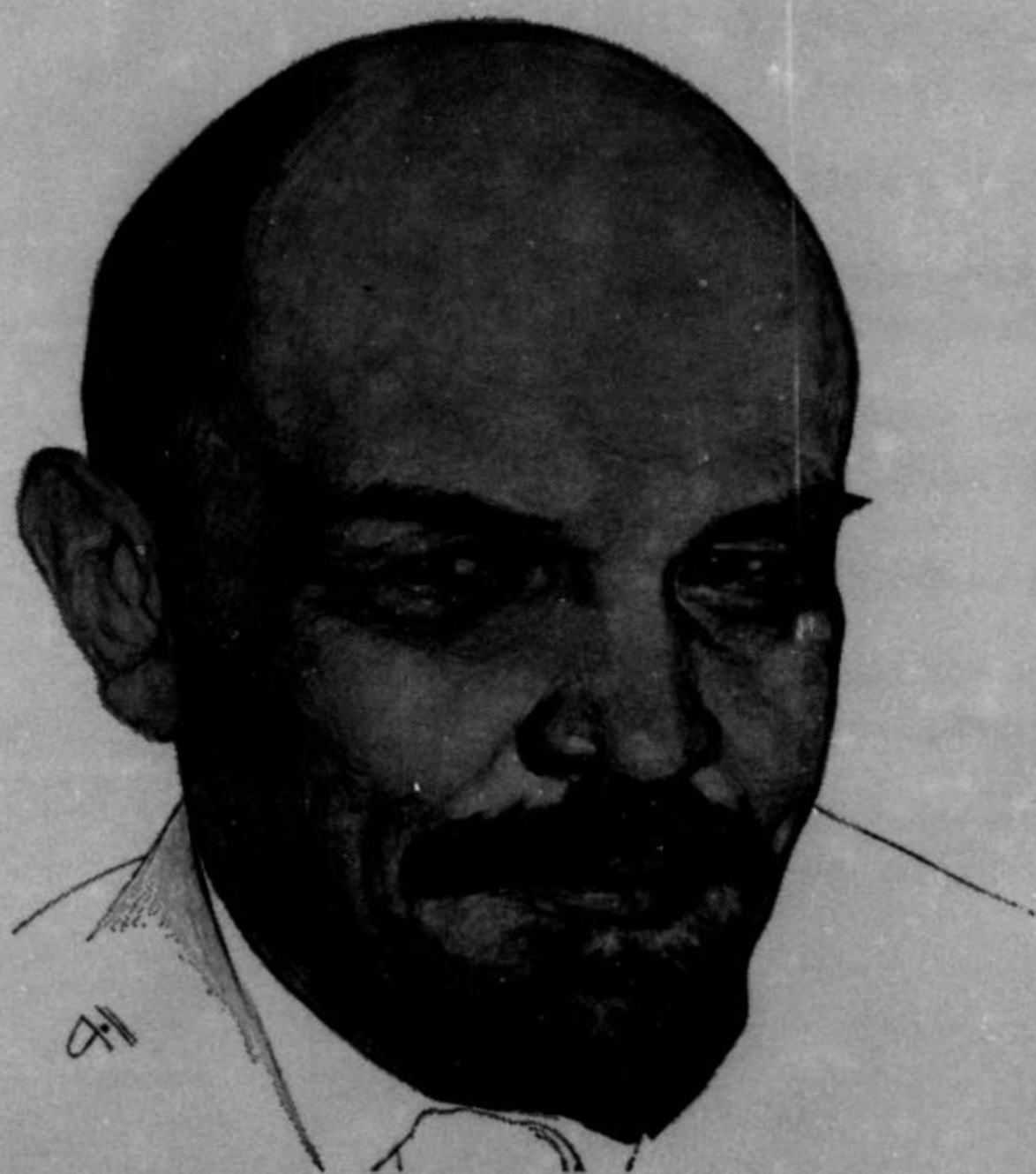


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

**LENIN • 1870-1970
CENTENARY ISSUE**
(Continued)



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A red-letter day in world history

The working people the world over are celebrating the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov/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, 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:

