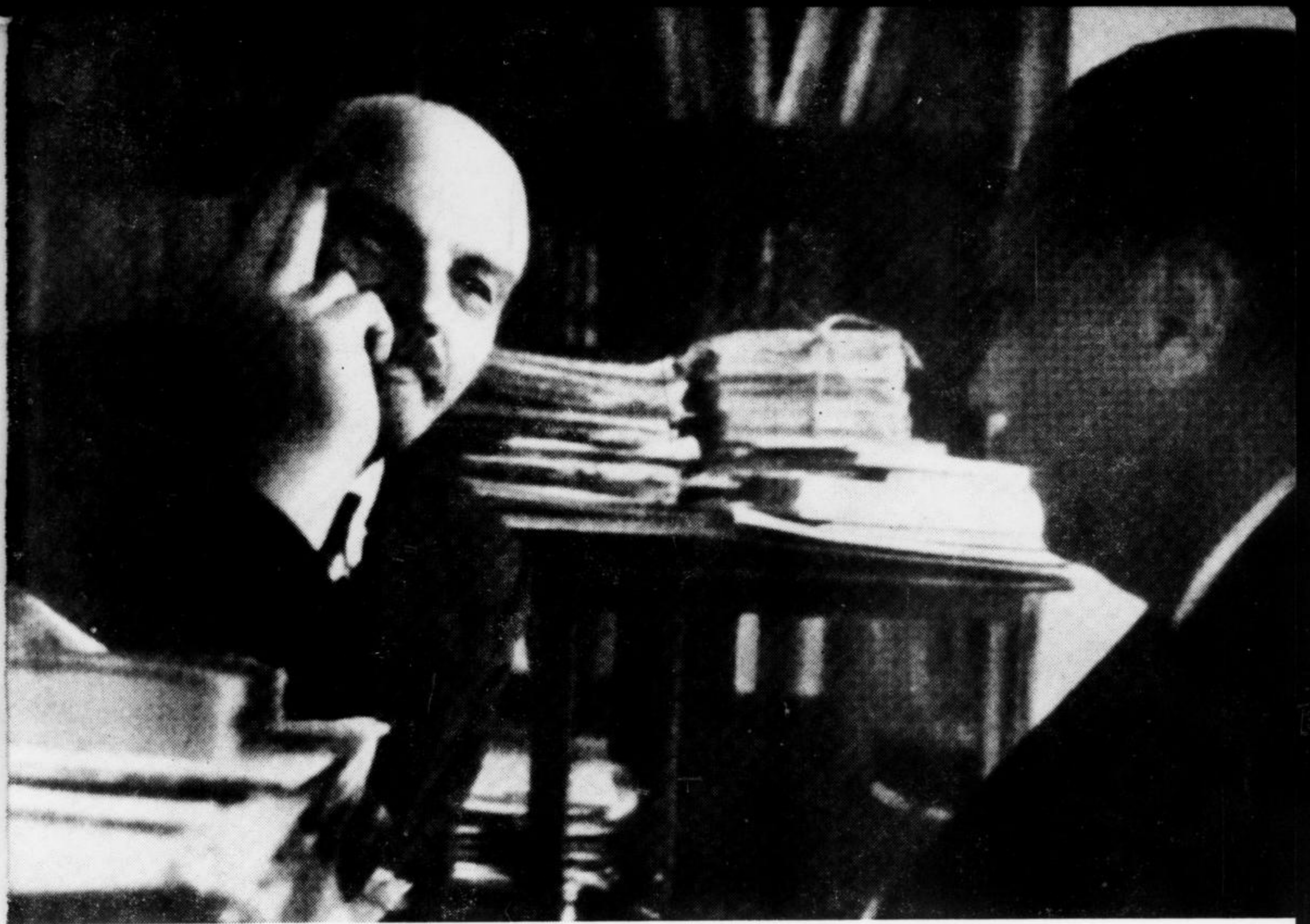
The journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* joins in the mourning and the homage paid all over the world to the memory of the distinguished revolutionary. Comrade Guevara did not shed his blood in vain. With the blood of

so many known and unknown heroes who gave their lives that man should be free, it is bringing closer the socialist future to which Latin America is advancing, however hard the rest of the road may be.

The example of Communist Che Guevara, hero of the Cuban revolution and ardent fighter

against U.S. imperialism, for national liberation and socialism, a man of great integrity and devotion, will live on in the hearts and deeds of the peoples. May the memory of the passionate revolutionary cement the unity of the anti-imperialist forces in their struggle against the common enemy "always, until victory!"





He went on working, as a ferment,
long after his working days had ended.

Herbert Wells

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