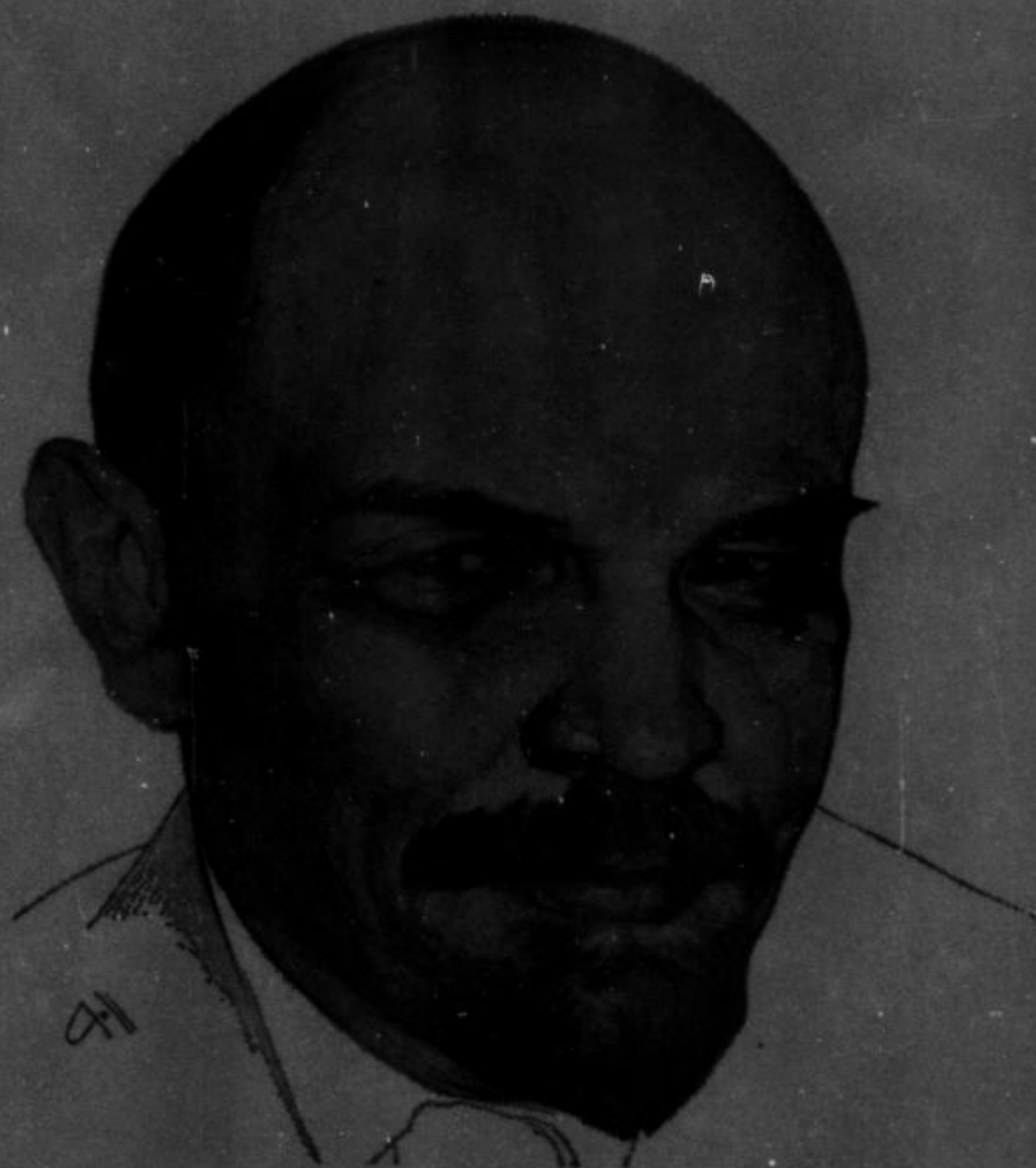


**LENIN • 1870-1970
CENTENARY ISSUE**

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



F. MUHRI
G. DANELIUS
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S. A. WICKREMASINGHE
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WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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and socialism**

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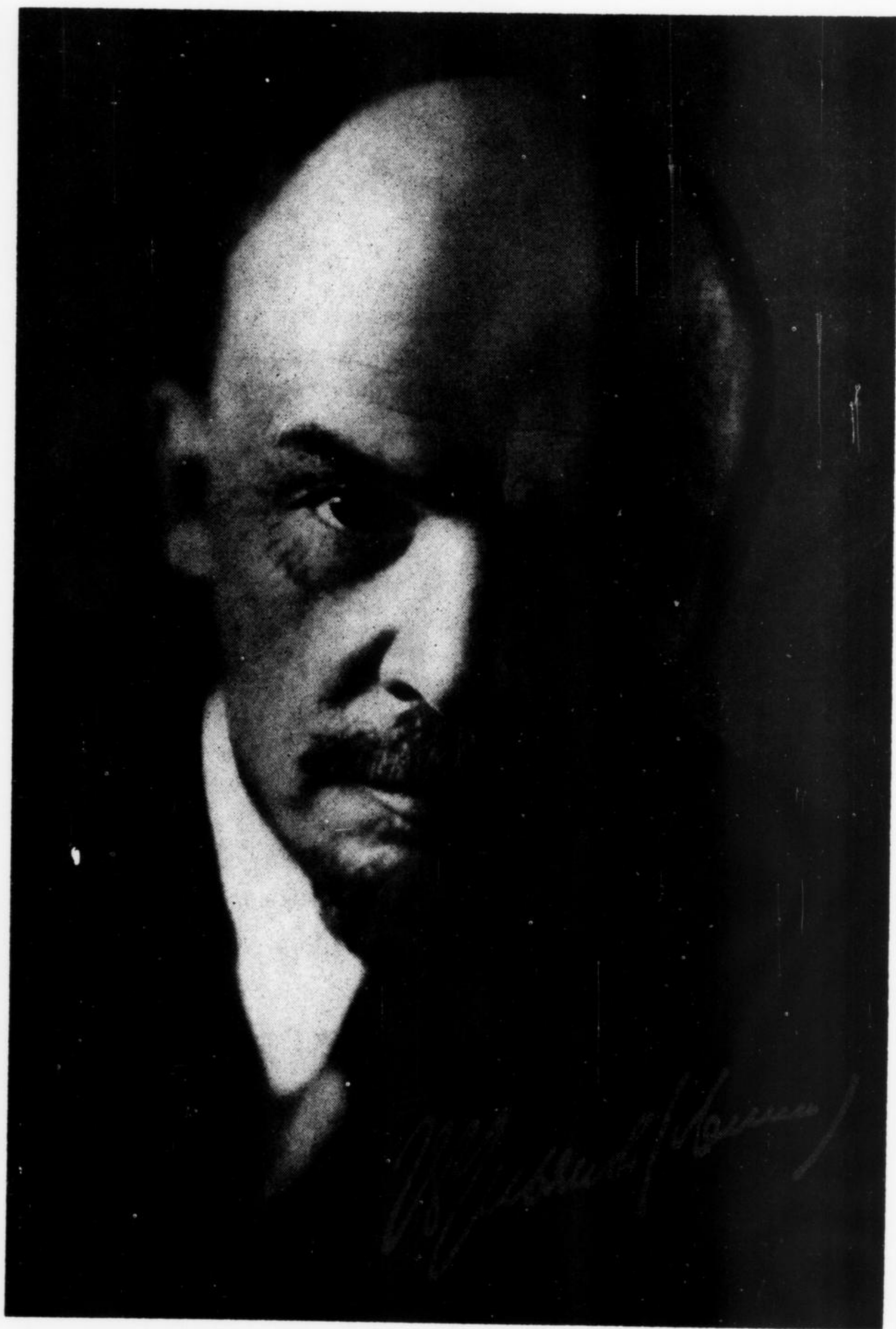


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A red-letter day in world history

On April 22 this year we mark the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the continuer of the revolutionary teaching of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, builder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, genius of the greatest social revolution in history and founder of the world's first socialist state, and leader of the international working class and all working people.

In this jubilee issue we present contributions by the following leaders of Communist and Workers' parties:

FRANZ MUHRI—Chairman, Communist Party of Austria
GERHARD DANELIUS—Chairman, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin
TODOR ZHIVKOV—First Secretary, Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party
S. A. WICKREMASINGHE—Chairman, Ceylon Communist Party
EZEKIAS PAPAIOANNOU—General Secretary, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus
AARNE SAARINEN—Chairman, Communist Party of Finland
JACQUES DUCLOS—Member, Political Bureau, French Communist Party
WALTER ULBRICHT—First Secretary, Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany
KOSTAS KOLIYANNIS—First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Greece
CHEDDI JAGAN—Leader, People's Progressive Party of Guyana
REZA RADMANESH—First Secretary, Central Committee, People's Party of Iran (Tudeh)
MICHAEL O'RIORDAN—General Secretary, Executive Committee, Irish Workers' Party
DOMINIQUE URBANY—Chairman, Communist Party of Luxembourg
YUMZHAGIIN TSEDENBAL—First Secretary, Central Committee, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party
WLADYSLAW GOMULKA—First Secretary, Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party
DOLORES IBARRURI—Chairman, Communist Party of Spain
KHALED BAGDASH—General Secretary, Central Committee, Syrian Communist Party
YAKUB DEMIR—First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Turkey.

More articles by leaders of Communist and Workers' Parties on the centenary of V. I. Lenin's birth will appear in our next number, also a jubilee issue.

Some lessons for struggle of Austrian communists

FRANZ MUHRI

The centenary of V. I. Lenin's birth is marked throughout the world not only by Communists; other progressive forces, too, are celebrating the jubilee. And for the Austrian Communists the work of that great 20th-century revolutionary, theoretician and thinker of the revolutionary working-class and liberation movement is of inestimable value.

Within the limits of an article it is impossible to outline fully Lenin's role in the struggle of the Communist Party of Austria and still less, his role in the world working-class and liberation movement. It seems proper, therefore, to show the importance of Lenin for our Party by taking as an example one of his many works.

Lenin's book, *"Left-Wing" Communism — an Infantile Disorder*, which appeared in 1920, was of great help to our Party when, founded in November 1918, it was still taking its first steps. But it is no exaggeration to say that the essential ideas set out in the book are still relevant for our struggle of today, fought in entirely new conditions.

GENERAL FEATURES AND NATIONAL PECULIARITIES OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

In recent years this problem has been the object of a lively discussion not only in the Communist Party of Austria, but also in the international Communist movement, and was also reflected in the Document of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

In *"Left-Wing" Communism — an Infantile Disorder*, Lenin writes: "We now possess quite considerable international ex-

perience, which shows very definitely that certain fundamental features of our revolution have a significance that is not local, or peculiarly national, or Russian alone, but international. I am not speaking here of international significance in the broad sense of the term: not merely several but all the primary features of our revolution, and many of its secondary features, are of international significance in the meaning of its effect on all countries. 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 country. It must be admitted that certain fundamental features of our revolution do possess that significance" (Vol. 31, p. 21).

As we see, Lenin makes a definite distinction between international significance in the broad and narrow sense. In the broad sense, the victory of the October Revolution and the building of socialism in the Soviet Union (and later in other countries) have tremendous international significance. Thanks to the October Revolution socialism has grown from an idea and doctrine into a reality, with socialist construction bearing out its creative force and superiority.

Of universal significance, too, is the fact that the Soviet Union has become the world bastion in the fight for peace, national liberation and socialism. That Austria is neutral and independent, she owes entirely to the Soviet Union. The impact of the socialist reality is especially tangible in Austria, which borders directly on socialist states. Their economic and cultural progress, their steadily rising living stan-

dard and the unfolding of socialist democracy are of help in our struggle for the interests of the working people, in defense and for the renovation of democracy, for peace and socialism. And, conversely, shortcomings and errors lessen socialism's force of attraction.

But Lenin speaks of international significance also in the narrower sense, referring to certain basic features of the October Revolution and the "historical inevitability of their repetition on an international scale."

In recent years our Party has said in many of its documents and resolutions that socialism possesses common basic features (of course, in a national form). Thus, socialism is inconceivable without the elimination of the exploitation of man by man, without workers' rule and without revolutionary Marxist-Leninist guidance by the working class.

The main error of the Austrian Social-Democrats was that at the end of the First World War, when the October Socialist Revolution was a beacon for the Austrian working class and when Austria, too, could have made a socialist revolution, they put the brakes on the working-class struggle and prevented the overthrow of capitalism in our country on the pretext that the October was specifically Russian. After the Second World War the leadership of the Socialist Party continued this line. This complete negation of the universal basic features and the experience of the October and the anti-Communist posture of the S.P. are tied in closely with the rejection of socialism for Austria.

Lenin writes: "It would, of course, be grossly erroneous to exaggerate this truth and to extend it beyond certain fundamental features of our revolution" (Vol. 31, p. 21). And elsewhere in the same book he says: "As long as national and state distinctions exist among peoples and countries — and these will continue to exist for a very long time to come, even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a worldwide scale — the unity of the international tactics of the Communist working-class movement in all countries demands, not the elimination of variety or the suppression of national distinctions (which is a pipe dream at present), but the application of the *fundamental* principles of communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat), which will *correctly modify* these principles in certain *particulars*, correctly

adapt and apply them to national and national-state distinctions. To seek out, investigate, predict, and grasp that which is nationally specific and nationally distinctive, in the *concrete manner* in which each country should tackle a *single* international task: victory over opportunism and Left doctrinairism within the working class movement; the overthrow of the bourgeoisie; the establishment of a Soviet republic and a proletarian dictatorship — such is the basic task in the historical period that all advanced countries (and not they alone) are going through" (Vol. 31, p. 92).

Thus, Lenin stressed the need to investigate and study national peculiarities. He contributed decisively to the creative application and further elaboration of the ideas of Marx and Engels in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. In many works Lenin examined and defined what was nationally peculiar and specific in the Russian conditions. Without that the victory of the October Revolution and the successful building of socialism in the Soviet Union would have been inconceivable.

After 1956, spurred by the creative impulses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the Communist Party of Austria worked out program theses for the Austrian way to socialism, suiting them to the changed international balance of strength and the national features and traditions in our country. We are oriented on advancing to socialism without civil war, in the form of a multi-party system, and on struggle to secure for the working people control over and the right to participate in the running of all spheres of public life.

The way to socialism promoted by our Party differs substantially from the Social-Democratic policy.

1. As distinct from the Social-Democratic reformist policy, our aims from stage to stage are directed at undermining the capitalist system.

2. As distinct from the Social-Democrats, who limit themselves to elections and parliamentary struggles, we are oriented on fusing the parliamentary struggle with the extra-parliamentary mass movements and class battles.

3. As distinct from the Social-Democrats, who leave capitalist power intact, we hold that phased revolutionary struggle must ultimately bring about the downfall of big business power and the establishment of working-class power.

Recognition of universal basic principles

of socialism is an essential factor in combating all the variety of Social-Democratic trends. Lenin's behest on studying and investigating national conditions is decisive in overcoming sectarianism and dogmatism. Which shows, in sum, how relevant Lenin's concepts are for our activity of today.

ON COMPROMISES

Lenin sharply criticizes those "Left" Communists who maintain that the revolutionary should reject all compromises. He stresses that the entire history of Bolshevism before and after the October Revolution abounds in maneuvers, reconciliations and compromises with others.

Lenin shows conclusively the difference between Communists and Social-Democrats. "There are different kinds of compromises," he says. "One must be able to analyze the situation and the concrete conditions of each compromise, or of each variety of compromise" (Vol. 31, p. 38). And he cites two examples. The first is the compromise entered into by international Social Democracy with the bourgeoisie in 1914 in the beginning of the First World War, siding in their countries with the belligerent bourgeoisie, with the Social-Democratic leaders acting as accomplices of imperialism. In the second example Lenin compares this compromise with the Brest-Litovsk peace of 1918. That, too, had been a compromise with the imperialists, but was absolutely necessary in the circumstances, because the extremely exhausted young Soviet Republic needed a breathing space at all costs. That compromise was essential for the survival of the first socialist state.

Lenin emphasizes the need to fight mercilessly against the harmful policy of compromises of the Social-Democratic leaders. "In the practical questions that arise in the politics of any particular or specific historical moment," he writes, "it is important to single out those which display the principal type of intolerable and treacherous compromises, such as embody an opportunism that is fatal to the revolutionary class, and to exert all efforts to explain them and combat them" (Vol. 31, p. 69).

That the Bolsheviks accomplished this task was one of the main factors in their success. At its 20th Congress, our Party noted critically that in practice we combated the opportunist policy of the Right-wing Socialist Party leadership only from time to time, and in certain areas our

stand had been unsatisfactory and insufficiently principled.

THE PRINCIPLES OF UNITED ACTION AND THE ALLIANCE POLICY

The experience of the Austrian working class bears out what Lenin wrote elsewhere in the book: Right-wing Social-Democracy is the main support of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement. What is the peculiar feature of the capitalist power in Austria after the Second World War? Capitalism achieved a long period of good business, marked by a considerable growth of the productive forces. This enabled the Austrian bourgeoisie to secure a considerable increase in profits. Naturally, the living standard of broad sections of working people rose as well, but the abyss between wages and profits, and between poor and rich, has grown wider. This has been the outcome of the policy of so-called "social partnership" which substitutes negotiations between trade union leaders and employers, between the political leaders of the bourgeoisie and the Socialist Party, for mass battles. The policy of "social partnership" is preferred at present by the bourgeoisie as a form of domination. Yet it is made possible solely through the support of the Socialist Party leadership, which exercises the main influence in the working class. Like the bourgeoisie, it seeks to prevent the working class from waging the class struggle, let alone a struggle for changing the social system. Hence, the way to socialism is blocked until the opportunist policy of the Socialist Party leadership in the working class is overcome.

It is crucially important for the success of the struggle, Lenin shows, that the Communist Party should have allies. He said every advantage should be taken of all conflicting interests and even of the slightest "rifts" in the enemy camp, exploiting every opportunity of winning a mass ally, no matter how temporary, hesitant, unstable, unreliable and conditional, for that is the only way of beating the adversary. "Those who do not understand this," Lenin writes, "reveal a failure to understand even the smallest grain of Marxism, of modern scientific socialism in general" (Vol. 31, p. 71).

These fundamental ideas are highly relevant for our struggle of today. On these grounds our Party said at its 19th and 20th congresses that deep-going democratic renovation is achievable only through the

united action of the working class as the leading force in the fight for socialism and through the unity of all democratic forces.

The more distinct the economic and political contradictions of the capitalist system and the more obvious it is that lasting peace and broad democracy are impossible on a capitalist basis and that social prosperity cannot be guaranteed for any long period, the more intensely the opportunist policy of the Socialist Party leadership clashes with the interests of the working class. As for the People's Party (APP) the decisive role in its leadership is played at present by representatives of big business and the rich landowners. They shape the party's policy, for which reason, sooner or later, it conflicts to an ever increasing degree with the interests of hundreds of thousands of factory and office employees and middle peasants, representing the bulk of its supporters, and even with those of most of its members.

Working-class unity and the workers' alliance with the democratic forces do not come about automatically. To win them the ruthless fight against the reactionary policy of the Austrian People's Party and criticism on a basis of principle of the opportunist positions of the right Social-Democratic leaders must combine with friendly discussions and work among Socialists and the Democratic element in the APP. Still more important is joint action, which provides experience in struggle. For us united action by the working class is no tactical maneuver, but a historical necessity. The process of achieving united working-class action, we are sure, will win the majority of the Social-Democratic workers and some of their leaders for a truly Socialist policy and deprive the bourgeoisie of influence among the middle strata, with the latter becoming allies of the working class.

The extent to which Lenin's revolutionary work was tied in with a concrete and differentiated approach to the facts may be seen from his advice to take into consideration, among other things, the distinctions in the working masses. "Capitalism would not be capitalism if the proletariat *pur sang* were not surrounded by a large number of exceedingly motley types intermediate between the proletariat and the semi-proletarian (who earns his livelihood in part by the sale of his labor-power), between the semi-proletarian and the small peasant (and petty artisan, handicraft worker and small master in general), between the small peasant and the middle peasant, and so on, and if the proletariat itself were not divided

into more developed and less developed strata, if it were not divided according to territorial origin, trade, sometimes according to religion, and so on" (Vol. 31, p. 74).

Lenin's ideas on this score are extremely relevant in view of the considerable changes in the class structure of modern capitalism, reflected, among other things, in the rapid growth of the number of office workers.

UNITY AND PARTY DISCIPLINE

Proceeding from the varied experience of the revolutionary movement in Russia, Lenin stressed that the workers' victory over the bourgeoisie is inconceivable without "tenacity, discipline, and a single and inflexible will" (Vol. 31, p. 24). He pointed out that in the Communist Party discipline cannot simply be decreed, for it springs from a number of objective and subjective factors. He asked: How is discipline maintained in the proletariat's revolutionary party? How is it tested? How is it reinforced? And his answer is: "First, by the class-consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its tenacity, self-sacrifice and heroism. Second, by its ability to link up, maintain the closest contact, and—if you wish—merge, in certain measure, with the broadest masses of the working people—primarily with the proletariat, but *also with the non-proletarian masses of working people*. Third, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard, by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided the broad masses have seen, *from their own experience*, that they are correct. Without these conditions, discipline in a revolutionary party capable of being the party of the advanced class, whose mission it is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and transform the whole of society, cannot be achieved. Without these conditions, all attempts to establish discipline inevitably fall flat and end up in phrasemongering and clowning. On the other hand, these conditions cannot emerge at once. They are created only by prolonged effort and hard-won experience. Their creation is facilitated by a correct revolutionary theory, which in its turn, is not a dogma, but assumes final shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a truly mass and truly revolutionary movement" (Vol. 31, pp. 24-25).

Establishing and strengthening the unity of will and action in the Communist Party of Austria is a difficult process, and a process carried forward not only and even not

primarily by organizational measures (although in certain circumstances these are also needed). The main difficulty is that no major class battles, clashes or movements take place in Austria these days—and they cannot be created artificially—in which not only the masses, but Party members too, would see the correctness of our Party's policy and in which we could verify our strategy and tactics.

Developing class consciousness, strengthening our ties with the masses in the struggle for their interests, elaborating creatively on revolutionary theory which will yield the answer to the problems and new phenomena of today, stepping up ideological and political work in and outside the Party, and, last but not least, combating resolutely Left and Right opportunism — those are all important conditions for achieving, reinforcing and maintaining the unity and discipline of the Party. That is one of the essential ideas in Lenin's "*Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder*, of the greatest importance for our Party today.

LENIN LIVES!

It is more than one article can do to show the wealth of ideas in "*Left-Wing" Communism — an Infantile Disorder* and their relevance for the present time.

Reading the book one gets the feeling that it could have been written expressly for the present-day "Left" in the student movement, especially where Lenin takes issue with those opposing participation in bourgeois parliaments and where he shows that though bourgeois parliamentarianism may be outdated *historically*, it is *politically* extant and that using against the capitalist system is an indispensable revolutionary task.

In a special chapter Lenin substantiates the importance of the work done by Communists in trade unions. He shows that not to participate in the trade unions amounts to abandoning the working masses and exposing them to the influence of the Social-Democratic leaders. It is absolutely necessary "*to work wherever the masses are to be found*," wrote Lenin, and that is in general the keynote of his book. In recent years there has been much talk in our Party about improving our work in the enterprises and trade unions, and the Party is indeed trying to do so.

Highly important for our present-day work is Lenin's advice to act on the basis of scientific principles. He wrote: "Science

demands, first, that the experience of other countries be taken into account, especially if these other countries, which are also capitalist, are undergoing, or have recently undergone, a very similar experience; second, it demands that account be taken of *all* the forces, groups, parties, classes and masses operating in a given country, and also that policy should not be determined only by the desires and the views, by the degree of class-consciousness and the militancy of one group or party alone" (Vol. 31, pp. 80-81). All the more compelling, therefore, is our need to work out the Party's policy along scientific lines at this time of the scientific and technological revolution. For example, we have not anywhere sufficiently examined and taken into account the new phenomena of modern capitalism. Our Party is also trying to study more extensively the experience of other West European parties. It is obvious that the Party leadership cannot now discharge its functions without the cooperation of experts (economists, lawyers, sociologists and others).

Lenin's political and moral greatness is most strikingly seen in his attitude to criticism and self-criticism. He wrote: "A political party's attitude toward its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it fulfils *in practice* its obligations towards its *class* and the *working people*. Frankly acknowledging a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the conditions that have led up to it, and thrashing out the means of its rectification — that is the hallmark of a serious party; that is how it should perform its duties, and how it should educate and train its *class*, and then the *masses*" (Vol. 31, p. 57).

Proceeding from these principles Lenin formed the Bolshevik Party and thereby infused it with internal strength, enabling it to advance even in the hard times, to acknowledge and rectify mistakes and to draw lessons from them. The imposing achievements of the Soviet people under the leadership of its Communist Party are the result of its loyalty to Leninist principles. For our small party, too, these principles are a reliable compass showing us the road forward to new successes. To study Lenin over and over again, to study his teaching and methods, to apply them in practice—that, we hold, is the main task of our Party, and this not only in the Lenin jubilee year.

Leninism—sharp weapon of all revolutionary forces of our time

GERHARD DANELIUS

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow called on all Communists, all fighters for the socialist reconstruction of society, all champions of progress and peace, to mark fittingly the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the immortal leader of the world proletariat, to study his works, and to propagate the gains of Leninism, the success of the socialist countries, the Communist parties, all the revolutionary forces.

In unanimously adopting the Address on the centenary of Lenin's birth, the Meeting set historically important tasks to all Marxist-Leninist parties, especially on the ideological front, in the fight against the man-hating ideology and policy of U.S. and West German imperialism, and also in combating all varieties of Right and "Left" opportunism.

In firmly supporting the Address, the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin undertook to promote Lenin's ideas among the working class and the youth of our city, to apply Lenin's method to the new phenomena and to pay tribute to Lenin, for we in West Berlin shall fight perseveringly for Lenin's cause, the cause of the workers, of peace and socialism.

For 20 years already a peculiar political and class situation has prevailed in Germany. Two sovereign German states with fundamentally different social systems confront each other on German soil: the Federal Republic of Germany, dominated by monopoly capital, and the socialist German Democratic Republic.

Those are the postwar facts. West Berlin, situated in the territory of the German Democratic Republic, has never belonged, and never will, to the Federal Republic. Yet all the successive FRG governments have stubbornly refused to recognize and re-

spect West Berlin's status as an independent unit. Bodies of the West German Bundestag chose West Berlin as the venue for their sittings, high government bodies of the Adenauer and Erhard periods, and of the days of the Kiesinger-Brandt cabinet, performed unlawful official acts there, as well as those of the SPD/FDP coalition which materialized from the Bundestag elections of September 28, 1969.

The Federal Republic's unlawful claims to West Berlin, miles away from its territory, have been a constant cause of dangerous conflicts, making the city a seat of tension and affecting its relations with the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries.

Due to the country's partitioning by German and international finance capital, West Berlin was methodically converted into a cold-war center, and the ideological spearhead against socialism with the purpose, as publicly admitted, to undermine the GDR, do it the greatest possible economic and political damage, and "fling back" socialism on German soil. The GDR put an end to this subversion on August 13, 1961, with measures securing its frontiers.

What is the present situation in West Berlin and the conditions of struggle for our Party?

A quarter of a century after Hitler Germany's unconditional surrender supreme power in West Berlin is still wielded by the military administrations of the U.S., British and French occupation troops, with the leading mass communications media, television, radio and the bourgeois press, particularly the Springer press, operating as vehicles of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet propaganda. The so-called "study of the East" principle, rules supreme in all the schools, higher schools and universities,

meaning that all disciplines are shot through with revenge-seeking and anti-Communist ideology.

We have had an SDP/FDP government (Senate) for many years. But it has proved incapable of carrying forward a policy consistent with our social, political and geographical interests. It has proved incapable of leading West Berlin towards social and political progress, and mutual understanding with the socialist world around it.

Despite relatively full employment and comparatively good business, polarization is rife among West Berlin political forces. New population groups are joining the anti-imperialist front. Members of production councils and trade unions, Left Social-Democrats, members of the Young Socialists and Falcon organizations, apprentices, schoolboys and students, intellectuals and many religious groups are siding with our struggle. Various groups of the working class, the working youth and students and the intelligentsia are waking up to the irreconcilable contradictions between capital and labor, the peace-loving interests of the people and the aggressive U.S. and West-German imperialist policy. This rising political consciousness has materialized in democratic actions.

Between 1967 and 1969 powerful manifestations took place in solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam against the dirty war of the U.S. aggressors, and in support of the Greek patriots against the fascist military junta. Impressive demonstrations also took place in defense of democratic rights and freedoms, against monopoly power, for the recognition of the German Democratic Republic in international law, against West German finance and military capital's claims to sole representation of the German nation.

Due to the difficult conditions in which our Party is fighting for the social and political interests of the working class and other population strata, we show constant concern for our ideological work, for we have to contend with the ideology of the imperialist powers and, particularly, the numerous varieties of Right and "Left" opportunism. Ideologically, the bourgeoisie exerts its main influence on the workers of our city through the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders.

After the unconditional surrender of Hitler Germany in 1945, the Social-Democratic leaders, headed by Kurt Schumacher, proclaimed socialism "the task of the day".

"Directives" adopted by the Social-Democratic Party on November 21, 1945, envisaging

the elimination of monopoly power, said on this score: "National-socialism was the last attempt to save the pillars of capitalist economics. National-socialism would never have gained a hold on the German people and Hitler would never have dragged all Europe into a war, without the support of the cartels and trusts. That is why the Potsdam agreements stipulate 'decentralization of the German economy' in order to end the existing excessive concentration of the economic potential, evidenced, among other things, in the existence of cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopoly corporations."

"The Social-Democratic Party," the "Directives" went on, "demands the complete removal of fascists and militarists from the bodies running the economy. The party is aware of the political and economic dangers emanating from concerns and large-scale concern-like enterprises, and therefore demands that, following the example of the Soviet Union and coming to terms with labor parties in Britain, France and Czechoslovakia, these enterprises be nationalized in those cases where decentralization would ease the working conditions and life of the German people."

Those were the demands of the Social-Democratic Party 25 years ago.

But what is the present situation in West Germany and West Berlin, a quarter of a century later?

The Social-Democratic leaders are far removed from their own political and economic directives of 1945. Instead of eliminating the power of the monopolies and concerns, they "coordinate actions" with them in order to "integrate" the workers in the modern capitalist system and head them off from the class struggle for radical changes in relations of production, the machinery of state and monopoly capital rule. Instead of completely removing fascists and militarists from public life, the Right-wing SDP leaders tolerate the existence of the neo-fascist NDP and the appointment of former Hitler generals and officers to the Bundeswehr, latterly commanded by Helmuth Schmidt, a Social-Democratic war minister. Instead of working constructively for a European security system, they refuse to recognize the German Democratic Republic and the existing European frontiers in international law, advancing all kinds of reservations and creating new impediments to a European security conference.

Abs and Flick, I.G.-Farben, Siemens, AEG and the big banks are still running the lives of millions of West Germans and West

Berliners, making policy and looking down on the people as incapable of running the state.

In the German Democratic Republic, meanwhile, imperialism, militarism, fascism and revanchism have been rooted out, and the principles of the anti-Hilter coalition and the Potsdam Agreements carried out consistently.

The GDR has performed two revolutions: a democratic anti-fascist one and a socialist. Socialist relations of production have triumphed. And all these achievements of the socialist German state are traceable to the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, and to the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, the world's first and most powerful socialist state, and with other countries of the socialist community.

The greater the risks for the United States in starting a global war with the prevailing relation of international strength, the greater socialism's force of attraction and the sharper and more extensive the contradictions between the interests of the people and the monopolies, the more subtly and actively imperialism engages in its ideological subversion of the socialist countries, the world Communist movement and the socialist outlook of the workers.

We are doubly conscious of this in West Berlin, at the junction of the two fundamentally different social systems. Ideologically, imperialism banks on the effects of the "convergence" theory, advocating for the socialist countries a so-called liberalization, that is, the scrapping, in effect, of the Party's leading role, erosion of socialist political power and moulding of a Westward orientation. It advertises the Western way of life for all it is worth and, at the same time, exploiting the same theory, spreads in the countries of late capitalism disbelief in the strength of the working class, spreading the illusion that modern capitalism is gradually becoming a "society of equal opportunities" and "social harmony."

The political commentator of *Die Welt*, the leading Springer mouthpiece, put it in the following terms in the issue of January 6, 1970: "Apart from our own surrender, only one thing can end the confrontation between the Western and Eastern blocs in the foreseeable future, namely, the transformation of the social system in the East to a state making it competitive with the Western social system and, perhaps, enabling it to fuse with the latter."

The substitution of a more subtle and re-

financed anti-communism for the now discredited primitive bellicose variety is highlighted by the fact that the big capitalist press in West Germany and West Berlin is giving all-out publicity to Right and "Left" opportunists, and to Trotskyite, Maoist and other anti-Leninist views.

For what purpose?

Firstly, the aim is to depict Leninism and the Great October Socialist Revolution as a purely "Russian" and "out-dated" phenomenon and thereby distort their international character as the great model and example for the worldwide revolutionary working-class movement. Secondly, the purpose is to discredit the building of socialism and communism in the Soviet Union, and to peddle the fatuous idea of a "humane" and "democratic" socialism to replace the highly relevant basic model of socialism which, among other things, envisages the establishment of workers' power, the expropriation of the basic means of production from big capital and their conversion into public property. These "new," never realized "models of socialism" have a common feature. They are aimed against the working-class power, against the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin's ideas set forth in *The State and Revolution*, taking issue with the revisionist views of Kautsky, Bernstein and others, are highly topical at present. "The petty-bourgeois democrats, those sham socialists who replaced the class struggle by dreams of class harmony," he wrote, "even pictured the socialist transformation in a dreamy fashion—not as the overthrow of the rule of the exploiting class, but as the peaceful submission of the minority to the majority which has become aware of its aims. This petty-bourgeois utopia, which is inseparable from the idea of the state being above classes, led in practice to the betrayal of the interests of the working classes" (Vol. 25, p. 403).

U.S. sociologist Herbert Marcuse contends in his *The One Dimensional Man* that the socialist idea has been discredited by the realities, inasmuch as he, Herbert Marcuse, sees a socialism which now, a hundred years since the appearance of Marx's *Capital*, is still combating congenital failings inherited from the 1,000-year rule of the exploiter society. Marcuse "overlooks" the fact that socialism has forged a new and higher social system through persevering labor and in an environment of constant danger created by imperialism. Marcuse refuses to see the changed world and

fails dismally to understand its significance for the world that needs changing.

Back in 1919, Lenin had this to say about these "critics" of the socialist reality: "The bourgeois intellectuals, including the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, are true to themselves in serving capital and in continuing to use absolutely false arguments—before the proletarian revolution they accused us of being utopian; after the revolution they demand that we wipe out all traces of the past with fantastic rapidity!" (Vol. 29, p. 425).

The latest dodge of the Right and "Left" opportunists is to admit that Lenin was a great revolutionary; while praising the methodology of his approach to social phenomena and processes, they argue, however, against the relevance of Leninism for the present-day struggle of the revolutionary forces. That is a dodge similar to that employed by Kautsky and Bernstein in their attacks on the Marxist teaching, for which reason it may be useful to recall what Lenin said about those "improvers" on Marx: "What is now happening to Marx's theory has, in the course of history, happened repeatedly to the theories of revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes fighting for emancipation. During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their theories with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say, and to hallow their names to a certain extent for the 'consolation' of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time robbing the revolutionary theory of its substance, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it" (Vol. 25, p. 385).

Right and "Left" opportunist quarters in West Berlin put forward the "argument" that the world situation has changed substantially since Lenin's time, that Lenin's works have made an historic impact, but Leninism as a teaching is inapplicable in the present-day struggle of the revolutionary forces.

It is quite true that things on our planet have changed in recent decades. That change has been in favor of socialism, to the detriment of imperialism. And it was a change wrought due to Lenin and the Leninists. "Leninism," it says in the Theses of the CC CPSU on the centenary of Lenin's birth, "is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of proletarian revolutions,

the epoch of the collapse of colonialism and of the victory of national liberation movements, the epoch of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and to building communist society."

This description also reflects the changes in the world situation. Following Lenin's plan, the Soviet Union has turned from a once backward country, an illiterate and backward Russia, into an advanced socialist power. The Soviet Army's historic victory over Hitler fascism and Japanese militarism, the 25th anniversary of which we celebrate this year, paved the way for the emergence of a world socialist system, for the downfall of colonialism and the further advance of the world's revolutionary and progressive forces. Needless to say, the Marxist-Leninist parties are committed to developing Marxism-Leninism creatively in every way, taking account of the concrete conditions in which they are waging their struggle. No Marxist-Leninist is so naive as to think that he need merely leaf through any one of Lenin's works to find a made-to-order answer to all questions confronting the victorious working class in the socialist countries or the Communist and Workers' parties fighting in the contemporary capitalist environment.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, June 1969, is a classical example of the creative approach practised by Communists in dealing with the new phenomena of our time. The forum, which discussed all matters collectively, democratically, and openly, on a basis of equality, analyzed the international situation and the new developments, defining the main tasks facing the Communist and Workers' parties and all the other anti-imperialist forces. "Powerful revolutionary processes are gathering momentum throughout the world. Three mighty forces of our time—the world socialist system, the international working-class and the national liberation movement—are coming together in the struggle against imperialism," says the Document of the Meeting. "The present phase is characterized by growing possibilities for a further advance of the revolutionary and progressive forces. At the same time, the dangers brought about by imperialism, by its policy of aggression, are growing. Imperialism, whose general crisis is deepening, continues to oppress many peoples and remains a constant threat to peace and social progress."

Our Party links propaganda of Lenin's

theoretical and practical activity with the fight for united working-class action, action to unite all opponents of the contemporary capitalist system and more active struggles for the satisfaction of the social and political demands of workers and all working people. Study of Lenin's theoretical and practical activity, closely associated with practice, is a precondition for finding the correct orientation in the complicated situations that arise in the class struggle, for working out the correct strategy and tactics consistent with the concrete conditions, the situation and the consciousness of the masses. Study of Lenin's legacy is of great help in combating all attacks on the theoretical, ideological and political foundations of scientific socialism and the organizational principles of the proletarian party of the new type. Studying Lenin's polemical works, one arrives at the conclusion that they were also written against the present-day Right and "Left" opportunists and against such petty-bourgeois philosophers as Herbert Marcuse and Ernst Fischer. Valid, relevant and highly topical are Lenin's answers to questions arising in the fight for the revolutionary essence of the working-class outlook against "reformist politicians" of all shades, or in substantiating scientifically, from the workers' standpoint, the crucial issue of all class battles, the issue of power, or in providing and discharging the historic role of the workers and their Marxist-Leninist party.

Knowledge of the great Lenin's works will, as the International Meeting's Address on the centenary of Lenin's birth pointed out aptly, help the younger generation to see more clearly the revolutionary perspectives of our epoch.

The impressive achievements of the German Democratic Republic in home and foreign policy, industry, agriculture, culture and education, are gradually changing the attitude of the workers and other working people in our city to that first German socialist state. No longer are the bourgeoisie and its Right-wing Social-Democratic apologists able to deny the successes achieved by the GDR in building socialism. Now they are aiming their barbs chiefly against the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, against the socialist political system in the GDR, while extolling monopoly power in West Germany and West Berlin as a "free and democratic system." But the facts show that while workers, farmers and intellectuals in the GDR identify themselves

with their state, for they work in common, taking part in planning and administration, in West Germany and West Berlin the contradictions between labor and capital, between technical progress and the outmoded educational system, between reason and power, and between the people and the state, are growing more acute.

Lenin wrote: "Under bourgeois democracy the capitalists, by thousands of tricks—which are the more artful and effective the more 'pure' democracy is developed—drive the people away from administrative work, from freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, etc. . . . Proletarian democracy is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy" (Vol. 28, pp. 247, 248). This is borne out conclusively on German soil.

Trying vainly to compel our Party to depart from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to bring us into collision with other Marxist-Leninist parties, and to subvert our discipline and our Leninist organizational principles, Right and "Left" revisionists are falling back on a variety of tricks. They maintain, for one thing, that we are not independent and are insufficiently critical, though they know perfectly well, of course, that like all other Marxist-Leninist parties, the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin is absolutely independent and shapes its strategy and tactics without any outside interference. They know perfectly well that no one relieves us of the arduous task of creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of the struggle in West Berlin. In replying to those "critics," it is true, we lay the main accent on the international character of the world Communist movement and on the need to solidify further the unity and cohesion of Communist and Workers' parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The monopoly bourgeoisie is highly organized internationally and united in its hatred of socialism, despite contradictions and antagonisms immanent in the system and the scramble for markets and spheres of influence. To advance and inflict new defeats on imperialism, the international revolutionary working class must oppose the organized monopoly interests with the organized might of the socialist community, the international revolutionary working class and the national liberation movement.