LARBI BOUHALI—member of the National Leadership, Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria;

WILLIAM KASHTAN—General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada

GILBERTO VIEIRA—General Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Colombia

GUSTAV HUSAK—First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

KNUD JESPERSEN—Chairman, Communist Party of Denmark

JANOS KADAR—First Secretary, Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

MEIR VILNER—General Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Israel

SANZO NOSAKA—Chairman, Central Committee, Communist Party of Japan

NICOLAS CHAOUI—General Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Lebanon

GENERAL SECRETARY—Central Committee, Communist Party of East Pakistan

ALVARO CUNHAL—General Secretary, Portuguese Communist Party

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU—General Secretary, Rumanian Communist Party

GUS HALL—General Secretary, Communist Party of the USA

RODNEY ARISMENDI—First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Uruguay.

Lenin-type party and struggle for national and social liberation

LARBI BOUHALI

Progressives the world over are marking the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, revolutionary of genius, great philosopher, man of action and builder of the future. Elaborating on, and enriching, the teaching of Marx and Engels, Lenin became the top theorist of scientific socialism, the founder of the revolutionary working-class party of the new type, mastermind of the victorious socialist revolution, founder of the world's first socialist state, organizer of the Communist International and leader of the world proletariat.

Studying Lenin's monumental works, his tempestuous activity in the main fields of human knowledge and social life, we obtain a clear picture of how closely Lenin's name is linked with the decisive historical events of the past 50 years. It is not accidental that Lenin's ideas are widespread in the world and that they exercise a profound influence on progressive forces fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Lenin it was who defended Marxism from all erroneous interpretations and opportunist attacks. Lenin it was who raised high the banner of revolutionary Marxism. And therein is his service to history. From his activity we see clearly that Lenin was no "armchair theorist." He developed Marxist theory in the flames of the class struggle, because for him that theory was never a dogma, but a guide to revolutionary action. When we say that Leninism is the Marxism of our epoch, that Marxism-Leninism is the revolutionary theory of scientific socialism, this is no formal linking of the names of Marx and Lenin, for it accords completely with the objective reality, illustrating the remarkable continuity

of the cause of Marx and Engels, and that of Lenin.

For Lenin, just as for Marx and Engels, there was no gap between revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice. Like Marx and Engels, he based theory on revolutionary practice, on the experience of the working-class struggle, in which he, like Marx and Engels, participated actively. For Lenin, just as for Marx and Engels, the working class is the most progressive and revolutionary class of contemporary society, capable of ending the exploitation of man by man and all forms of injustice. Lenin, like Marx and Engels, recognized the workers' world-important historical mission, due to which any true development and enrichment of Marxism is incompatible with concepts that endeavor to revise Marxism, "bring it up-to-date" or, more precisely, falsify it.

It is quite true that Lenin's works, compared with those of Marx and Engels, contain certain new aspects. But these have nothing in common with the revision of Marxism imputed to him by the enemies of Leninism.

How, for example, did Lenin arrive at the idea of a party of the new type?

Lenin's time differed from the time of Marx and Engels. The latter lived in the period of capitalism's growth, of free competition and the burgeoning of the modern labor movement. Objectively, they could not yet set the task of organizing and leading the struggle of the proletariat oriented on immediate seizure of power. Yet for Lenin who lived in the epoch of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, that task was the main one. It was Lenin who produced a scientific analysis of his epoch,

who defined its characteristic features, trends and prospects of growth, and also the tasks of the proletariat. As a result, he drew the conclusion that:

The capitalist system of rule had acquired a new quality compared with that in Marx's lifetime. And in the circumstances the working-class movement, too, striving to overthrow the capitalist system, was bound to acquire new qualities, and this also with respect to the growing mass consciousness and the organization of the toiling masses.

Imperialism succeeded in spreading bourgeois ideology, causing a split in the working class and encouraging the birth and development of opportunism in the workers' midst.

From these facts Lenin drew the basic conclusion, one which he developed throughout his life on the theoretical plane and also applied in the practical political struggle, of the cardinal importance of the *subjective factor*, which meant in practical terms that, firstly, a well-organized working-class party equipped with the Marxist ideology was essential and, secondly, revolutionary theory and its systematic dissemination by the Party were highly important, for only a party could compound scientific socialism and the working-class movement.

Lenin expressed this idea in precise terms, as follows: "It is to enable the mass of a *definite class* to learn to understand its own policy, that there must be an organization of the advanced elements of the class, immediately and at all costs To do service to the masses and express *their* interests, having correctly conceived those interests, the advanced contingent, the organization, must carry on all its activity among the masses, drawing from the masses all the best forces without any exception, at every step verifying carefully and objectively whether contact with the masses is being maintained and whether it is a live contact. In this way, and *only* in this way, does the advanced contingent train and enlighten the masses, expressing their interests, teaching them organization and directing *all* the activities of the masses along the path of conscious class politics" (Vol. 19, p. 409).

Taking the ideas of Marx and Engels a step farther and learning from the experience of the Communist League and the International Workingmen's Association, Lenin developed the concept of a revolutionary party of the new type as the leading working-class organization, the main in-

strument of the proletariat, without which the workers could not overthrow capitalist rule, win political power and build a socialist society. For years, Lenin battled against "legal Marxists," Economists, Mensheviks and all other opportunists, championing the teaching of a revolutionary party of the new type. Ultimately, his ideas conquered and the Bolshevik Party was founded along the ideological, theoretical, tactical and organizational principles worked out by Lenin.

That was the party, conceived and built by Lenin, raised by him, steeled in the flames of the revolutionary struggle, which organized and led the Russian working class in the victorious fight for power. It is quite safe to say that without that party, led by Lenin, the Great October Socialist Revolution would not have been possible.

The October Revolution, carried through under Lenin's leadership, has thoroughly changed the face of the earth. It marked the beginning of a new era in man's history, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism. It proved conclusively to the workers of the world that they could end the exploitation of man by man, and showed the oppressed peoples how to fling off the colonial yoke, win independence and regain national dignity. In short, it greatly accelerated the world revolutionary process, leading to freedom, peace, social justice and fraternity among nations.

But the October Revolution did much more than merely provide the international working class and the oppressed peoples with a new political and ideological model that enabled them to lift the revolutionary level of their struggle. The establishment of the first worker-peasant state, which achieved a staggering economic, cultural, scientific and technical advance in a short term of history, also created a new world situation, with a more favorable alignment of forces for those who champion progress and socialism. The worldwide impact of the October Revolution is now more evident than ever.

Lenin attached much importance to the national liberation movement. Better than anyone he was able to define its revolutionary perspective in the common struggle against imperialism. In November 1919, soon after the October Revolution, he stressed that the experience of the Russian people would inevitably show the peoples of the East that "weak as they may be, and invincible as may seem the power of the European oppressors, who in the struggle employ all the marvels of technology and of

military art—nevertheless, a revolutionary war waged by oppressed peoples, if it really succeeds in arousing the millions of working and exploited people, harbors such potentialities, such miracles, that the emancipation of the peoples of the East is now quite practicable . . ." (Vol. 30, pp. 153-54).

History has borne Lenin out. In the new situation resulting from the victory of the October Revolution, supported by the Soviet Union and the workers of the developed capitalist countries, the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa spread and grew. While the October Revolution gave the initial push that sent the imperialist colonial system to its doom, the rout of fascism in the Second World War, the emergence of the socialist world system and the growth of the national liberation movement brought about almost completely the fall of the colonial empires.

The myth that imperialism is invincible was dissipated. The peoples realized that the time had come to end the colonial rule that had plagued them for centuries. In a short time, dozens of independent states came into being in Africa and Asia, and the revolution also triumphed in Cuba, a country of the American continent. The colonialists did not grant independence to the peoples of their own free will. It was wrested from them in arduous struggle. In some countries the imperialist positions were so weak, while the scale of the liberation movement was so great, that mass political action sufficed to attain independence. But all too often independence had to be won in wars of liberation, combining mass political action with armed struggle.