Criticism and self-criticism are an intrinsic and characteristic feature, a law of development for any working-class party. Our adversaries know perfectly well that the

SUP-West Berlin promotes criticism and self-criticism and is always prepared to conduct a purposeful discussion. This applies equally to the relations among Communist and Workers' parties at an international level.

At the same time, it needs to be said that the demand for "freedom of criticism" is as old as the fight of the Marxist-Leninists against Right and "Left" opportunism. Lenin pointed out in his book, *What Is to Be Done?* that the "freedom of criticism" slogan is evidently one of those conventional phrases which, like nicknames, gain legitimacy through use and become almost generic terms.

What is the upshot of all this?

Our critics, Right and "Left," want to saddle us with an in-between policy, a policy running between socialism and imperialism. But that is neither original nor novel. Lenin fought a titanic struggle to prevent bourgeois ideas and elements from seeping into socialism. He wrote: "We are marching in a compact group along a pre-

cipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and we have to advance almost constantly under their fire. We have combined, by a freely adopted decision, for the purpose of fighting the enemy, and not of retreating into the neighboring marsh, the inhabitants of which, from the very outset, have reproached us with having separated ourselves into an exclusive group and with having chosen the path of struggle instead of the path of conciliation" (Vol. 5, p. 355).

This Lenin addressed to Bernstein and his followers in 1902.

From that handful of convinced Communists has grown the powerful community of socialist nations, the world Communist movement, the victory of which is certain. For the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world unshakeable loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and close links with the CPSU and the Soviet Union, have always been the guarantee of further progress.

Lenin principle of unity of national and international tasks

TODOR ZHIVKOV

This we can definitely say: if the international Communist movement is now the most powerful revolutionary force, that is largely due to the fact that it appeared on the world scene with the stirring appeal "Workers of All Countries, Unite!"

Proletarian internationalism is an inalienable principle of scientific communism, a priceless weapon of the proletariat in its battle against world capital. It follows organically from the workers' struggle for liberation from capitalist exploitation, for the building of a classless, communist society. "Capital," Lenin wrote, "is an inter-

national force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood is needed" (Vol. 30, p. 293). In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels clearly defined the basic difference between Communists and the other proletarian parties of their time: "In the national struggle of the proletarians of the different countries, they (the Communists) point out and bring to the front the *common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality*. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bour-

geoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent *the interests of the movement as a whole*" (My italics — T.Zh.)

In developing Marxism in the new conditions, Lenin provided exhaustive solutions to the fundamental problems of our era—he gave us a comprehensive and profoundly elaborated theory of socialist revolution. Socialism could not, he proved, triumph in all countries simultaneously; it would first be victorious in one or several countries. And on this basis he worked out the pattern for combining the international and national tasks of the Communist parties and of the international Communist movement as a whole.

And since socialism's world victory is bound to be a long and complex process, with countries at varying stages of socio-economic, political and cultural development gradually breaking out of capitalist domination to take the socialist path, the interests of the world revolutionary struggle call for unity of the national and international tasks of all the movement's contingents to assure socialist victory in each given country. Without accomplishing its national tasks, without combating its "own" bourgeoisie, the working class cannot play its full part in attaining the common international goal of the proletariat. And conversely: without active participation in the battle against imperialism, without international class solidarity, the working class of a given country cannot vanquish its own enemy, its "own" national bourgeoisie, and will not attain its national goals.

Lenin wrote: "As long as national and state distinctions exist among peoples and countries—and these will continue to exist for a very long time to come, even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world scale—the unity of the international tactics of the Communist working-class movement in all countries demands, not the elimination of variety or the suppression of national distinctions (which is a pipe dream at present), but the application of the *fundamental* principles of communism . . . which will *correctly modify* these principles in certain *particulars*, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state distinctions." And Lenin urged the parties: "to seek out, investigate, predict and grasp that which is nationally specific and nationally distinctive, in the *concrete manner* in which each

country should tackle a *single* international task" (Vol. 31, p. 92).

Application of this Lenin principle powerfully stimulated the proletarian struggle in every country, making it fully aware of concrete conditions and tasks, giving it a new content and meaning, and a sure prospect of victory.

The Communist movement has become a potent factor of world development. The Communist parties in nearly 90 countries are working and fighting in differing conditions and have strengthened their position as an authoritative national political force. This has greatly extended their national and international tasks. Consequently, a correct combination of the two, both in theoretical and practical work, is not only a vital necessity, but a responsible and priority duty.

The Party's disregard or underestimation of national factors in strategy and tactics, or mechanical application of general principles, inevitably isolates it from reality and leads to minor or major setbacks and reverses adversely affecting both the Party and the workers' movement as a whole. On the other hand, overestimation of national factors, absolutizing them, leads to isolation from other revolutionary contingents of the proletariat, militates against the most essential condition of victory, namely, united action against the united forces of imperialism.

That is why Lenin, who foresaw the emergence of nationalist deviations, was so emphatic on the need to "fight *against* small-nation narrow-mindedness, seclusion and isolation, consider the whole and the general, subordinate the particular to the general interest" (Vol. 22, p. 347). And more emphatic still: proletarian internationalism demands "that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a worldwide scale" (Vol. 31, p. 148).

The primacy of joint struggle — that core of proletarian internationalism — is an unalterable principle of the international Communist movement.

In summing up the experience of recent years, last year's International Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties declared that "the effectiveness of each Communist Party's policy depends on its successes in its own country, on the successes of other fraternal parties and on the extent of their cooperation. Each Communist Party is responsible for its activity to its own work-

ing class and people and, at the same time, to the international working class. The national and international responsibilities of each Communist and Workers' Party are indivisible."

* * *

In accordance with these principles, the Bulgarian Communist Party has endeavored consistently to combine national and international factors in its strategy and tactics.

Internationalism has a long and deep-rooted tradition in our Party. The 1891 Buzludja congress, at which Bulgaria's revolutionary Marxist party was founded, declared in the Statutes it adopted that the party was a part of world Social-Democracy. The 1893 Party Program declared that "liberation of the working class would be won only if the workers of the world played their part."

The struggle that Dimitr Blagoyev, the founder of our Party, and his associates waged against revisionism and opportunism was not confined to purely Bulgarian issues, but was part of the international struggle. And it is not fortuitous that Lenin classed the Bulgarian *Tesnyaki*, the revolutionary forces in the Bulgarian Workers' Social-Democratic Party, among the "revolutionary internationalists," "internationalists in deed," describing them as the "Left, internationalist Bulgarian party."

Ever since its inception, for nearly 80 years now, our Party has sought to educate the Bulgarian people in a spirit of respect for, and solidarity with, the peoples of other countries. It instilled in the working class the firm conviction that its struggle for social emancipation was organically linked with the proletarian world struggle against capitalism. This consistent internationalist policy protected the Party and the working class from the nationalist contagion. It was of decisive importance in Leninizing the Party and in securing the victory of the socialist revolution, and it continues to be a cardinal factor in the building of socialism.

Even in the most difficult days of the revolutionary struggle, our Party remained faithful to internationalism. In World War I it broke with the Second International, courageously and unswervingly opposed the imperialist war and worked for peace and international solidarity. It enthusiastically hailed the Great October Socialist Revolution and was one of the founding parties of the Communist International, which it join-

ed en masse. Led by Georgi Dimitrov, the Party assimilated Lenin's great doctrine, learned from the epochal experience of the CPSU, and overcame its own errors and shortcomings to become a party of the new, Leninist type.

Our people's struggle—armed and peaceful, legal and illegal—against capitalism, the fascist dictatorship of the monarchy and against the Nazi invader, and the victory of the September 9, 1944 socialist revolution, were the consummate expression of the international and national interests of the Bulgarian working class and its Communist vanguard.

The Bulgarian people knew that in joining forces with the Soviet Union against Nazi fascism they were defending both the international Communist movement and their own socialist future. This, and the decisive assistance of the great Soviet Union and its liberating army, were the determining factors of victory. This was one more convincing proof of the correctness and effectiveness of Lenin's principle of combining the international and national interests and tasks of the working people.

Our victorious socialist revolution and the founding of the new social system are an achievement both for the Bulgarian people and the international working class, and an inseparable element of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism.

Needless to say, socialist revolution and socialist construction in Bulgaria have certain specific features. These follow from the concrete historical, socio-political and economic conditions in which our Communist Party creatively applies the general laws of socialist development. However, Bulgaria's socialist path is not an "exclusive" one and does not fundamentally differ from the path followed by the USSR and other socialist countries.

We have always warned against dogmatic and mechanical application of general laws, against disregard of national specifics. At the same time, however, the Party has been irreconcilable to attempts to overestimate or absolutize national peculiarities, belittle or negate the general applicability of the laws governing socialist revolution and socialist construction, first applied and tested in the revolutionary practice of the Soviet workers and peasants.

Our Party firmly believes that the building of a socialist society in Bulgaria is the supreme internationalist duty of the Bulgarian Communists and people, a component of the international proletarian strug-

gle for communism. And, true to its internationalist traditions, our Party attaches vast importance to building up a highly developed socialist economic structure. For we are mindful of Lenin's behest that, after the victory of the proletarian revolution socialism exerts its influence on the rest of the world chiefly through its economic achievements. *The class, national and international interests and tasks of the Party, the working class and the entire Bulgarian people find their focal point in laying the material and technical foundation of socialism, maximizing development of the productive forces and perfecting social relations.*

Pre-revolutionary Bulgaria was a backward agrarian appendage of industrial Europe. It took a radical agrarian and industrial revolution to change that and transform Bulgaria into an industrial-agrarian country. That was accomplished by the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The rapid rise and growth of the cooperative system in Bulgaria is primarily due to the Party's adoption and creative application, in conformity with Bulgarian conditions, of Lenin's cooperative plan as the theoretical basis, and of the Soviet Union's experience in collective farming as the classical model, for converting small-country into socialist agriculture. With retention of private property on the land, our cooperative farms have proved the most suitable form of socialist agriculture. In the early stages of cooperative farming, income was distributed partly in proportion to the amount of land contributed by each member and partly according to work. This played a major part in winning over the middle peasant.

Our socialist agriculture now has a strong and firm material base, created in the process of socialist construction.

Industrial development is not less impressive. Our consistent and persevering policy of accelerated industrialization has produced the results expected.

National income is rapidly increasing; from an annual average of seven per cent in the fourth five-year plan (1961-65), the figure has risen to 8.8 per cent in the past four years, and today Bulgaria has one of the world's highest national-income growth rates.

Central to all our work in laying the material and technical basis of socialism is development of such progressive lines of production as electric power, engineering,

metallurgy, chemicals, electronics and precision engineering. Whereas total industrial output in the current five-year period shows a 70 per cent increase, power output is up 100 per cent, machinery 150 per cent, chemicals more than 200 per cent, etc. Leading branches of heavy industry have registered a very high expansion rate and this year will account for 49.6 per cent of total industrial output.

The Ninth Party Congress (1966) worked out a scientifically grounded economic development program for the fifth five-year period (1966-70) and set the Party's tasks following therefrom. The congress decisions represent a new departure in implementing the Party's general line. For the congress concentrated Party and state activity on these goals: intensification and modernization of all industry, higher productivity and higher operational standards, and its decisions have been further elaborated by Central Committee plenums.

The July 1968 plenum adopted a comprehensive program for improving scientific direction of the economy and of social processes. It sums up progress to date and creatively assimilates international experience, showing how it can be used to accelerate continued progress. The plenum decisions are a long step towards synchronizing and harmonizing various facets of our social, political and economic life to form an integrated and efficient management mechanism that fully accords with the requirements of the technological revolution, Bulgarian conditions and socialism.

The September 1969 plenum elaborated and concretized the guidelines set by the Ninth Party Congress and the July plenum. It drew up far-reaching measures on such matters as production concentration, technological progress, operation of the new management system, and the enhanced role of the integrated socio-economic development plan.

The main element of this integrated mechanism for effective direction of social processes is, the Party believes, *complete overhauling of economic planning in line with the new management principles*. This entails a new approach to the compilation of the national development plan.

The purpose of all our work is to make the plan an instrument for directing the operation of enterprises, a means of developing the productive forces, stimulating the creative initiative of the workers without, however, rigid supervision of the work of individual factories and industrial amalga-

mations. The plan sets the general goal, as it follows from the Party line, and indicates the ways and means of attaining it. And it does so not only by working out indicators, quotas, etc., but also by working out the underlying concepts and programs of economic policy.

Long-range planning and economic prognostication are acquiring much greater importance. They are decisive in determining investment policy, a crucial factor in shaping the economic structure. The accuracy of long-range planning, therefore, largely defines the pattern of our economy, of our everyday life, and the growth of living standards. And it should not be difficult to realize that for a country like Bulgaria wrong allocation of investments, for instance, in industries that belong to the past rather than to the future, would have grave consequences indeed. Nor should we overlook the fact that with the present scope of the technological revolution, proper direction and regulation of social processes require long-range prognostication over 20, 30 years, or even longer periods.

In this context it is especially important to coordinate our efforts on an international scale. Our economic policy, our bilateral and multilateral economic cooperation with other socialist countries, is guided by Lenin's idea of creating a "... single world economy, regulated by the proletariat of all nations as an integral whole and according to a common plan ..." (Vol. 31, p. 147).

The trend towards internationalizing production hews a way for itself even under capitalism. But genuine internationalization of the economic, political and spiritual life of mankind can be achieved, as Lenin showed, only under socialism.

Bulgaria's extensive participation in the international socialist division of labor, continued development of socialization and cooperation with the socialist countries and systematic implementation of the decisions of the 23rd CMEA session on socialist integration, make possible a high and stable rate of economic growth, more efficient operation and higher prosperity standards. Accordingly, our national plan takes into account development of the world socialist system and integration of our potentialities with those of other CMEA countries.

The Bulgarian Communist Party knows that the decisive factor in economic intensification is the introduction and wide use of scientific and technological achievements. The technological revolution is today the main factor determining our success in

building a highly-developed socialist economy, a factor in making Bulgaria a nation of advanced technology. And in this respect our national interests are organically linked with those of the socialist community. We can always rely on the scientific and technical strength of the socialist world system, which we are doing everything in our power to develop and strengthen. *The priority aim of the socialist system's strategy and tactics today is maximum use of the technological revolution. This is of decisive importance for the world proletarian class struggle for the triumph of the communist ideals the world over.*

But the solution also depends on a subjective factor — cadres.

In the cultural revolution we take guidance wholly from Lenin's teaching on socialist reconstruction. In the past 25 years the socialist cultural revolution has spread extensively, its progress paving the way for still greater success. Illiteracy has been wiped out. We have introduced obligatory universal eight-year schooling and are on our way to introducing obligatory and universal full secondary schooling. Even now Bulgaria ranks among the most highly developed countries for the number of students per 1,000 population.

Marxism-Leninism has become the dominant ideology, the world outlook, of the larger part of the nation. That has been the basis for our treatment and critical acceptance of the cultural legacy, the democratic and progressive substance of which we emphasized and advanced. The general line of our Party gave the fullest scope to the national creative genius, solidifying the ideological cadres and affirming further the prestige and glory of Bulgarian culture.

With the spiritual and material resources of the people in full bloom, with our intelligentsia accepting communist ideas, it became possible to guide cultural life through an elective public-state body, the role of the intelligentsia's public organizations increasing.

In the cultural domain, our Party attaches much importance to cooperation with other socialist countries and progressive world culture in general.

Like the cultural revolution, the drive for a highly effective socialist economy depends on the working people's degree of participation in public life and the advancement of socialist democracy.

We spare no effort in extending popular involvement in public administration. The importance of the people's public organiza-

tions — the Fatherland Front, the trade unions, the Komsomol, and others — as dependable links between the Party and the masses is increasing, with new functions previously performed by government bodies being assigned to them. We have a far-flung system of self-governing and independent bodies through which the people participate in public affairs. The Bulgarian Agricultural People's League (BAPL), the Party's faithful ally in building socialism, particularly in the countryside, plays an important role, a role with roots in our past history. The Party's cooperation with the BAPL accords with the general interests of internal development and the international influence of the socialist system, and is a specific expression of the combination of the national with the international in our country. A new Constitution is being drafted, reflecting the changed socio-historical conditions and giving further impetus to the growth of socialist democracy.

In the context of socialist democracy we follow Lenin's postulate that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the highest form of democracy. All talk about pure democracy, about opposition parties under socialism, and the like, is, as we see it, nothing but an attempt to graft the political mechanism of bourgeois democracy on to socialist society, the conditions in which differ radically from those of the capitalist environment. Our experience in building and consolidating socialist democracy, we hold, is the materialization of the Marxist-Leninist postulate of the proletarian dictatorship being a necessary condition for building socialism in the specific Bulgarian environment.

Building socialism, we have to contend with difficulties, unsolved problems, weaknesses and mistakes. Like the experience of other fraternal countries, ours, too, shows clearly that given a consistently internationalist policy and the right combination of the international and national in the work of Party and government, all these difficulties, which are really growing pains inescapable in any great undertaking, are put out of the way, with socialist society steadily advancing.

Methodical study of fraternal experience is an important precondition for our resolving all problems correctly. Collective experience is a powerful source of strength in the fight for socialism and communism, a powerful impellent of economic, socio-political, technico-scientific and cultural progress, helping to reinforce our defense

potential. *Building communist society in the present conditions is inconceivable without a continuously expanding exchange of achievements and experiences among countries and peoples that follow the socialist way, without internationalizing the national experience of the socialist countries.*

Bulgaria's example shows how a small, formerly backward country can, following the socialist way and cooperating in fraternal friendship with the USSR and other socialist countries, turn rapidly into a developed industrial-agrarian country with a high and continuously rising living standard and cultural level.

* * *

The upswing of the world revolutionary movement and its success in the fight against imperialism, for peace, progress and socialism, on the one hand, and the frantic efforts of the imperialists to stand their ground, to stem the victorious offensive and to regain lost positions, on the other, lay emphasis on the unity of the workers' international and national tasks.

Imperialism cannot be removed from history's path without the unity and joint action of the three main streams of the modern revolutionary movement, without mutual support and revolutionary solidarity between the world socialist system, the international working-class movement, and the national liberation movement. But is unity and joint action achievable in this politically, ideologically and socially heterogeneous front if its main organized force, the Communist movement, does not act as a single whole and fails to concentrate all its strength and action on the common aim?

It could not be more obvious that in the modern world, with the struggle against imperialism entering the decisive phase and the relation of strength favoring a new victorious offensive all down the line, *the unity and joint action of the world Communist movement is the main precondition for the further rapid development of the world revolutionary process.*

The world Communist movement and all progressives, therefore, condemn the various attempts to counterpose individual contingents of the working class to the movement as a whole, to counterpose the national tasks to the common tasks of the workers, the common strategy of the world's Communists, and the national specifics to the common laws of the working-

class revolution and the building of communist society.

Proletarian internationalism and the further consolidation of the revolutionary anti-imperialist forces require an offensive struggle against the bearers of Right and "Left" opportunism, who have betrayed the principles of proletarian internationalism and are assuming nationalist and anti-Soviet positions.

The questions of proletarian internationalism and of the right combination of the general and particular, the international and national, have acquired a *new aspect* since the victory of socialism in a number of countries—that aspect is the relationship among parties, classes, peoples and states in the framework of the socialist world system.

In the socialist countries capitalists no longer exist as a class. The leading class is the working class, which is building socialist society in alliance with the rest of the working masses and under the leadership of the Communist Party. The moment workers take power in a country, the concept of "nation" in that country acquires a new content, because the interests of the vast majority of the people coincide with the interests and policy of the working class, the new ruling class. As time goes by, socio-political reconstruction and industrial and agricultural growth fuse these interests more and more, firstly, because rapid industrial growth impels the growth of the working class, which takes in people from other classes and strata; secondly, because the farmers give up private ownership of the means of production, cutting the main bond that linked them with the bourgeoisie and merging increasingly with the working class not only in terms of their interests, but also in social status, and, thirdly, because the rapidly growing intelligentsia comes chiefly from the working people and its destiny is bound up wholly with the conditions and tasks of socialist construction.

In other words, a socialist nation takes shape in socialist countries, with its distinct socialist interests; thus, the *interests of the nation become equivalent and identical with those of the working class*. This means that the necessary unity of the national and international in the politics, strategy and tactics of the class becomes necessary, too, in the politics, strategy and tactics of the socialist nations and their states.

Until the end of the Second World War the Soviet Union was the only socialist state. After the war a few other countries

became socialist, too. But like the Soviet Union in the past, the world socialist system is only a part of the general working class cause, and no matter how great the advances, they are but stages on the way to the ultimate goal.

Lenin wrote: "There is one and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working wholeheartedly 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" (Vol. 24, p. 75).

Thereby Lenin defined the workers' tasks in countries where they are victorious and in those where power is still held by the bourgeoisie.

For our movement violating proletarian internationalism has always been dangerous and, naturally, the consequences of nationalist deviations are likely to be much graver in the case of a party that is the leading force in a state. When anti-Sovietism becomes part of state policy it disrupts the foundations of socialism in the country concerned and damages the revolutionary cause, while its bearers lose prestige in the international labor movement. That is what befell Maoism. And it is no accident that imperialist ideologues and strategists view nationalism as the Achilles heel of the world socialist system, concentrating most of their energies on fanning it to the utmost.

The emergence of the world socialist system created an entirely new world situation. *Continuing uninterruptedly in capitalist society, the class struggle grew into a confrontation of the two world systems*, the two socio-economic formations. Not only the world bourgeoisie, but the world proletariat, too, now has political, ideological, economic and military machinery organized on an international scale. The workers of the world, and those of any new country in which the socialist revolution may triumph, rely on the support of the world socialist system. It is the chief ally and support of the national liberation and democratic movements, the chief guarantor of the independence of newly-free countries, and the chief factor in safeguarding world peace.

It follows therefrom that *undeviating adherence to the principles of socialist internationalism in relations between the countries of the world socialist system, coupled with persevering efforts to impel and con-*

solidate that system's political, economic and military growth, is a necessary class, Party, national and international duty of the Communist parties of socialist countries. Violating socialist internationalism and straying to revisionism is fraught with the greatest danger for the interests of the class and nation, the fundamental interests of the international working-class movement, the national liberation movement and man's progress in general.

The Bulgarian Communist Party regards it as a supreme duty to fight for, and contribute to, the unity and cohesion of the world socialist system and the all-round growth of its might.

As we build socialism in Bulgaria, we persevere in this national and international duty, firming up our friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' parties and the revolutionary movement all over the world through international contacts and by means of our foreign policy. In so doing, we attach special importance to participating, unconditionally and without reservation, in the various bodies of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Our experience of building socialism bears out the fact that successful socialist construction in any country, especially a relatively small one, depends largely on its ties and cooperation with other socialist countries, and on their mutual aid. Practice has proved clearly that autarchic "independence" is a harmful utopia and that "socialist neutralism" in relation to the world socialist system is merely an ideological screen for a separatist nationalistic policy. Socialist economic integration is essential for the economic growth of the socialist countries. In these modern times of the technico-scientific revolution economic integration is the main factor securing for the economy of the socialist countries complete independence from that of the capitalist world.

Our attitude to the defensive organization of the socialist Warsaw Treaty countries could not be clearer.

We have said time and again that we oppose the division of the world into military blocs and advocate their simultaneous dissolution. But until this becomes a reality, the Warsaw Treaty is the main guardian of peace in Europe and the world, the main barrier to the anti-socialist and revenge-seeking forces. The Warsaw Treaty accords with the interests of the world so-

cialist system and the alliance of the European socialist countries as a whole; also, it ensures the national independence of each of its member-countries. The existence of the Warsaw Treaty prevents imperialism, directly or indirectly, from making its old "claims" on countries that were once politically and economically dependent on it, but are at present trying to stay out of imperialist blocs.

For these reasons we are firmly determined to continue consolidating the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and shall do our utmost to this end, because we are deeply convinced of this being our international and national duty. And there, too, our Party takes guidance from Lenin's guideline that the socialist countries need "a close military and economic alliance . . . for otherwise the capitalists . . . will crush and strangle us separately" (Vol. 30, p. 296).

The emergence of the world socialist system lays an added emphasis on the attitude to the Soviet Union as the criterion of how correctly the national is harmonized with the international in the policy of the Communist Party which, having taken power, has become the leading force in its country.

For millions of people, for friends and foes alike, communism and the Soviet Union have for more than half a century been associated concepts. That is why, on the heels of the October Revolution, our Party identified defense of Soviet Russia with defense of world socialism. Later, too, Georgi Dimitrov, leader of the BCP and General Secretary of the Comintern, said that the attitude toward the CPSU and the Soviet Union is the testing stone of the revolutionary quality of political parties, movements and leaders. And that was also the view of the entire Communist movement on this cardinal international question.

Regrettably, these days Communists here and there try to elaborate a "theory," or at least to create the impression, that one can assume more or less anti-Soviet postures and yet be an internationalist. Lenin wrote on this score: "The thing is not to 'proclaim' internationalism, but to be able to be an internationalist in deed, even when times are most trying" (Vol. 24, p. 82). What can one say then of those "internationalists" who lack the will, as well as the skill?

Some people evidently think that to take the attitude to the Soviet Union as the criterion of internationalism is something akin

to a "favor" to that country. They forget the historic role and the services of the world's first socialist state to the revolutionary process in the world. They forget that now, too, the Soviet Union is the *main base and support* of the world Communist and working-class movement, the *main force* of world socialism. All down the years, ever since it was founded, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has been unshakeably true to the great Lenin's behest to do "the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries" (Vol. 28, p. 292).

However, some people professing to be Communist internationalists evidently think that socialist internationalism is the one-sided obligation of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Communists, the Soviet people. They make the most of all the politico-ideological, economic and military advantages afforded to mankind by the existence of the Soviet Union and its consistently anti-imperialist, internationalist line and policy, but do not regard themselves obliged to be internationalists at all times, in all circumstances. Perhaps they think that thereby they are following a national policy beneficial for their own parties, their own working class, their peoples and countries.

The facts show, however, that those who espouse nationalism and opportunism, who succumb to anti-Sovietism or do not rebuff it, not only prejudice the balance of strength between socialism and imperialism on a world scale, but also the situation of their own Party, their own working class, their people.

That is the inexorable logic of violating Lenin's principle of combining the general and the particular, the international and the national.

The Bulgarian Communist Party highly appreciates the significance and role of the Soviet Union and the CPSU in the present-day Communist and working-class movement, the world socialist system, the modern world. As for the relationship between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, between the BCP and CPSU, between the Bulgarian and Soviet peoples, everybody knows what this relationship is, and if any "reappraisal" is to occur, it will only imply greater and more complete closeness. Because, among other things, apart from our own national interests, we shall never forget that the objective course of historical development must

and will inevitably lead to a single socialist world on this planet.

* * *

The history of man, the history of the working-class struggle of the past decades, has borne out beyond doubt and daily confirms Lenin's postulate on the dialectical unity of the workers' international and national interests and tasks. Leninism, the Marxism of our epoch, has equipped the modern international Communist and working-class movement with clear and profound theoretical, strategic and tactical guidelines, stimulating powerfully the victorious struggle of the world proletariat, the national liberation movement and the world revolutionary process as a whole. Today, the socialist banner flies over a quarter of the globe and the mighty international Communist and working-class movement is storming the foundations of capitalism the world over. The old colonial empires have collapsed and young independent states have risen on their ruins. Not imperialism, but socialism is the main determinative political, economic and military force in the modern world. And as the years go by the balance of strength keeps tilting and will inevitably continue to tilt in favor of communism and progress.

And, beyond question, mankind owes these imposing historical gains chiefly to the victory of Leninism in the world Communist movement, to the ability of the Communist and Workers' parties and the world Communist movement as a whole to apply in practice the Leninist principle of the unity of working-class international and national tasks in the fight for the emancipation of mankind.

The Bulgarian Communist Party hails the Lenin jubilee with profound gratitude to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, one of the founders of scientific communism, to that mighty and all-conquering teaching that equipped our Party and gave it the historical opportunity of building socialism in Bulgaria. True to Lenin's postulate on constantly and correctly combining international and national tasks, the Bulgarian Communist Party will carry on, shoulder to shoulder with other fraternal parties, the titanic effort of the world proletariat to fulfil its historical mission, namely, to wipe off the face of the earth the capitalist system and to build a classless, Communist society on our planet.

Rise and growth of Leninism in Ceylon

S. A. WICKREMASINGHE

On April 22, 1970, the whole of progressive humanity will celebrate an historic date—the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, leader of the world's first victorious socialist revolution, the organizer and architect of the world's first socialist state—Soviet Russia.

All the universally significant events of our age—the Great October Socialist Revolution, the birth of the world socialist system, the fall of the colonial empires of world imperialism and the emergence of newly independent national states in Asia and Africa—are connected with the name and teaching of Lenin.

Leninism has become the most formidable ideology that is today driving millions and tens of millions of people into the worldwide struggle for peace, freedom, independence, socialism and communism. Leninism is the most powerful ideology that has won the minds of the majority of the working masses throughout the globe. Whether in the streets of New York, Paris, Buenos Aires, Delhi, Colombo or in the jungles of Vietnam, South Africa, etc., it is the banner of Leninism that the foremost champions of freedom uphold.

Today, Leninism has spread throughout the length and breadth of our globe. It has penetrated even the remotest corners of far-away lands.

The impact of Leninism in Asia has been truly great. Beginning with the Asian republics of the USSR, the ideas of Leninism have spread and taken root in the vast territories of Asia. It was under the banner of Leninism that the revolutions of Mongolia, China, Korea and Vietnam triumphed. Today, Marxist-Leninist parties have been formed in almost all the countries of Asia.

It was in the late 20s of our century that the first ideas of Leninism began to appear in Ceylon. The British colonial rulers, well supported by the British-controlled monopoly press, had managed to black out all news coming from the land of the Soviets, or banned the import and distribution of all Marxist literature. However, their efforts were in vain. In the early 20s the news of the new social order in Russia began to seep through.

The first carriers of the ideas of Leninism were student intellectuals who returned to Ceylon after their studies in England. They came across the English working class and Marxist movements and brought these ideas on their return to Ceylon. The great economic crisis of 1929, too, created an objective basis for the popularization of these early anti-imperialist and socialist ideas.

At that time the local bourgeoisie was 100 percent in collaboration with British colonialists. Unlike India, where the local bourgeoisie had entered the spheres of industry, banking and commerce in competition with British interests, the Ceylonese bourgeoisie was almost totally dependent on their British colonial masters. Britishers controlled key positions in the economy through their control of plantation agriculture, which was the main basis of the introduction of capitalist exploitation into Ceylon. Besides, they were in full control of banking, import-export trade and wholesale trade. The local bourgeoisie grew as local partners of the British capitalists and their functions were limited mainly to the sphere of services that were required to maintain plantation and other British interests in Ceylon. This explains the un-

patriotic nature of the local bourgeoisie of that time and the absence of a militant anti-imperialist struggle as found in India.

The first to voice the slogan of complete national independence was myself. In 1931 I became the first socialist to be elected to the State Council. The early 1930's saw the emergence of a broad anti-imperialist movement led by the intelligentsia, which was known as the Suriya Mal Movement. The Suriya Mal Movement was a broad anti-imperialist movement which promoted anti-war and anti-imperialist sentiments among the people. It was started in opposition to Poppy Day on which money collected from the people by the sale of poppy flowers was sent to the "martyrs" of World War I in metropolitan countries. The Suriya flower symbolized the aspirations of the masses for freedom.

In 1935, the first political party which put forward the twin aim of complete political independence and socialism was formed. It was called the Lanka Sama Samaja Party. It consisted of socialists of all hues, from bourgeois liberals to Communists.

Inside the Lanka Sama Samaja Party there was a Leninist nucleus which consistently carried on an inner-party struggle for the consolidation of Marxist-Leninist ideas. They defended the Soviet Union as the first socialist state and repulsed the attacks of the Trotskyite group within the party. In 1939 the Trotskyites openly attacked the Comintern and slandered the Soviet Union. They vehemently opposed the united front tactics of the Comintern and branded them as tactics of class collaboration. The Marxist-Leninists led by myself, M. G. Mendis, A. Waithiyalingam and U. Saranankara, were expelled from the LSSP. We formed the United Socialist Party — the forerunner of the Ceylon Communist Party, in 1940.

The formation of the Ceylon Communist Party in July 1943, marked a qualitatively higher stage in the development of Leninism in Ceylon.

For the first time a party guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and organized on the Leninist principles of democratic centralism, was formed. This was no artificial creation on the part of those who had embraced Marxism-Leninism. The objective conditions of the time — the formation and development of the working-class movement and trade union struggles in the 1920's, the influence of the ideas of social-

ism and the example of the Soviet Union — were ripe for the formation of a Marxist party. Besides, communist study circles and later the United Socialist Party had paved the way for such a step.

The Communists upheld the need for a broad anti-fascist people's front in the countries threatened with fascism and supported the Soviet Union in its alliance with Britain, France and the USA against Hitlerite Germany. Guided by the principles of Leninism, they saw that the prime duty of true revolutionaries was to support the world's first socialist state and render it all assistance in its struggle against world imperialism.

Today, on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the Ceylon Communist Party can be proud of its history. Right from its inception it carried on a sustained and ruthless struggle against the vicious ideology of Trotskyism. The Trotskyites spread vicious anti-communist and anti-Soviet ideas and denied the socialist character of the Soviet state and, later, of the whole socialist system. With the consolidation and strengthening of the world socialist system, headed by the Soviet Union, they have now been forced to abandon these old slanders and to invent new ones to suit their ulterior motives. But the majority of the working masses can no longer be duped by these Trotskyite slanders. This is a signal victory gained by Leninism during the past quarter century.

While the Ceylon Communist Party has been championing the Leninist concept of broad anti-imperialist unity, Trotskyite ideologists have vehemently opposed any such unity and have advocated the immediate formation of a "Workers' Government." Negated was the conclusion of any temporary agreements with the progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Events of the past two decades have confirmed the necessity for such a broad national united front. The formation of the SLFP-LSSP-CP united front under a broad anti-imperialist common program is one of the outstanding achievements of the ideas of Leninism in our country.

The struggle of the Ceylon Communist Party to preserve the purity of Leninism was not simple. It was fought against both external and internal foes. Externally, it had to face the offensive of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies, including Trotskyism. Internally, it had to carry on a determined struggle against both leftist and

rightist deviations that sprang up within the Party itself. For example, as a result of a rightist deviation in 1947 the Party decided to support the United National Party at the general elections. It was the result of our inability at that time to perceive the compradore character of the UNP, which was veiled by "patriotic" phraseology. However, the Party corrected this mistake in the very short time of less than six months. In 1948-50, there was the leftist deviation, due to which we could not distinguish between the two stages of the Ceylonese revolution and were trying to imitate the Chinese revolution blindly.

Always, Leninism has been the guiding star in all our protracted and complex struggles both against external and internal foes. It has served us as an unfailing compass that leads us along the revolutionary path.

Today, many ideas that were first put forward by the Marxist-Leninists have struck deep roots among the population. The need for rapid industrialization as a means of attaining economic independence, the necessity for closer cooperation with the socialist world, particularly with the Soviet Union, the necessity for a state sector in the struggle against imperialism, are only a few of these concepts that were first put forward by us and are now accepted by the masses. These ideas and proposals have become so popular that the imperialists and their local allies, the big bourgeoisie, now do not dare to oppose them openly. Instead they resort to all types of underhand activities designed to sabotage the very essence of the proposals. With the coming to power of the present government in 1965, they are carrying on a well-planned program to undermine the state sector, by sabotaging further development of state industries, by partial handing over of state commercial enterprises to joint-stock companies with private capital participation.

Attempts are also being made to implement certain development programs by neo-colonialist methods which only increase and strengthen the imperialist domination in our economy. For example, the Mahaweli Diversion Scheme (proposed long ago by the Communist Party) is to be implemented under the auspices of the World Bank and with the participation of foreign private capital.

But the struggle for the consolidation and victory of Leninism is not over. It is still faced with stiff opposition from vested

interests and many obscurantist ideologies. Grim battles still lie ahead. It has still to settle accounts with numerous petty-bourgeois ideologies, which of late are springing up and are being popularized. It has to win the ideological battle with various pseudo-socialist doctrines.

The developments since independence have brought the national liberation struggle in Ceylon to a qualitatively new and higher stage. The tasks of consolidating political independence and of winning economic independence have become the order of the day. These cannot be achieved without radical reforms in the economy, the state structure and a changed balance of forces more favorable to the working class.

It is necessary to break away from the imperialist-dominated world market and to establish closer contact with the world socialist system, principally with the Soviet Union. Radical solutions have to be found to the pressing problems of the peasantry, the youth and the working class. Over 800,000 youth are unemployed at present. They include more than 12,000 youth who have completed university education. The foreign-exchange crisis resulting from the continuous adverse balance of payments situation caused by the drop in export earnings due to non-equivalent exchange, is deepening. Hesitation and vacillation as well as middle-of-the-road policies are dangerous in such a climate. What is required are bold and resolute steps. Both national and international experience have confirmed that only the ideology of Leninism can provide guidance for such activity. As experienced by some states taking the non-capitalist path of development, this guidance may be effected even before the Marxist-Leninist party comes to power. Yet the depth and extent of the revolutionary transformations and the consistency with which they are being implemented depends on the strength and influence of the national and international Communist movement and the world socialist system.

In the year of the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the Ceylon Communist Party will redouble its efforts to strengthen its influence and activity among the working masses of Ceylon and will make every possible endeavor to consolidate and guide the united front of progressive forces along the path of radical transformations leading to the creation of material and class prerequisites for the triumph of Leninism and for the establishment of the leading role of the working

class. It will fight the vacillation and hesitation of the national bourgeoisie and defend the organizational and ideological independence of the working class against all attacks from bourgeois and petty-bourgeois quarters.

As in the past, we place our unfailing confidence in the invincible theory of Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism, which alone are capable of taking us along the truly revolutionary path leading to socialism.

Lenin and some problems of national liberation movement

EZEKIAS PAPAIOANNOU

The whole world and more especially the working people are celebrating the 100th anniversary of the birth of the greatest revolutionary leader of all times, V. I. Lenin.

Leader of the Great October Socialist Revolution and founder of the first socialist state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Lenin has become the symbol and embodiment of everything that is really just, human and progressive. There is no sphere of human activity which has not become the object of deep analysis and study by Lenin.

Lenin is not only the continuer of the work of Marx and Engels but he actually developed and put Marxism into practice. Lenin devoted his whole life to the service of the working people.

Lenin was an implacable enemy of everything that was alien to working-class interests. At the beginning of our century, when opportunism and petty-bourgeois illusions prevailed in the leadership of the Social-Democratic parties of Europe, when revisionism stifled the Second International, Lenin fought revisionism and opportunism by every means and headed the genuine revolutionary wing in the international labor movement.

Lenin's great historic contribution to the international movement was the rich

theoretical part of his work which rejected revisionism and supported the genuine revolutionary ideas of Marxism and proletarian internationalism in the conditions of imperialism. Of tremendous importance for the entire revolutionary movement were his theses on the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution. Of equal importance were his theses on the alliance of workers and peasants in the socialist revolution, on the alliance of the working-class movement of the imperialist countries with the liberation movement of the colonies, on the right to self-determination of oppressed peoples, on the linking of the immediate demands of working people with the struggle for socialism, and many others.

Lenin's teaching on the party of the new type as the highest form of working-class political organization with sound ideological and organizational principles, played an important role in the international working-class movement.

Leninism, which is the development of Marxist theory in the new historical period of imperialism and socialist revolutions, naturally constituted the basis of the contemporary international Communist movement. Today we speak of Marxism-Leninism as an integral doctrine.

To this day Lenin's contribution to the

national liberation movement constitutes real leadership and guidance for the peoples fighting for their national independence and sovereignty. Lenin clearly differentiated between chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism of the oppressor states and the nationalism of the oppressed. While stressing the tremendous importance of the national liberation movement of the peoples and the progressive character of the nationalism of the oppressed peoples who fought against imperialist rule, Lenin always underlined the reactionary character of bourgeois nationalism that poisons the class consciousness of the politically immature masses and nurses every kind of opportunism.

"Let us suppose," Lenin wrote in 1915, "that two countries are at war in the epoch of bourgeois, national liberation movements. Which country should we wish success to from the standpoint of present-day democracy? Obviously, to that country whose success will give a greater impetus to the bourgeoisie's liberation movement, make its development more speedy, and undermine feudalism the more decisively. Let us further suppose, that the *determining* feature of the objective historical situation has changed, and that the place of capital striving for national liberation has been taken by international, reactionary and imperialist finance capital. The former country, let us say, possesses three-fourths of Africa, whereas the latter possesses one-fourth. A repartition of Africa is the objective content of their war. To which side should we wish success? It would be absurd to state the problem in its previous form, since we do not possess the old criteria of appraisal: there is neither a bourgeois liberation movement running into decades, nor a long process of the decay of feudalism. It is not the business of present-day democracy either to help the former country to assert its 'right' to three-fourths of Africa, or to help the latter country (even if it is developing economically more rapidly than the former) to take over those three-fourths.

"Present-day democracy will remain true to itself only if it joins neither one nor the other imperialist bourgeoisie, only if it says that the two sides are equally bad, and if it wishes the defeat of the imperialist bourgeoisie in every country. Any other decision will, in reality, be national-liberal and have nothing in common with genuine internationalism" (Vol. 21, pp. 143-44.)

Lenin fought consistently both against those Social-Democrats who denied the

importance of the national liberation movement or underestimated their duties in the national sphere, and against the opportunists who betrayed proletarian internationalism and tailed behind the bourgeoisie of their country.

Continuing the work of Marx, Lenin developed the theory of scientific socialism and the policy of the Communist movement concerning the national question. Lenin dialectically analyzed the national and colonial questions and stressed the progressive content of the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, the progressive character of their "nationalism" which turned against imperialism, clearly distinguishing it from reactionary bourgeois nationalism that cultivated nationalist prejudices and hatred among the working masses so as to poison their class consciousness, divide them and make them tail behind the bourgeoisie.

The formation of nations brought about the expansion of economic and cultural ties between peoples, which was an important requisite for human progress. Lenin wrote: "Capitalism's broad and rapid development of the productive forces *calls for* large, politically compact and united territories, since only here can the bourgeois class — together with its inevitable antipode, the proletarian class — unite and sweep away all the old, medieval, caste, parochial, petty-national, religious and other barriers" (Vol. 20, p. 45). However, under capitalism not all peoples have the opportunity of growing into nations because the capitalists of the ruling nations retard the economic and cultural development of the oppressed peoples condemning them to backwardness.

Following the Great October Socialist Revolution and the socialist revolutions in a number of other countries in Eastern Europe and Asia after the Second World War, there appeared for the first time a new type of nations, socialist nations, radically differing from the old, bourgeois nations in their class composition, spiritual make-up, economic and political interests and outlook.

"Developing capitalism knows two historical tendencies in the national question. The first is the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against all national oppression, and the creation of national states. The second is the development and growing frequency of international intercourse in every form, the break-down of national barriers, the crea-

tion of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc.

"Both tendencies are a universal law of capitalism. The former predominates in the beginning of its development, the latter characterizes a mature capitalism that is moving towards its transformation into socialist society" (Vol. 20, p. 27).

In imperialist conditions these two tendencies are contradictory and irreconcilable. This engenders conflicts within the multinational states and colonial empires and wars between states, and contributes to the growth of the national liberation movement.

Lenin gave a crystal-clear definition of imperialism exposing its pretensions and showing what robbery it is. "What does imperialism mean? It means that a handful of rich powers have a stranglehold on the whole world, when they know that they have the fifteen hundred million people of the world in their hands and have a stranglehold on them, and when these fifteen hundred million feel what British culture, French culture and American civilization mean—rob for all you are worth!" (Vol. 30, p. 389).

"Imperialism means the progressively mounting oppression of the nations of the world by a handful of Great Powers; it means a period of wars between the latter to extend and consolidate the oppression of nations; it means a period in which the masses of the people are deceived by hypocritical social-patriots, i.e., individuals who, *under the pretext* of the 'freedom of nations', 'the right of nations to self-determination', and 'defense of the fatherland' justify and defend the oppression of the majority of the world's nations by the Great Powers" (Vol. 21, p. 409).

With the advent of imperialism, monopoly capital developed, amassing fabulous fortunes by ruthless exploitation of the working class in the capitalist countries and the colonial peoples. While making incredible profits in their own countries, the monopolists invest capital in economically backward countries where both labor and raw materials are cheap, which ensures them still higher profits.

Lenin always emphasized the contradictions and antagonisms of classes in capitalist society. "Employers and wage-workers, the insignificant number of the rich ('the upper ten thousand') and the tens of millions of those who toil and own no property — these are indeed 'two na-

tions'," (Vol. 9, p. 307). When Lenin spoke of "two nations" he did not mean nations as such but the social inequality prevailing in capitalist society. Lenin always pointed out that the position of the workers of an oppressor nation does not essentially differ from that of the workers of an oppressed nation. "The Communist International's entire policy on the national and the colonial questions should rest primarily on a closer union of the proletarians and the working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landowners and the bourgeoisie. This union alone will guarantee victory over capitalism, without which the abolition of national oppression and inequality is impossible" (Vol. 31, p. 146).

"Capital is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood, is needed. We are opposed to national enmity and discord, to national exclusiveness. We are internationalists" (Vol. 30, p. 293).

Lenin stressed that in the epoch of imperialism the concept of proletarian internationalism acquired truly worldwide scope due to the inclusion of the revolutionary forces of the Asian, African and Latin American working people in the struggle against imperialism. Lenin always stressed the decisive importance of the international unity of the working class and Communist movement in the fight against imperialism and colonialism, for peace, national independence, democracy, socialism and communism.

The Soviet Union, true to proletarian internationalism, to Leninism, has not only stood by all oppressed and colonial peoples fighting against imperialism and for national independence, but has helped these peoples materially, politically and by every other possible means. The history of the national liberation struggle can provide many examples of the generous assistance rendered to it by the Soviet Union. In Asia, Africa and Latin America the Soviet Union has rendered such assistance to the peoples fighting for their national liberation without which it would have been almost impossible for them to win their struggle. Many Communist and Workers' parties have publicly expressed their gratitude to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for their extensive assistance. High appreciation of this was expressed in particular by Ho Chi Minh, Fidel Castro, Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal and many others.

The Arab peoples know that the Soviet Union and the socialist camp have stood consistently on their side and helped them by every possible means to win and defend their independence and territorial integrity.

The Soviet Union has given the people of Cyprus powerful diplomatic, military and economic aid in their struggle against imperialism and for full independence. The assistance rendered to Cyprus by the Soviet Union is appreciated by nationalist Cypriot leaders as well.

While resolutely upholding the right of nations to self-determination, Lenin at the same time raised the question of the expediency of secession. In his thesis on the national question in 1913, Lenin stressed that the issue of the right of nations to self-determination should not be confused with the issue of the expediency of secession of a particular nation at a given moment and that the question of secession should be decided in each case from the point of view of, and with due regard for, the interests of social development and the class struggle of the proletariat.

Immediately following the Great October Socialist Revolution the Soviet Government adopted the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia. By this declaration national oppression was abolished and full equality was granted to the peoples of Russia. The main principles of the Soviet nationality policy included: equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia, their right to self-determination, up to secession and the formation of independent states, abolition of all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions, free development of national minorities and all ethnic groups living in the territory of Russia. This Leninist policy on the national question was supported by the working people of formerly oppressed nations and resulted in a powerful movement for the formation of a voluntary union of the peoples of Russia. The great edifice of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics bears witness to the triumph of the Leninist policy on the national question.

The Leninist concept of the self-determination and sovereignty of nations has found its expression in the Bandung Conference Declaration of 1955 and the United Nations Charter. Despite opposition from the representatives of the United States, Britain, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, the 10th General Assembly session of the United Nations in 1955 debated the Declaration on Human Rights, of which

Article 1 of the draft said in part:

"All peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of this right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

The Great October Socialist Revolution laid the basis for solving the national question in the USSR in accordance with Leninist principles. Political emancipation of the formerly oppressed peoples was not enough. It was necessary to create socialist forms of economy in the remote national territories of Russia, to develop cultural and economic cooperation between the working people of the backward and the advanced nationalities and comprehensively to develop the cultural standard of formerly backward nationalities.

The consistent implementation of the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism in the USSR has made it possible to abolish national oppression and establish genuine equality of the peoples. The existence of the multinational Soviet state with equal opportunities for all nationalities constitutes an inspiring example for all peoples fighting for freedom and national independence. The Soviet example in solving the national question has been followed by other socialist countries and helps to demonstrate to the whole world that only socialism can solve successfully the national question and establish real equality of nationalities. Even the enemies of socialism and communism have been compelled to admit this.

Lenin always stressed the interdependence of the national liberation movement and the proletarian revolution. He evolved the theory of a single revolutionary stream of proletarian and anti-colonial revolutions for the socialist transformation of society. The Great October Socialist Revolution which shook the foundations of imperialism gave a tremendous impetus to the national liberation movement in the East opening up prospects of victory over the colonialists.

After the Second World War the national liberation struggle assumed gigantic dimensions and the colonial system began to break up. While in 1939 the colonialists dominated nearly two-thirds of mankind, between 1945 and 1960 more than 1,500 million people freed themselves from the imperialist yoke and took the path of independent development. The process of the complete elimination of the colonial system is under way. The breakup of the

colonial system is thus the result of the tremendous upsurge of the national liberation struggle under the favorable conditions created by the weakening of imperialism and the emergence of socialism as a world system.

The imperialists have tried in every way to belittle the role and significance of the national liberation movement. They maintained, through their mass media, that the colonial countries won their freedom not through the struggle of the colonial peoples but because the imperialist powers "helped them attain their independence!" The facts, however, show that the imperialists were compelled to give way to the mass movement of the colonial peoples who wrested their independence from the imperialists in sharp armed struggle or by mass action and political pressure.

Despite its relative numerical weakness, the working class and the Communist parties in the developing countries strive to be in the forefront of the national liberation struggle. The working class has proved to be the most consistent anti-imperialist force capable of securing the backing of broad sections of the people and especially the peasantry.

The peasantry, which suffers both from the oppression of colonialists and the exploitation of feudal chiefs, constitutes the broadest mass basis of the national liberation movement. For the peasantry the elimination of colonial oppression is inseparably connected with the abolition of feudal survivals and agrarian reform. Lenin pointed out that the peasantry is the most numerous section but at the same time the "hardest to move" owing to the conditions of its existence. Communists in no way belittle the historic role of the peasantry in the national liberation struggle. On the contrary, they fight for close alliance of the peasantry with the working class with the help of whom the national liberation struggle can be successfully conducted.

The national bourgeoisie which also suffers from the dominance of foreign monopolies and is humiliated by the imperialists, not only seeks to join the national movement but to actually control it. As it has greater access to education and political activity under colonial rule, it is not surprising that in many countries prominent leaders of the liberation movement come from the national bourgeoisie.

Marxists acknowledge the patriotic efforts of this progressive section of the bourgeoisie and support its struggle against

the reactionaries and imperialists for national freedom. At the same time Marxists are not blind to the inconsistency and vacillations of the national bourgeoisie in their effort to retain many survivals of the old in social life.

Marxists know full well that only the working class is capable of fighting consistently against imperialist oppression and for complete national independence. Where the leadership of the anti-imperialist struggle was under the parties of the working class, the national liberation revolution did not stop at the bourgeois-democratic stage, but developed into a socialist one, taking the form of a people's democracy.

Following the break-up of the colonial system various groups of countries were formed. Firstly, the countries that did not stop at political independence but completed their liberation by taking the road of building socialism. Secondly, the countries which freed themselves from imperialist enslavement but remained in the capitalist system of economy. Thirdly, the countries that won their independence but immediately fell under the economic dependence of the imperialist powers and were drawn into their aggressive blocs. Lastly, the countries that continue to be under colonial rule.

The document of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of June 1969 states:

"Under the impact of the revolutionary conditions of our time, distinctive forms of progressive social development of the newly free countries have appeared, and the role of revolutionary and democratic forces has been enhanced. Some young states have taken the non-capitalist path, a path which opens up the possibility of overcoming the backwardness inherited from the colonial past and creates conditions for transition to socialist development. In these countries the socialist orientation is making headway, overcoming great difficulties and trials. These states are waging a determined struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

"Countries which have taken the capitalist road have been unable to solve any of the basic problems facing them. Confronted with rising popular discontent, the internal reactionary forces in these countries are intensifying with imperialist support their assault on democratic freedoms. In a number of cases they are brutally suppressing the mass democratic and patriotic movements. They are kindling conflicts be-

tween national, ethnic, religious, tribal and linguistic groups, thereby jeopardizing the independence won by these countries.

"The imperialists show great hostility toward states with progressive regimes. To turn these countries away from their chosen path the imperialists seek to subvert their political parties, subject educational and cultural institutions and mass media to their influence, organize counter-revolutionary activities through their agents and back reactionary elements in the state apparatus and the armed forces. They try to utilize anti-communist prejudices to spread discord among patriots."

Communists are fighting effectively against this form of imperialist disruption by developing the mass activity of the peoples and uniting the workers, peasants, working youth, students and intellectuals, all democratic and patriotic forces of the people in a united front.

Alliance of the socialist world system, working-class forces and the forces of national liberation is imperative for the complete rout of imperialism. Concerning this the document of Communist and Workers' Parties of 1969 stresses: "It is of paramount importance for the prospects of the anti-imperialist struggle to strengthen the alliance between the socialist system, the forces of the working-class movement and national liberation."

Imperialism remains the chief enemy of the liberated countries and the peoples fighting for their independence. Imperialists cannot reconcile themselves to the loss of their colonies. They are searching for new ways to save colonialism. Economic penetration, presented by them as "aid to under-developed countries," is the favorite form of neo-colonialism adopted by the imperialists. This method of indirect control by the imperialists is nothing but an attempt to attain the same imperialist aims. United States imperialism has become the main bulwark of modern colonialism.

In their efforts to disrupt and weaken the national liberation movement the imperialists use anti-communism and every kind of corruption. The American imperialists use bribery and corruption on an increased scale in their effort to divide the national liberation movement and drive the nationalist bourgeoisie and other strata away from the most consistent anti-imperialist forces, the Communists. They buy up newspapers, bribe ministers and other political personalities in their effort to split the anti-

imperialist forces and to influence political developments in their favor.

Experience shows that the Communists are the most courageous and consistent fighters against imperialism and for real freedom. The Vietnamese people, led by the Communists, are today the standard-bearers of the struggle against American imperialist intervention. For many years now they have been waging a relentless war of liberation relying on the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Despite its tremendous military superiority, despite its bestial, inhuman methods of warfare, the strongest imperialist power in the world is sustaining defeats in Vietnam. The arrogant USA leadership which not long ago scorned world public opinion for its opposition to the barbarous war in Vietnam, was finally compelled to stop the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and to sit down at the negotiating table with the representatives of the National Liberation Front in Paris.

Mass demonstrations of the American people against the war in Vietnam compelled President Nixon to speak of a pull-out from Vietnam and to withdraw a small part of the American forces. The disclosures of the inhuman massacres of Vietnamese civilians, mainly women and children, published in the American and world press, shocked world opinion and strengthened the protest movement against the barbarous American aggression.

The successes of the Vietnamese people show conclusively that in our epoch the peoples have the possibility of defending their independence and winning their freedom when they fight resolutely and with the backing of world progressives forces.

In the Middle East imperialism has also created a dangerous war nest by organizing the Israeli aggressive war against the UAR, Syria and Jordan in June 1967. The U.S. imperialists aimed by this war to destroy the progressive Arab regimes, to divide and smash the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples and thus regain their positions in the Middle East. However, despite the temporary successes of the imperialists, the conquest of Arab lands by the Israeli Zionists, they failed to achieve their main aims. The progressive Arab regimes were not overthrown, on the contrary, they were further consolidated and strengthened. The hostile policy of the American and other imperialists against the just cause of the Arabs resulted in the

further development of anti-imperialist feelings among the Arab peoples. Revolutions in Sudan and Libya overthrew the reactionary regimes. The bonds of the progressive Arab states with the Soviet Union and other socialist states are becoming ever closer.

Imperialism, and particularly American imperialism, attaches exceptional importance to the Mediterranean which opens the way to three continents. Imperialist military bases and the U.S. 6th Fleet constitute a permanent threat to the peoples and to peace in the area. The presence of imperialist military bases in Cyprus and American plans to turn the island into a rocket base for military adventures in the Middle East is the root cause of the anomaly prevailing in Cyprus. In Greece the imperialists engineered the fascist military coup which has tied the country to the imperialist chariot, isolating it from all democratic and progressive peoples of the world.

The presence of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean has rightly been hailed by the peoples of the area as a factor of security, peace and stability against the adventurist imperialist plans. The people of Cyprus as well as the people of the neighboring countries know better than anybody else the beneficial role played by the presence of the Soviet fleet in the national liberation cause.

The national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America has not weakened in face of imperialist aggression. On the contrary, it is constantly developing and growing stronger. On the African continent, after the final downfall of colonialism, 41 independent states were formed. Today, only 11 per cent of the

peoples of Africa are under colonial rule. The peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa are fighting an armed struggle against the colonialists, inflicting heavy blows on the coalition of fascist and racist regimes, which are supported by the imperialists.

In Asia and Latin America the imperialist interventions, conspiracies and economic pressures have failed to halt the movement for full national independence, for independent economic and social progress. The peoples of these countries, and the working class especially, realize that it is impossible for them to solve the serious economic problems of industrialization and to raise the standard of living without fundamental social-economic changes, without agrarian reform which will abolish feudal privileges—in short without democratization of political life.

Experience shows that imperialist pressures, interventions and conspiracies cannot prevent the peoples from taking the road of progressive social development because the world balance of forces has changed to the disadvantage of imperialism, and because ours is the epoch of revolutionary transformations. Unity of the socialist camp, unity of the Communist and Workers' parties, will speed the day of the final overthrow of imperialism.

In celebrating the 100th anniversary of the birth of the great Lenin, Communists everywhere could not pay a more fitting tribute to this greatset of all revolutionaries and teacher of the world working class than to redouble their efforts for unity so that socialism and communism may triumph the world over.

Lenin and Finland

AARNE SAARINEN

In connection with the centenary of Lenin's birth attention is focussed on the world-wide significance of his work, and I shall therefore try to examine the matter from the standpoint of Finland's people and the working class.

Lenin's activity was highly significant for the Finnish people and the working class, because he exercised an influence both as the leader of the revolution and the Communist movement and as a statesman.

Up to the Great October Socialist Revolution and for some time after it Finland was part of the Russian state, into which she was incorporated in 1809 (until then she was part of the Swedish kingdom).

Though a part of the Russian empire Finland enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy. The growth of her economy and national culture was relatively rapid. In substance, these circumstances were the pre-conditions for independence. Not until the end of the past century, with imperialist contradictions growing more acute and the threat of war in Europe looming large, did tsarism begin to pay more attention to Finland, establishing tighter controls over her home policy and stepping up war preparations on her territory. Democratic rights, too, were curtailed.

Yet it was a time—the end of the century — when the first trade unions and workers' political organizations appeared on the Finnish scene. A workers' party was founded in 1899. In 1903, having adopted a program corresponding in the main to the program of the German and Austrian Social-Democrats, it was renamed the Social-Democratic Party (SDP).

Naturally, these developments in the Finnish labor movement disturbed the ruling class in Finland, as well as in Russia. The differentiation of social forces

became more distinct: there was the bourgeoisie, on the one hand, troubled by the fact that the working class was becoming more revolutionary, and there was the labor movement, united by joint struggle against the ruling classes and against tsarism, the common enemy, on the other.

For the SDP, the nation's independence became a crucial issue from the standpoint of party policy. The Finnish labor movement fought doggedly against the oppressive policies of the tsarist autocracy. The Russian revolution of 1905 exercised a decisive influence on developments in Finland, preparing the ground for a successful struggle for more democratic parliamentary institutions and for equal and universal franchise. These were the main demands advanced in the general strike that erupted in Finland in 1905, as a result of which a one-chamber Sejm (parliament) of 200 deputies was instituted the following year. Deputies to the Sejm were elected every three years under a proportional system, with women also winning the right to elect and to be elected. Thus, the tsarist government showed its impotence in face of the Finnish workers and other progressive forces fighting beside them. The Social-Democrats won 80 seats in the first general election. This came as a surprise, but showed that the labor movement had greater support among the people than had been assumed.

Lenin followed the situation in Finland and the growth of her labor movement with keen interest. And for the rights of the Finnish people he fought vigorously at all stages, denouncing the tsarist policy of oppression. Time and again he cited Marx's and Engels' well-known phrase that "a people oppressing another people cannot be free."

In 1901 Lenin endeavored to establish contact with representatives of the Finnish labor movement and to obtain for the magazine *Zarya* and the newspaper *Iskra* materials concerning the situation in Finland. That year, the *Iskra* carried Lenin's article, "Protest of the Finnish People," which contained in full the text of a protest signed by nearly half a million against the military conscription of Finns under a law adopted in contravention of the constitution and the tsarist government's solemn assurances to the contrary. Lenin ranged himself on the side of the protesters, stigmatizing the government measure as unlawful and an act of violence. He wrote: "It would be futile, of course, for 2,500,000 Finns to think of an uprising; but we, all Russian citizens, should ponder over the disgrace that puts us to shame. We are still slaves to such an extent that we are employed to reduce other peoples to slavery. We still tolerate a government that suppresses every aspiration toward liberty in Russia with the ferocity of an executioner, and that furthermore employs Russian troops for the purpose of violently infringing on the liberties of others" (Vol. 5. p. 310).

That was how sharply Lenin reacted to the tsarist government's measure. It will be recalled, too, that differences and controversies surfaced among Russian Social-Democrats, among other things, over the national question, especially over the right of nations to self-determination. And the differences were particularly strong when realistic pre-conditions appeared for Finland's independence. On Lenin's initiative, the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, which took place in 1903, put down in the party program a clause recognizing the right to self-determination of all the peoples composing the Russian empire. That was a principle Lenin and all Bolsheviks upheld in all the subsequent stages of the struggle.

The question of Finland's independence became more topical than ever, crying out for a practical solution, after the 1917 February Revolution, when the tsar was overthrown and a Provisional Government formed in Russia. At that time, the Social-Democrats held a majority (103 seats) in the Finnish Sejm. This majority it was that proclaimed the Sejm as the supreme body of power, though the Right wing of the Finnish bourgeoisie opposed that decision and took steps jointly with Russia's Provisional Government to repeal it. As a result,

the Sejm was dissolved and a new general election decreed. By means of an insidious campaign of intimidation the bourgeois parties recovered the majority in the autumn of 1917.

In March 1917, while still in Zurich, Lenin wrote: "Nor ought we to forget that close to St. Petersburg we have one of the most advanced, factually republican, countries, namely, Finland, which, from 1905 to 1917, shielded by the revolutionary battles of Russia, has in a relatively peaceful way developed democracy and has won the *majority* of the people for socialism. The Russian proletariat will guarantee the Finnish Republic complete freedom, including freedom to secede . . . and precisely in this way will win the *complete* confidence and comradely assistance of the Finnish workers for the all-Russian proletarian cause . . . The Finnish workers are better organizers, they will help us in this sphere, they will, *in their own way*, push forward the establishment of the socialist republic" (Vol. 23, pp. 331-32). To be sure, these lines should be examined in the light of the concrete situation of that time.

J. V. Stalin represented the Russian Bolsheviks and the Council of People's Commissars at the Congress of the SDP of Finland in November 1917. Of the Soviet position he said: "Like all the other peoples of Russia, the Finns, too, have complete freedom in arranging their life. A voluntary and honest alliance of the Finnish people with the Russian people! No patronage, no supervision from above over the Finnish people!"

On December 6, 1917, the Sejm proclaimed independence. However, it was not from the Soviet Republic, but from Germany and a number of other countries that the bourgeois government requested recognition, although the main issue was the relationship between Finland and Russia. Not until some of the governments said that recognition by Russia was needed before they could extend theirs—as representatives of the Finnish labor movement had, indeed, pointed out—did the bourgeois government approach the Soviet Government headed by Lenin. And even before the final decision was adopted on this score, a deputation of the Finnish labor movement asked the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party to cooperate in securing this recognition. On December 31, 1917, the Soviet Government formally recognized the independence of Finland.

That was how Finland was given com-

plete independence by the Soviet Government headed by Lenin.

It is these events that link Lenin's name with the history of the Finnish people. To be sure, Lenin and the Bolsheviks did not want Finland to divorce herself completely from the Russian people, which is also evident from the preceding lines. The revolutionary movement in the two countries faced the task of wiping out capitalist exploitation, and of building the new, socialist society. That could have been done also on the basis of *federative relations* between the two countries. The Lenin passage quoted earlier, namely that the Finns would advance *in their own way* the constitution of a socialist republic, is of interest. Had this happened, Finland and the Soviet Union would probably have established federative relations.

This also borne out by the fact that the civil war which began in Finland on January 28, 1918, and the emergence of a revolutionary workers' government, required a solution. A treaty between Russia and the Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic was concluded at the beginning of March, becoming the first treaty in history between the two countries in which power was held by the working class. The Treaty was based on the principle of equality, yielding new advantages to Finland, including an addition to her territory in the northern part of the country. Yet in the spring of that year the revolution of the Finnish working people was defeated, with reaction seizing power and Finnish-Soviet relations deteriorating to the point of hostility due to the policy of the Whiteguard government in Helsinki. Afraid of the working class, afraid that the workers might again rise up in revolutionary struggle, the bourgeoisie fanned blind hatred of the Soviet Union.

* * *

Lenin knew the situation in Finland well, because, among other things, he had visited the country repeatedly before the October Revolution. Not only did he pay a number of short visits, but also resided in Finland for fairly long periods. The first time he came to us was in 1905, and the last in October 1917, when en route to Petrograd to take over direct guidance of the October Socialist Revolution. At that time he established contacts with many Finnish revolutionaries and progressives.

Yet Lenin's ideological and theoretical influence on the old Social-Democratic

movement in Finland had not been very great, because he lived in the country illegally, in hiding from the tsarist *okhranka* (gendarmerie).

Finnish labor's own experience, especially the stern lessons it derived from the abortive revolution, prompted the revolutionary Social-Democrats to reassess their activity and to be more self-critical. Thousands of veterans of the revolutionary struggle emigrated to Soviet Russia. At the end of August 1918, in Moscow, they founded the Communist Party of Finland. Not until then did the leaders of the Finnish revolution make a closer acquaintance of Lenin, his ideas and teaching, which were destined to exercise a decisive influence on the ideology and program, as well as the activity, of our Party.

The Inaugural Congress of the Finnish Communist Party sent Lenin a message of greeting, saying, in part:

"Comrade Lenin, revolutionary socialism, of which we had no idea at the beginning of the revolution of the Finnish working people, has now been discovered by us and is becoming clearer thanks to our own painful experience and the grand example of the victorious proletariat of Russia, and thanks to your instructive statements and works.

"Here in Russia we gained the opportunity to follow at first hand the greatest revolutionary process ever known in world history—the first great socialist revolution. If in Russia, where tsarist oppression had reigned until last year and which was then trampled by the iron German boot, the Socialist Soviet Republic has survived despite difficulties for over ten months, that fact alone is, in our opinion, the greatest possible proof of the extent to which the entire capitalist world is really ripe for socialist revolution. . . .

"For us former Finnish Social-Democrats this understanding of the communist teaching also signified the discovery of the new world outlook. What this amounted to was a socialist revolution within us. Having awakened, we only now see the light of socialism, which previously we saw only in our dreams . . .

"We accept our communist consciousness as a debt which we shall have to pay back by honest effort and struggle for the good of the revolution, primarily in Finland and here in Russia.

"The Finnish Communists, too, are marching joyously into battle: they want to take part in the storming and destruction

of the capitalist strongholds. The Finnish Communists consider it below their dignity to stay behind the lines at a time when the proletariat in all countries will be conquering the world."

* * *

Lenin fought for the freedom of the peoples and for peace. He said: "We know, we know only too well, the incredible misfortunes that war brings to the workers and peasants. For that reason our attitude to this question must be most cautious and circumspect. We are ready to make the greatest concessions and sacrifices in order to preserve the peace for which we have paid such a high price." He added, however: "... but not any kind and for ever" (Vol. 33, p. 148). The Soviet Government lost no time in addressing to the peoples and governments the proposal to open negotiations forthwith "of a just, democratic peace" (Vol. 26, p. 249).

Lenin worked perseveringly for peaceful coexistence with the neighboring countries, for international relations based on equality. Thanks to this a peace treaty was concluded between Finland and Soviet Russia in 1920. But Finland's ruling circles did nothing to improve relations with the Soviet Union. When, at the end of the thirties, the Soviet Union attempted to improve relations with Finland and strengthen the security of its northwestern frontiers in

face of the threat of a second world war emanating from Hitler Germany, the Finnish rulers were adamant. Their shortsighted and unrealistic policy led the country into a war with the USSR. Only the severe experience of that war prompted part of the Finnish ruling circles to adopt a correct and serious position with relation to the Leninist peace policy of the Soviet Union, a policy based from the outset on the right of nations to self-determination and on the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

After the Second World War, Finnish-Soviet relations were put on a footing of increasing and ever-closer cooperation, mutual confidence and friendship. The people of Finland are learning more about Lenin's life and activity and their respect is increasingly profound.

Our Party has already held some functions and lectures in connection with the centenary of Lenin's birth, and will hold many more this year. All the Finnish parties, ranging from Left to Right, are represented on the broad civic committee formed to organize jubilee functions and to acquaint people with Lenin's life and activity. That alone is an indication of the immense change that has taken place in the attitude of the Finns towards the Soviet Union, towards the great leader, the first leader of the Soviet state and the world Communist movement.

Triumph of Lenin's ideas

JACQUES DUCLOS

In common with Communists the world over, the Communists of France are this year paying homage to the theoretician and strategist of the Great October Revolution. And looking back to the foundation of their own party in December 1920, when the Tours Socialist Party congress voted to affiliate with the Communist International, they can say that throughout all these years they have been inspired and guided by Lenin's teaching.

But to be up to the tasks imposed by history, the French Communist Party had to overcome numerous difficulties.

Transforming the old-type parliamentary and essentially reformist party into the new-type, genuinely revolutionary and genuinely Communist party, was, Lenin emphasized, an extremely difficult task. And he pointed to France, where this was more obvious than in any other country.

In this complex transformatory process, begun with the inauguration of our Communist Party, Lenin's advice, his talks with French comrades, the study of his methods in the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party and in the Second International and of his political and organizational principles, have been of the utmost help to the French as to all other Communist parties.

* * *

The first significant lesson he taught the world labor movement, and more particularly the French Socialists, was the need to match the word to the deed, something that was conspicuously lacking in the Second International leaders—their revolutionary words went hand in hand with opportunist deeds.

In studying Lenin's work in the Second

International one is impressed by the way he fought for the policy that finally led to the victorious October Revolution.

Engels fought opportunism in the Second International up to the last days of his life. But in 1896 the London congress, taking advantage of the fact that Engels was no longer alive, pushed through an opportunist policy clothed in revolutionary phraseology. A year earlier, in 1895, Lenin founded in Russia the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, and together with others waged an uncompromising struggle against opportunism.

The Paris Second International Congress (1900) adopted Kautsky's "elastic" resolution, virtually justifying the Socialist Millerand in joining the bourgeois government together with General Gallifet, the butcher of the Paris Commune. The Congress minority, led by Jules Guesde, opposed Socialist participation in the government.

At the same time, however, the Congress adopted a resolution, tabled by Rosa Luxemburg, urging Socialist parties to vote against military credits for colonial expeditions.

The Second International leaders were not in the least perturbed by this obvious contradiction: one resolution justified participation in a government responsible for colonial expeditions, while another called for active opposition to this. But, then, for them the resolutions were merely words, while cooperation with the bourgeoisie in a reactionary government was a fact, and one that Lenin condemned in no uncertain terms.

In *What Is to Be Done?* he remarked that by joining the bourgeois government Millerand had provided an "excellent example" of practical Bernsteinism and betrayal of the workers' interests.

The opportunist policies of the Second International leaders detracted from the viability of the International Socialist Bureau, the executive body that was supposed to see that congress resolutions were enforced.

In short, the opportunist Socialist leaders had no compunction about voting for a resolution urging a fight against war, and taking the very opposite line in their respective countries.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks were energetic and consistent in opposing any support of war and colonialism.

At its Stuttgart congress (1907), Lenin opposed a resolution supported by Bernstein. Couched in deliberately ambiguous terms, it recognized the "civilizing role" of colonialism and spoke of a possible "Socialist colonial policy."

This acceptance of colonialism, though with a "Socialist" label tacked on, set off a heated debate in which the forces of the two trends were nearly equal. This was shown by the vote: the opportunist resolution was rejected by 128 votes to 108 with 10 abstentions.

Lenin's analysis of the factors behind this trend in Western Socialist parties was of immense assistance to the French Communist Party, operating in a country which at that time was exploiting the 70 million population of the world's second biggest colonial empire.

Lenin wrote in his report of the congress: "This vote on the colonial question is of very great importance . . . it revealed a negative feature in the European labor movement, one that can do no little harm to the proletarian cause. . . .

"The non-propertied, but non-working, class is incapable of overthrowing the exploiters. Only the proletarian class, which maintains the whole of society, can bring about the social revolution. However, as a result of the extensive colonial policy, the European proletarian *partly* finds himself in a position when it is *not* his labor, but the labor of the practically enslaved natives in the colonies, that maintains the whole of society" (Vol. 13, pp. 76-77).

In this way Lenin fully revealed the economic basis of Marx's thesis that a nation oppressing another nation cannot itself be free. Unfortunately, Lenin's analysis was not known to the French workers, for it could have helped them to understand and subsequently eliminate a basic cause of opportunism. But for the young French Communist Party, which from the very outset

had to combat colonialism, this was a valuable lesson indeed.

Another resolution sharply debated at Stuttgart was on anti-militarism. There was adamant opposition to the semi-anarchist views of Gustave Hervé who, Lenin remarked, naively suggested that every war be "answered by a strike and an uprising."

The German Socialist August Bebel and Jules Guesde trenchantly criticized semi-anarchistic Hervéism, but had nothing concrete to suggest by way of proletarian struggle against war.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks joined with Rosa Luxemburg in an attempt to improve the Bebel resolution. They were helped by Jean Jaures, who proposed including concrete examples of mass struggle against war.

Lenin wrote: "These amendments (1) stated that militarism is the chief weapon of class oppression; (2) pointed out the need for propaganda among the youth; (3) stressed that Social-Democrats should not only try to prevent war from breaking out or to secure the speediest termination of wars that have already begun, but should utilize the crisis created by the war to hasten the overthrow of the bourgeoisie" (Ibid., p. 80).

Lenin welcomed this victory over the opportunists on the colonial, war and other issues. But at the same time he stressed that the revolutionary forces must regroup for a more consistent and sustained effort against capitalism, and this implied intensified struggle against opportunism.

The Stuttgart congress showed that it was still possible to defeat the opportunists in the Second International by uniting the Left elements in the various Socialist parties and bringing part of the Centrists over to correct positions. But this was hampered, in particular, by the position of the German Left Socialists on the national self-determination issue.

All this notwithstanding, Lenin's Second International activity has very valuable lessons for us today. While working to unite the Left forces, he was unrelenting in his struggle against opportunists, whether Right or "Left," always insisting on fulfillment of majority decisions.

His speeches and articles of the pre-World War I period are part of his energetic campaign for unity on a principled basis. And only later, in the new conditions created by the Second International's slide into chauvinism, did Lenin call for an interna-

tional alliance of workers' parties on a new basis.

The study of Lenin's fight against Right opportunism and the dogmatism of certain "Left" Social-Democrats was of immense help to the French Communists in turning their party, which had emerged from the now completely reformist Socialist Party, into a genuine Communist Party free of all dogmatism.

* * *

In theory as in practical struggle, Lenin's superiority over the Second International leaders, including those who had so courageously opposed opportunism and paid for this with their lives, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht to mention two, stemmed from his ability to provide a Marxist analysis of the new phenomena that had come to the surface at the turn of the century and to draw the necessary practical conclusions.

"Capitalism carries within it war just as a cloud carries within it thunder"—that remark by Jean Jaures, the great French tribune, was not backed by a scientific analysis of the system he so ably criticized, nor by any indication of the ways and means of overthrowing it.

Lenin gave a profound analysis of the new stage of capitalist development and effectively demolished the opportunist argument that the age of wars between capitalist countries had drawn to an end and that henceforth there would only be colonial wars.

Lenin discussed this in his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*: "The epoch of the latest stage of capitalism shows us that certain relations between capitalist associations grow up, based on the economic division of the world; while parallel to and in connection with it, certain relations grow up between political alliances, between states, on the basis of the territorial division of the world, of the struggle for colonies, of the 'struggle for spheres of influence'" (Vol. 22, p. 253). And demonstrating how far this "struggle for spheres of influence" had gone, Lenin continued: "... the characteristic feature of the period under review is the final partitioning of the globe—final, not in the sense that repartition is impossible; on the contrary, repartitions are possible and inevitable—but in the sense that the colonial policy of the capitalist countries has completed the seizure of the unoccupied territories on our

planet. For the first time the world is completely divided up, so that in the future only redivision is possible, i.e., territories can only pass from one 'owner' to another, instead of passing as ownerless territory to an 'owner'" (Ibid., p. 254).

In contrast to the opportunists, Lenin showed that a characteristic feature of capitalism in its highest, imperialist stage, is constant redivision of the world among monopoly groups and imperialist states, both by peaceful and non-peaceful means.

He exposed also Hilferding's fallacious theory, acclaimed by Kautsky, which substituted the concept of imperialist rivalry for markets by the proposition that the imperialists were uniting on a world scale for joint exploitation of various countries by finance capital.

In contrast, Lenin's interpretative assessment of imperialism, and specifically of the data relating to partition of the world, stands out as a model of scientific analysis and represents a further development of Marxism, for which Communists throughout the world are indebted to him.

* * *

But Lenin did not confine himself to studying capitalist development. He showed that in the age of imperialism capitalism is on the threshold of collapse, that it has matured to a degree where it is forced to give way to socialism. And from this he concluded that all the contradictions and crises of capitalism should be utilized to win the masses over to socialism.

The idea was cogently expressed at the Stuttgart congress, whose resolution, amended by Lenin, contains this passage:

"If there is a menace of war, it is the duty of the working class and its parliamentary representatives in the countries concerned, with the help of the International Socialist Bureau, to do everything possible to prevent war, employing every suitable means which, naturally, change in accordance with the intensity of the class struggle and the general political situation. Should war nonetheless break out, it is their duty to intervene and seek to bring it to a speedy end, making maximum use of the economic and political crisis created by the war for agitation among the widest sections of the population and for accelerating the overthrow of capitalist domination."

Lenin and the Bolsheviks remained true to the Stuttgart resolution, later confirmed

by the Copenhagen and Basle congresses, whereas most Socialist parties sided with the imperialist war policy.

Lenin's articles and speeches in the pre-war period, and the Bolshevik party's complete break with the opportunists in 1912, were part of his effort to prepare the socialist revolution. But not with the help of "anarchist phrasemongering about revolution"—as he wrote in the 1916 French-language leaflet: *The Tasks of the Opposition in France*—but through "sustained, earnest, tenacious, persistent, systematic work" (Vol. 22, p. 130), combining available legal opportunities with illegal activity, necessitated by the bourgeoisie's annulment of legality with the outbreak of the war.

One of the most important lessons we can draw from this period of Lenin's work is his emphasis on ideological struggle.

Knowing that the impending imperialist war would in some capitalist countries create favorable objective conditions for socialist revolution, he urged the Bolsheviks to explain to the masses the essence of imperialism and socialism, to show them that only socialism can enable oppressed nations to shape their destiny, to build up an alliance of the working class and the peasantry, without which it would be impossible to take advantage of the crisis the imperialists were precipitating.

These principles of consistent revolutionary struggle, backed by a scientific analysis of the international and national situation and energetic effort to organize the working-class vanguard and win over the masses for socialism, inspired and guided the Communist parties in the years to come.

* * *

After the victory of the October Revolution, the founding of the Third International and of their own Party in 1920, the French Communists concentrated on building a close-knit organization completely free of opportunism. In this they were greatly helped by the experience of Lenin's struggle in the Second International and in the Bolshevik Party, above all by his fight against Right-wing opportunism. It gave the French Third-International supporters a veritable arsenal of weapons, enabling them to swing the Tours congress away from opportunism and, with the assistance of the Third International, effectively to combat the opportunist trends that lingered on in our young party.

Lenin's work in founding and developing the Bolshevik Party is still another aspect of his activity that is of permanent interest for French Communists.