Wars of liberation, it is true, are often long, involving tremendous sacrifice. Yet in our time they are bound to end in the defeat of the imperialists.

Take the example of postwar Algeria. For ten years (1944-54) our people fought large-scale, often very bloody, battles against the French colonialists. Yet this did not yield fulfilment of our legitimate national and social demands. In the political plane, however, the battles prepared the people for the decisive struggle, because they learned from their own experience that armed struggle was the sole effective means left them to throw off the colonial yoke. And thanks solely to being appropriately prepared, the people launched their struggle with the firm resolve of fighting it to the victorious end. For all of eight years the nation battled with success against the biggest of the then existing colonial armies, and backed by the solidarity of the world's progressives, particu-

larly that of the fraternal Arab peoples and of the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union, Algeria won her independence and began building a sovereign state.

For 25 years the heroic people of Vietnam have been fighting international imperialism—first the Japanese, then the French and now the U.S. and its menials. They defeated the Japanese and French imperialists and are now inflicting telling defeats on the world's biggest imperialist power. Naturally, the U.S. imperialists are trying to avert defeat, but who will doubt today that victory is assured to the people of Vietnam, a victory that will also be a triumph for all progressives?

The same is true of the struggle of the Palestine people and the peoples fighting arms in hand against the colonial yoke of Portuguese fascism.

Now that the socialist world system has become the decisive international force and the imperialist colonial system is crumbling to dust, the national liberation movement is acquiring a special significance from the standpoint of its character and revolutionary aims. It merges with the struggle of peoples building socialism and communism, and with the revolutionary movement of workers in the capitalist countries, producing a single anti-imperialist surge and the powerful revolutionary process of our time.

Lenin's prediction is now materializing quite clearly: "It is perfectly clear that in the impending decisive battles in the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will, perhaps, play a much more revolutionary part than we expect" (Vol. 32, p. 482).

On many occasions, a struggle begun against imperialism and its feudal agents changed its content in the course of events and became more distinctly social in character.

The participation in the liberation movement of the agricultural and city proletariat, and the poor peasants too, is the reason why that movement, in addition to its anti-imperialist orientation, opposes not only the system of national oppression, but also capitalism as a system of exploitation. Socialism, and consequently Leninism, have unquestionably exercised a tremendous influence on the minds of the people.

Leadership in the liberation movement, particularly in the Arab countries, was exercised either by the national bourgeoisie or by men with a petty-bourgeois background. But after winning independence,

and influenced by the masses, many of the governments denounce the capitalist way and declare their wish for building socialism.

To be sure, this socialist orientation does not always conform with what socialism really is. At times we even see certain individuals abusing the socialist terminology to disguise a policy that does not serve the socialist cause. But this does not detract from the immense hopes the mass of people liberated from the colonial yoke associates with socialism.

One should neither overlook nor under-rate the significance of those African and Asian countries, and among them some Arab states, such as Algeria, which have opted for progressive development and profound economic and social reconstruction, such as partially nationalizing foreign property, forming and developing the public sector on the basis of industrialization with the objective of building up a modern and independent national economy, cooperating with the socialist countries and following an anti-imperialist foreign policy. The Zionist aggression against the Arab countries, mounted with U.S. imperialist support, was aimed chiefly at wiping out the progressive regimes, the existence and growth of which the imperialists construed as a menace.

The governments of countries following the progressive path recognize that close economic, technical, scientific and cultural cooperation with the socialist countries is essential to assure more effective resistance to imperialist plots and the elimination of backwardness. In the framework of this cooperation, the Soviet Union extends the progressive countries varied, disinterested assistance, enabling them to push up the rate of their economic growth. The very fact of this assistance tends to reduce quite considerably the imperialist economic and political pressure on these countries. This cooperation can only be welcomed, therefore, although pro-Western elements in the economy and state machinery are continuously trying to undermine and sabotage it. This aid, like the Soviet solidarity with the Arab peoples in the fight against imperialism and Zionism, for the elimination of the consequences of the 1967 imperialist Zionist aggression, is a splendid example of CPSU loyalty to Lenin's teaching.