He wrote in *"Left-Wing" Communism*: "Bolshevism took shape, developed and became steered in the long years of struggle against *petty-bourgeois revolutionism*, which smacks of anarchism, or borrows something from the latter and, in all essential matters, does not measure up to the conditions and requirements of a consistently proletarian class struggle (Vol. 31, p. 32). "Petty-bourgeois revolutionism" is an expression of the frenzied discontent of the small proprietor, who easily succumbs to voguish bourgeois trends. This is a political reality all European Communist parties have always to reckon with. Lenin's determined struggle against petty-bourgeois revolutionism has been of especial significance for the French Communist Party. One example of that struggle is his sharp criticism, in 1908, of the "Left" Bolsheviks for failing to appreciate the need to participate in reactionary parliaments.

His explanations on the subject, both in 1908 and later in 1920 in *"Left-Wing" Communism*, emphasizing the necessity to combine parliamentary with extra-parliamentary struggle, are of permanent validity for the French and other Communist parties in countries where parliamentarianism has deep-rooted traditions.

The same applies to his analysis of the situation at the time of the Brest-Litovsk peace. For to steer a correct course in complex situations, the party must fully assimilate what Lenin taught us on the question of compromises. He wrote: "... to reject compromises 'on principle,' to reject the permissibility of compromises in general, no matter of what kind, is childishness, which it is difficult even to consider seriously. A political leader who desires to be useful to the revolutionary proletariat must be able to distinguish *concrete* cases of compromises that are inexcusable and are an expression of opportunism and *treachery*; he must direct all the force of criticism, the full intensity of merciless exposure and relentless war, against *these concrete* compromises, and not allow the past masters of 'practical' socialism and the parliamentary Jesuits to dodge and wriggle out of responsibility by means of disquisitions on 'compromises in general' ...

"There are different kinds of compromises. One must be able to analyze the situation and the concrete conditions of

each compromise, or of each variety of compromise" (Ibid., pp. 37-38).

Operating in a country whose labor movement has been strongly influenced by reformism, a country in which petty-bourgeois revolutionism has a nutritive soil, the French Communists have throughout these years been guided by Lenin's postulate that anarchism is often the punishment for the labor movement's opportunist sins. Accordingly, the French Communist Party has fought on two fronts: against Right and "Left" opportunism.

* * *

In organizational matters, too, Lenin's teaching has been an unerring guide.

"Unity on questions of program and tactics," he wrote, "is an essential but by no means a sufficient condition for Party unity, for the centralization of Party work . . . requires, in addition, unity of organization, which, in a party that has grown to be anything more than a mere family circle, is inconceivable without formal Rules, without the subordination of the minority to the majority and of the part to the whole" (Vol. 7, p. 387).

In the Bolshevik Party, Lenin battled against tendencies to play down the importance of organization, for this placed in question the very principle of democratic centralism.

The French bourgeoisie reacted to the formation of our Party by a campaign of slander, which had a definite impact on certain elements who had joined the Party under the influence of widespread working-class sympathy with Soviet Russia, and later returned to their comfortable petty-bourgeois way of life.

Lenin criticized this individualistic anarchism in *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, describing it as a reflection of the petty-bourgeois conditions of life. He wrote of the individualistic anarchist: "He thinks of the Party organization as a monstrous 'factory'; he regards the subordination of the part to the whole and of the minority to the majority as 'serfdom' . . .; division of labor under the direction of a center evokes from him a tragic-comical outcry against transforming people into 'cogs and wheels' . . .; mention of the organizational Rules of the Party calls forth a contemptuous grimace and the disdainful remark (intended for the 'formalists') that one could very well dispense with Rules altogether" (Vol. 7, p. 392).

The French Communist Party had to overcome individualistic anarchism not only in its early days, but in later times, too.

One of its first battles was against the existence of diverse "trends," a carryover from the Socialist Party. And here again, we drew on Lenin's ideas, as set out in the resolution of the Tenth CPSU Congress in 1921:

"All class-conscious workers must clearly realize that factionalism of any kind is harmful and impermissible, for no matter how members of individual groups may desire to safeguard Party unity, factionalism in practice inevitably leads to the weakening of team-work and to intensified and repeated attempts by the enemies of the governing Party, who have wormed their way into it, to widen the cleavage and to use it for counter-revolutionary purposes." (Vol. 32, p. 241).

In connection with the publication of the Workers' Opposition theses, Lenin said that wide discussion of differences within the Party and at the congress was a mistake.

Ever since then opportunist elements have insisted on publication of their theses and dissemination by the Party of their views, but they have carefully avoided mentioning Lenin's condemnation of such procedures.

Our Party has followed the Leninist line of strengthening ideological and organizational unity by combating diverse trends and preventing the penetration of ideas that clash with our democratically elaborated policy.

* * *

Both in its formative and later years, the French Communist Party derived strength and inspiration from Lenin's teaching, which for us has always been a guide to action, never a dogma. And in this, too, we are true to Lenin, who was guided by the theory of Marx and Engels.

That is why the theses widely discussed in Party organizations and approved by our 19th Congress contain this passage:

"Lenin's legacy, his ideas and methods, are of exceptional significance for our ideological struggle. Throughout his life Lenin fought for the purity and development of scientific socialism. His works are a model of uncompromising struggle against ideas hostile to the working class, a model of creative Marxism, a model to be followed by all Communists in carrying forward the science of revolution so as to keep abreast

of developments. In celebrating the Lenin centenary, our Party will more fully assimilate this Lenin tradition."

It is in this spirit that the French Com-

munists, in observing the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth, lay stress on the topical significance of his immortal and triumphant ideas.

Lenin and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

WALTER ULBRICHT

The centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, brilliant scholar and fearless revolutionary, whose activity, more than any other, determined and continues to determine the history of our 20th century, is for all Communists an auspicious event. But most of all for the Communist and Workers' parties that day is an occasion to verify how well they are carrying forward Lenin's teaching and how they are handling the tasks of the present and future in Lenin's spirit. For the topicality of Leninism and its relevance for the future derives from the fact that it provides scientific answers to all the main questions confronting mankind in the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, from the fact that for the working-class parties it is the instrument of that revolutionary transition in their countries.

Addressing the world Communist movement for the last time at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, Lenin referred to the international significance of the experience gained by the Soviet Communists in the five years after the Great October Socialist Revolution, bringing home to us that "the most important thing in the period we are now entering is to study" (Vol. 33, pp. 431-32).

The Communist parties, he emphasized, must learn the "organization, structure, method and content of revolutionary work" (Ibid., p. 432), and in so doing "assimilate part of the Russian experience" (Ibid., p. 431) and learn to apply that experience to

the conditions of the struggle in their own countries. Then, said Lenin in concluding his address, the prospects of the socialist revolution will be excellent.

At that time nearly half a century ago, Lenin addressed himself to the members of young or just arising Communist parties. He advised them to steel themselves in revolutionary struggles and build up into mass working-class parties that could play a creative leading role in their countries. For Lenin the growth of Marxist-Leninist parties of the new type was the decisive factor, without which the working class would not cope with its historical mission and secure the victory of socialism. Hence, the task Lenin set Communists in 1922 applies not only to the time when the world Communist movement was in its formative stage. The continuous challenge for all Communist and Workers' parties is to be the leading force of their people in any situation and at all times, applying the Marxist-Leninist teaching to the concrete conditions in shaping their strategy and tactics and always learning from their own and from fraternal experience, above all that of Lenin's Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SOVIET EXAMPLE

The Socialist Unity Party has always followed, and will continue to follow, Lenin's advice. Arising after the Second World War

out of the amalgamation of the Communist Party, the Social-Democratic Party and the young anti-fascists, the SUPG has led the working people of the GDR through two revolutions, chiefly because its leadership and rank-and-file strove in all their work to practise Lenin's teaching of the party of the new type. Our Party sees its leading role as the constant duty of assuring the capability of the GDR workers to improve the socialist system in every way hand in hand with all working people and to consummate the victory of socialism.

Not only are the people of the GDR building socialism for the first time in the country of Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, but also, seen internationally, for the first time in a highly developed, formerly imperialist country. The old Germany, moreover, was a virulently reactionary and aggressive imperialist state, having come into being as a system ruled by an alliance of the arms monopolists and financiers, feudal landowners and militarists. To be added is the fact that after the Second World War, in order to survive, the German monopolists, who had sparked, and lost, the war, carved away the Western part of Germany with U.S. imperialist aid setting up a separate revenge-seeking state to fight socialism on German soil. For our working class and its Socialist Unity Party this creates many new, complicated problems and tasks.

Despite the substantial disparities between old Russia and old Germany, between the revolutionary situation of 1917 in Russia and the situation in Germany after 1945, our Party has always regarded the Soviet Communist Party as the model of the Leninist party of the new type, and the Great October Socialist Revolution as the basic model for the building of socialist society. It is, indeed, precisely due to the considerable disparities that it is so important for us to understand properly the Soviet experience of which Lenin spoke, to recognize the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles in the Soviet example and to apply them scientifically to the conditions in our own country. It is in this sense, for example, that we regard *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* as a guide to action, which Lenin had also meant for us. We carried forward his revolutionary theory in the anti-fascist democratic revolution and the subsequent socialist revolution in the GDR.

Our Party knows from what Lenin taught that in the transition from capitalism to

communism, socialism is a lengthy and relatively self-sufficient period during which a developed socialist system of society must be built up. "The development of socialism," the CC CPSU pointed out in its Theses on the Centenary of V. I. Lenin's Birth, "is a complex process of transition from lower forms of its social organization to higher ones, depending on 'what might be called the stages of the economic maturity of communism'." (Vol. 25, p. 471).

The way to completing the building of socialist society in the GDR is set out in the socialist program adopted by our Sixth Party Congress in 1963. At its Seventh Congress in 1967, our Party worked out a scientific description of socialist society as a system and defined the tasks that will secure the dynamic and coordinated growth of the various systems composing it—the economic, educational, cultural, etc.—assuring uninterrupted and all-round growth of the entire socialist system. We rely in this on a thoroughly considered and continuously improved prognosis of social growth, of the technico-scientific revolution, the people's way of life and other spheres, until 1980 and, partly, the more remote future. To be able to define accurately the tasks of our further advance, the Party cooperates extensively with a large number of scientists, bearing in mind the importance Lenin attached to aligning scientific socialism with the natural sciences, and the brilliant example he provided us with his own social prognosis.

GROWING ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

As the socialist system of society takes shape, the objective demands put on the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party increase, and so does the leading role of the Party and the working class. The working class develops as the class exercising power, a class combining manual and mental labor, a continuously learning class. Its organization and discipline, and its ability to mould men and make history, grow as it discharges the continuously growing tasks during the building of the socialist system, as the social division of labor expands and concentration, specialization, cooperation, combination, rationalization and automation of production come to the fore. At a rising tempo, the working class extends society's productive forces, creating objective and subjective conditions for consolidating and extending the social-

ist mode of production. It is the workers who produce an increasingly bigger part of the social wealth and make the socialist process of reproduction progressively more effective. In concert with the intelligentsia, the working class assures the continuous improvement of the scientific organization of all aspects of planning and guidance in the state and economy, perfecting the central planning and, being a socialist producer, discharging ever more actively its responsibilities for the proper organization of the economic activity of enterprises and combines.

The unity of the socialist and technico-scientific revolution, effected in the GDR by building a developed socialist society as a system, is an important factor, predicating the new quality of the workers' leading role. As a result of science growing into the main productive force and of the further advance of comprehensive socialist automation, especially in fields determining the future economic structure of our country, the workers' educational scope is expanding rapidly in the domains of social and natural science and technology. This is seen in the more active integration of workers in evening courses and in extra-mural education and in the fact that higher school cadres with a working-class background have increased by more than 50 per cent in six years. No longer is the working class in the GDR composed of those who perform chiefly manual labor in the immediate process of production. Manual and mental labor are now combined and the workers' share in the productive mental labor is climbing rapidly both in the economy and in the administration of the state.

The political, social and ideological unity of the working class is growing as well. The mounting sense of responsibility in the process of government, the proletarian solidarity displayed at a new level in collective socialist labor and the higher degree of education, coupled with the socialist morality shaped by the new relations of production, all have a strong bearing on the image of the working class. The personality of community-conscious and labor-proficient workers actively and creatively engaged in consolidating the state and the economy, reflects more distinctly the features of the socialist individual of our time. Ideology and morality, the sense of responsibility and the community-consciousness of the working class strongly determine the work and life of our citizens.

LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKING-CLASS PARTY

This development of the working class based on socialist relations of production, is closely linked with the function of leadership exercised by its organized vanguard. We always remember Lenin's idea that the party should enlighten, prepare, teach and bring up (the school of communism) all working people, in order that they may be able to assume guidance of the entire economy.

The Marxist-Leninist party's responsibilities of leadership during the building of the developed socialist system of society and in the worldwide struggle between socialism and imperialism, are becoming greater. With science so tremendously important for social growth in our time, this applies doubly to the activity of the working-class party. The growing role of the Marxist-Leninist party expresses itself these days primarily in the fact that by its theoretical activity, by using and developing the Marxist-Leninist teaching, it reveals the objective regularities in social growth, produces reasoned prognoses, frames strategy and tactics on a scientific basis and provides oriented leadership to the working people in the planned, methodical building of the socialist system.

Our Party exercises its leading role chiefly by laying before the workers and the people as a whole all the problems of social growth, discussing with them the best ways of fulfilling the tasks and then fulfilling these tasks jointly. We follow Lenin's guideline that the Party carries forward its policy not by administrative methods, but by "virtue of authority, energy, greater experience, greater versatility, and greater talent" (Vol. 6, p. 242). By this democratic approach to the social tasks, which it works out and resolves jointly with the people, the Socialist Unity Party promotes the steady growth of the workers' class consciousness and the socialist consciousness of all GDR citizens. *The more profoundly the individual perceives and understands the social significance of the tasks, the more actively, competently and with greater conviction can he participate in carrying them out.*

Our Party has proved beyond doubt the tremendous importance it attaches to ideological work and to moulding the socialist consciousness of all working people. This continuous struggle against imperialist and revisionist ideology is doubly important, because of the unintermittent psychological

war fought against the German socialist state by West German imperialism in the context of imperialist global strategy. Yet we firmly reject the "theory" that when building socialist society the workers' party must confine itself to ideological work alone. Our experience shows that the Marxist-Leninist party can exercise its leading role only if it involves itself in all sectors of the struggle to complete building the socialist system, and methodically links all aspects of that struggle in its work, mobilizing the working people everywhere for active participation.

To be sure, this means that we must continuously enhance the Party's capacity for combat, that it must on all accounts carry out its line and assure the purity of Leninist Party principles in all Party branches, among all members and probationary members of the Party. And in this difficult struggle to build a developed socialist system, Lenin's stipulation for all Party members made at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party in 1903, is more relevant than ever: to work actively in one's Party branch and help carry out the Party program. The Party's leading role in completing the building of the socialist system increases not automatically, but to the extent to which all its separate branches, all its members, carry forward their responsibility, each in the specific sphere, and to the extent to which they acquire the capacity to perform the Party's leading role locally, that is, to the extent to which inner-Party life in the branches, influencing and rallying all working people, becomes more effective.

In his *The State and Revolution* Lenin pointed out that continuous Marxist-Leninist education makes the Party capable of "leading the whole people to socialism, of directing and organizing the new system, of being the teacher, the guide, the leader of all the working and exploited people in organizing their social life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie" (Vol. 25, p. 404). This applies equally to the Party and each of its members. That is why, since its establishment, our Party built up a far-flung system of Marxist-Leninist education, consistently oriented on enabling all Party members to resolve the problems facing them at any given stage. Studying and applying Lenin's teaching is prominent in this scheme. At present, numerous groups of people in the GDR engaged in all areas of social life combine their efforts in the socialist emulation move-

ment in tribute to the centenary of Lenin's birth with the study of such of his considerable works as *A Great Beginning*, *The State and Revolution* and *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*.

It has become a good tradition for our Party to give priority to problems and areas of Marxist-Leninist science that we require in order to perform the impending tasks at any given stage of development. For example, recently we associated the organization and improvement of the socialist economic system — the most important and dynamic element of the social system as a whole—with the further development of socialist political economy in the present conditions in our country. And a book, *The Political Economy of Socialism and Its Application in the GDR*, was direct evidence of this joint work by the Party leadership and scientists on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic. The book surveys the latest advances in such disciplines as the Marxist-Leninist teaching on organization, operational research, cybernetics and the use of electronic computer techniques, which play an increasingly prominent role in economic management and guidance of social development by Party and government.

SUPG ALLIANCES POLICY

A correct policy of alliances has a strong bearing on the realization of Lenin's theory of the socialist revolution, building the socialist state, the economy and culture of the socialist system. Lenin outlined the key point of departure on this score in his *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*; he wrote: "The first task of every party of the future is to convince the majority of the people that its program and tactics are correct" (Vol. 27, p. 241). He also pointed out that this was a permanent task, never fully completed or consummated.

The SUPG, therefore, bases its policy of alliances on the proposition that after imperialist monopoly rule is eliminated all social strata find a stake for themselves in joining the building of the socialist system. In the GDR the alliance of the working class with the class of farmers (members of farming cooperatives), the intelligentsia, members of artisans cooperatives, and others, would not have been as close and enduring if our Party had not followed a policy that brought home to citizens this basic idea about a stake for all in socialism. We did not leap over any of the neces-

sary stages in our social growth, but followed our policy steadily, elucidating it to all citizens and thus helping them participate consciously in the social tasks. This did not retard social growth. On the contrary, given timely solution of vital problems by the working-class party, the rate of building the socialist system depended largely on how the Party could, jointly with other mass organizations, convince all strata that its policy was correct and that all the steps taken in the process were necessary. It also depended on how it succeeded in unfolding socialist democracy when discussing and implementing the tasks.

The specific feature of the workers' alliance with other strata in the GDR is that other parties exist alongside the Socialist Unity Party, the leading force of the working people, such as the Christian-Democratic League and the Liberal-Democratic, National-Democratic and Peasant Democratic parties. That is part of the tradition of the anti-fascist struggle, during which, both underground and in the Free Germany Committee, the working-class party worked hand in hand with all political forces willing to follow with us the anti-fascist democratic way. We have always been conscious of Lenin's advice that "without an alliance with non-Communists in the most diverse spheres of activity there can be no question of any successful communist construction" (Vol 33, p. 227).

Comradely cooperation between our Party and the others, whose members come predominantly from petty-bourgeois strata, has proven fruitful. All parties participate constructively in building the developed socialist system, helping to draw people from strata in which they work politically, economically and spiritually into the socialist society.

Lenin pointed out emphatically that the working class should drive out the monopolists and landowners, but not the small commodity producers. "They cannot be ousted or crushed; we must learn to live with them. They can (and must) be transformed and re-educated only by means of very prolonged, slow, and cautious organizational work" (Vol. 31, p. 44). To integrate these strata into socialism, our Party worked out new methods, taking into account the conditions in the country.

Although the socialist development of agriculture takes place in highly specific historical and national conditions, it accords in all the main aspects with the idea

of Lenin's cooperative plan. We are faced with the challenge of finding a way that conformed with the special features of a highly industrialized country with an intensive agriculture and with the corresponding consciousness of the working farmers. The main thing was to win the middle farmers, who comprised the majority, for the farming cooperatives. We left it up to the farmers to make the voluntary decision and to go over to large-scale socialist farming, encouraging this move by offering model statutes for different types of producer cooperatives, and by economic measures and patient persuasion. We succeeded in converting all working farmers to the socialist way, and finally also the big farmers, because we discussed all the main aspects of socialist development in the countryside with all of them, allowing the farmers to decide on each step forward at their congresses. This trustworthy method of democratic discussion and decision-making is also relevant for the present stage of socialist agricultural growth. The accent these days is on developing agriculture and the food industry as a component of the developed socialist society and simultaneously resolving the problems of the technico-scientific revolution with an eye to the highest possible efficiency.

With the working farmers firmly set on the socialist way for a number of years, the majority of artisans joining producer cooperatives and private retailers associating themselves with state-run commerce through commission agreements, members of the former capitalist class, too, found a place for themselves in the socialist society. To be sure, this applies to owners of small and medium-sized enterprises not expropriated after the Second World War, as was the case with the property of Nazi and war criminals. Their way to socialism began with the acceptance of state partnership and the conversion of their enterprises into semi-state enterprises. A start was made thereby in integrating these enterprises more and more closely in the planned socialist economy, which gradually transformed their former owners from capitalist employers into working people, that is, socialist managers of enterprises.

This was made possible by the fact that worker-peasant power has a firm foundation in the GDR and because, jointly with other political parties, the working class and its party succeeded in convincing these citizens of the benefits of this way for them and for all society, and that it is at the same time the only morally justifiable way.

At present, the task is to shape such relations between the semi-state enterprises and modern socialist combines that would allow the former to avail themselves of the gains of the technico-scientific revolution, and thus fulfil their purpose better and more effectively in the framework of the state economic plans.

Our policy of alliances is linked with the continuous consolidation and improvement of the socialist state, representing working-class rule as a broad organization of the workers' alliance with all other working people. "The specific and cardinal thing in this sphere," Lenin wrote, "is not administration but the 'ties' 'between the central state administration', (and, of course, the local as well), the national economy and the broad masses of the working people" (Vol. 32, p. 98). Elsewhere Lenin said: "It is important for us to draw literally all working people into the government of the state" (Vol. 27, p. 135).

For Lenin this was, in that period of the Soviet state, the key problem, for the economy had to be rehabilitated and government reorganized along new, socialist lines. He regarded it as one of the main principles of development of the socialist system in all its phases. This connection between centralized planning and management and the people's initiative, the inclusion of the entire people in planning, management and fulfilment, is for us a decisive factor in building the socialist economic system and, in general, the entire system of developed socialist society in the GDR. Socialism is no more conceivable without centralized control through the socialist state over the entire social process, than without socialist democracy, without the broadest possible creative participation of all citizens in shaping their common present life and the future.

That is why our Party devotes prime attention to improving scientific socialist state guidance at all levels, while unfolding socialist democracy in all spheres of life. The Socialist Constitution of the German Democratic Republic is an excellent basis for this. Adopted two years ago by the overwhelming majority of our citizens, it contains all the basic legal pre-conditions for the creation of a developed socialist society. Lenin set us Communists the task of creating "a democracy that is immeasurably higher and broader than all previous democracies in the world and to start the creative work of tens of millions of workers and peasants for the practical construction of socialism" (Vol. 28, p. 293).

We regard this task as important not only for achieving the full victory of socialism in our country, but also for invigorating the community of socialist states in the worldwide confrontation between socialism and imperialism. The successes achieved by our country as it enters the third decade of its existence are not least of all the result of our efforts always to link most closely the activity of the socialist state with the democratic participation of the people, impressing on all working people that their interests harmonize with those of their state.

The steady strengthening of the workers' alliance with the entire people in building a developed socialist society, and the accompanying extension of socialist democracy, have stimulated closer and more intensive political, social and ideological bonds of all strata with the working class. Comradely relations are developing among citizens of the GDR on the basis of the socialist relations of production. Their socialist state consciousness is growing more pronounced. Increasingly, socialist education and self-education are becoming a vital principle among all social groups. Continuous study, social and professional proficiency, and cultural and sports activities, occupy an increasingly bigger part in their lives. Socialist ethics and morality now govern the behavior of people and their mutual relationships quite extensively. The successes of the working class and all working people in consolidating their socialist state, building the socialist system and improving the standard of living show that their conduct is to a growing extent impelled by socialist patriotism.

Our citizens are conscious of the fact that the results of their peaceful and creative labor are of the greatest significance for the working people of the West German Federal Republic, and that they in the GDR are the pioneers of the future united socialist Germany. They know that the socialist example and the increasing power of attraction exercised by their state will help the democratic forces in West Germany to carry forward the peaceful democratic alternative to the revenge-seeking policies of West German latter-day capitalism.

Socialist patriotism is dialectically complemented by socialist internationalism, which has deep roots among the people of our land. This is evidenced by the profound feeling of friendship which our working people show for the socialist Soviet Union, the country of Lenin. The attitude of our citizens to Soviet people, the highly devel-

oped comradely cooperation of our two peoples in all spheres, is truly an example of socialist international relations. The friendship felt by our people for the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries is equally developed. Our solidarity with the people of Vietnam fighting against U.S. imperialism and the Arab peoples fighting against Israeli aggression, is unshakable. They have the fullest fraternal support of our entire people.

The transformation of man, the moulding of qualities, ways of thought and conduct, and of mutual relationships typical of the socialist epoch, is the most conspicuous result of the great historical reconstruction that has taken place in the past quarter of a century in our country. That, too, is a substantial victory for Leninism, a testimonial for its profound humanism and revolutionary strength. It is the result achieved by the working class and all other

working people under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party in implementing Lenin's teaching.

We are marking the centenary of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's birth in the beginning of the seventies of our century. During this decade we shall have to cope with new, more complicated problems in order to advance the socialist system of society and prove beyond doubt its historic strength in the struggle against imperialism. The people of the GDR, headed by their Marxist-Leninist party, will make their due contribution to our common cause of peace, democracy and socialism. Together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, together with Lenin's party and all Communist and Workers' parties, we shall discharge our tasks because in the years to come we shall as always take guidance from Lenin's teaching, the teaching that is changing the world.

Leninism and experience of the Communist Party of Greece

KOSTAS KOLIYANNIS

Together with millions of Communists the world over, the Communists of Greece — working in the harsh conditions of illegality, languishing in the prisons and concentration camps of the fascist junta, or living in emigration — celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lenin, the greatest thinker of our century, the inspirer, organizer and leader of the Great October Socialist Revolution which ushered in a new era in human history, the founder of the world's first socialist state.

A titan of thought and action, Lenin became the leader of the world proletariat. His name is indelibly engraved in the hearts of all men of labor. His immortal doctrine illumines the peoples' path to liberation from exploitation and to the building of the new communist society.

Lenin creatively developed the theory of Marx and Engels in adaptation to the new conditions of history. Leninism is the Marxism of our era.

There is the evidence of life itself that the fundamental principles of the theory and practice of Leninism are valid for all parties, and not only for some, as the modern opportunists maintain, repeating Kautsky's revisionist notion that they are a purely "Russian phenomenon."

Lenin's theory of the party of the new type is of inestimable value to all Communist and Workers' parties.

At the turn of the century, when capitalism entered its highest and last, imperialist stage, it was Lenin's revolutionary genius that foresaw the imperative need for a party of a new type, a party capable of

leading the working class in the performance of its historic mission.

The European workers' parties, formed at a time of capitalism's relatively peaceful development and in conditions of bourgeois-democratic freedoms, were shot through with bourgeois ideology. Organizationally weak, they could not play a revolutionary role in the new period of imperialism and sharp class struggle. Bernsteinism in theory and Millerandism in practice, coupled with outright rejection of the proletarian dictatorship by Kautsky and other Second International leaders, revealed the insolvency of these parties, their slide into bourgeois nationalism and their betrayal of the working class. Their stand in World War I led to their final demise as genuine working-class parties.

Dialectically analyzing the new situation, Lenin stressed the need for a new, revolutionary party: "Give us an organization of revolutionaries," he declared in 1902, "and we will overturn Russia!"

As leader and teacher of the world proletariat, Lenin did more than develop and complement the Marx and Engels theory of the working-class political party as the organizer and leader of the struggle for power and the building of socialism and communism. Together with his associates, Lenin created such a party, a party of social revolution and proletarian dictatorship, the great Bolshevik Party.

It consistently upheld the revolutionary principles and ideas of Marxism and from its very inception waged a relentless struggle against opportunism. Bolshevism rose, developed and was steered primarily in battle against Right-wing opportunism and petty-bourgeois "revolutionism."

"One of the necessary conditions for preparing the proletariat for its victory," Lenin wrote, "is a long, stubborn and ruthless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social chauvinism, and similar bourgeois influences and trends, which are inevitable, since the proletariat is operating in a capitalist environment. If there is no such struggle, if opportunism in the working-class movement is not utterly defeated beforehand, there can be no dictatorship of the proletariat. Bolshevism would not have defeated the bourgeoisie in 1917-19 if before that, in 1903-17, it had not learned to defeat the Mensheviks, i.e., the opportunists, reformists, social-chauvinists, and ruthlessly expel them from the party of the proletarian vanguard" (Vol. 30, p. 275).

Lenin's views were fully confirmed by the

October Revolution and subsequent events.

It was only thanks to the party Lenin had founded, trained and led over many years, only thanks to the immortal Lenin doctrine, that the Russian proletariat was able to carry out the October Revolution, repel the armed intervention of international reaction which tried to stifle the workers republic in its infancy, rescue the people from the backwardness and misery that was tsarist Russia and set them on the path that led to the victory of socialism.

The invincible might of the world's first socialist state, which had once and for all abolished the exploitation of man by man, was strikingly demonstrated in the trying years of World War II. Led by their great Bolshevik Party, the heroic Soviet people overcame incredible difficulties, bore the brunt of the war, and dealt a devastating blow to the forces of Hitler Germany and its allies. Only those animated by inveterate hatred of communism can discount or belittle the terrible sacrifices made by the Soviet people, or deny or obscure the measureless service they rendered mankind by demolishing Nazism. The peoples of the world, including my own people, will never forget what they owe to the great Soviet people.

* * *

Founded in November 1918, the Communist Party of Greece (CPG) is one of the parties of the new, Lenin type, created when conditions for this had matured, under the direct influence of the October Revolution and Lenin's teaching.

Our Party's history, its positive and negative experience over the past 51 years, convincingly show the correctness, in Greek conditions, of Marxism-Leninism, and in particular Lenin's doctrine of the new-type party.

Greek Communists have learned from experience that, at every stage of the struggle and whatever the situation, there must always be a *united, well organized, theoretically armed, and ideologically and organizationally close-knit Communist Party*, the type of party envisaged by Lenin. For only such a party, guided by the principle of democratic centralism, can withstand all difficulties, surmount all obstacles, rally the working class, give leadership to the masses and discharge its historic mission. "The Communist Party," the Second Comintern Congress resolution says, "is *part of the working class, its most advanced, conscientious and therefore most revolutionary part.*" And the resolution emphas-

izes that the Communist Party "is the organizational and political instrument the working-class vanguard uses to direct the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses along the correct road."

As the party of the working class, the Communists must be implicitly loyal to the doctrine and principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They must uphold the purity of revolutionary theory; base their strategy, policy and tactics on Lenin's ideas: correctly combine their national-patriotic with international obligations; determinedly combat every manifestation of nationalism and chauvinism; wage an irreconcilable struggle against all and sundry Right opportunist, liquidationist and revisionist, Left-dogmatic and sectarian views and anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist deviations. And experience has demonstrated that Communist parties are steeled in the fight against deviations and attempts to revise Marxism-Leninism.

Our Party is no exception in this respect. From the very outset it has waged an unremitting struggle for faithful adherence to Lenin's principles, for its organizational and ideological strengthening, its revolutionary character and the purity of its policy, against all opportunist trends and reformist influences.

In its early years (1918-24), the Communist Party had to fight the opportunism of the Second International, the "Communism" group in Greece, with its slogan of "first education, then action," against the "legalists" and other opportunist and reformist elements. And in this struggle, relying on Lenin's organizational principles, we made our first steps towards a party of the new type.

In later years, particularly during the Pangalos dictatorship (1925-26), when the Party had to contend with fresh difficulties and stepped-up repression against the democratic movement, petty-bourgeois opportunist and liquidationist elements penetrated its ranks and leadership. What they advocated was tantamount to dissolution of the Party: they insisted on what they described as a "serious" party of "selected" and "educated" people, plus freedom of factional activity and repeal of the Party's organizational principles.

The overwhelming majority of Party and YCL members condemned and expelled the liquidators and their centrist allies, thereby taking a further step towards ideological, political and organizational consolida-

tion on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Assistance by the Communist International (the November 1931 Appeal) enabled the Party to extricate itself from the crisis caused in 1929-31 by a split in the leadership and unprincipled factional struggle. Having put an end to factional polemics, the Party tightened its discipline on the basis of democratic centralism and launched a determined and resolute campaign against Right and "Left" opportunism. This was a turning point in its activity, and the Sixth Central Committee plenum in January 1934 was able to make a Marxist analysis of the situation and to draw up the Party's strategy and tactics.

The sixth plenum holds a special place in our Party history for it was the first correctly to define the nature and motive forces of the Greek revolution, the first to elucidate, in adaptation to Greek conditions, such major theoretical problems as national independence, abolition of the survivals of semi-feudal relations, industrialization, etc.

Now that it had worked out its strategy and tactics, the Party was able to unite a considerable section of the working class, extend its influence in rural areas and among the mass of urban workers, organize and lead working-class and mass actions.

By creatively applying the historic decisions of the Seventh Comintern Congress, the CPG effectively took up the fight in defense of democratic freedoms in face of the menace of fascism. It appealed to all anti-fascist and democratic organizations to band together in a National Democratic Front against restoration of the monarchy and the establishment of a fascist dictatorship and for defense of the workers' interests. That became the starting point of a powerful anti-fascist movement. However, with the active support of British imperialism, on August 4, 1936 the reactionary forces were able to install the Metaxas fascist dictatorship, which made suppression of the popular movement its chief aim.

This was a grim ordeal for our Party, but it did not flinch in the face of ceaseless repression and numberless difficulties. And when the axis armies invaded the country, the Party again mobilized all its forces and inspired, organized and led the immortal epic of the National Resistance.

It rallied around its banners practically the entire working class and large sections of the peasantry and the working people generally. It mobilized the forces of the

people to fight the Nazi invader and his accomplices. Never before in modern Greek history had there been such wide unity of the people: 1,600,000 Greek patriots rallied around the National Liberation Front (EAM), of which the Communist Party was the guiding force, and over 135,000 insurgents joined the National Liberation Army (ELAS). This was the greatest resistance movement since the revolution of 1821-29 and it ranked with the biggest mass resistance movement in other European countries.

The people of Greece fought with unexampled dedication and heroism. They shed rivers of blood and made tremendous sacrifices. In the favorable situation created by the Soviet Army victories in the Balkans, the struggle of our people set the scene for successful resistance to the British imperialist intervention in 1944, for winning and consolidating our freedom and independence. However, the people of Greece did not reap the fruits of their struggle, due to the grave mistakes, chiefly of a Rightist complexion, made by the Communist Party leadership of that time. It overestimated the capability of the British imperialists and underestimated that of the national liberation movement. It had no faith in the strength of the working class and people and would not credit the Resistance forces that had set up bodies of popular power throughout almost the whole country, with the ability to withstand the British imperialists' assault and to retain power. That was why the CPG leadership made entirely unwarranted concessions to the imperialists and the national oligarchy by signing the Lebanese, Caserta and Varkiza agreements, helping its foes thereby to crush the people's democratic movement and to re-establish the old reactionary regime.

It follows that whenever our Party opposed deviations, thus avoiding serious mistakes of a Right or "Left" complexion and applying the Marxist-Leninist teaching creatively, it was always successful. Conversely, whenever the character and policy of the Party were ideologically and politically distorted by either Right or "Left" opportunism, the Party suffered setbacks that entailed grave consequences.

A serious violation of Lenin's teaching and the norms of Party life occurred in the CPG also after the armed imperialist intervention of December 1944.

At that time, having incorrectly assessed the situation in the country, the Party lead-

ership decided to stay out of the parliamentary elections of March 1946 and to set the sights on armed struggle, although the necessary preconditions for this were still lacking. This played into the hands of the international and domestic plutocratic oligarchy, which was bent on provoking an armed collision and suppressing the people's democratic movement.

This orientation, our Eighth Congress (1961) noted, was incorrect because, although the democratic movement was still strong despite the December 1944 defeat and the signing of the Varkiza agreement (in February 1945), the situation was not ripe then for armed struggle. The masses wanted peaceful democratic development and did not yet realize that this was impossible and that armed struggle was the only way out. Besides, no appropriate organizational and technical preparations had been made for armed action. This made the outcome of the struggle a foregone conclusion. Irrespective of the leadership's mistakes and the final result of the fighting, however, the cause of the Democratic Army of Greece was just and will go down as one of the long and persevering battles fought by our people for national independence, democracy and social progress.

After the August 1949 defeat, too, inconsistent, Leftist sectarian policies prevented the Party and the popular forces from restoring their strength. The CPG leadership of the time, eager to conceal the setbacks and to justify its erroneous policy, grossly violated the Leninist principles and norms of Party life.

This crisis was overcome by the Sixth Central Committee and Central Control Commission plenum in March 1956, which examined the period since the Seventh CPG Congress and worked out a strategic line, putting an end to the abnormal situation in the Party and paving the way for the introduction of Leninist principles in its work.

The turning of the tide begun by the Sixth plenum enabled us to reactivate the labor and democratic movement very quickly. The CPG strengthened its bonds with the working class and popular masses, impelling united action against the reactionary forces and foreign imperialism. The growing prestige and influence of the CPG and the Left forces was reflected in the outcome of the May 1958 elections, in which the EDA and the forces cooperating with it polled 25 per cent of the vote and won 79 seats.

Alarmed by the growing Left influence and the unfolding of a popular struggle, the reactionary forces countered by bolstering up the police state and reinforcing the machinery of suppression with the main purpose of crushing the Left. Clinging to power, the Karamanlis government even resorted to political terrorism, organizing the assassination in May 1963 of Grigoris Lambrakis, an MP and vice-president of the Greek Committee for International Detente and Peace. The assassination raised a wave of anger among our people. Despite the terror and various extraordinary police actions, half a million people came to Lambrakis's funeral, which developed into a demonstration of protest against the Rightist assassins. A few days later, the National Radical Union (ERE) government resigned, which was followed by the defeat of the Right in the November 1963 and February 1964 elections. As a result, the Union of the Center came to power, with the objective possibility of the country taking the path to democracy and progress.

The CPG strove to unite the democratic forces in the fight for genuine democratization, putting itself in the van of the rapidly expanding popular movement. However, the struggle for democracy, for the restoration of democratic forms of life, was cut short by the armed fascist coup of April 21, 1967. It is proper to note at this point that the political forces and popular masses opposing the putschist undemocratic solution and demanding democratization, had many advantages. We may therefore properly ask why, despite these advantages, foreign and home reaction succeeded in imposing on the country a fascist regime with the help of a group of officers who, as the facts show, are not supported by the people and have no backing among the country's political parties?

Analyzing the causes and its own activity in recent years, our Party is drawing lessons that are useful even today. Some of our important conclusions have already been set out in Party documents.

Just as earlier, when it was still the opposition, the Center Union leadership turned down united action with the Left after it became the ruling party (by winning the two elections at the end of 1963 and in the beginning of 1964). Yet it was inconsistent in its stand against the anti-democratic solutions and its own drive for democratization, falling down even on promises which it had given its own followers. It did nothing to purge the fascist elements

from the state apparatus and the armed forces, and left in force Law No. 509, thus maintaining the ban on the CPG, Law No. 375, which identified communist activity with espionage, and all the extraordinary measures of the civil war period. It fought shy of even the most modest democratic measures and entered into a compact with the Right, thus enabling reaction to regroup its forces. Encouraged by U.S. imperialism and NATO, the latter performed the monarchist palace revolution of July 15, 1965, clearing the way for the fascist coup of April 21, 1967.

Our Party and the other Left forces were ideologically, organizationally and technically unprepared to prevent the coup. The CPG fell short of its organizational tasks and could not properly marshal its forces. Meanwhile, legalistic illusions were misleading the masses and impeding the desired development of their struggle against the threat of fascist dictatorship.

One of the conclusions, drawn from the fact that a fascist regime was installed in our country after fascism was defeated in the Second World War, is that a high degree of vigilance is essential to repulse continuously all attempts at a fascist coup. No matter how favorable the *international conditions may be for a peaceful revolutionary transition*, these do not automatically guarantee a peaceful development of the class struggle if the working-class party in the country concerned is not fully alert and does not carry forward its leading role to the fullest. What is needed is a close-knit *Marxist-Leninist party* closely linked with the masses and capable of applying *all forms and means of struggle*. This is doubly true of countries such as Greece with her record of anti-democratic military coups and foreign interventions.

The Twelfth plenum of our Central Committee (February 1968) examined the situation in the country after the military coup and found that *a united, ideologically and politically cohesive Marxist-Leninist party with strong underground organizations alongside a broad anti-dictatorial front embracing the entire country is an essential precondition of a successful struggle against the dictatorship, a struggle to overthrow that dictatorship*.

On this aim precisely — that is, on building up strong underground organizations and a broad anti-dictatorial front — our Party concentrates its prime attention and orients its activity.

This cardinal organizational and political

task of building up underground Party branches is making good progress thanks to the dedicated and heroic efforts of our rank-and-file and the leading Party comrades, working deep underground in the extremely difficult conditions of fascist terror. We have formed the Communist Youth of Greece, a new organization that recently held its first conference underground. Underground newspapers are appearing regularly, such as *Rizospastis*, the organ of our Central Committee, *Odighitis*, organ of the Communist Youth, *Adouloti Athina*, organ of the Athens Party branch, *Lefteria*, organ of the PAM, *Dimokratiki Allaghi*, organ of the EDA, and others. Besides, anti-dictatorial leaflets, proclamations and posters are put out in thousands of copies; hoardings are put up with slogans against the dictatorship.

Communists are doing their work among the people, striving to organize, step up and extend the struggle for the popular demands, for civic rights and the overthrow of the dictatorship.

Our Party is working hard to promote cooperation and coordination with all anti-dictatorial forces and to build up a broad anti-dictatorial front. And this cooperation with various organizations at rank-and-file level, as well as with some democratic leaders, is expanding despite obstacles and difficulties.

Building up the drive against the dictatorship, seeking to fulfil its mission, our Party also encounters obstacles and difficulties stemming from the activity of the Right-opportunist Partsalidis-Drakopoulos-Brilakis group. Having failed to impose its Right-opportunist line on the Party, this group organized a gathering called "extraordinary plenum" of the CC, proclaiming itself a "Communist Party" and launching disruptive activities.

The Right-opportunist views of this group are centered, first and foremost, on the nature of the Party, which they envisage as an amorphous political organization devoid of the Leninist organizational principles, as a party of the Social-Democratic type. The group belittles the role of the working-class party, while some of its members call openly for the dissolution of the CPG. As regards tactics, the Right opportunists want

to remake the CPG into the tail of the bourgeois-democratic Center Union party. Its policy tends to subordinate the working class to the bourgeoisie, compress Communist Party activity into the national framework and loosen its bonds with the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties.

The overwhelming majority of our membership and leading comrades, who are doing their work in the difficult conditions created by the military-fascist dictatorship or languishing in prisons and concentration camps, and those who have emigrated, have approved the decisions of our 12th and 13th (January 1969) Central Committee plenums and are rallying to the policy and leadership of the CPG. The main task now facing our Party and almost the entire people of Greece is to mount a joint struggle in defense of the life and rights of the working people, for the overthrow of the colonels' dictatorship and the restoration of freedoms. This task will be accomplished the sooner and the more radically, the more quickly strong underground Party organizations are built up—organizations abiding by the principles of decentralization, with all safeguards against detection, and yet linked by a thousand threads with the masses and thus capable of effectively combining underground and legal methods of work.

* * *

By decision of the Political Bureau of our Central Committee, the Party celebrates the centenary of Lenin's birth under the banner of struggle for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, defense of its line against attacks of the dissident Right-revisionist group and against Right and ultra-Left distortions, laying the emphasis on further Party building and the Leninist norms of Party life and work, and stepping up the effort to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and to restore democracy.

Throughout its more than 50 years, the Communist Party of Greece has held aloft Lenin's banner. The Party vows to be ever faithful to his immortal teaching and to defend firmly and uncompromisingly the purity of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Lenin and our time

CHEDDI JAGAN

"Marxism-Leninism is outdated; it is a foreign ideology, it has no relevance to present-day realities or to Guyana; we must develop our own ideology."

This is the theme song of the puppets and defenders of imperialism, and unfortunately of quite a few who call themselves revolutionary.

Because of deliberate distortion and genuine confusion, the need in this Lenin Centenary Year for propagating the principles of Marxism and the ideas of Lenin cannot be over-emphasized.

Those who prattle about "Russian foreign ideology," should know that Marxism is not a lifeless dogma, not a completed, ready-made immutable doctrine, but a living guide to action. It is a science; it requires a concrete analysis of a concrete situation. Like all sciences, it grows and develops in accordance with changing conditions and times. Its guiding principles are the instruments which permit a correct interpretation of objective reality, and an evaluation and understanding of historical development.

Lenin said:

"We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists *must* develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life" (Vol. 4, pp. 211-12).

To those who talk about "one directing center," about "taking orders from Moscow," Lenin made it quite clear that each Marxist-Leninist Party must determine its policies and forms of activities in accordance with national conditions. He said that fundamental Marxist principles should be applied in a way "that will *correctly modify* these principles in certain *particulars*, correctly adapt and apply them to na-

tional and national-state distinctions" (Vol. 31, p. 92). In another context, he advised "to apply the general and basic principles of communism to the *specific relations* between classes and parties, to the *specific features* in the objective development towards communism, which are different in each country and which we must be able to discover, study, and predict" (Ibid., p. 89).

But some reactionary elements will distort the feeling of national identity and and pride, turning it to nationalism and chauvinism. They deny the Marxist principle of proletarian solidarity and internationalism. They contrapose patriotism, independence and sovereignty to internationalism. They do not want to admit that it is possible and necessary to harmonize national interests with international duties. They exploit nationalism and chauvinism to sow strife and divisions not only inside the socialist camp, but also between the socialist camp and the working-class movements in the imperialist states and the national liberation movements of the so-called Third World.

A Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary party is accountable not only to its own working class and people but also to the international working class and to mankind as a whole.

Lenin made it clear that "capital is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood, is needed" (Vol. 30, p. 293).

Those who take a narrow nationalistic position accentuate "definite peculiar features"—economics, politics, culture, ethnic and religious divisions—and talk about national and cultural identity and the necessity to develop "relying on one's own forces." By refusing to make any real dis-

inction between the imperialist and the socialist world systems, by equating western imperialism with what they refer to as "Soviet imperialism," they help to prop up the main ideological pillar of U.S. imperialism, namely, anti-Sovietism, the modern garb of anti-communism, and at the same time to create disunity in the struggle against imperialism.

Charges of Soviet "imperialism" are closely related to the specious idea that imperialism and socialism have some "common features." One hears in response to the specific charge of conditional, "tied" aid from the Western imperialist states that all nations have egoistic objectives, and are motivated primarily by self-interest.

This observation does not take into consideration that the policies of the socialist countries are influenced by the trenchant dictum of Marxism that "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations." And this sets them apart from the policies of imperialism.

As regards motivation for socialist aid and assistance to the national liberation movements and Third World countries, Lenin set out the position clearly when he pointed out in 1917:

"Now, as always, we stand and shall continue to stand for the closest association and merging of the class-conscious workers of the advanced countries with the workers, peasants and slaves of *all* the oppressed countries. . . . We shall exert every effort to foster association and merger with the Mongolians, Persians, Indians, Egyptians. We believe it our duty and *in our interest* to do this, for otherwise socialism in Europe will *not be secure*" (Vol. 23, p. 67).

One has only to compare the relations between the socialist countries with those between the U.S. and Latin America to recognize that the phrase "Soviet imperialism" is merely a weapon in the armory of anti-communism.

Prior to the Second World War, the Eastern European countries were neo-colonial satellites of imperialist Germany in the same way the Latin American countries were and are today, with the exception of Cuba, neo-colonial satellites of imperialist USA. Liberation of Eastern Europe from Hitler's troops by the Soviet armed forces and close economic and political cooperation with the Soviet Union have been a key factor that led to the establishment of socialist relations, to planned proportional development of the national economies of those countries, and to a rate of growth of

industrial production higher than that for most of the industrialized, developed capitalist states.

Between 1950 and 1968 industrial output in the CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Aid) socialist countries increased by 585 per cent as compared with 251 per cent in the developed capitalist states. Annual growth rates averaged 10.5 percent and 5.5 per cent respectively.

Through Soviet aid, the Eastern European socialist states have broken away from the traditional imbalanced non-industrial raw-material (one-crop and/or one mineral) economic structure.

Now, these countries supply over 70 per cent of the import requirements of machinery and equipment of the Soviet Union, and their industries get the bulk of their raw materials from the Soviet Union. This is a distinct advantage to these countries considering that the world prices of industrial goods have been rising more rapidly than raw materials and agricultural goods.

Compare the situation in Latin America. In February 1969, Mr. Dante D. Fascell, Chairman of the U.S. House of Representatives Sub-Committee on Inter-American affairs declared:

"I would be less than frank if I would not admit that the initial record of the Alliance for Progress inspires more gloom than satisfaction."

Mr. Fascell said the per capita gross national product in Latin America had increased by little more than one-half of the expected rate.

Writing on U.S. aid and trade policies and the failure of the Alliance for Progress, former President of Brazil, Juscelino Kubitschek, said in 1962:

"Let's be frank, the prices for Latin America's basic food and raw material exports have depreciated so much that this area's income has declined more than \$500,000,000 this year in terms of the price paid for the same commodities when I took office in 1956. That \$500,000,000 is just about the amount that the Alliance for Progress has put into Latin America since the program began. Latin America is therefore in the peculiar state of a man who is receiving blood transfusion in one arm and donating blood through the other."

Between 1957 and 1969, Brazil lost \$2,600 million because of a fall in prices of raw materials exported to the USA. However, over the same period, she received U.S. aid amounting to only \$1,700 million.

The glossy U.S. magazine, *Life*, in an edi-

torial on July 18, 1969, "Why the Latins don't love us," stated that the USA was taking more out of Latin America than she was putting in; every year since 1962, U.S. investors made more profits than was invested; in 1967, repatriated profits exceeded private investments by more than \$1 billion. This does not include huge interest payments on U.S. loans.

Soviet aid and trade are qualitatively different from that of the imperialist states. They help Third World countries to become industrialized, to break from the neo-colonial economic, political and cultural strait-jacket.

In respect of assistance to developing countries, up to January 1, 1963, 70 per cent of Soviet aid was allocated to investment in industry compared with 10 per cent of U.S. "aid" and less than 14 per cent of the credit by the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development.

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Marxism-Leninism has become more pertinent in this era, when the balance of forces has shifted in favor of socialism. Socialism has emerged from the confines of a single country into a world system. The past fifty years have witnessed the breakup of the colonial system. Imperialism has been shaken and weakened. But while it has declined in strength, it has become more cunning, vicious and ruthless.

Soon after the Second World War, Anglo-American imperialism began its preparations for turning back the clock of history. Under the Truman Doctrine of 1947, the USA whipped up a war atmosphere to strike against the forces of democracy, national liberation and socialism; arrogated to itself the right to "liberate" the so-called "captive states" of Eastern Europe, which had been liberated by Soviet armed forces. It sought to ensure by a world system of treaties and 3,400 military bases not only "the containment of communism," but also the adoption by the whole world of the U.S. capitalist system, which was equated with freedom and democracy.

In 1948, the Truman administration created the vast apparatus, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), for subversive work in a wide spectrum of organizations — political, industrial, research, mass media, youth, women, cultural, religious—fanned and inflamed racial and linguistic emotions and financed and fomented disturbances and riots as in Guyana and Ceylon, and or-

ganized military intervention as in Guatemala, Vietnam, Cuba and the Dominican Republic.

U.S. military intervention assumed its most ruthless character in Vietnam in a genocidal war.

The United States of America, under the Johnson Doctrine, assumed the "right" to use its armed forces in any country of the Western Hemisphere to prevent "subversive" activity and the emergence of another Cuba.

Mass outcry in the USA against high sacrifice in men and money in the Vietnam war, has resulted in a strategic change. Instead of direct involvement of American soldiers the U.S. administration proposes to use Asians to fight Asians, Africans to fight Africans and Latin Americans to fight Latin Americans. The client states in Latin America are urged to set up a joint military force, euphemistically called Peace Force. For the Commonwealth Caribbean territories, steps have been taken to coordinate security forces. Guyana's economy and politics are being militarized by the U.S. puppet regime on the excuse that the U.S. client state, Venezuela, is threatening aggression.

On Governor Nelson Rockefeller's recommendation that more military aid should be given to the U.S. client states in Latin America, President Nixon has decided openly to embrace the neo-fascist dictators. With respect to Latin America, Mr. Rockefeller wrote:

"North American industries every day depend more and more on the raw materials of the Western Hemisphere. These sources are indispensable for the United States to maintain industrial production."

Those who, in the face of imperialism's heightened aggressiveness and guile, talk about "cultural nationalism" and "relying on our own forces" are living in a fool's paradise and sowing illusions for their supporters. Ultimate victory, that is, independence — political and economic — will never be achieved in isolation. As long ago as 1919, Lenin stressed the necessity of developing the closest links among the Soviet Union, the international working class and the national liberation movements. In his address to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East, he said:

"It is self-evident that this revolutionary movement of the peoples of the East can now develop effectively, can reach a successful issue only in direct association with

the revolutionary struggle of our Soviet Republic against international imperialism" (Vol. 30, p. 151).

This same theme was emphasized by the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in June 1969, namely, the necessity of uniting the three great streams of the world revolutionary movement — the socialist world, the working class movements in the capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement—in the fight against imperialism. The Document specifically stated:

"The present situation demands greater militant solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries, of all contingents of the international working-class movement and national liberation in the struggle against imperialism."

Lenin's greatest achievement was in his contribution about the necessity for building a Marxist vanguard-type of party, a party based on democratic centralism and operating in both the theoretico-ideological and politico-practical spheres.

At the politico-practical level, Lenin urged the forging of close links with the masses. He advocated the necessity of working patiently and persistently; of mastering the various forms of struggle; of combining parliamentary with extra-parliamentary, legal with illegal, work; of being flexible and prepared to make the most rapid changeover from one form of struggle to another; of working in reactionary trade unions and even of working for reforms that may help improve the position of the masses.

"It would be absolutely wrong," he wrote, "to believe that immediate struggle for socialist revolution implies that we can, or should, abandon the fight for reforms. Not at all. We cannot know beforehand how soon we shall achieve success, how soon the objective conditions will make the rise of *this* revolution possible. We should support every improvement, every real economic and political improvement in the position of the masses" (Vol. 23, pp. 158-59).

Since in any given situation the thinking of the masses is influenced, in the final analysis, by their economic state and what they see, hear and read, which in turn influences their behavior and action, the necessity for educational work is emphasized. Such work based on Marxist-Leninist ideology makes the people conscious of the necessity for change. Once they are so armed, they consciously work and struggle for it.

In the Third World countries society is torn asunder by race, tribe, language, religion and cultural and economic backwardness or underdevelopment. Consequently, it is easy for the imperialists, their puppets and their agents to play on emotions, to bribe and corrupt, to divide and rule, and to subvert and overthrow. Through the imperialist-owned and controlled mass media, lies, half-truths, and false ideas, embellished as everlasting truths, are deliberately used to confound and confuse, to manipulate and influence.

Unity in such a situation can be achieved only on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the class struggle. It is this scientific outlook which must be contraposed against ignorance, superstition and prejudice.

* * *

In British Guiana, between 1957-64, with the PPP in office but not in power, the imperialists, through CIA subversion and corruption and mass-media incitement, caused sections of the working people to strike and riot against their own interests.

Now that a puppet regime is installed under pseudo-independence, a big campaign has been mounted to shift blame on the people, to sow illusions and to build false hopes.

Blame for failure and deteriorating social and economic conditions is projected away from the government's pro-imperialist domestic and foreign policies to the people. The masses are dubbed lazy, unskilled, inefficient, and too prolific. Slogans and gimmicks—"Eat less, sleep less and work harder," "Efficiency Year," "Planned Parenthood" (birth control)—become the substitute for positive action and correct economic policies.

And, in the face of growing contradictions between the leadership and the rank-and-file of the ruling party, resort is being made increasingly to racial (black) symbolism—dress, change of name—the so-called "cultural revolution."

At one time, CARIFTA (Caribbean Free Trade Area) was to be the panacea. Now, through the Cooperative Republic, "the small man will become a real man." The Prime Minister on August 28, 1969, on a motion to declare Guyana a Republic, said:

"The Party to which I belong is a socialist party. The Party which I have the honor to lead believes that the instrument which can, and ought to be in the context of

Guyana, used for bringing in socialism is **THE CO-OPERATIVE.**"

All this is demagogy and utopianism combined. The U.S. puppet regime hopes to perpetuate a hoax, using popular "leftist" words and phrases like "cooperative," "socialist" and "cultural revolution," to cover up rightist opportunism and a capitalist-imperialist economic structure.

Lenin warned not only about Right opportunism but also Left dogmatism and sectarianism. In this regard, his teachings are even more than ever pertinent, especially since so many new contingents are entering the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle.

In Guyana, our liberation movement had its own experience with Right opportunism and Left deviationism. L. F. S. Burnham, the present Prime Minister, headed a Right-wing opportunistic split in our People's Progressive Party in 1955. Of Burnham, after his visit to, and deal with Washington in May 1962, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., in his book *A Thousand Days, John F. Kennedy in the White House* says:

"Thus far, our policy had been based on the assumption that Forbes Burnham was, as the British described him, an opportunist, racist and demagogue, intent only on personal power."

Of the ultra-leftists who then called for "instant revolution" and dubbed Burnham "a traitor," one is now his Minister of Information, and another is the head of the government-owned Guyana Marketing Corporation! Thus the Right opportunists and Left dogmatists eventually come together on the basis of anti-communism.

In this period, we have similar "rightist" and "ultra-leftist" tendencies. The Right deviationists, not having a Marxist-Leninist class approach, but a racist one, not recognizing that the economic structure forms the basis, the foundation upon which the political and ideological superstructures are built, see compromise with U.S. imperialism as the only way out.

The Left dogmatists since 1964 advocated the abandonment of the parliamentary struggle for armed struggle when the country had just emerged from the most serious racial clashes. Even as late as 1968, it was apparent that the objective and subjective factors were not conducive to the abandonment of the parliamentary struggle. About 18 months before the general election of December 1968, at a specially summoned meeting of activists of the People's Progressive Party in one of the three counties of Guyana, it was the almost unanimous view

that we should contest the election as "we have a good chance to win."

The PPP leadership was, on the other hand, convinced that electoral victory could not be attained because of political trends in Latin America and the fraudulent electoral arrangements. Had it succumbed to the wishes of the minority to boycott the elections, the supporters of the party would have blamed the leadership for "throwing away the elections," and would have entertained illusions about future electoral victories. Besides, had the PPP boycotted the elections, the government would not have had to resort to extensive fraud, and would not have had to fling off the veils and show its true face.

In "*Left*"-Wing Communism—an Infantile Disorder, Lenin advised:

"Victory cannot be won with a vanguard alone. To throw only the vanguard into the decisive battle, before the entire class, the broad masses, have taken up a position either of direct support for the vanguard, or at least of sympathetic neutrality towards it and of precluded support for the enemy, would be, not merely foolish but criminal" (Vol. 31, pp. 92-93).

Lenin did not only warn against rightist opportunism and ultra-leftist dogmatism. He also attacked the procrastination of the "perpetual talkers," the "arm-chair socialists," who neither acted nor knew when to act.

In Guyana, the people, those who support us and those who had opposed us, have learnt valuable lessons from their own experience. At the same time, our party is transforming itself from a loose mass party into a disciplined, Marxist-Leninist party. By the improvement of its work on the organizational and ideological fronts, it is hoped to enrich the people's experience and thus to unite them for the successful confrontation with the imperialists and their puppets.

Vietnam and Cuba are both examples which prove that national liberation and socialism can succeed where there is no national isolationism. They both demonstrate that success—the attainment of political power and the holding of political power—depends largely on the correct application of Marxist-Leninist principles, notably the class approach and internationalism—a world outlook, the establishment of a vanguard Leninist type of party and the development of internal unity, international solidarity and the closest links with the socialist states.

The Cuban Revolution survived 10 years of U.S. subversion and aggression precisely because it secured for the Communist Party the leading and organizing role, destroyed the old bureaucratic and military apparatus, carried out extensive Marxist-Leninist educational work, and established diplomatic, cultural and trade relations with the socialist states.

At the June 1969 Moscow Conference, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, the head of the Cuban delegation declared:

"The Communist Party of Cuba is of the opinion that, in the process of the people's struggle against imperialism, the Soviet Union is a fundamental bulwark and that that historic role has been expressed in its support for Cuba's Socialist Revolution, to the Arab peoples in the Middle East and in its aid to the Vietnamese cause. We will never forget the tremendous sacrifices and efforts the Soviet people have made for mankind. . . . We declare from this rostrum

that in any decisive confrontation . . . Cuba will unyieldingly be on the side of the USSR."

The Vietnamese people's courageous struggles against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism have also been successful mainly because of the correct application of Marxist-Leninist principles and methods.

Moral and political support and aid from the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union—food, medicine, arms, ammunition—have proved to be of inestimable importance to the Communists of North Vietnam.

The realities of today demonstrate that Marxism-Leninism is an invincible force. To those, particularly in the front lines of imperialist fire, it inspires hope, creates optimism and builds confidence that colonialism and imperialism can and will be defeated; that a new day is dawning for all oppressed and exploited humanity.

Lenin's teaching in our life and struggle

REZA RADMANESH

I.

Communists and progressives throughout the world mark the Lenin centenary by intensifying the fight against imperialism, all forms of colonialism and exploitation, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. They are determined to carry forward with still greater vigor Lenin's revolutionary ideas and raise aloft the banner of Leninism in the struggle for the revolutionary refashioning of the world.

The hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lenin is of truly world significance, for the practical realization of his ideas signified a new era in human history. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution,

the rise and growth of the socialist world system, the breakup of imperialism's colonial system, the upsurge of the workers' and national liberation movements and all other revolutionary victories are insolubly linked with the name of Lenin. They provide vivid confirmation that Leninism, the Marxism of the age of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, has an applicability in every part of the world and in every field of human endeavor.

Lenin's activity in the early 1900's, when the prerequisites for constitutional revolution were taking shape in Iran, came as heartening news to our people, oppressed by the tyrannical Kajar dynasty and subjected to the violence and aggression of

Russian tsarism and British colonialism. The Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party founded in those years made its priority aim the overthrow of the autocracy, elimination of feudal relations and establishment of a democratic republic. The oppressed peoples of Iran found in Lenin and his party staunch and powerful champions and allies. And so, in those early years the material and moral foundations were laid for contacts between Iranian revolutionaries and Russian Social-Democrats. This was bound to have a stimulating effect on our national liberation movement.

In the closing years of the 19th century thousands of Iranians emigrated to the Caucasus in search of work. They were drawn into the class struggle and assimilated the revolutionary ideas and organizational principles of the militant Caucasian proletariat. Their experience, subsequently applied in Iran, did much to promote closer ties with the Russian movement, and it was these progressive-minded Iranian emigres who started the first Social-Democratic circles. Formed in northern provincial centers, they played a conspicuous part in the 1905-11 constitutional revolution.

Lenin classed it in the category of bourgeois-democratic revolutions: "In Eastern Europe and Asia the period of bourgeois-democratic revolutions did not begin until 1905. The revolutions in Russia, Persia, Turkey and China, the Balkan wars — such is the chain of world events of *our* period in our 'Orient.' And only a blind man could fail to see in this chain of events the awakening of a *whole series* of bourgeois-democratic national movements which strive to create nationally independent and nationally uniform states" (Vol. 20, p. 406).

Lenin closely followed the vicissitudes of the constitutional revolution and the intrigues of the Russian and British governments. His article in *Proletary*, in the summer of 1908, at the height of the struggle against the reactionary Kajar regime and its Russian and British protectors, is evidence of his deep interest in the Iranian movement and of the importance he attached to the constitutional revolution. The article contains this passage:

"The position of the Persian revolutionaries is a difficult one; theirs is a country which the masters of India, on the one hand, and the counter-revolutionary Russian government on the other, were on the point of dividing up between themselves. But the dogged struggle in Tabriz and the repeated swing of the fortunes of

war to the revolutionaries who, it seemed, had been utterly defeated, are evidence that the Shah's bashi-bazouks, even though aided by Russian Lyakhovs and British diplomats, are encountering the most vigorous resistance from the people. A revolutionary movement that can offer resistance to attempts at restoration, that compels the attempters to call in foreign aid — such a movement cannot be destroyed. In these circumstances, even the fullest triumph of Persian reaction would merely be the prelude to fresh popular rebellion" (Vol. 15, pp. 182-83).

The 1912 Prague Conference of the RSDLP adopted a special resolution, drafted by Lenin, on the situation in Iran: "The Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party," it declared, "protests against the rapacious policy of the tsarist gang which is bent on suppressing the freedom of the Persian people and, in pursuing this policy, does not shrink from carrying out the most barbarous and infamous acts . . . The Conference expresses its unqualified sympathy for the struggle waged by the Persian people and, particularly, by the Persian Social-Democratic Party, which has lost so many of its members in the fight against the tsarist butchers" (Vol. 17, pp. 484-85).

The defeat of the constitutional revolution was due to several factors: weakness of the bourgeoisie and its fear of the mounting revolutionary movement, inadequate organization of the workers and total lack of organization among the peasants, and, lastly, direct imperialist intervention. The principal aims of the revolution — abolition of imperialist tutelage and of the feudal system — were not achieved. The only result was a coalition of pro-monarchist feudals and the big bourgeoisie. But for all that, the revolution dealt a telling blow to the absolute monarchy.

The 1907 Anglo-Russian treaty divided the country into two spheres of influence, and after the revolution, notably during World War I, both imperialist powers intensified their political pressure and aggression. Though Iran had proclaimed neutrality, it was being plundered by the warring countries and factually lost its political and economic independence. For the people the war meant hunger and poverty. In this situation the *Aurora* salvo came as a clarion call.

The October Revolution opened up a new stage in the national liberation movement of colonial and dependent peoples. It freed the peoples of tsarist Russia and indicated

the path to freedom from colonialism and exploitation. Instead of tsarist Russia, our neighbor now was the Soviet Republic with a worker-peasant government headed by the great Lenin.

On January 16, 1918, the Soviet government abrogated all treaties that infringed Iranian independence, including the 1907 agreement. The Soviet statement said: "The Council of People's Commissars declares the 1907 Anglo-Russian Agreement, directed against the freedom and independence of the Persian people, abrogated once and for all. It also declares null and void all preceding and subsequent agreements which in any way restrict or impair the right of the Persian people to free and independent existence."

On August 9, 1919, the government of Vosuq ed-Dauleh signed a treaty with Britain placing the Iranian army, finances and customs under the supervision of British advisors. This was British imperialism's last blow at our country's economic and political independence. The only protest came from the young Soviet Republic, headed by Lenin, which denounced this gross violation of the Iranian people's lawful rights. In August 1919, Georgi Chicherin, the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, addressed this appeal of the Soviet Government to Iranian workers and peasants: "The jubilant victors, the British free-booters, are tightening the noose around the neck of the Persian people to finalize their enslavement. The Soviet worker-peasant government of the Russian Republic declares that it does not recognize the Anglo-Persian treaty, the instrument of that enslavement. The working people of Russia see in the working people of Persia their brothers and friends, their comrades in tomorrow's revolutionary struggle for the complete emancipation of labor. The worker and peasant Soviet Government, speaking for the working people of Russia, regards the treaty as no more than a scrap of paper devoid of any legal validity, as a disgraceful agreement through which your rulers have sold themselves and you to the British free-booters."

This appeal greatly stimulated the national liberation movement.

Before and after the October Revolution, the workers and working people, all the nations of Iran, regarded Lenin and the Soviet government as the ally and champion of their freedom and independence. That explains the vast influence Lenin exerts on the minds and hearts of our toiling

people. And that explains why Lenin's image figures in many works of progressive writers and poets, is woven in rugs, is present in the works of our handicraftsmen as the "savior," the "Kawe of the 20th century," etc.

Influenced by the October Revolution, in 1918 the national liberation movement spread throughout the country and in 1920-21 developed into an armed rising in Ghilan, Iranian Azerbaijan and Khorasan. The working people were fighting under their own slogans and founded their own party, the Iranian Communist Party. The movement made great strides, so much so that the imperialists found themselves compelled to accept factual annulment of the 1919 treaty. A powerful blow was thus dealt to British imperialism's expansionist policy. But the movement was again defeated due to the weakness, indecision and inconsistency of the middle and petty bourgeoisie, its dependence on the landed and capitalist interests, and due also to the organizational weakness, immaturity and inadequate experience of the working class. But the most important factor was British imperialist intervention. Again Iran was under a despotic regime.

The outbreak of World War II, and the activities of the Iranian People's Party — a working-class party founded with the participation of Communists released from prison or returned from exile — marked a new stage in the development of the national liberation movement culminating in the 1945-46 rising in Iranian Azerbaijan and Kurdistan.

The movement reached unparalleled dimensions in 1951-53 with nationalization of the oil industry. Unfortunately, this time, too, it did not achieve its aims and for the same reasons as before: weakness and inconsistency of the middle and petty bourgeoisie which feared the mounting popular urge for democratic change, organizational confusion and mistakes in the working-class party, and, lastly, open imperialist intervention, particularly by the USA, working hand in glove with extreme reactionary elements in Iran.

Nonetheless, in the sixties in an attempt to allay discontent, prevent a new crisis, and bolster their position, imperialism and Iranian reaction were obliged to consent to certain reforms and modify their methods.

II.

This brief summary of the ebb and flow of the national liberation movement, from

the opening years of the century to the 1960s, provides ample corroboration of the Marxist-Leninist principle that the working class and its Party are the most consistent, militant, active and conscious factor of the national liberation and workers' movements. Despite certain errors and shortcomings, the working people of Iran were such a factor at all stages of the movement, during the Social-Democratic period and, later, under the leadership of the Communist and the People's parties. On the other hand, at every stage of the movement the bourgeoisie was weak and inconsistent and, by its policy of capitulation and compromise at critical junctures, doomed the movement to defeat. Iranian experience fully confirms Lenin's conclusion on the attitude towards bourgeois-democratic revolutions: "The very position the bourgeoisie holds as a class in capitalist society inevitably leads to its inconsistency in a democratic revolution. The very position the proletariat holds as a class compels it to be consistently democratic. The bourgeoisie looks backwards in fear of democratic progress which threatens to strengthen the proletariat. The proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains, but with the aid of democratism it has the whole world to win. That is why the more consistent the bourgeois revolution is in achieving its democratic transformations, the less will it limit itself to what is of advantage exclusively to the bourgeoisie. The more consistent the bourgeois revolution, the more does it guarantee the proletariat and the peasantry the benefits accruing from the democratic revolution" (Vol. 9, pp. 51-52).

Lenin's report at the Second Comintern Congress raised the question of Communist support of bourgeois-democratic movements in backward countries and of possible agreements between the national and imperialist bourgeoisie. Lenin explained why the term "bourgeois-democratic" had been replaced by "national-revolutionary": "The significance of this change is that we, as Communists, should and will support bourgeois-liberation movements in the colonies only when they are genuinely revolutionary, and when their exponents do not hinder our work of educating and organizing in a revolutionary spirit the peasantry and the masses of the exploited" (Vol. 31, p. 242).

The home and foreign bourgeoisie began coming to terms after the coup d'état (August 1963), the process gaining pace in the sixties, with a substantial section of Iran's

national capitalists becoming compradores. This bore out Lenin's thesis in the conditions of our country. Imperialism is bent on enfeebling the national liberation movement by involving part of the national bourgeoisie in some of its predatory undertakings, and averting any far-reaching change and revolutionary reconstruction in the country by promoting superficial and half-baked reforms. Hand in hand with other progressive forces, our Party is advocating a revolutionary reconstruction, rejecting reform as the ultimate goal. Lenin said on this score: "The way of reform is one of delay, procrastination, the painfully slow decomposition of the putrid parts of the national organism. It is the proletariat and the peasantry that suffer first of all and most of all from that putrefaction" (Vol. 9, p. 51).

In his report to the Second Congress of Communist Organizations of the East, held in Moscow in November 1919, Lenin drew the attention of the Eastern Communists to the backwardness of their countries and warned them against applying Marxism dogmatically in the existing conditions. He said: "In this respect you are confronted with a task which has not previously confronted the Communists of the world: relying upon the general theory and practice of communism, you must adapt yourselves to specific conditions such as do not exist in the European countries; you must be able to apply that theory and practice to conditions in which the bulk of the population are peasants, and in which the task is to wage a struggle against medieval survivals and not against capitalism" (Vol. 30, p. 161).

Acting on Lenin's advice, the Iranian Communists have always analyzed the socio-economic situation in Iran on the Marxist-Leninist basis, drawing the due conclusions. And our analysis has doubtless been the most exhaustive scientific analysis ever made of our society, the social classes and politico-economic relationships. However, it was not devoid of mistakes. The Party leadership took note of deficiencies in its past practices and made the necessary corrections. This applies, among other things, to the assessment of the national bourgeoisie and its role in the revolution.

The theses worked out by our Central Committee after the Iranian delegation's return from the Congress of the Eastern Peoples in 1920, which unquestionably helped to rectify the ultra-left tactics of the

Party in the Ghilan revolution, contained the following erroneous view of the leading role in the revolution: "Leadership in the revolution belongs only to that class which can carry forward political guidance in Iran, that is, to the petty and merchant bourgeoisie" (*Zendegie mellatha*, May 17, 1921). This error in judgment was due to our overestimating the role of the petty bourgeoisie and underestimating the political consciousness of the working class.

Our Second Party Congress (1927) remedied that error, inserting the following special note in the Party Program adopted by Congress: "It is essential that the future Iranian revolution should develop under the ideological and organizational leadership of the existing proletariat."

Another mistake was committed at the time of the movement for the nationalization of the oil industry. Erroneously, we ignored the dual role of the national bourgeoisie in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. That error was set straight in a special decision of the Fourth Central Committee Plenary Session.

It is evident from this brief review of the national liberation movement in Iran that in all its stages the link-up and cooperation between imperialism and the country's reactionary forces, which adopted various forms and was of different complexions depending on the situation and the balance of strength at home and abroad, was the main obstacle to the victory of the liberation movement. The link-up and cooperation between imperialism and Iran's dominant classes was rooted economically in the continuously intensifying exploitation of working people, while its ideological content centered on anti-communism and anti-Sovietism in foreign policy and on anti-democratism in home policy, with struggle against the PPI a part of that policy. Regrettably, some groups of the so-called opposition active outside the country are grinding the axe of the anti-popular and anti-democratic regime by displaying anti-Sovietism and hostility to the PPI and thereby weakening the movement, introducing division into its ranks and objectively helping the regime to survive.

At present, Iran is in its national-democratic stage of the social revolution. The aim of that revolution is to wrest political power from the reactionary classes and turn it over to the national and democratic classes and strata. Its substance is to block access of the imperialist monopolies to the country's natural and economic resources,

and Iran's economic and political dependence, and eliminate the survivals of feudalism.

The absence of democratic freedoms is the main obstacle to the movement's growth. Hence, struggle for these freedoms, for democratic principles, claims top priority in our activity at present. As we see it, promotion of that slogan is the most urgent task and the crucial link in the struggle for all the other political aims.

Our activity is centered on guiding the class struggle of the workers and all other working people in town and country, directing it against the home and foreign exploiting classes, against the autocracy, in order to win political freedom, democratize the political system, safeguard independence, democracy and the road to socialism.

Continuously, Lenin pointed to the dual content of the workers' class struggle, emphasizing the unbreakable bond between its socialist and democratic aims.

In the sixties, an important discussion began between the different opposition forces concerning the ways of enacting radical changes and the means of delivering a crushing blow at the anti-popular and anti-democratic regime. In that discussion, a clear and concrete stand was required. And on that occasion, as on others, our Party took guidance in the teaching of the great Lenin, in his proposition that the question of the ways and means of striking the final blow at autocracy "depends on the state of the working-class movement, on its breadth, on the methods of struggle developed by the movement, on the qualities of the revolutionary organization leading the movement, on the attitude of other social elements to the proletariat and to the autocracy, on the conditions governing home and foreign politics—in a word, it depends on a thousand and one things which cannot be guessed, and which it would be useless to try to guess in advance" (Vol. 2, p. 342).

The option of the non-capitalist way is one of the important issues that have long faced the developing countries, ours included. By virtue of Lenin's teaching, our Party holds that in the present conditions Iran could end its centuries-old economic backwardness only by following the non-capitalist way, by democratizing its economic and social life, repulsing neo-colonialist designs and fighting to consolidate political independence and win economic independence. Obviously, the capitalist way followed by the present rulers in an environment of imperialist political and economic domination

only accentuates Iran's dependence on the imperialist states and her relative backwardness. That way will not resolve the contradictions prevailing in society; on the contrary, these will become more acute, leading to a still greater decline, disintegration, poverty, misery and unemployment.

Iran is a multi-national country. With Persians comprising the majority, there are other nationalities—Azerbaijanians, Kurds, Turkmen and Arabs. In addition to all the evils stemming from the general policy of the anti-popular and anti-democratic regime, the minorities also suffer from the fact that they are denied education in their national language and its use in government and judicial institutions. Their slightest protest and democratic demand is sharply repulsed by the authorities. In recent years, with national self-awareness growing, the struggle of these nationalities, especially that of the Kurds and Azerbaijanians, is expanding steadily. Many progressive young Iranian Kurd patriots have been brutally killed in clashes in Kurdistan. Many were sentenced by military tribunals, which tried them behind closed doors, to long terms of imprisonment and even to death. Thousands of Kurds and Azerbaijanians are still languishing in jails the conditions in which are extremely bad, together with members of our Party and other representatives of the national and progressive forces.

The PPI (Tudeh) is the only political party with a program envisaging the solution of the national question in line with Lenin's principle of self-determination. Despite many difficulties, the Party has never refused helping the national movements and has always sided with the freedom-loving peoples, backing their struggle against all forms of national oppression.

III.

V. I. Lenin founded the first working-class party of the new type, which in a historically short time grew into that mighty force under the leadership of which the workers, peasants, and other working people, and the oppressed peoples of tsarist Russia, launched the struggle for the working-class ideals. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new stage in the history of mankind.

The best way to mark the centenary of Lenin's birth is to study the experience of the brilliant victories of the CPSU, the first party of the new type, and to apply it to our life and activity.

The best way to mark the Lenin jubilee is to study Lenin's great works and, drawing for inspiration on that inexhaustible source, to fight against imperialism, reaction, all forms of oppression, for peace and socialism.

Lenin first worked out the organizational principles of the new Marxist party, the workers' party of the new type, in his well-known book, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, and in other works.

The party of the new type is a part and a contingent of the working class. As the workers' most advanced, most conscious and revolutionary contingent, equipped with Marxism-Leninism, the Party is capable of leading its class and directing its struggle. That kind of party is not only the most advanced contingent of the working class, but also the best organized contingent, the discipline of which is voluntarily accepted by, and obligatory for, all members of the Party. A party of that kind is the highest form of working-class organization, for which reason all other organizations, such as the trade unions and co-operative societies, operate under its leadership. The party of the new type maintains close contacts with the millions of workers. To carry forward leadership of the masses, the Party must be structured in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism and have rules defining the inviolable norms of Party life. Referring to the significance of the party organization, Lenin wrote: "In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organization. . . The proletariat can, and inevitably will, become an invincible force only through its ideological unification on the principles of Marxism being reinforced by the material unity of organization, which welds millions of toilers into an army of the working class" (Vol. 7, p. 415).

No revolutionary movement can exist without revolutionary theory, Lenin said. Only a party equipped with the most advanced revolutionary theory can perform the role of vanguard.

Acting on Lenin's teaching the Iranian Communists adhered in all their work to the theory and practice of the working-class party of the new type. Marxism-Leninism is the ideology of the PPI, the highest form of the organization of the Iranian working class.

Our Party has accumulated considerable experience in various battles, waged by it either as a legal party or underground. We have had high and low tides in our activ-

ity, but we never lowered the banner of struggle and invariably carried on, ever faithful to the interests of the working class and the national liberation movement, fighting on in the spirit of patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Lenin always stressed that the national liberation and working-class movement could achieve victory only by combining socialist theory with the labor movement.

Acting in accordance with Lenin's teaching, our Party has at all times conducted extensive ideological work, propagating Marxism in the labor movement and promoting the spread of revolutionary ideas among the working people and the intelligentsia.

Lenin taught us that to build and consolidate the working-class party we must criticize and combat uncompromisingly all Right and "Left" opportunism. Our Party has had to come to grips with these deviations, fighting perseveringly against Right opportunism, conciliation and surrender to imperialism and the anti-popular and anti-democratic regime, on the one hand, and against adventurism and sectarianism, on the other. It has banished bearers of these deviations from its ranks and thereby firm-ed up its unity on a basis of principle.

The experience of our struggle has shown that every departure from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism leads to conciliation and surrender, or to isolation from the working masses. Our experience has shown that despite the external disparities between Right and "Left" opportunism, both are based on nationalism, and the common ultimate result is: sagging working-class morale and disruption of working-class unity. The sharper the social contradictions in the capitalist world the more intensive becomes the ideological struggle.

Prolific political, economic, historical and philosophical literature about our country, impregnated with anti-socialist ideas and aimed against the PPI, is being put out in Persian and in the European languages at home and abroad. The propaganda machine

of imperialism and reaction is being constantly and intensively used to counteract the effects of the revolutionary ideas in Iran and elsewhere. Our Party is making the most of its resources to build up ideological work, striving continuously to expose the unscientific nature of the ideas and theories of our adversaries.

By distorting the facts of history and spreading specious inventions, imperialist and reactionary propaganda in and outside the country tries to subvert the international ties of our Party, which is ever faithful to its friendship with the CPSU, the party founded by the great Lenin.

All Lenin's theoretical and practical activity was closely associated with persevering struggle for the unity and cohesion of the international working class. Following Lenin's example and teaching, our Party has done its utmost by actively participating in the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969 to consolidate the unity of the ideas and actions of the world Communist movement. It follows from Lenin's teaching and revolutionary practice that the unity of the ideas and actions of the working class and the Communist and Workers' parties, like the united action of the various anti-imperialist contingents, does not come about by itself and must be fought for persistently. Without fighting for unity, the Communist movement cannot perform its most important task of the present times: to build up a worldwide anti-imperialist front.

By adopting the Document, the Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin," the Appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam" and the Appeal in Defense of Peace, the Communist and Workers' parties participating in the Meeting took an important step closer to unity of action by the world Communist and workers' movement and all other anti-imperialist forces. Consistent effort to consolidate and develop that unity will alone enable us to translate into practice the revolutionary ideas and humane ideals of the great Lenin.

Lenin in Irish history

MICHAEL O'RIORDAN

Lenin, the great leader of the international working-class movement, is forever linked with the two greatest dates in our Irish people's long history of struggle: — the Dublin strike of 1913 and the Easter Revolt of 1916.

The strike began when a number of workers were dismissed from their jobs because they had joined the newly formed Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. In an organized counterstrike Dublin's tramway workers struck on August 26th, 1913. This was the day on which began Dublin's fashionable society week, the Annual Royal Dublin Horse Show. At 10 a.m. precisely the crews left their trams on the streets, after they had first affixed to their coat lapels the union badge, the "Red Hand."

So began a bitter class struggle that was to last for over seven months. On one side were ranged 400 of the big Irish employers, on the other were 30,000 workers. It was a struggle that was characterized by extreme police brutality. From it emerged an Irish workers' army — the "Irish Citizen Army" and the contemporary trade union movement of Ireland.

A bare two weeks after its beginning, Lenin gave the international working-class movement the first picture of what was happening. He also revealed his own amazing knowledge and insight of the details of the class struggles. In the case of the Irish struggle he showed that there was no class battle too far away from him.

Writing in *Severnaya Pravda* (September 11th, 1913) and in *Nash Put* (September 12th), Lenin told the readers of how, "in Dublin, the capital of Ireland—a city of a not highly industrial type, with a population of half a million—the class struggle, which permeates the whole life of capitalist

society everywhere, has become accentuated to the point of class war. The police have positively gone wild; drunken policemen assault peaceful workers, break into houses, torment the aged, women and children. Hundreds of workers (over 400) have been injured and two killed—such are the casualties of this war. All prominent workers' leaders have been arrested. People are thrown into prison for making the most peaceful speeches. The city is like an armed camp" (Vol. 19, p. 332).

This description was so accurate an account that it would have seemed that Lenin, instead of being hundreds of miles away, was in fact an "on the spot reporter." His articles showed that not only was he fully acquainted with the daily developments on the streets of Dublin, but that he was also fully conversant with the historical, political, as well as the economic background of that decisive strike for Ireland's working class.

Of the leader of the Irish proletariat in that struggle, Lenin had this to say:

"It has found a talented leader in the person of Comrade Larkin, Secretary of the Irish Transport Workers' Union. Larkin is a remarkable speaker, a man of seething Irish energy, who has performed miracles among the unskilled workers" (Vol. 19, p. 333).

With the passage of time, the 1913 strike has become legendary not only in the folklore of the working class but as part of the entire history of Ireland. It has been the subject of speeches, songs and lectures. Many writers have produced books on it, but none, even with the advantage of hindsight, have equalled Lenin's graphic account of that struggle.

In one paragraph of his article he describes the events of one day in that strike;

it is now known as the "Bloody Sunday" of the Irish labor movement. The British Government had proclaimed a meeting of strikers in the city center. . .

"Larkin declared that he would appear at a meeting no matter what happened. And indeed, he came to one disguised, and began to speak to the crowd. The police recognized him, seized him and beat him up. For two days the dictatorship of the police truncheon raged, crowds were clubbed, women and children were brutally treated. The police broke into workers' homes. A worker named Nolan, a member of the Transport Workers' Union, was beaten to death. Another died of injuries" (Vol. 19, p. 334).

Reading his articles today, one feels the atmosphere of the tremendous class feeling that developed after that day of brutality. Published within one week of the next development, he wrote:

"On Thursday, September 4, Nolan's funeral took place. The proletariat of Dublin followed in a procession 60,000 strong behind the body of their comrade. The police brutes lay low, not daring to annoy the crowd, and exemplary order prevailed" (Vol. 19, p. 334).

Eleven years after the 1913 Strike, the 5th Congress of the Third International took place in Moscow. It was indeed appropriate that the delegate from Ireland should have been James Larkin, the leader of the Dublin Strike. On June 24th, 1924 he went to pay homage to the dead Lenin, and to express his fraternal thanks for the great Soviet leader's championship of the Irish workers' struggles.

On August 25th — eleven years afterwards to the very eve of the Dublin tramway workers' defiant class action—Larkin returned to Ireland bearing with him a huge Red Banner on which was inscribed: "TO THE REVOLUTIONARY TRANSPORT WORKERS OF DUBLIN, GREETINGS! — FROM THE MOSCOW TRANSPORT WORKERS." This was proudly carried at the head of the mass parade of workers which welcomed Larkin back from the land of Lenin.

* * *

When the imperialist war of 1914-18 was in progress, over 400,000 Irishmen joined the ranks of the British Army. Not all of them were loyalist citizens of the Mother-Empire, Britain, or as they were called in Ireland, "West Britons." Many of those in the French trenches of slaughter had been

tricked into fighting for "Little Catholic Belgium," others had been fooled by the war-cry, "For the freedom of small nations" and not a few were "economic conscripts"; some of them had fought, suffered and starved in the 1913 Strike.

When James Larkin left after that strike on a fund-raising campaign in the USA, the mantle of leadership fell on James Connolly, Marxist thinker, writer and man of action. Connolly had founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party in 1896. By 1900, he had secured separate national recognition for that party at the Paris International Socialist Congress. In 1913 he was the guiding brain and military specialist in the Irish Citizen Army, which at first was a workers' defense corps, but which on the eve of the imperialist war was reorganized by him as an offensive force.

When the leaders of the Second International, at the outbreak of the war, took up the position of social-chauvinism Connolly called them "cowardly trimmers and compromisers in a world of imperial and financial brigandage."

In the columns of the *Irish Worker* (August 8th, 1914) he wrote:

"Should the working class of Europe, rather than slaughter each other for the benefit of Kings and Financiers, proceed tomorrow to erect barricades all over Europe, to break up bridges and destroy the transport services that war might be abolished, we should be perfectly justified in following such a glorious example and contributing our aid to the final dethronement of the vulture classes that rob and rule the world."

Joining forces with the patriotic Irish Volunteers, Connolly on April 24th (Easter Monday), 1916 led the Irish Citizen Army in an insurrection that proclaimed Ireland to be a Republic independent of Britain. The revolt lasted five days, to be crushed by the superior British forces and the bombardment of Dublin.

The Irish bourgeoisie were shocked by the uprising. The British Labor Party leaders who were fully supporting the imperialist war regarded it as a stab in the back. The leaders of the British Independent Labor Party who had adopted an opportunist-pacifist line to the war "did not approve of the Rebellion" and said that Connolly, for his part in it, was "terribly and criminally mistaken."

In Russia, Mr. A. Kulisher, of the Constitutional Democratic Party (the "Cadets") characterized the Uprising as "the Dublin

putsch." Karl Radek, a member of the Zimmerwald Left, echoed Kulisher by stating in the *Berner Tagwacht*, that the Dublin rising was "neither more nor less than a putsch."

To all the critics of the Irish Easter Uprising was to come a stinging reply from V. I. Lenin. With his profound understanding of imperialism and of the national liberation struggle, Lenin understood the men of Easter Week and spoke out sharply in their defense.

In his article "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up," the section "The Irish Rebellion of 1916," he placed the rising in the pattern of anti-imperialist actions that had developed elsewhere in the course of the imperialist war, viz:—the brutal suppression by the British of an Indian Army mutiny in Singapore; the condemnation to death of Czech regiments; the attempts at rebellion in French Annam and in the German Cameroons. Referring to the Dublin rising, Lenin said: "there was a rebellion in Ireland, which the 'freedom-loving' English, who did not dare to extend conscription to Ireland, suppressed by executions" (Vol. 22, p. 354).

The 1916 revolt, he pointed out, arose because the war proved to be an epoch of crisis for the Western European nations, for imperialism as a whole, and that owing to the crisis of imperialism the flames of national revolt had burst out in the colonies and in Europe; that national sympathies and antipathies had manifested themselves in spite of threats and draconic measures.

Explaining the rising as a product of this crisis, not only enlightened the international working-class movement about its real character, it also deflated Irish petty bourgeois attempts to sentimentalize the revolt as a specifically Irish event unrelated to capitalism and imperialism, to be regarded solely as a manifestation of Irish nationalistic temperament.

Castigating those who would "vilify the Irish Rebellion by calling it a putsch," Lenin wrote:

"The term 'putsch' in the scientific sense, may be employed only when the attempt at insurrection has revealed nothing but a circle of conspirators or stupid maniacs, and has aroused no sympathy among the masses.

"The centuries-old Irish national movement, having passed through various stages and combinations of class interest, manifested itself, in particular, in a mass Irish

National Congress in America (Vorwaerts, March 20, 1916) which called for Irish independence; it also manifested itself in street fighting conducted by a section of the urban petty bourgeoisie and a section of the workers after a long period of mass agitation, demonstrations, suppression of newspapers, etc. Whoever calls such a rebellion a 'putsch' is either a hardened reactionary, or a doctrinaire hopelessly incapable of envisaging a social revolution as a living phenomenon" (Vol. 22, p. 355).

Proceeding to further explain the basic factors of the uprising, Lenin, as in the case of his reporting of the 1913 Strike, revealed an amazing grasp of Irish historical detail. Much of this he had, no doubt, accumulated in his study of Marx and Engels on Ireland, but what he revealed in his own articles showed how keenly he had studied all aspects of the principles of self-determination for oppressed nations. It was not dated or ancient knowledge but keen up-to-date information on the events preceding the uprising.

A year later, Lenin was to lead the greatest revolution of all time. That event—the Great October Revolution of 1917—was to throw into even sharper relief what else he wrote about the Irish revolt:

"It is the misfortune of the Irish that they rose prematurely, before the European revolt of the proletariat had had time to mature" (Vol. 22, p. 358).

This statement has often led to speculation in our country about what would have been the situation if the Easter Week Uprising had been 19 months later, coinciding with the Great October Revolution. But it was not to be . . .

Following the crushing of the 1916 Rising and the execution of the leaders, the Irish masses rallied to the cause of national liberation and of opposition to participation in the imperialist war. The masses confirmed Lenin's point that the Rising was not "a putsch." In 1917 by mass action and a general strike the attempt to finally impose conscription was roundly defeated. In 1919 the elections for the British House of Commons took place. The Irish national forces won the majority of the seats in Ireland with many of the survivors of 1916 being elected. Instead of going to the British Parliament at Westminster the newly elected deputies set up their own independent parliament, and so in a national sense "dual power" existed.

The 'illegal' but actively functioning Irish Parliament sought international recogni-

tion. Because of the presence of Irish immigrant influence in American political life there was the great expectation of securing recognition from the U.S. government. These hopes were quickly proved to be unfounded.

Only one state was prepared to recognize the newly born and functioning Irish Republic and that was the state created by Lenin—the Russian Federal Soviet Republic. Diplomatic contact was established and a Draft Treaty of Friendship was drawn up. However, as so often in the previous course of Irish history, the bourgeois national leaders vacillated and despite Soviet willingness the Treaty was not signed. The middle-class leaders were more concerned with an accommodation with imperialism that would grant them ‘independence’ to develop their own class interests and not those of the Irish nation.

Instead another agreement was signed by them: the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 which partitioned the island into two states: a semi-colonial one in Northern Ireland and a neo-colonial one of the Republic of Ireland. Ever since then the Irish people have lived in a twilight existence where full freedom is denied them, where unemployment is always rife, emigration a permanent feature. If only the Irish revolt had occurred the same time as the October Revolution! But it did not happen . . .

Lenin himself pointed out that revolts and revolutions cannot be synchronized. About the timing of the Easter Week Uprising he had this to say:

“Capitalism is not so harmoniously built that the various sources of rebellion can immediately merge of their own accord, without reverses and defeats. On the other hand, the very fact that revolts do break out at different times, in different places, and are of different kinds, guarantees wide scope and depth to the general movement; but it is only in premature, individual, sporadic and therefore unsuccessful, revolutionary movements that the masses gain experience, acquire knowledge, gather strength, and get to know their real leaders, the socialist proletarians, and in this way prepare for the general onslaught, just as certain strikes, demonstrations, local and national, mutinies in the army, outbreaks among the peasantry, etc., prepared the way for the general onslaught in 1905” (Vol. 22, p. 358).

Lenin’s articles on Ireland were not only an illustration of his keen interest in class and national liberation struggles every-

where. They were a signal service to the Irish workers in a crucial class and national period. In the years of British imperialist oppression of Ireland, the ruling class, with its complete monopoly of press and communications, had erected what the Irish called a “Paper Wall” in order to conceal what was happening from the outside world. Lenin with his remarkable talent broke through that barrier from the outside.

He not only reported our people’s struggles. He analyzed them, and generalized the experience for the international revolutionary movement, and not least to benefit from such conclusions were the Irish fighters themselves.

The significance of the tradition of Lenin in Irish history, despite an all-out attempt by the bourgeoisie to eliminate it, was shown by the presence of an official delegation from the Irish Congress of Trade Unions — a non-WFTU affiliate — on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution in Moscow.

* * *

Today, the Irish people are faced with many problems. Less than five years after the 1916 Rising the British imperialists partitioned our island, a state of affairs that continues to the present day and which frustrates the achievement of full national independence. But there is this vital difference between 1916 and 1970—whereas 54 years ago imperialism was at its zenith, it is now considerably weakened and new and much more favorable conditions exist for the realization of the Irish people’s centuries-old aspirations.

British imperialism pioneered many of its techniques in Ireland. Not least was the weapon of sectarianism or a variant of communalism, now being developed in Cyprus. In Ireland they set Catholic against Protestant and vice versa, but the people are overcoming these divisions. In Bogside, a working class area in Derry, the people rose against the police, in Belfast the organized trade union movement spiked the guns of those who wanted to unleash a divisive pogrom. A new unity is indeed being developed amongst Catholic and Protestant workers and the trade unionists, Democrats, Republicans and Communists who are more and more conscious that their way forward is part of the present sweep of the national liberation movement everywhere.

The “Irish Question,” which the British

considered they solved in 1921, has risen again, this time as a sharper expression of the crisis of British imperialism—for the Wilson Government it also serves as a clear exposure of Social-Democracy.

The two Irish Communist Parties — the Irish Workers' Party of the Republic of Ireland and the Communist Party of N. Ireland—are now on the threshold of uniting into one ALL-Ireland party which will express the vanguard role of the working class in the fight for full Irish freedom.

The two parties were present at the June 1969 International Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties—as they were also at the 1957 and 1960 meetings — and both endorsed all the documents of that Meeting.

In Lenin's centenary year, the struggle for national liberation, for socialism and against imperialism is accelerating in Ireland. A great change is coming about that not only reflects the intensity of the strug-

gles that are being waged, but also the change in the world balance of forces and the influence of the world socialist system. Our Party regards the world socialist system as the decisive force in the world anti-imperialist struggle. All developments on a world scale are influenced by the world socialist system and in particular by the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, which is now laying the foundations of a communist society and which is a source of great strength and solidarity for every struggle for national and social liberation.

1970—Lenin's centenary year sees a new generation of fighters in Ireland, the grandsons and granddaughters of the workers of 1913 and of the workers' army of 1916, who are arising, questioning, preaching, agitating and organizing and who are avidly reading and studying the works of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. As his name was linked in the past with our history, they will ensure that it will be part and parcel of the present and the future of Ireland.

Luxembourg working class and Lenin

DOMINIQUE URBANY

Lenin's revolutionary ideas became widely known to our working class only after the Great October Socialist Revolution. That has its explanation: the Social-Democrat Party, founded at the turn of the century—at about the time the steel industry was developing in the south of the country—was generally speaking a progressive, but not a revolutionary party. Its leader, Dr. Michel Welter, sided with the Right forces at Second International congresses and regarded Lenin and the Bolsheviks as "incurable intriguers."

The change came with the outbreak of World War I. Welter joined the govern-

ment, thereby discrediting himself and his party. There was public ferment and strikes, notwithstanding the intervention of the German army. The movement was greatly spurred by the revolution in Russia and led to the formation of trade unions and a mass Socialist party.

In 1918-19, after the German withdrawal, Lenin's ideas spread rapidly. In Lenin's works we found clear answers to many questions. Differences arose within the opportunist-led Socialist Party. The opposition, which favored affiliation with the Third, Leninist International, was steadily gaining ground. Those who (like the author

of this article) lived through this period vividly remember the vast impact of Lenin's writings and speeches.

It was against this background of resolute fight with opportunism and the Socialist leaders' betrayal, that the Socialist Party congress opened on New Year's Day, 1921. There was a split, and on January 2, the Communist Party of Luxembourg was inaugurated.

Many difficulties had to be overcome, especially as a result of Trotskyist intrigue. But guided by Marxism-Leninism, the Party accepted Lenin's teaching and has remained faithful to it throughout all these years of struggle.

Our working class and Communist Party owe much to Lenin, for his ideas laid an indelible imprint on a whole era of human history. A towering figure in world history, Lenin, by his ideas and work, radically changed its course. It was his genius that developed the revolutionary doctrine of Marx and Engels in adaptation to the era of monopoly capitalism, the era of imperialism, that last stage of capitalism. Lenin reared and strengthened the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, turning it into an invincible revolutionary force. With firm hand he directed the Great October Socialist Revolution and the organization of the Soviet state, which became a great power and, in our time, together with other socialist countries, is the determining factor of world development.

Today, Lenin's doctrine, built on the granite foundation laid by Marx and Engels, inspires millions in every part of the world.

Other comrades and other parties are in a better position, and have more right, to pay tribute to his great and manifold work. For all of us Lenin's life and work are an inexhaustible source of knowledge, inspiration and confidence in victory, a sure guide in all our work.

Lenin's doctrine, fully adopted and creatively developed by the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is now more than ever before a compass for the international working class and for all the peoples in their fight for freedom. In *"Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder*, Lenin wrote: "Not merely several, but all the primary features of our revolution, and many of its secondary features, are of international 'significance' in the meaning of its effect on all countries" (Vol. 31, p. 21). Lenin was referring in particular to the "international significance (in the narrow

sense of the word) of Soviet power, and of the fundamentals of Bolshevik theory and tactics" (Ibid., p. 22).

That must be especially stressed now, when the bourgeoisie and the revisionists are at such pains to present Leninism as a specifically "Russian" phenomenon.

The Soviet Union has set all peoples, all workers, a shining example of building socialism. Lenin taught us that the working class can triumph only if it builds up a strong and close-knit Communist Party imbued with class consciousness and united on the basis of Marxism. That applies to the working class of every country.

The Party, Lenin emphasized, can be the vanguard of the working class and can operate successfully only if it is armed with revolutionary theory, which it must uphold against all distortions, only if it acts in a united and disciplined manner.

This presupposes a determined, indefatigable struggle against Right and "Left" opportunism and revisionism, against all attempts to undermine Party unity. Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma, but a guide to action, and Lenin emphasized: "Anyone who is out to think up for the workers some kind of recipe that will provide them with cut-and-dried solutions for all contingencies, or promises that the policy of the revolutionary proletariat will never come up against difficult or complex situations, is simply a charlatan" (Ibid., p. 38).

In the nearly 50 years history of our Party we have met with set-backs whenever we lost sight of that Lenin precept or interpreted it one-sidedly.

Opportunism and revisionism, whether clothed in "Left" phraseology, or revisionist double talk, or carefully camouflaged by tricky formulas, are a constant danger to the working-class movement and its Communist parties—they are weeds that will grow if not uprooted. In "tranquil" periods, the working class is especially susceptible to the influence of pressure of bourgeois, and more particularly petty-bourgeois, ideology. To this might be added that in recent years capitalism has intensified its ideological onslaught on Marxism-Leninism.

The Luxembourg Communists know that their Party can successfully fight capitalism and reaction, for peace and socialism, only if it is guided in all its work and organization by Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This means that in its own ranks, and in its mass propaganda, it must never relax the fight

against Right-wing opportunism, revisionism and "Left" adventurism.

And the "Left" adventurists have stepped up their subversive activity in Luxembourg as in other countries. A small group of Trotskyists and Maoists have managed to gain a certain measure of influence among the students and have done damage to the progressive student movement.

Growing student and intellectual resentment against the existing system is no more than natural. It assumes diverse forms and adopts diverse slogans. This, too, is a natural development, for the intellectual, once associated, economically and politically, with the privileged few, is now being reduced to the status of exploited worker and is keenly aware of political and economic oppression. Intellectuals are coming to realize the dire consequences of capitalism in their own and other capitalist countries. Their discontent finds expression in revolutionary sentiments, public meetings and demonstrations, and very often, regrettably, in empty phrasemongering.

The way out, both for workers and intellectuals, lies in the socialist refashioning of society and fraternal ties with the working people of other countries. But it should be perfectly clear that mobilization of all the popular forces, winning the people's confidence, is an essential precondition for successful struggle for reforms and for socialist transformations, irrespective of what concrete forms they may take. High-falutin phraseology and "revolutionary" romanticism will never bring us victory. They can only lead to rash gambles and provocations that benefit the enemy.

The world Communist movement is growing. The Communists have the support of the working people, whose level of class-consciousness, however, differs widely. Besides many of the new workers are under the sway of bourgeois ideology. In this situation, it is especially important to combat Right-wing opportunism, which has become a bigger danger—the revisionists are even publishing their own journals and organizing their own factions.

Retreat from the class struggle, abandonment of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and anti-Sovietism are the hallmark of revisionism. The revisionists belittle the role and importance of the working class. Their argument is that the growth of white-collar and service employment, and the gains won by the working class in hard struggle, have led to abatement of the

class struggle, with the result that the working class has lost its revolutionary spirit and the leadership of the movement must pass to the intellectuals.

To believe the Right-wing revisionists, Marxism is largely "outdated," and Leninism is applicable only in the Soviet Union and backward countries. Proletarian dictatorship, they maintain, should be "consigned to the dustbin of history." The working class and capital, we are told, are advancing towards a compromise. And having drawn such "conclusions" they insist on freedom to popularize them in the Party. They denounce democratic centralism and proletarian internationalism and, to all practical purposes, would abolish the Party.

This perverted picture of Marxism-Leninism is but a reflection of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence within the working class, especially among intellectuals and new entrants into working-class ranks. All this poses an important task for our Party. To be faithful to Leninism, it must consistently and unremittingly combat revisionist and opportunist trends and intrigue in political and organizational activity, especially now that the Party is being joined by many young people.

Guided by the great principles of Marxism-Leninism, last year's International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties clearly formulated the tasks facing the Communist parties. Our Party unreservedly supports the conclusion drawn by the Meeting, for it knows that proletarian internationalism, the importance of which was stressed by Lenin, calls for purposive and disciplined participation in the worldwide struggle against imperialism.

At its 20th Congress this March, our Party summed up the experience of its nearly half-century work and struggle. We have become a factor in the country's political life. Communists enjoy the respect of thousands of workers and inspire fear in our enemy. At the last parliamentary and municipal elections the Communist Party was able substantially to strengthen its positions. Its members active in the trade unions have done much towards the achievement of unity. The reactionary press keeps on complaining about the "Communist danger" and its "corrupting influence" on ever larger sections of the working class.

We Luxembourg Communists have no doubt whatsoever that we owe our successes to our unswerving fidelity to the

principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In all difficult and complex situations we have striven to apply Lenin's ideas.

It is therefore only natural that we should join all the Communist parties and all the progressive forces in celebrating the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth. This means that we must follow Lenin's example, the example of a life devoted to the workers' movement, and study his immortal works. But it also means that we must rely more on his teaching as the very basis of all our work and struggle. Only in that way can we score fresh victories in the

fight for socialism and contribute to the international fight against imperialism and reaction.

In this jubilee year, the Luxembourg Communists will redouble their efforts to mobilize and unite the workers for determined struggle for a brighter future, democracy, peace and socialism. And they will act in the spirit of Lenin and proletarian internationalism, in full solidarity with the CPSU, the great party founded by Lenin. In all their work they are guided by Marxism-Leninism and the documents of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Lenin's ideas of proletarian internationalism are communists' battle standard

YUMZHAGIIN TSEDENBAL

The world Communist movement marks the centenary of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's birth inspired by the ideas of proletarian internationalism, loyalty to which the founders of scientific communism regarded as indispensable for the success of the revolutionary struggle.

In the new historical situation — the epoch of imperialism and socialist revolutions — Lenin developed and detailed the Marxist teaching on proletarian internationalism, carrying it into practice with all his revolutionary fervor. He saw it as the key instrument in redoubling the capability of the world revolutionary forces. The victory of the October Revolution, the growing might of the world Communist and working-class movement, the emergence and successful growth of the world socialist system, the awakening for active liber-

ative struggle of imperialist-oppressed peoples and the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, are all the embodiment in practice of Lenin's ideas of proletarian internationalism. The international working class and the national liberation forces achieved these historic successes by consistently practising Lenin's teaching on combining their national tasks with their international duty.

The October Revolution, which gave the start to the historic transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism, exercised a profound revolutionizing influence on the minds of working people throughout the world, on the international liberation movement, and, in turn, won the support of the politically conscious workers and working people in all countries.

Lenin regarded joint action against inter-

national capital and imperialism and defense of working-class interests as the basis of international action by the world's revolutionary forces. He pointed out that "capital is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, and international workers' brotherhood, is needed" (Vol. 30, p. 293). That is why he insisted so firmly on internationalism, constantly promoting the unity, cohesion and mutual support of the revolutionary contingents of the working class and the working masses, for, as he saw it, internationalism guaranteed a common victory over world imperialism, attainment of working-class power and the building of the new, socialist society.

Founded on Lenin's initiative, the Communist International performed the great historic mission of fusing Leninism with the international working-class movement, restoring and extending international bonds among the working people of all countries and thereby writing a new chapter into the history of proletarian internationalism. For nearly a quarter of a century, the Comintern applied itself to consolidating and developing the world Communist movement, working out the strategy and tactics of the workers' class struggle, and producing concrete answers to basic questions facing the working class and the national liberation movement. The Comintern regarded it as one of its main tasks to organize the struggle of Communists and working people the world over in defense of the homeland of victorious proletarian revolution and to rally them around the world's first socialist country.

Lenin's ideas about the international character of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, about the need for consolidating the cohesion and united action of all contingents of the revolutionary movement, are borne out by the emergence of the world socialist system, growth of the proletarian dictatorship from a national into an international force and the expansion of all-round political, economic and military cooperation among the fraternal socialist countries.

Each time imperialism mounts an offensive in the class war, the international character of the workers' struggle, the struggle of all working people, becomes particularly important, as exemplified in such large-scale world events as the defense of the young Soviet state against the invading imperialist powers which acted hand in hand with the counter-revolution at home, the

international aid to Republican Spain, the historic battle against fascism, defense of the gains of socialism, and the working-class and national-liberation movement against imperialist encroachments.

We owe it to the international solidarity of the working class, of all the contingents of the anti-imperialist front, that imperialism has now ceased to be the dominant force in the world arena. The main road of mankind's development is now determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all the revolutionary forces.

In the present fight for the unity of the Communist and working-class movement on the basis of Marxis-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, further cooperation and united action by the fraternal parties are of fundamental importance. And in this international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties that collectively examine the topical problems of our time and work out common positions in the joint struggle against imperialism, play a big role.

"Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!" — this slogan proclaimed by the 1969 Moscow Meeting reflects the objective need of uniting all the revolutionary contingents. It is the motto for successful united action, the motto defining the main content of proletarian internationalism in the present stage.

In these days, with imperialism stepping up its aggressive actions and perfidious intrigues in an attempt at disrupting the unity of the socialist community, the world Communist and working-class movement and all the other anti-imperialist forces, loyalty to proletarian internationalism and its consistent practice, coupled with the education of all Communists and working people in the spirit of international solidarity, is becoming increasingly relevant.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party holds that, just as half a century ago, the most important criterion of the loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism of a Marxist-Leninist party and any truly revolutionary working-class political organization consists in unshakeable solidarity with the Soviet Union, the home of socialism, the leading force and support of the world revolutionary process, the Com-

Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Lenin's party, the biggest and most experienced Communist party, the first to blaze the way to the radiant future of all mankind, a party that invariably displays model solidarity with other socialist countries, the world's Communist and Workers' parties, and all the other contingents of the anti-imperialist struggle for liberation.

Lenin pointed out that he who proclaims the principle of proletarian internationalism is no internationalist until he practises that principle. He required of all Communists that they should "clearly, precisely and definitely counterpose internationalism in deed to internationalism in word" (Vol. 24, p. 74). Stressing the need for working-class unity, Lenin wrote that "such unity is infinitely precious, infinitely important to the working class" (Vol. 19, p. 519).

Lenin's words are borne out by the history of the world Communist movement and the activity of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The present stage of the world revolutionary process is marked by an acute sharpening of the political and ideological struggle between the two opposite social systems.

And the history of the workers' class struggle shows that the harm done by all kinds of revisionist and other petty-bourgeois trends and conceptions to the international solidarity of working people is greatest when that struggle is at its sharpest.

At present, fighting against the communist ideology and the Marxist-Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism, the Right revisionists give much prominence to the notion of a plurality of so-called models of socialism and to "poly-Marxism". The revisionists go out of their way to name fundamental differences between socialism in East and West, in different continents and countries. They are trying to "refute" the unshakable Marxist-Leninist postulate of only one scientific socialism, of all its most essential features being objective, not enclosed in national or regional frameworks and of true socialism being inconceivable without them. Common features and regularities in the growth of the socialist society from country to country, far from invalidating Lenin's teaching on time differences and diversity of forms of transition to socialism, accord completely with that teaching.

The purpose of the plurality concepts, of the so-called models of socialism and of

"poly-Marxism," is easily detectable. These notions are meant to sow seeds of nationalism in the various contingents of our movement and destroy its international character, disrupting it thereby and reducing its capability in face of the imperialist adversary who is stepping up his aggressiveness. It is obvious, too, that these notions are saturated with anti-Sovietism and designed to isolate the Communist and Workers' parties from the CPSU, winning political capital among the politically immature by anti-Soviet demagoguery and fault-finding.

In substance, these Right revisionist concepts merge with the "Left" revisionism of the Peking leadership which, though it speciously professes loyalty to proletarian internationalism, is in fact shamelessly violating that key principle of the international solidarity of working people and following a policy of reactionary nationalism and great-power chauvinism, which inflicts great harm to the world revolutionary movement.

The Communist and Workers' parties, true to the teaching of the great Lenin, study closely the means, methods and rates of socialist reconstruction in their countries, searching for effective ways of socialist revolution best suited to their national conditions and historic traditions, and most consistent with the international demands of the specific stage in the world revolutionary process. Yet taking into account the specifics of socialist reconstruction from country to country has nothing in common with the revisionist notion of "poly-Marxism" and the plurality of "models of socialism." The recent events in Czechoslovakia, as we see from CC CPC documents, reveal clearly what treacherous counter-revolutionary anti-socialist designs are concealed behind this demagogic revisionist screen and whose interests they serve.

Our People's Revolutionary Party, an inseparable part of the world Communist movement, has always, undeviatingly, taken guidance in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in proletarian internationalism, which are in complete harmony with the true national interests of the Mongolian people.

Thanks to its close bonds with the Comintern and the Bolshevik Party, and to the wise advice of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, our Party realized that the people of Mongolia would not achieve their aim until their struggle merged with that of the other peoples and accorded with the vital

interests of the world revolutionary movement.

Defining its internationalist policy, the MPRP followed Lenin's advice to the effect that the only correct way for our working people is "to fight for political and economic independence in alliance with the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia" (Vol. 44, p. 232. Russ. ed.). Our First Party Congress in March 1921, in its decisions and the program it adopted, viewed our struggle for liberation as part of the world revolutionary movement.

Our people owe their historic victory in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution to the class alliance with the workers of Russia in the common struggle against common foes. The October Revolution, and the Mongolian people's revolution that took place under its benign influence, realized in practice, on an inter-state scale, for the first time in man's history, the principles of socialist internationalism. A new type of international relationship took shape between the USSR and MPR, expressed vividly in the Mongolian-Soviet Treaty of November 5, 1921, the first equal treaty ever signed by our country, in the conclusion of which V. I. Lenin took a direct part. The enduring alliance and the sincere and lasting friendship of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples, and the selfless all-round aid of the Soviet Union, were a necessary and crucial factor in our putting into practice Lenin's teaching on formerly backward peoples by-passing the capitalist **stage of development** in the transition to socialism.

What we have accomplished is the result of friendship and fraternity, of Mongolia's increasingly close all-round cooperation with the great Soviet Union and the other socialist countries: elimination of foreign colonial rule, expulsion of foreign capital, consolidation of our freedom and independence, defense of our revolutionary gains from home and foreign foes, defeat of the age-old economic and cultural backwardness, elimination of the different modes of production and establishment in the economy of socialist relations of production, the successful building of the material and technical basis of socialism, and the growing international prestige of the MPR.

The success of the Mongolian people in building the new life hinged to a decisive degree on the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the People's Revolutionary Party, which adopted the working-class

ideology and established close bonds with the world Communist movement. Lenin welcomed the appearance of Communist organizations in the East, including that of the People's Revolutionary Party in Mongolia. This he regarded as a necessary condition for the alliance of the peoples of backward countries and the world's revolutionary working class.

The nearly half-century-long history of the MPRP shows that the international alliance between the working class in the industrially developed countries and the working people of the backward countries is carried forward splendidly by the revolutionary parties adhering to Marxism-Leninism and consistently practising proletarian internationalism. The MPRP has led the Mongolian people to historic victories by virtue of unfaltering loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, its creative use in accordance with the specific conditions of the country, and uncompromising struggle against Right and "Left" opportunists, against all views hostile to Marxism-Leninism, educating the people in the communist spirit, the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

The experience of the people of Mongolia which has effected the historic transition from feudalism to socialism, is a contribution to the theory and practice of the world revolutionary movement. The experience of the Mongolian and other peoples that passed directly from pre-capitalist relations to socialism, has proved that only along the non-capitalist way can people previously at a low level of economic and social development rapidly resolve many of their vital problems and successfully tackle the building of socialist society.

Looking back at the historical practice of the world Communist and working-class movement in general, and of the MPRP, its inseparable part, in particular, there is every reason to say that proletarian internationalism is a militant and effective weapon in protecting the purity of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, forging closer bonds between nations and uniting the efforts of all revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. It is only proper, at this point, to emphasize the crucial importance of Lenin's postulate that true national interests coincide with the international and that, far from contradicting proletarian internationalism, socialist patriotism is inconceivable without it.

Loyal to the Leninist principle of international solidarity, the People's Revolutionary Party sees its internationalist duty in assuring the complete victory of socialism in its own country, contributing all it can to solidifying the unity of the Communist movement, strengthening the unity of the socialist community, jointly safeguarding the socialist camp against imperialist designs, extending active support to the working-class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement, and acting firmly and consistently on the ideas and principles collectively worked out by the Marxist-Leninist parties at their international meetings. As stressed in the program of the MPRP, the Party "considers it its most important task to develop in every way fraternal relations of friendship and cooperation, mutual aid support with other Communist and Work-

ers' parties, coordinating action with them and other revolutionary forces in the joint struggle against imperialism, for the interests of the working people, for peace, democracy and socialism."

Paying tribute to the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the thinker of genius and the greatest revolutionary fighter of all time, the ardent internationalist and wise leader of the working people of the world, the venerable teacher and dearly loved friend of the Mongolian people, the MPRP is rechecking its activity and its past history with Lenin and raising the banner of proletarian internationalism still higher. Loyal to the immortal teaching of Lenin, it will continue undeviatingly along the path he charted, and will live up to his behest — to assure the successful building of socialism and communism on Mongolian soil.

Lenin's approach to national question

WLADYSLAW GOMULKA

Besides general reasons, the Polish United Workers' Party has its own special reason to join the world proletariat, the peoples of the Soviet Union and the whole of progressive mankind in celebrating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. For our revolutionary movement's victorious struggle against Nazi occupation and domestic reaction, for the triumph of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, are intimately linked with our assimilation of Lenin's doctrine on the national question and of its connection with the revolutionary class struggle.

Scientific socialism's underlying ideas on the national question were formulated by Marx and Engels, but were brought to full development only in the works of

Lenin. He firmly united the national question with the struggle against imperialism, thereby laying the foundation of world communism's present strategy and tactics.

Nor was this accidental. Lenin approached the national question in entirely different circumstances than Marx and Engels. For his was a time when free-competition capitalism was growing over into worldwide imperialism. The chief center of proletarian revolution had shifted from the West to the East, from Germany to tsarist Russia. In Western Europe, with the exception of Ireland, the national question had, in the main, been solved. But Central and Eastern Europe, notably multi-national Russia and Austria-Hungary, were faced with mass national liberation movements,

and were on the eve of bourgeois-democratic revolution.

The development of Eastern European countries was such that bourgeois-democratic revolution could, and was bound to, grow over into proletarian revolution. And only the working class and its revolutionary party could act as the consistent leading force in both revolutions. But to fulfil that role the Party had to have a consistent democratic program on the national question. This was essential — and this Lenin emphasized at various times—not only to prevent proletarian class struggle from being obscured and retarded by bickering over the national question, but also to prevent “national injustice” from violating “the interests of proletarian class solidarity” (Vol. 36, p. 608). There was also this factor: the positive significance of the national liberation movement as the reserve of socialist revolution. And in this respect a special role, alongside the oppressed peoples of the Russian empire, belonged to the peoples of Asia and the colonies.

Marx (in “The British Rule in India”) put the question: “Can mankind fulfil its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the social state of Asia?” The Second International simply paid no attention to the destinies of the Afro-Asian peoples subjected to cruel colonial oppression. In contrast, Lenin insisted, before the October Revolution and much more emphatically after it, that the national question was at the same time a colonial question and that in the age of imperialism the national liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies was a powerful ally of the proletarian revolution.

This was a radical change in Marxist thought, a total departure from the thinking that dominated the international labor movement at the turn of the century. For it was then generally accepted that the national liberation movements were, chiefly, a negative factor — their allegedly nationalist character tended to cloud the class consciousness of the workers in the different countries. Lenin demonstrated their positive role and their tremendous revolutionary, anti-imperialist potential.

That is why Lenin’s program on the national question was the most democratic and radical. It went far beyond all preceding programs, including those advanced by the labor movement. Before Lenin, even the Social-Democratic parties often interpreted the right to national self-determination as implying no more than the right to cultural autonomy, and national equality

as a purely juridical, formal issue. Lenin expanded the concept of national self-determination to include the right to secession and independent statehood.

“Consequently,” he wrote, “if we want to grasp the meaning of self-determination of nations, not by juggling with legal definitions, or ‘inventing’ abstract definitions, but by examining the historico-economic conditions of the national movements, we must inevitably reach the conclusion that the self-determination of nations means the political separation of these nations from alien national bodies, and the formation of an independent national state” (Vol. 20, p. 397).

The same applied to the slogan of “national equality,” which under capitalism—as Lenin pointed out—is always reduced to factual inequality and under imperialism is a “bourgeois-democratic lie” that “plays down the colonial and financial enslavement of the vast majority of the world’s population by an insignificant minority of the richest and advanced capitalist countries, a feature characteristic of the era of finance capital and imperialism” (Vol. 31, p. 145). Hence, Lenin’s demand to support and assist oppressed nations in their fight against imperialism and for genuine national equality.

In formulating the principal national demands—the right to self-determination up to and including secession, factual rather than formal equality, aid and support for the national liberation movement of oppressed and colonial peoples—Lenin proceeded not only from the need to eliminate national strife, which clouds the workers’ class consciousness, and extend democratic freedoms to facilitate the proletarian class struggle in oppressed and oppressor nations. His program on the national-colonial question was the natural and logical sequel to his theory of imperialism as the last stage of capitalism and the eve of proletarian revolutions.

Under free-competition capitalism the question of revolution was treated as pertaining exclusively to industrial countries, to the West. But in the age of imperialism, Lenin maintained, the question of proletarian revolution has worldwide implications and should be seen as a long process of struggle, upheavals and social battles varying in scale and character. In this understanding of the revolution, national and other social movements should be assessed as part of the balance sheet of struggle against imperialism, as reserves of proletarian revolutions. That is precisely

why Lenin, in contrast to the Second International parties, regarded the national and colonial question not as a separate entity, but as a composite part of the underlying issue of the era, namely, the fight for socialism, for national and social emancipation from imperialism.

He wrote: "The social revolution is not a single battle, but a period covering a series of battles over all sorts of problems of economic and democratic reform, which are consummated only by the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. It is for the sake of this final aim that we must formulate every one of our democratic demands in a consistently revolutionary way . . .

"That is why the focal point in the Social-Democratic program must be that division of nations into oppressor and oppressed which forms the essence of imperialism, and is *deceitfully* evaded by the social-chauvinists and Kautsky . . . It is from this division that our definition of the 'right of nations to self-determination' must follow, a definition that is consistently democratic, revolutionary, and *in accord* with the general task of the immediate struggle for socialism" (Vol. 21, p. 409).

Lenin considered the division of nations into oppressor and oppressed, the criterion being "concrete economic facts," central to the Communist program on the national question. And from this he drew far-reaching conclusions: the bourgeoisie of the oppressor nation is always reactionary, while the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation can be relatively progressive and the workers' party can form temporary alliances with it.

"Insofar as the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation fights the oppressor," he wrote, "we are always, in every case, and and more strongly than anyone else, *in favor*, for we are the staunchest and the most consistent enemies of oppression. But insofar as the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation stands for *its own* bourgeois nationalism, we stand against. We fight against the privileges and violence of the oppressor nation, and do not in any way condone strivings for privileges on the part of the oppressed nation" (Vol. 20, pp. 411-12).

And Lenin took the same revolutionary attitude, which contrasted to the views then prevalent in the labor movement, on the issue of nationalism. ". . . An abstract presentation of the question of nationalism in general is of no use at all. A distinction must necessarily be made between the nationalism of an oppressor nation and that of a smaller nation" (Vol. 36, p. 607).

Somewhat earlier, in his polemics with Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin remarked: "The bourgeois nationalism of *any* oppressed nation has a general democratic content that is directed *against* oppression, and it is this content that we *unconditionally* support" (Vol. 20, p. 412).

This distinction between oppressor and oppressed nation, between the two types of bourgeois nationalism, was at the root of Lenin's idea of uniting the workers' and socialist movement with the national liberation struggle of colonial and dependent countries.

Social revolution was central to Lenin's approach to the national question. Here, too, he used the revolutionary criterion in defining how far the workers' party should go in supporting national liberation movements. Lenin's criterion was this: the result of any given struggle, any national liberation movement, any national and democratic demand must always be the weakening, not the strengthening, of imperialism; the strengthening, not the weakening, of "the unity of the proletariat's present-day political struggle. This reservation is the crux of the matter, for only with this reservation do we recognize self-determination" (Vol. 6, p. 460).

Hence, in waging a consistent struggle against every species of national oppression and setting out the most far-reaching demands, Lenin at the same time exposed the nationalist and petty-bourgeois treatment of the national question as unrelated and unsubjected to the class struggle against capitalism.

Such, in brief, was Lenin's approach to the theoretical aspects of the national question. The vast practical and political implications of his ideas, entirely new to Marxism, can be formulated thus:

First, they repudiate all contradictions between national and class factors, thus making it possible harmoniously to combine both in the interests of the working class and socialism;

Second, they raise the fight against national and colonial oppression to the level of a fight against imperialism, the common enemy of the proletariat and of the oppressed nations;

Third, they disclose the contradiction between the imperialist system and the populations of colonies and dependencies, thereby stimulating the struggle for their liberation and genuine equality. In this way Lenin laid the foundation for the upswing of the anti-imperialist national-liberation movement. His approach to the national

question secured the rear of the socialist revolution in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

This aspect was comprehensively developed by Lenin after the Great October Socialist Revolution which awakened the masses throughout the world and promoted their revolutionary struggle, especially the struggle against national and colonial oppression. The anti-imperialist strategy of the Communist and workers' movement, defined in the documents of last year's International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is, properly speaking, a further development of Lenin's ideas. For in 1920 he proclaimed "a policy . . . that will achieve the closest alliance with Soviet Russia of all the national and colonial liberation movements" (Vol. 31, p. 146).

Addressing the Second Comintern Congress, Lenin declared: "World imperialism will fall when the revolutionary onslaught of the exploited and oppressed workers in each country . . . merges with the revolutionary onslaught of hundreds of millions of people who have hitherto stood beyond the pale of history, and have been regarded merely as the object of history" (Vol. 31, p. 232).

In his last article, written when he was severely ill, Lenin emphasized anew the need for united struggle with the oppressed and dependent peoples for the final victory of socialism: "In the last analysis, the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And during the past few years it is this majority that has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be" (Vol. 33, p. 500).

Lenin made still another contribution to Marxist thought after the October Revolution: backward countries can bypass the capitalist stage of development in their advance to progress (Vol. 31, p. 244). This would be made possible, on the one hand, by proletarian support and, on the other, by all-round assistance from the socialist countries. That has been confirmed not only by socialist construction in the Central Asian republics of the USSR and Mongolia, but also by the development of some Third World countries.

In linking the revolutionary workers' movement with the national liberation struggle, Lenin urged countries where the

revolution had triumphed to perform their internationalist duty by supporting and helping both. He also defined the pattern of relations between the three main currents of the anti-imperialist struggle, assigning to the socialist states the central role in combatting imperialism and in solving the national and colonial problem. Addressing the Second Comintern Congress, he said that "in the present world situation following the imperialist war, reciprocal relations between peoples and the world political system as a whole are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia. Unless we bear that in mind, we shall not be able to pose a single national or colonial problem correctly, even if it concerns a most outlying part of the world. The Communist parties, in civilized and backward countries alike, can pose and solve political problems correctly only if they make this postulate their starting point" (Vol. 31, p. 241).

Lenin's proposition on the leading role of the socialist countries in the world anti-imperialist movement is of especial topicality today, when socialism has triumphed in many countries and accounts for one-quarter of the world's area and for over one-third of its population.

The Soviet Union is the leading force of the world socialist system. Its industrial and defense potential represents the main basis of, and the main source of assistance to, other socialist countries, and to socialist, progressive and national-liberation movements in every part of the world. The countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance hold a central place in the socialist system. With only 18 per cent of the world's area and 10 per cent of its population, they produce about one-third of its industrial output.

The collapse of the colonial system after World War II convincingly confirmed Lenin's idea of the alliance of socialism and the revolutionary movement with the national liberation struggle. More than 1,500 million people have broken free of colonial oppression. Some 80 new countries have arisen on the ruins of colonial empires. Their efforts are directed at quickly wiping out backwardness and neo-colonial dependence, and in this they are drawing on the experience and assistance of the socialist countries. All the more reason, therefore, resolutely to criticize and condemn the proponents of dogmatic and sectarian concepts aimed at separating the national li-

beration from the international revolutionary movement, of which the socialist world system is the vanguard. Propagation of these concepts is attended by instigation among the population of ex-colonial and dependent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America of nationalist prejudice, enmity and hatred of the European socialist countries. Yet experience has shown that closer ties with the socialist countries is the most reliable guarantee of their future.

The permanent value and vast significance of Lenin's theory of revolution and of his propositions on the national question lie in the fact that they gave the Communist and workers' movement the strategy and tactics that made the present victories possible. The validity of Lenin's anti-imperialist strategy was reaffirmed by the June 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. It strengthened unity of the international revolutionary movement, upheld the Marxist-Leninist principle of internationalism, analyzed the contradictions of modern capitalism and the international situation, gave the Communist parties a concrete program of militant united action. The overall perspective it sets out will greatly stimulate the fight against imperialism. The Meeting's documents develop, in adaptation to the present conditions of anti-imperialist struggle, Lenin's strategy of alliance of the three main progressive forces of our era, viz., the socialist system, the workers' movement in capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement.

* * *

Lenin's approach to the national question was largely shaped by his fight against erroneous Right opportunist, nationalist and Leftist views, so clearly manifested in the Polish movement. Up to World War I, it will be remembered, the largest and most industrialized part of Poland was under Russian rule. There were many survivals of feudalism and much national oppression, but there was also a developed working class. Two mutually-opposed political trends developed within it—the Social-Democrat Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDP), with a class, revolutionary and internationalist orientation, and the Right-wing and nationalist Polish Socialist Party (PSP).

In directing the forces of social revolution in Russia, Lenin was, of course, keenly aware of the problems facing its oppressed peoples, including the Poles. He was aware, too, of the problems involved in relations

between the Polish and Russian labor movements. Several of his guide-line writings on the national question—"The Right of Nations to Self-Determination," "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up," and others—had a direct bearing on his polemics with Polish labor leaders, notably Rosa Luxemburg, whose views were the determinative component of the SDP program.

In this situation, Lenin's analysis of the main issues of the revolutionary movement, internationalism, the national question and the entire complex of problems involved in carrying the revolution to victory—and these included purely Polish problems—was, therefore, of fundamental importance for the Polish workers' party, whose finest traditions are continued today by the Polish United Workers' Party. More, several aspects of Lenin's analysis and polemics with Polish workers' leaders have retained all their relevance today.

To this might be added that division of the labor movement into two differing trends was not a specific Polish phenomenon, but divergences between the SDP and PSP on the national question and on Polish revolutionary strategy were.

Representing the reformist, and at the same time nationalist trend in the labor movement, the PSP, in which the Marxists never played a dominant part, adopted as its overall slogan re-establishment of Poland's independence. But it interpreted the independence struggle in a bourgeois-democratic spirit: it did not make socialist revolution its strategic aim, it sought a class compromise with bourgeois parties, for it considered the bourgeoisie the hegemon of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. However, the most important thing was that it counterposed the slogan of Polish independence to the cause of the revolution, to united class struggle of the Polish, Russian, German and other workers against their common foe. Its propaganda, nationalist and reformist, and schismatic in relation to the international labor movement, was facilitated by the subjugated state of the Polish people—their country partitioned by three expansionist powers, tsarist Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary—and also by the fact that the SDP had failed to produce a correct program on the national question.

Lenin mercilessly exposed the PSP national policy and the anti-revolutionary features of its program. As early as 1903, following PSP attacks on the programmatic Bolshevik demand for national self-

determination, he disclosed the nationalistic substance of the PSP policy of advocating independence in complete disregard of the class struggle.

"The PSP," Lenin wrote, "takes the view that the national question is *exhausted* by the contrast—'we' (Poles) and 'they' (Germans, Russians, etc.). The Social-Democrat, however, gives first place to the contrast—'we', the proletarians, and 'they', the bourgeoisie. 'We', the proletarians, have seen dozens of times how the bourgeoisie betrays the interests of freedom, motherland, language, and nation, when it is confronted with the revolutionary proletariat . . . And that is why, undeterred by chauvinist and opportunist heckling, we shall always say to the Polish workers: only the most complete and intimate alliance with the Russian proletariat can meet the requirements of the present political struggle against the autocracy; only such an alliance can guarantee complete political and economic emancipation" (Vol. 6, pp. 461-2).

Lenin's criticism, it will thus be seen, was not directed at the independence slogan, but rather at its nationalistic bias, which tended to undermine unity of the international proletarian struggle, and this Lenin emphasized in the same article: "It is useless for the PSP to pretend that it differs from the German or Russian Social-Democrats in their rejection of the right to self-determination, the right to strive for a free and independent republic. It is not this, but the fact that it loses sight of the class point of view, obscures it by chauvinism and disrupts the unity of the present-day political struggle, that prevents us from regarding the PSP as a genuine Social-Democratic workers' party" (Ibid., p. 460).

The warning implicit in this Lenin criticism of PSP nationalism is wholly valid today, and not only for our party. All the more so that it has found full confirmation in experience, which has clearly shown that placing national separatism above the movement's common international interests can prove ruinous both to the class and national interests of the working people. For Poland won state independence in 1918 not as a result of PSP separatist policy, but as a result of the October Revolution carried out under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and Lenin and with the participation of thousands of Polish revolutionaries, SDP and PSP workers and leaders who upheld internationalist unity of the Russian and Polish proletariat. One of the Soviet government's first decrees renounced tsarist Russia's expansionist policy, annulled the

treaties on the partition of Poland and recognized its right to independent statehood. Poland's second revival of independence was likewise due to the Soviet Union which liberated our country from the Nazi invader. This immensely helped the victory of the socialist revolution in Poland after World War II. But that victory was possible only thanks to the Polish Workers Party's correct policy of combining the fight for national liberation with the fight for social liberation and of promoting friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union. And today, too, the guarantee of socialist Poland's independence and sovereignty lies not in national separatism, but in increasingly close ties and fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, with all the world's revolutionary forces.

In carrying forward the splendid revolutionary and internationalist traditions of the SDP and its successors, the Communist Party of Poland and the Polish Workers' Party, we had to overcome SDP errors on such questions as alliances, the revolutionary potential of democratic movements and, more particularly, on the national question. In this long and complex process, which was not free of indecision and recurrences of erroneous conceptions, Lenin's friendly criticism was of invaluable assistance.

Though the SDP was closest of all to the Bolsheviks and was represented at some of their congresses, on a number of issues its attitude differed substantially from theirs. Some of its leaders, among them Rosa Luxemburg, saw in Poland's socio-economic development only the rapid growth of capitalism and the resultant increase in the number of workers. Strongly influenced by the Second International, they regarded the proletariat as the sole revolutionary force, and the peasantry and the national liberation movement as reactionary forces that only clouded the class consciousness of the proletariat in its fight against the bourgeoisie. According to SDP strategy—and this was saliently expressed by its ideologist, Rosa Luxemburg—liberation of the Polish and all other peoples, and abolition of all forms of oppression, could only be the result of a "pure" international socialist revolution which, in her opinion, would immediately obliterate national frontiers and bring into being a world republic of free peoples.

In keeping with this theory, the SDP correctly opposed PSP nationalism, but incorrectly rejected the slogan of Polish independence, and indeed the very possi-

bility of new states arising under capitalism. This has sometimes been described as a nihilist concept, though it would be more correct to regard it as a strategically erroneous and utopian conception of abolishing all national and social oppression. But it has to be said that, on the whole, the SDP followed a correct line on the question of alliance and joint revolutionary struggle with the proletariat of the expansionist powers, particularly the Russian and German proletariat.

Lenin drew the attention of the Polish Social-Democrats to the absurdity of this theory of "pure" social revolution. He wrote in his 1916 article, "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up": "To imagine that social revolution is conceivable without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty bourgeoisie with all its prejudices, without a movement of the politically non-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against oppression by the landowners, the church, and the monarchy, against national oppression, etc.—to imagine all this is to repudiate social revolution. So one army lines up in one place and says, 'We are for socialism', and another, somewhere else and says, 'We are for imperialism', and that will be a social revolution! . . .

"Whoever expects a 'pure' social revolution will never live to see it. Such a person pays lip-service to revolution without understanding what revolution is" (Vol. 22, pp. 355-56).

Lenin's criticism of Rosa Luxemburg's "pure" revolution theory was directed at its underlying Left sectarianism, which prevented the SDP from utilizing the revolutionary potential inherent in the unsolved peasant question and in the national liberation movement, and from combining these with the struggle of the proletariat and under its leadership. In the period of the October Revolution this SDP policy had a very adverse effect on the Polish revolutionary movement.

Lenin also criticized Rosa Luxemburg's proposition that the socialist revolution would wipe out national frontiers and abolish national states. That, Lenin said, contradicted the Marx and Engels proposition that in the transition period from capitalism to communism national states would exist for a long time.

The founding of the Soviet state gave reality to Lenin's prognosis that Polish freedom was inconceivable without the freedom of Russia. And in this respect, too,

history vindicated the SDP internationalist policy of joining forces with the Russian proletariat against the tsarist autocracy. But history also confirmed, in a very practical way, that from the standpoint of the interests of the Polish proletariat and the Polish revolution the SDP had been following a wrong policy in rejecting the right of nations to self-determination and state independence.

This was one of the factors that helped the emergence in independent Poland of Pilsudski's bourgeois-landlord regime which suppressed the revolutionary movement and, with the aid of the Western imperialist powers, organized a military crusade against Soviet Russia. But even in these conditions Lenin remained the great internationalist and friend of the Polish people and their freedom-loving aspirations. Addressing Red Army troops leaving for the front, he declared: "You know that, instigated by the Entente, the Polish landowners and capitalists have forced a new war on us. Remember, comrades, that we have no quarrel with the Polish peasants and workers; we have recognized Poland's independence and the Polish People's Republic, and shall continue to do so" (Vol 31, p. 127).

The bitter experience of the Polish revolutionary movement and Lenin's theory, which enabled it to analyze this experience, became the basis for formulating the Communist Party program, notably on the question of a worker-peasant alliance. Gradually the Party came to appreciate Lenin's idea that victory can be won only by marshalling all the resources of revolutionary energy, the workers' struggle for socialism, the peasants' struggle for land, and the struggle of the entire people to secure and strengthen the country's independence. And gradually the movement overcame its sectarian disparagement of national tasks, for experience proved that such disparagement served neither the national nor international interests of socialism.

The Polish Workers' Party formed in the years of Nazi occupation drew invaluable conclusions from the movement's experience and Lenin's criticism. It was the first party in Polish labor history that proved capable of making the class and international interests of the Polish workers the program of the entire nation.

And in this program liberation from Nazi occupation through alliance with the Soviet Union was organically combined with social liberation from landlord-capitalist rule. The program took into account the in-

terests of the peasantry, intelligentsia and middle strata. In building the socialist state we utilized traditional national forms and political institutions (for instance the Sejm, which enjoyed high prestige, the multi-party system). Taking this as its starting point, the Polish Workers' Party and its successor, the Polish United Workers' Party, worked consistently and successfully to eradicate all manifestations of nationalism and anti-Sovietism, combining the profound patriotism of the Polish people with proletarian internationalism. For our own and international experience had taught us that internationalism and patriotism are two facets of an integral social policy. Combining the two, especially in our age, is an ideological consequence of the historic confrontation between socialism and imperialism.

Lenin's ideas on the national question and on the allies of socialist revolution determined our Party policy. They are at the root of all its successes to date and serve as a reliable compass in charting Poland's continued socialist development.

The conclusion to be drawn from Lenin's teaching, corroborated by the negative and positive experience of the Polish workers' movement, is that the working class can win and maintain power only if it combines its international with its national tasks.

We can, apparently, formulate two conditions basic to the implementation of this Lenin principle. The first condition is maintenance and development of contacts with the international workers' and anti-imperialist movement, and, in particular, promoting unity of the socialist countries, that bulwark and support base of revolutionary and national liberation movements, of all the anti-imperialist forces. Needless to say, this presupposes struggle against nationalism and national isolation within the Communist and workers' movement. For nationalism, whatever its label, is essentially a petty-bourgeois or bourgeois phenomenon. Its slogan of supra-class national unity serves to obscure the class contradictions, national and international, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and in the present struggle between the socialist world system and the imperialist camp.

The second condition is the Party's ability to make the class interests of the proletariat the interests of the entire nation. This requires careful account of national specifics and of the interests of all potential allies of the working class. Experience in applying Lenin's theory shows that this, alongside internationalism, is essential for

the working class to win and retain power and from an exploited and oppressed class to become the dominant and ruling class.

It can be said that this second condition is the very essence of the following formulation in the Document of last year's Moscow Meeting: each party, "guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in keeping with concrete national conditions, fully independently elaborates its own policy, determines the directions, forms and methods of struggle, and, depending on the circumstances, chooses the peaceful or non-peaceful way of transition to socialism, and also the forms and methods of building socialism in its own country."

In "*Left-Wing* Communism—An Infantile Disorder, a book that played such an important part in overcoming erroneous views in the Polish revolutionary movement, Lenin wrote:

"As long as national and state distinctions exist among peoples and countries—and these will continue to exist for a very long time to come, even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a worldwide scale — the unity of the international tactics of the Communist working-class movement in all countries demands, not the elimination of variety or the suppression of national distinctions (which is a pipe dream at present), but the application of the *fundamental* principles of communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat), which will *correctly* modify these principles in certain *particulars*, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state distinctions. To seek out, investigate, predict, and grasp that which is nationally specific and nationally distinctive, in the *concrete manner* in which each country should tackle a *single* international task . . . such is the basic task in this historical period . . ."

(Vol. 31, p. 92).

* * *

Lenin's theory, strategy and tactics in combining revolutionary and national tasks enables us to define the main features of proletarian and socialist internationalism: the class element does not eliminate the national element, nor does the latter dispense with the need always to take a class approach. That postulate is valid today and will remain valid as long as imperialism and social classes exist.

The Polish United Workers' Party learns from the successes and setbacks of its predecessor and from Lenin's criticism. Together with the entire world Communist move-

ment and particularly the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with which the Polish Workers' movement has had long years of

international cooperation, it considers itself heir to the fundamental principles and ideas of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

Leninism: inspiration and guide in our struggle for democracy and socialism

DOLORES IBARRURI

In celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, we pay tribute to the founder of the world's first Marxist Communist Party, the Bolsheviks, and to the organizer and leader of the world's first socialist revolution.

And it is with a feeling of profound gratitude and affection that we speak and write of Lenin, so near to us all, so dear to everyone involved in the battle for social justice and socialism.

The name Lenin stands for the Communist Party, for the October Socialist Revolution of 1917, for faith in the working class and the people; it is a symbol of implicit confidence in the socialist future of all nations.

Ever since October 1917 — the Lenin October that heralded the advent of the era of socialism and proletarian revolution — Lenin lives in the revolutionary battles of the working class and peasants in the capitalist countries, in every major achievement of the socialist lands advancing to communism, in the victories of colonial peoples over imperialism, in the work of every Communist Party.

Looking back to the turn of the century, when petty-bourgeois elements calling themselves socialists — the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and anarchists — were vying with each other for leadership of the Russian workers and revolutionary

movement, we see Lenin, with his extraordinary power of conviction, combating all these trends to give form and substance to the revolutionary party of the working class, the Bolshevik Communist Party, the party of socialist revolution.

Constructive criticism and revolutionary irreconcilability were central to his dedicated service to socialism and the socialist revolution. His work in the realm of theory helped recast the political image of the world; the October Revolution destroyed capitalist world hegemony and ushered in the new, socialist era.

Revolutionary fidelity to principle, evidenced already in his youth, was a major aspect of Lenin's fight against routine, privilege, obsolete political ideas, ossified or vacillating ideological attitudes, dogmatic sectarianism and opportunism. It was manifested, also, in his fight against the Trotskys, Dans, Martovs, Kerenskys and Milyukovs, against Menshevik conservatism and Leftist demagoguery — against, even, delusions among his comrades.

On the ruins of the old bourgeois-democratic concepts demolished by World War I and the situation it created, Lenin raised aloft the banner of socialist revolution. He proved the possibility of building socialism in one, separate country. This was a new dimension in Marxism.

It is no exaggeration to say that Lenin's

revolutionary audacity, his understanding of the latent revolutionary opportunities which the war had disclosed and which the Second International leaders could not, or would not, utilize, were major factors contributing to the victory of the October Revolution.

In the years preceding the imperialist war of 1914, Lenin devoted all the power of his mind and his immense revolutionary will-power to prevent the Social-Democrat leaders from becoming accomplices of the bourgeoisie in the impending holocaust in which millions gave their lives defending the interests of their class enemies and exploiters.

In reply to the jingoism of the Social-Democrat leaders, Lenin declared: "Imperialist war is a flagrant violation of all democracy, whether in backward monarchies or progressive republics . . . The 'only' thing that can be 'opposed' to imperialist war is socialism" (Vol. 23, p. 24).

Lenin exposed the pacifist lies of the Social-Democrats and the hypocrisy of government promises of democratic concessions to the workers. He called on the workers to rise against their rulers, who had hurled the nations into this shambles.

In his *Letters from Afar*, written in March 1917, after the overthrow of tsarism, he warned the Russian working class against the intrigue and hollow promises of the Milyukovs and Kerenskys. He counselled against supporting the bourgeois government which was already working towards a deal with representatives of the overthrown monarchy.

"... The workers must *not* support the new government; the government must 'support' the workers," he wrote. "For the only *guarantee* of freedom and of the complete destruction of tsarism lies in *arming the proletariat*, in strengthening, extending and developing the role, significance and power of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies . . .

"The government of the Octobrists and Cadets, of the Guchkovs and Milyukovs, cannot, even if it sincerely wanted to . . . give the people *either peace, bread, or freedom*.

"It cannot give peace because it is a war government, a government for the continuation of the imperialist slaughter . . .

"It cannot give bread because it is a bourgeois government. *At best*, it can give the people 'brilliantly organized famine,' as Germany has done . . .

"It cannot give freedom because it is a landlord and capitalist government which

fears the people and has already begun to strike a bargain with the Romanov dynasty . . .

"The proletariat, on the other hand, if it wants to uphold the gains of the peasant revolution and proceed further, to win peace, bread, freedom, must '*smash*', to use Marx's expression, this 'ready-made' state machine and substitute a new one for it by *merging* the police force, the army and the bureaucracy with *the entire armed people* . . .

"And the workers of Russia have already *taken* this path in the first stage of the first revolution, in February-March 1917. The whole task now is clearly to understand what this new path is, to proceed along it further, boldly, firmly and perseveringly" (Vol. 23, pp. 305-06, 325-26).

The famous April theses revealed Lenin's true and unerring judgment of the situation, his boldness in abandoning formulas no longer confirmed by reality. This distinguished him from all other revolutionary leaders in all other countries. Rejecting the assessment given by some Bolsheviks, Lenin declared that the bourgeois revolution was over and now the task of the proletariat was to seize power and develop the socialist revolution.

In solving the problems of socialist revolution in this new period of history, Lenin carefully preserved the spiritual legacy of the founders of scientific communism, and set a brilliant example of creative approach to Marxist theory. He trenchantly criticized those who clung to the old formulas — in the conditions of 1917, this would have meant stopping half way, letting slip the opportunity of developing the bourgeois into a proletarian revolution, thereby allowing the bourgeoisie time to reorganize and regroup its forces. The socialist revolution would thus be delayed indefinitely.

With characteristic boldness and firmness, Lenin upheld a policy that conformed with the alignment of forces and the general situation, confident that the masses would accept and follow this policy. And he proved right.

Countering Trotsky's demagogic slogan: "No tsar but a *workers' government*," Lenin asked:

"But are we not in danger of falling into subjectivism, of wanting to arrive at the socialist revolution by '*skipping*' the bourgeois-democratic revolution — which is not yet completed and has not yet exhausted the peasant movement?

"In my theses, I absolutely ensured myself against skipping over the peasant

movement, which has not outlived itself, or the petty-bourgeois movement in general, against any *playing* at 'seizure of power' by a workers government, against any kind of Blanquist adventurism; for I pointedly referred to the experience of the Paris Commune" (Vol. 24, pp. 48-49).

And today, when there is so much discussion about tactics, and philistine timidity by people who have forgotten, or have never known, the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, it is good to refresh one's spirit in this pure stream of Lenin's theory, tested in revolutionary struggle and in the building of the new society, the new life, in the building of a socialist world!

"Marxism," Lenin wrote, "requires of us a strictly exact and objectively verifiable analysis of the relations of classes and of the concrete features peculiar to each historical situation. We Bolsheviks have always tried to meet this requirement, which is absolutely essential for giving a scientific foundation to policy.

"'Our theory is not a dogma, but a guide to action,' Marx and Engels always said, rightly ridiculing the mere memorizing and repetition of 'formulas', that at best are capable only of marking out *general* tasks, which are necessarily modifiable by the *concrete* economic and political conditions of each particular *period* of the historical process" (Vol. 24, p. 43).

In Lenin, profound knowledge of Marxist theory merged in a revolutionary way with a sensitive feeling of reality. That is why even his political enemies were compelled, by the pressure of facts, to admit that Lenin was always right in his political, theoretical and strategic concepts.

Lenin exposed the phrasemongering of the ultra-Left as a cover to conceal their lack of all feeling of reality and their inability to stand up to and overcome the difficulties of the struggle.

In 1908, at the height of the Stolypin terror, there emerged in the Bolshevik party a group known as the *Otzovists*. They paraded their Leftism by loud revolutionary statements (though in the end, many of them degenerated into mystical god-seekers who wanted to turn scientific socialism into a kind of religious faith). The group proclaimed they would shun all compromises, would never agree to any deal, would always be irreconcilable, would be more Left than all the rest . . .

Lenin disclosed that behind this front were hollow words and reluctance to continue the fight in the difficult conditions

following the defeat of the 1905 Revolution.

He wrote: "We must fight against the revolutionary phrase, we have to fight it, we absolutely must fight it, so that at some future time people will not say of us the bitter truth that 'a revolutionary phrase about revolutionary war ruined the revolution'" (Vol. 27, p. 29).

Lenin's genius and foresight are evident not only in his leadership of the struggle for socialism in his own country, but also in his assessment of the revolutionary future of all nations on all the continents.

He foresaw that it would be a much more difficult and complex struggle than wars between states, wars fought by armies directed by their General Staffs.

Owing to the capitulation of the Social-Democrat leaders the international proletariat, destined to begin the great struggle for power in each country, did not have a revolutionary General Staff. It had to create one capable of directing the international fight for socialism.

In the Second International Lenin tried to prevent the final capitulation of the old Social-Democrat leaders, but he knew that there had to be a parting of the ways. He urged the working class and the Socialist parties to form a new, genuinely militant and revolutionary international, loyal to the scientific socialism of Marx and Engels, as the General Staff in the war for socialism.

On March 2, 1919, the inaugural Congress of the Communist, Third International opened in the capital of the world's first socialist state under Lenin's chairmanship. The Comintern was the historic successor of the First International and continuer of the best traditions of the Second.

The Third International was proclaimed at a time when the world revolutionary movement was on the upgrade, shortly after the October Socialist Revolution had deprived capitalism of its undivided world supremacy.

Whereas the First International laid the basis for the worldwide proletarian struggle for socialism, and the Second helped to organize the working class under the socialist banner, the Third, Leninist International, having broken with the opportunist, Social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois corruption of the Second International, brought the basic ideas of Marxism to the knowledge and understanding of the world working class. In doing so it relied on the victory of the first socialist revolution, on Soviet Russia, where the

workers had vanquished capitalism, and where the world's first proletarian dictatorship had been established.

On March 5, 1919, the day after the Third International was proclaimed, Lenin wrote: "The ice has been broken," emphasizing the beginning of a new era in the international Communist movement. Those who never believed in socialism waxed ironic, dismissing Lenin's words as fantasy.

But today a number of European and Asian countries are on the socialist path. In Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania, Yugoslavia, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, China, Mongolia, North Vietnam, North Korea, and, later, Cuba — in all these countries the most reactionary forces of the capitalist bourgeoisie were removed from power.

Imperialism's colonial system collapsed.

Lenin's revolutionary prevision was now a splendid living reality. The political geography of the world was changing with breath-taking speed.

Lenin's genius, his ideas, were embodied in the revolutionary transformations in countries where capitalist rule had been abolished and people's democratic regimes established as the forerunners of socialism.

Among the socialist groups which in 1919 heard Lenin's appeal were the Socialist Party and Socialist Youth organization of Spain.

It is not the purpose of this article to describe the events leading up to the formation of the Communist Party of Spain. But I would emphasize the importance of this for a country like ours, its political and economic structure retaining many feudal features and its labor movement vacillating between anarchism and Social-Democracy.

It was not easy to hew a road through this dense ideological forest. For at that time socialism was accepted chiefly in its economic aspects, and this concept dominated the thinking of a considerable section of workers. It was not easy to break through this jungle of anarcho-syndicalism, very militant to be sure, but impotent because it lacked a scientific revolutionary ideology.

The Communist Party of Spain, formed on the basis of the militant elements of the Socialist Party, of its youth, having traversed a difficult path of struggle, became the great political force that supported and inspired popular and national resistance to the Franco mutiny of 1936, growing during that war into the most important and most militant political organization in Republi-

can Spain, into the bulwark of popular and democratic resistance to the Franco dictatorship.

Consistently Leninist and non-conformist, the Communist Party of Spain carried on its activity after the tragic defeat of the Spanish Republic, under the terrorist fascist regime, fitting its work to the new conditions.

In the nearly 12 years of guerrilla warfare it sustained the faith of workers and peasants in the final victory of democracy over the temporarily triumphant fascist reaction.

Later, all Party work was concentrated in the factories, mines and enterprises, the Franco trade unions, institutes and universities, the villages and towns.

The regime is in the throes of a crisis. Forces that are over-candidly fascist are being removed from high positions; the isolation of the dictatorship is increasing, impelled by worker and peasant actions throughout the country, by the revolt of the working youth and students and the disintegration of forces that until recently were the main support of the dictatorship.

At present, the Communist Party is again the best organized and most militant force fighting the dictatorship, for a politically and socially democratic Spain.

The Party's consistent, firm and clear unitarian policy, its work for a freedom pact that would unite all democratic and anti-dictatorial forces, is winning an increasingly favorable response among various anti-Franco and progressive groups that sincerely want the country to follow the democratic way.

Our Party has not assumed any extremist postures that could bring about its isolation. It has made it known that it does not oppose the creation of a provisional government which would restore democratic freedoms, proclaim a general amnesty and hold elections to a constituent assembly, with free expression of the popular will fully guaranteed. The freedom pact proposed by the Party is for the country a democratic alternative.

The pact contains no ready-made solution concerning the regime and the constitution. Those matters only the nation can discuss and resolve.

Neither is it a minimum program of the Party, but rather the minimum basis for agreement among various political forces with the purpose of restoring democracy in Spain.

And when some people that still live by the concepts of 1920 and 1931 accuse Communists of adapting themselves to the bourgeois forces and of abandoning struggle, they overlook the fact that the Popular Front embraced not only working-class forces, but included various petty-bourgeois republican parties and some sections of the bourgeoisie, as well as the Communist and Socialist parties. They forget that without that Front the Republic could not have withstood the rebel forces for more than 24 hours.

They also forget that the policy of alliances among different political forces is a policy of struggle, a policy under which the most progressive forces in the alliances constantly battle those who try to impose or preserve the old, which they merely revamp.

Our Communist Party is fighting openly and sincerely for alliances or compromises with all anti-Franco forces, for the democratization of Spain, and is thus always consistently Leninist.

It makes no dishonorable concessions and does not capitulate; it works for its aims through large-scale worker, peasant and student manifestations, finding support in the increasing radicalization of the militant intelligentsia and for the mounting resistance of the entire nation to the Franco dictatorship.

The Communist Party holds that this policy is in accord with the present situation in Spain, that it is the right policy to follow for a party responsible to the working class and the people, a party that will use every opportunity to end the extraordinary situation in which the country has lived for as long as 30 years.

Like any other country at a time of crisis, Spain is the scene of ideological struggle on a national scale, involving all political groups, groups representing different interests.

And the most striking aspect of that struggle is that even bourgeois forces, for whom the Marxist-Leninist ideology has been unacceptable, now in their programs allow for the nationalization of banks and the socialization of large enterprises. They are beginning to regard socialism as one of the stages in the development of human society, a stage even compatible with religious convictions.

In these long years of the Franco dictatorship, of persecutions, prisons, executions and other ordeals, the Communists have always been a mighty force of active and

militant resistance to Franco's repressive and anti-national policy.

By their struggle and heroic example, their dedication and spirit of sacrifice, the Communists have won the respect of all who are sincerely eager to reconstitute Spain as a democratic country with, in the long term, subsequent socialist reconstruction.

Evident in Spain more forcefully than in other countries are the consequences of imperialism's weakening and of the strengthening of the socialist camp.

Bourgeois attempts to offer some third solution, some third ideology, a third way, have been unsuccessful.

The reality is more convincing and more persuasive than demagoguery. Two worlds and two ideologies confront each other in the struggle, the outcome of which is predetermined by history — the imperialist world and the socialist, the bourgeois ideology and scientific socialism, the ideology of the working class, the most advanced class.

And whereas imperialist ideology is being knocked out of one position after another, the workers' ideology, the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the socialist ideology, is gaining ground and winning the minds of the masses, becoming an active and material force.

For 30 years Spain has lived under the fascist dictatorship. These are thirty years in which, day in and day out, in institutes and universities, schools and churches, the fascist doctrine is being ladled out to the people as an obligatory discipline in which fighting communism is portrayed as a civic duty.

All that happens in the Spain of today is highly instructive. The Franco dictatorship may be still extant, but what no longer exists as the dominant political force in the administration of the state is the fascist Falange. The Falange has been removed, or rather dismissed as a servant no longer employable in view of the changed conditions.

The working class, the peasants and students, the most prominent intellectuals, eminent specialists and engineers, reject the fascist ideology that was imposed on them by terrorist means, and are searching avidly in Marxist-Leninist literature for the right answers to their political and social problems.

Lenin's works are read and studied with enthusiasm by young people who have grown up under fascism and who reject it

categorically as a reactionary ideology without a future, as an odious, inhuman, obscurantist regime.

These days, Marxism-Leninism exercises a growing influence on the course of the great ideological battle. People want to know everything related to the practice of Marxism, the practice of the first socialist revolution and the emergence of the countries of the socialist camp.

Lenin's political image as the great leader of the revolution has gone down in history as the image of a peerless giant near and dear to each worker, each peasant, to the peoples fighting for their national and social emancipation.

Leninism is no less relevant today than it was yesterday and will be tomorrow in the struggle for the socialist reconstruction of nations, of all mankind.

Lenin's method of applying Marxism in accordance with the situation in which the struggle develops from country to country, is an invaluable and pertinent model.

"A Marxist," Lenin wrote in his *Letters on Tactics* in 1917, "must not abandon the ground of careful analysis of class relations... In assessing a given situation, a Marxist must proceed *not* from what is possible, but from what is real... A Marxist must take cognizance of real life, of the true facts of *reality*, and not cling to a theory of yesterday, which, like all theories, at best only outlines the main and the general, only *comes near* to embracing life in all its complexity" (Vol. 24, pp. 45-46).

The problem of struggle for democracy and for its growth into socialism stands high on the agenda in a world where socialist countries that sprang up and developed as a result of the victory over Hitlerism in the Second World War, a victory in which the main role was played by the Soviet Union, exist alongside the USSR. Lenin wrote: "Socialism is impossible without democracy because: (1) the proletariat cannot perform the socialist revolution unless it prepares for it by the struggle for democracy; (2) victorious socialism cannot consolidate its victory and bring humanity to the withering away of the state without implementing full democracy" (Vol. 23, p. 74).

To show the profoundly democratic nature of socialism, to show the different ways leading to it, is an essential element in the present-day ideological struggle against the defenders of imperialism and of reactionary regimes.

There is no fuller democracy than that

practised by the working class that has come to power. In other words, the fullest democracy is proletarian democracy or the dictatorship of the proletariat, which stands for the advent to power of the working class and the constitution of a state in which the working class is the leading and guiding force.

That is what capitalist society is headed for and no power on earth can stop this trend. "Communists should know," Lenin wrote, "that, in any case, the future belongs to them; therefore, we can (and must) combine the most intense passion in the great revolutionary struggle, with the coolest and most sober appraisal of the frenzied ravings of the bourgeoisie... Only one thing is lacking to enable us to march forward more confidently and firmly to victory, namely, the universal and thorough awareness of all Communists in all countries, of the necessity to display the utmost *flexibility* in their tactics" (Vol. 31, pp. 101-102).

Warning Communists against the pitfalls of a narrow and one-sided approach to tactics and methods, Lenin wrote: "The transition from capitalism to communism is certainly bound to yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat*" (Vol. 25, p. 413).

Referring to the diversity of political forms adopted by bourgeois regimes in an article entitled "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism," Lenin wrote: "The same variety will manifest itself also in the path mankind will follow from the imperialism of today to the socialist revolution of tomorrow. All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life. There is nothing more primitive from the viewpoint of theory, or more ridiculous from that of practice, than to paint, 'in the name of historical materialism', *this* aspect of the future in a monotonous grey" (Vol. 23, pp. 69-70).

The working class, the peasants, considerable sections of the intelligentsia and of the students, support our policy. And when the masses who trust the Communist Party, who have seen that the Party did not abandon them in their darkest hour, are in accord with the Party's policy it

means that this policy corresponds to the realities prevailing in Spain and that it will overcome all sectarian and demagogic aberrations. That policy is centered wholly on eliminating the Franco dictatorship and mounting an open struggle for democracy and for socialism.

The Marxist-Leninist theory is a science about the development of society, a science about the working-class movement and about the building of socialism. Like any other science, it cannot mark time, and must develop and improve in conformity with the situation to which it is applied. Old concepts change and new forms of struggle appear in the revolutionary activity.

Lenin developed the theory of the socialist revolution in conformity with the new historical situation, because the old Marxist theory that revolution could win simultaneously in all countries was inapplicable in conditions when the economic and political development of capitalism became uneven in the imperialist epoch.

Marx and Engels held that the proletarian revolution would win in all the developed capitalist countries at once, a thesis the Social-Democratic leaders exploited to the utmost in their attacks on the 1917 October Revolution.

Yet the socialist revolution erupted in one country only.

Lenin's genius foresaw this possibility and he held, with his usual sense of revolutionary responsibility, that to neglect it

would be a crime that neither Marx nor mankind would ever forgive.

Someone, in some country, was duty-bound to tackle the grand historic task of overthrowing capitalism. And Lenin tackled it in the biggest country in Europe.

That stands to Lenin's great credit and is proof of his revolutionary genius. Yet while the peoples hailed the great revolution that ended for all time the hegemony of capitalism in governing states, the Pharisees of the Second International who had voted for the war budgets and who acted in the interests of the bourgeoisie in their countries, a bourgeoisie that conducted a fratricidal counter-revolutionary policy, those Pharisees accused Lenin of being un-Marxist.

History has handed down its judgment. While the names of the former Social-Democratic bosses are consigned to oblivion, Lenin's name towers over the world as the name of the genius of the socialist revolution, as the banner of the peoples fighting for national and social emancipation.

On the eve of the centenary of the birth of Lenin, the immortal organizer, inspirer and leader of the first socialist revolution which translated into reality the liberative aspirations of the greatest thinkers of all peoples on all continents, the millions who have realized their strength and gained faith in their future thanks to Lenin, march forward under the banners of Leninism, the banners of victory, the banners of socialism's triumph the world over.

Lenin and struggle against opportunism and revisionism national liberation movement

KHALED BAGDASH

The centenary of Lenin's birth is being observed by the whole of progressive mankind. Not only Communists, but everyone who stands for social progress, humanism, peace and international brotherhood; everyone, irrespective of political views and sympathies, who wants to banish fear of the future, fear of another world war, from the life of mankind — turns today to Lenin's ideas and work. Nor is this accidental, for Lenin's revolutionary ideas have laid an indelible imprint on social development. They have a permanent validity; they will continue to guide every revolutionary and humanist and inspire millions in every part of the world.

Every Communist, revolutionary and progressive is filled with a feeling of gratitude to the people who gave the world this great leader and thinker and to the party he founded, which has so faithfully and consistently translated his theory into practice. Today as always, it is, in Lenin's own words, the mind, honor and conscience of our epoch.

Lenin's great discoveries cast a new light on the revolutionary process in individual countries and throughout the world. They infused in the world proletariat confidence in its victory, further fortified by the Great October Socialist Revolution performed under Lenin's leadership. It furnished practical confirmation of his theoretical discoveries, of which the following are the most important: imperialism is the highest and last stage of capitalism; uneven development, one of its salient features, leads to extreme aggravation of all capitalist contradictions,

making socialist revolution possible first in several or even one country; only the proletariat, in alliance with the toiling peasantry and other sections of the working people, is capable of giving leadership to the socialist revolution and the resultant building of socialism; the proletariat can win only if it has a revolutionary party of the new type to inspire, guide and organize the working class and all the exploited in the revolutionary struggle to refashion society. But Lenin made other important discoveries, without which the world proletariat would have been defenseless, disarmed by the political and ideological confusion that was so characteristic of most Social-Democrat Party and Second International leaders.

However, Lenin's discoveries in the social sciences were not confined to the capitalist countries; they had a direct bearing on the subjugated and dependent nations of Asia and Africa, showing them that the path to a brighter future lay through struggle against world imperialism, their implacable and powerful enemy.

Lenin's postulates on the national liberation movement, its development, motive forces and prospects, rank with his other major discoveries.

More than half a century ago he spoke with confidence of the inevitable victory of the national liberation movement over colonialism. Today that is a living reality in many Afro-Asian countries. He proved the objective need, following from the nature of socialism and the national liberation movement, for the latter to join forces with

the revolutionary proletarian movement and with countries where proletarian revolution had triumphed. This new proposition had worldwide implications, for it showed peoples kept in subjection and backwardness that they had an ally capable of assisting their fight against their cruel and economically and militarily powerful foe—world imperialism. And it showed the proletariat of the developed capitalist countries and the victorious working class of socialist countries that they had a staunch ally in the fight against imperialism—the oppressed masses with their inexhaustible fund of energy and unshakeable determination to fight through to freedom. Events have fully confirmed this: the alliance of these two forces is a factor of mounting importance in world development and in the world revolutionary process.

Still another conclusion drawn by Lenin merits special attention: in their fight for national liberation, subject and oppressed nations will not stop at destroying colonialism, but will inevitably continue to fight imperialism and capitalism.

This conclusion did not at first receive the attention it deserved. In many countries, even revolutionaries did not at once assess its meaning and implications. It found practical confirmation in the post-war mass struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America (Cuba) and also throughout the Arab East (Syria, Egypt, Algeria). In all these countries, the national liberation movement did not stop at demolishing colonial political domination, but is attacking the economic positions of world imperialism. Nor did it confine itself to eliminating the survivals of feudalism: it is dealing telling blows at local big capital, removing from power the big bourgeoisie and implementing far-reaching economic and social changes as it advances along the path of social progress.

The changes in Syria and other Arab countries, carried out in line with Lenin's ideas, have aroused dismay and consternation among the U.S. and other imperialists.

It is now no secret that the Israeli aggression against the Arab states, begun with U.S. imperialist support on June 5, 1967 and continuing to this day, is designed to destroy progressive Arab regimes, undermine the alliance of the socialist world system and the Arab national liberation movement and divert the Arabs from the ideas of Lenin and from the Soviet Union.

However, all the hopes of imperialism and Zionism will never come true. The

very opposite has happened, for as Lenin foresaw in 1905: "The correctness of the Marxist views has been confirmed to an ever greater extent by all the development of contemporary societies, both politically and economically, and by the whole experience of the revolutionary movement and of the struggle of the oppressed classes (Vol. 9, p. 438).

Israel's imperialist aggression has had the objective effect of bringing home to more and more people the truth of Lenin's doctrine. For more and more Arabs, including a growing number of progressively-minded Left nationalists, are learning from their own experience and from the policy of the socialist countries that, as Lenin foresaw, alliance of the national liberation movement and the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union is a natural and logical development. And just as the traveller in the desert seeks an oasis, wider sections of the Arab people are turning to Leninism, to Lenin's work.

The worker in the factory, the toiling peasant in the field, the national intelligentsia, the Palestinian guerrillas and Arab refugees in their camps—all of them today read Lenin's books, articles and pamphlets. Talks and lectures are arranged on Marxism-Leninism, and preparations are under way to celebrate the centenary of the great teacher and friend of the Arab and other peoples fighting imperialism and escalated aggression for the right to free, independent and secure existence, for social progress.

We Communists fighting on the frontlines of the national liberation movement—how we today need profoundly and comprehensively to study Lenin's works!

The most important thing for us is to understand that Lenin's teaching on the role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist revolutionary vanguard in carrying forward the revolutionary process is relevant to the development of the national liberation struggle, to the peoples fighting for liberation in their advance to social progress and socialism.

That is emphasized in the CC CPSU Theses for the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth, which represent a major contribution to the theoretical enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist legacy. The Theses point to the cardinal conclusion drawn by Lenin that "the guarantee of successful national liberation revolution lies in bringing the masses, and primarily the growing working class, into active guidance of society,

alliance with the peasantry, wide democracy, and support from world socialism and the international working-class movement."

People who have broken out of colonialism, Lenin indicated, must not necessarily go through the capitalist stage of development as the prelude to socialism. With the help of the victorious proletariat of one or several countries, they can bypass capitalism. History and present-day reality have confirmed the truth of that. But this Lenin proposition should not be taken to mean—as some revisionists and opportunists maintain—that ex-colonial peoples can build socialism without the working class, without leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard.

Indeed, some backward countries, helped by the victorious proletariat of one or more countries, did bypass the capitalist stage and advanced directly to socialism. All such countries, for example the Soviet Central Asian republics and Mongolia, had a growing working class and Marxist-Leninist vanguard, Communist and Workers' parties. Every national republic of the USSR has its Communist Party, which accepts and practises Marxism-Leninism. However, there is this essential difference: the Central Asian Soviet republics developed as part of a big socialist state, while Mongolia developed as an independent sovereign socialist country.

And so, Leninism teaches us—and this has been confirmed by experience in all countries following the socialist path—that for the working class to play an effective part in administering the affairs of society it is not enough for it to be organized in trade unions, as some contend. Proper leadership can come only from the organized revolutionary proletarian vanguard, its Marxist-Leninist party; even in the early, formative years of the national liberation movement, it is necessary, Lenin taught us, to build an independent revolutionary proletarian organization, if only as small core or embryo, to borrow Lenin's expression. And this applies even to the most economically backward countries.

Can opportunist elements make people forget this tenet of Leninism and implant liquidationist ideas in the revolutionary movement in liberated countries with developing industries, a growing working class and courageous Communists steeled in battle? Certainly not. The experience of many countries is ample proof that this would undermine and weaken the revolutionary movement.

In his *Petty-Bourgeois and Proletarian Socialism* Lenin wrote: "Socialist dreams turned into the socialist struggle of the millions only when Marx's scientific socialism had linked up the urge for change with the struggle of a definite class. Outside the class struggle, socialism is either a hollow phrase or a naive dream" (Vol. 9, p. 443).

That was written more than 60 years ago, but it has lost none of its topical implications. And we, Communists of the newly-developing countries, must always be mindful of this Lenin principle. For the experience of countries that have embarked on social progress demonstrates the need for a class approach, a class attitude on problems relating to their development. The CC CPSU Theses contain this passage: "The transition to socialism, Lenin teaches us, cannot be confined to the abolition of exploitive property or to socialization of the means of production . . . The national states' road to socialist victory passes a period of transitory stages of social development, with gradual preparation of the material and social prerequisites of socialism, and with the formation of a working class and of an intelligentsia devoted to the people."

This should be of great help to revolutionaries and progressives in developing countries. For it leaves no place for political and ideological confusion and equips all Communists and other progressives with an effective theoretical weapon against petty-bourgeois impatience which, especially in view of unavoidable difficulties, can lead either to desperation or to adventurism, both of which can jeopardize the revolutionary process.

The CC CPSU Theses, in generalizing the experience and charting out the prospect of the national liberation movement, effectively refute the Right-opportunist illusion that the socio-economic reforms now being carried out in a number of countries add up to socialism, or that socialism will come spontaneously, irrespective of how the system of state power develops and of the role of the worker-peasant alliance. The Theses are aimed also against the "Left" illusion that socio-economic transformations play no part in creating the political and other prerequisites for transition to socialism.

The experience of our country and that of a number of other Arab countries furnishes constant proof that only through cooperation of all the genuine Left forces, their unity in a broad and powerful progressive national front, can we consolidate, extend and deepen progressive re-

forms, neutralize the traditional reactionary forces, to prevent the rise of new reactionary forces, chiefly from the midst of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie which is seeking to exploit the public sector in furtherance of its own aims and prevent the advance of our revolutionary countries towards socialism. Experience has made it perfectly clear that this will not come automatically.

It is particularly important, in this context, that the Left be able to operate legally, that there be full scope for national democracy and the spiritual and material initiative of the workers, peasants and working people generally, full scope for them to play a bigger part in directing the affairs of society, charting the country's political course, shaping its power structure, controlling government activity and, lastly, purging government institutions of all enemies of social progress.

Fidelity to Lenin's teaching requires of Communists unrelaxing vigilance against possible Right and Left deviations in the difficult struggle our peoples and countries are waging against imperialism and domestic reaction.

Throughout his revolutionary career Lenin combated every species of "Left" and Right revisionism. His struggle against Leftism and sectarianism covered a whole period of the movement's history. It included his campaign against the Otzovists, who wanted the Bolshevik deputies recalled from the state Duma on the plea that their continued presence there was absolutely useless; his struggle against the Leftists in the international movement, who refused to work in reactionary-led trade unions and bourgeois parliaments and would not hear of temporary compromises. And it is no mere accident that Lenin's *"Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder*, written in 1920, is one of the most widely-known and widely-read manuals of scientific socialism.

However, it would be wrong and dangerous, especially in the present situation, to underestimate the importance of Lenin's long and energetic fight against revisionism, against Right-wing opportunism.

International experience shows that Trotskyism, even at its zenith and for all its "Left" and "revolutionary" trappings, was, nationally and internationally, never more than a narrow isolated movement. The same goes for dogmatism: despite frenzied attempts in recent years to build up a position, it has not taken root either in the revolu-

tionary labor movement in developed capitalist countries or in the national liberation movement. And though it continues its sordid machinations, it has not been able to build up an organization, nor win appreciable international support, contrary to the wishes and expectations of its exponents.

The fundamental reason is that sectarianism, Leftism and dogmatism have a much narrower social base than Right-Wing opportunism and revisionism. The latter can draw on the support of the relatively wide labor aristocracy, small commodity producers and petty-bourgeois elements, so numerous in emergent countries and whose influence is not easily overcome.

Nor is it fortuitous that the words Lenin and Leninism are primarily associated with unremitting struggle to defend Marxism against the Social-Democrat revisionists and bourgeois nationalists, against petty-bourgeois ideology generally.

Lenin saved Marxism, its basic tenets, and more especially its essential propositions of class struggle, proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. But he did more, he developed Marxism, and we now speak of Marxism-Leninism as Marxism of the era of imperialism, proletarian and liberation revolutions, the era of triumphant socialism and mankind's passage from capitalism to socialism.

From the very first days of his revolutionary activity, Lenin waged a resolute political and ideological struggle against petty-bourgeois socialism. Its proponents, the Narodniks, claimed that socialism was represented by the peasant movement and that the working class played no significant role in the battle for socialism. In substance, this was utopian, confused socialism.

Lenin then began his struggle against the Economists. Their theory was that the workers should confine themselves to economic struggle for better conditions, leaving political struggle mainly to the liberal bourgeoisie. And from this they concluded that the workers' movement required neither revolutionary theory nor a well-organized party.

Lenin fought the "legal Marxists," who sought to distort Marxism and adapt it to the rigid rules laid down by the tsarist censors.

Lenin was consistent in his struggle against the Mensheviks, who represented a Right-Wing petty-bourgeois trend. What they wanted was to reconcile the proletariat with the bourgeoisie. In subsequent years,

after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, they degenerated from a trend within the labor movement into an ally of the bourgeoisie in its fight against working-class rule.

Lenin was just as indefatigable in his opposition to the Liquidators, a trend current among the Mensheviks following the defeat of the 1905 revolution. Their opportunist demand was for liquidation of the illegal revolutionary party, which they wanted to replace by a broad labor party committed to legal activity and careful to avoid antagonizing, even annoying, the tsarist government by its revolutionary slogans.

Lenin fought bourgeois Jewish nationalism as epitomized by the Bund (General Jewish Labor Union in Russia). The Bund insisted on the workers' party being organized along national lines, and itself recognized as the exclusive spokesman of the Jewish workers within that party, irrespective of where they live. Lenin fought the Bund along with other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist deviations in the revolutionary workers' movement, whatever their form or source. In practice, the Bund was no more than a nationalist group that prepared the ground for Zionism, against the danger of which Lenin especially warned.

There is no need to expand on the subject of Lenin's struggle in the Second International against Right-wing revisionism, with its slogan of class collaboration and reconciliation of class contradictions, or of his struggle against Right-wing opportunism and bourgeois nationalism.

It is by no means superfluous, indeed vitally necessary, to emphasize Lenin's sustained fight against Right-wing revisionism in all its multiform manifestations. And it is vitally necessary that the Communist press widely popularize this aspect of his work, its implications and consequences.

We must not allow the revisionists and opportunists to minimize the importance of this struggle, consign it to oblivion on the spurious excuse that it is no longer relevant, since conditions today are different and the danger no longer exists.

The favorite revisionist and opportunist method, nationally and internationally, is to speculate on certain mistakes in order to blacken the whole history of the world Communist movement and of one or another Communist Party.

We all remember how they attacked the Comintern, and how today, too, they seek to present its history as a conglomeration of monumental mistakes. Their object is to

justify, at any rate disguise, their reversion to Right-wing Social-Democratic positions, which the Comintern had so vigorously fought in order to prevent the movement falling into dangerous errors.

Each Communist party is primarily responsible to the working class and people of its own country, but also to the international working class and the world Communist movement.

Every proletarian revolutionary fighter must always remember Lenin's words at the Second Congress of the Communist International: "Petty-bourgeois nationalism preclaims as internationalism the mere recognition of the equality of nations, and nothing more . . . Petty-bourgeois nationalism preserves national self-interest intact, whereas proletarian internationalism demands, first, that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a worldwide scale, and second, that a nation which is achieving victory over the bourgeoisie should be able and willing to make the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capital" (Vol. 31, p. 148).

Besides, there have been attempts to exploit complicated situations in one or another party to malign its record, justify or camouflage Social-Democrat, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political and ideological concepts.

In this context, the CC CPSU Theses emphasize: "The Party rejects all attempts to direct criticism of the personality cult and of subjectivism against the interests of the people and socialism, in order to blacken the history of socialist construction, discredit revolutionary gains and revise the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

This is a telling blow at attempts to vilify and distort the history of the Communist movement and all its gains.

We must always remember that the social basis of the Right-wing opportunist deviations Lenin fought still exists. It differs from country to country, but the substance remains unchanged. Lenin wrote in 1903: "In Russia only the liquidators consider the bourgeois-democratic revolution to be over . . ." (Vol. 19, p. 545).

Much the same is being said in some of the newly-liberated countries: the national-democratic revolution against colonialism and feudalism is over, and we are now at the beginning of the socialist revolution. More, we are asked to believe that all this happened without leadership from the work-

ing class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard. Can this have any other meaning save that there is no need for a Communist party, and where it does exist it should be liquidated forthwith?

A Marxist-Leninist analysis, however, will show that countries set on the path of social progress are now completing, carrying to consummation, the anti-colonial and anti-feudal national-democratic revolution. This calls for sustained and patient work to prepare the material, social and political prerequisites for the transition to socialism. And this can only be done by consistently strengthening the role of the working class, its alliance with the peasantry, its Marxist-Leninist vanguard as the guiding force of society. That attitude was reaffirmed by last year's Third Congress of the Syrian Communist Party.

We Syrian Communists are fighting together with other progressive patriotic elements to wipe out the consequences of the U.S.-supported Israeli aggression, strengthen and expand the guerrilla movement against the Zionist invaders on occupied Arab territory and, at the same time, consolidate

Syria's national-democratic system.

In these days, as we celebrate the Lenin centenary, we are keenly conscious of the rich ideological and political heritage the great leader bequeathed to our and succeeding generations of revolutionaries in their hard and persevering struggle. We know from our own experience the vast and decisive value of the political, economic and military assistance rendered by the great socialist state Lenin founded and the role it plays in our fight to expel the aggressor, defend our homeland against imperialist plots and assure its continued social progress.

As patriots and proletarian fighters in whose hearts patriotism merges with true proletarian internationalism, we pay homage to the great Lenin and convey our heartfelt gratitude to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with which we have such close ties of friendship and cooperation. For these countries are building the new life, shaping their home and foreign policy on the basis of scientific socialism and Lenin's victorious internationalist doctrine.

Lenin and some problems of revolutionary movement in Turkey

YAKUB DEMIR

No other social doctrine in the whole of human history has had such a magnetic appeal as Marxism-Leninism. And no other doctrine has enjoyed such rapid dissemination nor facilitated such a deep-going change in the destinies of nations. For no other philosophy has so fully, clearly, correctly and forcefully expressed the interests and aspirations of toiling mankind, of the absolute majority. In this lies the immense power of Marxism-Leninism.

Throughout his life Lenin fought the enemies of Marxism, those who sought to distort its revolutionary substance. He inter-

pretatively assessed scientific achievements and the experience of the class struggle. His creative genius, discoveries in the social sciences and practical revolutionary activity developed and enriched every facet of Marxism, that revolutionary theory of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist and Workers' parties.

Lenin's contribution to Marxism is inestimable, and it is only natural that the names of Marx and Lenin should be joined together to form a terse and eloquent expression of Lenin's place and significance.

Lenin furnished answers to the theoret-

ical and practical problems posed by the era of imperialism and socialist revolution ushered in at the turn of the century. He applied Marxist dialectical analysis to the new problems of this age of capitalism's development into imperialism. He gave us the theory of imperialism and developed the theory of socialist revolution, so convincingly corroborated by the march of events. Bourgeois theorists contend that Leninism is separate from, or parallel to, Marxism. The purpose behind that patently anti-revolutionary conception is to split the working-class movement.

One of Lenin's greatest services to the world proletariat was his creation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a party of the new type capable of discharging its great transformatory mission in the new conditions of history. Capable, also, of overcoming all forms of opportunism, of carefully assessing the alignment of class and political forces and elaborating the strategy and tactics of the proletariat and directing it towards its ultimate goal, socialist revolution.

The strength of the Marxist-Leninist party resides primarily in militant fidelity to its just cause. Lenin remarked in this context: "When our enemies said and admitted that we have performed miracles in developing agitation and propaganda, that was not to be understood in the superficial sense that we had large numbers of agitators and used up large quantities of paper, but in the intrinsic sense that the truth contained in that propaganda penetrated to the minds of all; there is no escaping from that truth" (Vol. 30, p. 457).

The bourgeoisie knows that it has no effective ideological weapon against socialism, whose continued progress it is powerless to prevent. Hence its reliance on anti-communist hysteria, manufactured by its propaganda machine. And anti-communism is widely employed by reaction and the militarists in countries where imperialist economic and political control goes hand in hand with anti-democratic legislation and brutal suppression of the workers' movement.

It should not be thought that this concerted attack by imperialism and domestic reaction has been unproductive of results. However, no amount of propaganda and repression can stem the advance of Marxism-Leninism and its growing influence on the broad masses. Anti-communism represents the moral collapse of imperialism; it is a sign of its agony, of its helplessness against

the ideas of socialism, the progress of the socialist countries and the rapid spread of Marxism-Leninism.

Anti-communism should also be seen in context with the preachment of petty-bourgeois theories that distort the very substance of scientific communism and use these distortions for an all-out attack on socialism. Characteristically, those who repudiate the Leninist principle of coexistence of states with differing social systems readily accept peaceful coexistence of bourgeois and proletarian ideology. They are ardent proponents and supporters of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism. The latter is especially dangerous, for its protagonists clothe their nationalism in Marxist phraseology.

Imperialism's ideological onslaught and its support by petty-bourgeois theorists lend special importance to Lenin's proposition that any weakening of the Marxist party's struggle against bourgeois ideology enables the latter to gain influence. Last year's International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties declared: "To wage a successful struggle against imperialism and ensure the victory of their cause, Communists will propagate the ideas of scientific socialism in the working-class movement and among the broad masses, including young people; they will consistently uphold their principles and work for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and, in accordance with the concrete situation, fight against Right- and Left-opportunist distortions of theory and policy, against revisionism, dogmatism and Left-sectarian adventurism."

That is of particular importance for us Turkish Communists and for our country, now converted into a center of concentrated anti-communist propaganda, a country where Right-opportunist and Left petty-bourgeois ideas are being assiduously implanted.

* * *

The problems of the national liberation movement, elaborated by Lenin, rank with the key problems of our epoch. For joining the national liberation movement with the revolutionary movement of the working class is central to the strategy of the anti-imperialist struggle of oppressed nations. Lenin emphasized that the proletariat of the developed countries has an internationalist duty to peoples fighting for liberation. He showed that the national liberation movement is an inseparable element of the general struggle against imperialism and capitalism.

The era of socialism ushered in by the October Revolution, and the national liberation movement, which reached such impressive dimensions since that revolution, are now entering a new stage. The peoples of emergent nations have come to realize that, in this period of its general crisis, capitalism has neither the ability nor the intention to ensure vitally needed socio-economic progress, and they are turning to socialism as the road to true liberation. Pointing to the inseparable connection between the liberation struggle of oppressed nations and the working-class struggle against imperialism and capitalism, Lenin said: "It is perfectly clear that in the impending decisive battles in the world revolution, the movement of the majority population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will, perhaps, play a much more revolutionary part than we expect" (Vol. 32, p. 482).

In our time, there is no denying the exceptionally important role of the national liberation movement in the world revolutionary process. However, the main burden of revolutionary struggle has fallen to the socialist system, that creation of the world proletariat. Its economic and political achievements undermine the very foundation of imperialism and hamstring its adventurous proclivities. These achievements are of vital importance for the success of national liberation revolutions. To negate this role of the socialist system is to abandon Marxist-Leninist propositions tested and confirmed by revolutionary practice. Yet petty-bourgeois revolutionaries maintain that national movements are the key factor of the world revolutionary process, that nationalism is the "most powerful propellant of the mass movement." And, like the imperialists, they use nationalist slogans to split the labor movement.

Proletarian internationalism stems from the very struggle of the working class. Any attempt to separate it from the proletariat's revolutionary theory, or reconcile it with nationalism, is tantamount to complete rejection of Marxism-Leninism. "Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism," Lenin said, "are the two irreconcilably hostile slogans that correspond to the two great class camps throughout the capitalist world, and express the two policies (nay, the two world outlooks) in the national question" (Vol. 20, p. 26).

Though nationalism as such is a manifestation of bourgeois ideology, Lenin pointed to the democratic content inherent in the

nationalism of oppressed peoples. The nationalism of oppressed nations should be distinguished from that of oppressor nations. And in this context, Lenin stressed support for the democratic content of the former without, however, in any way allowing bourgeois ideology to penetrate the working class. The petty-bourgeois theory that the national liberation movement is the decisive factor of the world revolutionary process has nothing in common with reality. Furthermore, it is a dangerous theory for it tends to sever the national liberation movement from the struggle of the world proletariat and from the socialist world system. It has no other practical meaning or purpose.

The working class must act in close alliance with the freedom struggle of oppressed nations and give it every support and assistance. That Marxist-Leninist principle follows from the understanding that the liberation movement is intimately associated with the working-class struggle for socialism and is an inseparable part of the transition process from capitalism to socialism. Close cooperation between the working class and the national liberation movement and all-round support for the latter—such is the internationalist duty of the proletariat. For the socialist revolution, Lenin said, "will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie—no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries against international imperialism" (Vol. 30, p. 159).

The record of the past fifty years provides ample confirmation of that forecast. For national liberation movements to win through to victory, for oppressed nations to win national independence, wipe out imperialist monopoly influence, prevent a monopoly come-back and assure modern economic, political and cultural development, there has to be close cooperation of ex-colonial and semi-colonial peoples with the socialist countries and the proletariat in capitalist countries; there has to be consistent implementation of the Lenin principles.

* * *

Turkey's development over the past half century furnishes cogent proof of the need consistently to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The Turkish national liberation movement, begun after World War I and directly influenced by the Great October Socialist Revolution, was able to score

victory and bring the country political independence thanks to the military, material and political support of, and cooperation with, the young Soviet state. Support from the revolutionary and progressive forces in the capitalist countries played an appreciable part too. The foundations for economic independence were laid only when Turkey received generous and disinterested assistance from the Soviet Union. Indeed, close cooperation with the USSR would have vastly benefitted the Turkish people, who were so anxious to carry their revolution forward. But the bourgeoisie exploited the revolution to further its narrow class interests. The path it chose ruled out radical socio-economic reforms and prevented industrialization. In the end, Turkey again found herself economically, politically and militarily dependent on the imperialist powers and their monopolies. This suited the imperialists, but hampered the country's economic development.

The emergence of the socialist world system not only increased the scope and intensity of the national liberation movement, but gave it a more pronounced social content. Progress in the socialist world has powerfully stimulated the popular desire for a socialist structure, with its high rate of economic growth. More, it has made possible increasing socialist assistance to developing countries which, in turn, has accentuated anti-capitalist trends in national movements.

Petty-bourgeois revolutionaries fail to grasp the essence and significance of this socialist assistance to developing countries still under imperialist influence. They are oblivious to the fact that the "aid" of imperialist monopolies and states is meant to keep these countries within the capitalist orbit, prevent them from consolidating their economic and political independence and keep them the objects of exploitation and plunder. The working people and the progressive forces in developing countries must thwart these imperialist plans.

* * *

Turkey is one of the more economically advanced among the underdeveloped countries of the East. Its two bourgeois revolutions of the past sixty years, (1908 and 1919-23) differed very little in aims, content, motive forces and socio-economic results. For both failed to accomplish cardinal revolutionary tasks, or to introduce the democratic reforms the people needed and

longed for. At the same time, however, both, and especially the second revolution, were the result of Turkey's socio-economic development and markedly strengthened capitalism in town and country.

But they did not eliminate economic backwardness or dependence on imperialism. And today, when the Turkish bourgeoisie promises to achieve the economic level of advanced capitalist countries, the people are coming to see this as a deceitful promise unachievable in present-day Turkish reality. For the path the bourgeoisie has charted implies dependence on the imperialist powers, retention of a backward economic, social and political structure, and all the other factors that make this promise unrealizable.

Turkey's backwardness is reflected chiefly in the following factors: the predominance of agriculture over industry; the fact that industrial production is trailing behind demand; low productivity of labor, especially in farming, due to poor mechanization and a low power-per-worker ratio in production; the survival of feudal elements in the countryside, where primitive subsistence farming is in evidence alongside large feudal-type estates, share-cropping, usury, low marketable output, the tyranny of the mulahs and local authorities; dependence on foreign markets, where prices are set by the imperialist monopolies; ruthless exploitation and plunder of the country's wealth by foreign capital, and, last but not least, the low standard of living and wholesale want.

All the same, modern Turkey has advanced quite considerably along the capitalist road. Accumulation of capital has gained pace and national capitalism is acquiring the features of the higher forms of developed capitalism. Local monopoly capital is expanding and taking root. The big bourgeoisie, especially that section which has attained the monopoly level and has the support and subsidies of the administration, has entered into a close relationship with imperialism, strengthening its hand and taking control of all economic spheres, including agriculture. Backed by the foreign monopolies and collaborating with them in plundering the nation, local big capital is reducing the chances of the country's coming out of the disastrous nose dive into which the ruling circles have forced it. Big capital opposes social and economic reforms prejudicial to its own interests. The contradictions between it and the big landowners, on the one hand, and all other social classes and strata with a stake in the country's inde-

pendence and progress, on the other, are becoming more acute.

For the working class, capitalism in Turkey yields nothing but poverty and hardships. But capitalism is also the bearer of ruin and insecurity for the broad middle strata. Spokesmen of the many groupings of the ruling class advance different programs to remedy the disastrous situation. But no matter how great the variety of their social, economic and political platforms, and no matter how acute the struggle between the different political groups representing the interests of the dominant classes, the latter cannot in the present circumstances alter the terrible plight of the working people, including the middle strata and even the national bourgeoisie. That can be accomplished by the working class only, by the class that history has picked to liberate society. And this fact is sinking in among the patriotic section of the intelligentsia, the progressive youth and the broad masses. Socialist ideas are steadily gaining currency among the natural allies of the working class.

Our labor movement has a fairly long tradition, and its history contains some glorious chapters. The Communist Party of Turkey is approaching the 50th anniversary of the day when it first unfurled the Leninist banner in the labor movement.

In the past fifty years the numbers of the working class, its organization, class consciousness and experience, have grown immeasurably. The anti-democratic legislation still in force is aimed chiefly against the labor movement. For the past 47 years the Turkish Communists have been working deep underground; strong pressures are constantly exerted on the trade union movement; the right to strike, won by the workers in a hard and long struggle, is impinged upon by diverse legislative ruses and in other ways. Yet the bourgeoisie has been unable to stem the growth of the labor movement. And the most striking feature of modern Turkey's economic and political life is the sharpening labor-capital contradiction and the mounting intensity of the class struggle.

The key to Turkey's future is in the hands of the working class, no matter how petty-bourgeois revolutionaries underestimate its revolutionary potential and the impact of its revolutionary actions. The success of the workers' revolutionary struggle and their ultimate victory depend on their alliance with the middle strata, above all the peasants. So long as that alliance has

no firm foundation, our people will make no advance to the bright future, to socialism, the main aim of the struggle of the Turkish Communists. Not until socialism is established will Turkey gain complete independence.

It is the Communists' duty to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively to the historical and concrete conditions of our country. For backward capitalist Turkey to approach the threshold of the socialist revolution, we need profound socio-economic changes, a truly democratic revolution.

The character of our epoch and the existence of the socialist system enables anti-imperialist democratic revolutions to run their course to successful consummation and pass on to a socialist orientation under the leadership of the progressives, even in countries where capitalism is either insufficiently or very poorly developed. In Turkey, however, where capitalism has undergone a fairly long evolution, the situation is different. The shrinking possibility of advancement along the capitalist way and the very real danger of the country losing the remnants of her independence create the compelling and inescapable need for changing the course of development and ending further adherence to the capitalist way.

The country's working class is now 3,500,000 strong. Of this number more than a million workers are organized to defend their social and political rights. The Turkish proletariat is actively fighting against imperialism and the foreign and local exploiters.

In the Marxist-Leninist view, the question of who is to take the lead in the anti-imperialist democratic revolution does not arise at all. We are not placing that in question, for the prime and obvious task facing the Communists is to fight and assure the workers' leading role in the growing movement for democracy, peace and socialism.

However, the question of the workers' hegemony in the revolution should not be confused with that of proletarian dictatorship. A national democratic state is not a dictatorship of any one class or group representing the specific interests of separate sections of the people. It can only be a dictatorship of the people against imperialism, against its local agents, against reaction. It can only be a dictatorship of all classes and strata with a stake in democratic reconstruction and the socialist orientation. And, as we see it, these classes and

strata can also include the national bourgeoisie or at least its left wing.

There is no shortage of groups that appreciate the need for democratic reconstruction under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie. And the so-called Left that denies the existence of a national bourgeoisie is really one of them, or close to these groups, seeking to cooperate with them. Those who reject the working class and its leadership as the political force in a national-democratic revolution, those who proclaim the slogan "civil intelligentsia plus the military," are, in effect, grinding the axe of the national bourgeoisie that has long usurped the "right" to pose as the workers' guardian.

It is hardly surprising in the present epoch that a section of the national bourgeoisie, with its stake in the capitalist mode of production, should shift to positions rejecting the capitalist way. The instances of this are numerous. Capitalism as a social system is approaching its end. But it is doing its utmost to retain its positions and seeking to compete with the socialist system. No longer is it possible to conceal from the masses the general superiority of socialism over capitalism. A number of other permanently operative factors, too, are winning the masses for socialism. While capitalism in its final stage is trying hard to keep the peoples of the developing countries in the yoke of slavery, the socialist states extend every support to the latter's struggle for freedom. While imperialism is doing its utmost to obstruct the social and economic progress of the backward countries, prejudicing the interests of even the national bourgeoisie, the socialist states are aiding their development and promoting the consolidation of their economic and political independence. While imperialism is hatching a new world war, the policy of the socialist states is centered fully on safeguarding international peace and security.

All this stands in the way of the bourgeoisie's efforts to keep the country on the capitalist road and forces it to reckon with the anti-capitalist sentiment prevailing among increasing sections of the people. What is more, the national bourgeoisie is inclined to accept the non-capitalist way, because that way is still a far cry from the socialist society that predicates the elimination of the bourgeoisie as a class, and because it contains no more than potential possibilities for building socialism. What the non-capitalist way implies is active

struggle against imperialist monopolies and their local henchmen, the big and monopoly bourgeoisie, against the landowners, and against backwardness.

Turkey's national bourgeoisie, comprising much the larger section of the local bourgeoisie, is a potential force in the democratic revolution against imperialism and the survivals of feudalism. And neglecting that force will not be in the interest of the national liberation and revolutionary movement.

The question of the national bourgeoisie's hegemony in that revolution is something entirely different. In substance, the objective internal and external circumstances of present-day Turkey predicate solutions in the interest of both the national bourgeoisie and the people. This does not alter the fact, however, that the situation may change in the process of the national revolution, with the interests of the majority of the nation coming into collision with those of the bourgeoisie.

It was not of their own choosing that the Turkish people were saddled with the leadership of the bourgeoisie during, and even before, the national liberation struggle. Although the situation has changed to a point where, under certain conditions, the bourgeoisie may carry through radical changes, the people no longer want these changes to be made under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie. The time has come when the people are able to determine the ways and methods of revolutionary reconstruction on their own. It is not to be ruled out, however, that leadership in the revolution may, indeed, fall into the hands of representatives of the national bourgeoisie or the middle strata ideologically and economically linked with it and no less unstable and inconsistent by virtue of their social nature. Whether or not this happens depends on the strength of the workers' alliance with the urban middle strata and, especially, the alliance with the peasants, who comprise the overwhelming majority of the nation.

The conditions prevailing in present-day Turkey have made deeper and sharper the contradictions between the working class and its exploiters, just as they have sharpened the contradictions between the middle strata and the peasants, on the one hand, and the big bourgeoisie and the landowners, on the other. The agrarian reform promised in the 1961 Constitution has been superseded by a farming development plan, which, in effect, only enriches the big land-

owners and kulaks. Its only result amounts to continued ruin and impoverishment of the middle, poor and landless peasants, who have been reduced to grave circumstances. The present social and economic policies of the big bourgeois-landlord bloc are centered totally on promoting the interests of those whom it represents.

Governments, though they come and go under the impact of various factors, adhere to the same fundamental policy with regard to the working people, including the middle strata and the peasants. Yet the attitude of the middle strata towards the ruling circles and the bourgeois parties in power, which embrace a considerable section of these strata, is changing. The ferment and the clashes of different groups in these parties, especially in recent times, reveal among the middle strata a growing mistrust.

The recent upswing of the labor movement has had a profound effect on the middle strata. Mass actions for land reform have erupted under working-class leadership in the countryside. The peasants, who have long waited for the reform and are bitterly disappointed, have begun to seize the bigger estates by force and to cultivate the land in common.

Growing, too, and spreading to the middle strata, is the labor and youth campaign against imperialism, especially that of the United States, which prejudices our independence and security, against unequal political, economic and military agreements and against the local agents of imperialist expansion.

Furthermore, new features are appearing in that movement, which embraces a vast mass of the people. That the country's difficulties stem from its capitalist way is being realized by the progressive intelligentsia, the youth and the patriotic army officers. Socialist ideas are spreading rapidly among the middle strata. People are coming to understand the role and significance

of the working class, the only class that can show the right way to the petty bourgeoisie, which is desperately seeking deliverance from the pressure of the big bourgeoisie, the local and foreign monopolies. And that same way leads to the emancipation of the working class.

The importance of the alliance between the working class and the peasants is more deeply appreciated these days, and people have begun to understand that it does not spring up and grow by itself. We must not, therefore, sit and wait for the peasants and the middle strata to display initiative. For our workers and our Party to tackle this important task is the most vital and cardinal challenge.

The postulate of the worker-peasant alliance is the most important one in Lenin's theory of revolution. Lenin said that "the alliance of the workers and peasants is effected with difficulty, but at any rate it is the only invincible alliance against the capitalists" (Vol. 30, p. 134). That alliance alone will enable us to bring the national liberation revolution to its culmination, to effect the necessary democratic changes, to pave the way for the transition to a socialist revolution, to consolidate the new social system and to lay the foundation for the building of socialism and, subsequently, of communism. Lenin's theoretical legacy is an inexhaustible treasure trove for the world Communist movement and it is up to us to study his teaching deeply, to apply it creatively to the concrete conditions of our country, and to enrich it with theoretical elucidations of new phenomena.

Lenin's name cannot be separated either from the Turkish history of the past fifty years or from Turkey's radiant future. Together with progressive mankind, the Turkish Communists, our working people, all progressives, mark the great jubilee, the centenary of Lenin's birth. The genius of that thinker and revolutionary illumines our life and struggle.



Monument to Lenin in Ulyanovsk—his birthplace.

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