Algeria has made substantial economic progress since 1962. The Socialist Vanguard Party extends every support to progressive economic and social measures and all anti-imperialist actions of the government, and

calls on the masses to back them in every way, although it is subjected to methodical persecution itself and compelled to conduct its patriotic activity underground. Our Party realizes perfectly well that it is thereby serving the interests of the working class, the people and the future of our country. We are also aware that the present system can gain a firmer footing only if it removes the reactionary and pro-imperialist elements and, winning the trust and support of the people, goes on to completing the national-democratic revolution and creating more favorable conditions for Algeria's advance to the socialist revolution.

At the same time, we consider it our duty to speak of the failings and negative aspects in the activity of the present government, for to keep silent would be tantamount to betraying the basic interests of our people and Lenin's ideas, and would only harm the country. Algeria is in the stage of a national-democratic revolution, which it is striving to complete. The present stage may produce the conditions for passing on to the socialist revolution. However, this perspective depends entirely on whether or not the negative aspects of policy, which are a considerable threat to our future, can be put out of the way.

The recent experience of some African and Asian countries shows that neither imperialism nor domestic reaction have abandoned the idea of deposing the progressive regimes in order to place the countries back in the imperialist sphere of influence, for which they still have sufficiently powerful resources. It is evident, for one thing, that French, West German and U.S. imperialists are showing an increasing interest in Algeria, and that the political, ideological and organizational activity of the most reactionary quarters at home, too, is also growing more vigorous. In the circumstances, it is a vital task of all Algerian revolutionaries favoring socialism, whether or not they are members of the Party, and regardless of where they are, to concert their efforts and to prevent assaults like those suffered by some progressive regimes in Asia and Africa.

The workers' parties, which play an important part in the anti-imperialist struggle, are meeting with many impediments. In Algeria, for instance, the workers' party is the victim of constant persecution and is denied legality, despite its role in the fight for liberation.

The country's ruling circles include not only petty-bourgeois elements, but also big landowners and businessmen. And it is no

rarity to find them calling for a socialist orientation; some even maintain that socialism is actually being built in Algeria. And all of them treat Marxism-Leninism as a "foreign ideology" and its supporters as "foreign agents." It should be perfectly clear, however, that socialism cannot be built by renouncing its fundamentals, the ideology of the working class. These elements reject Marxism-Leninism on the plea that Algeria is free of class struggle: all members of society are "brothers" and, consequently, can be brought together in one party. They deny that the working class is revolutionary and oppose to it the peasantry, in their view the most revolutionary class. This is tantamount to negating the historic role of the proletariat.

Official policy in Algeria is for a single petty-bourgeois party to the exclusion of all others. That party, its supporters affirm, unites all revolutionary and progressive forces, prevents the rise of a reactionary party and avoids the anarchy of a multi-party system. However, there is no evidence, in all our long experience, to support that theory. The existence of a single party has not prevented political crises in Algeria, nor has it deterred the reactionary forces from continuing their ruinous activity, even in the ranks of a single party. On the contrary, the one-party set up has prevented unity of all the revolutionary and progressive forces and, in particular, has denied the working class the right to independent organization, the right to have its own legally functioning Marxist-Leninist party.

The one-party principle, which is being used as an excuse to block independent organization of the working class, tends to depoliticize and demobilize the masses and isolate progressive governments, thus facilitating imperialist and reactionary subversion.

Nor can one accept the theory, current outside Algeria, that Third World countries no longer need Marxist-Leninist parties to advance to socialism—nationalist petty bourgeois organizations are fully capable of the revolutionary remodeling of the social structure. Advocacy of such theories is usually accompanied by recommendations to a Marxist-Leninist party to "fold up" or "merge" with nationalist parties. The purpose of this "advice," and of repeated attacks on the organizational principles of party work, is to leave the working class without an organized vanguard.

Leninism's opponents have thought up a whole collection of spurious arguments against it. Some stress the "specific con-

ditions" in their respective countries and declare Leninism a "purely Russian phenomenon." Others contend that Leninism is suitable only to economically backward countries, tsarist Russia, say, or China. Still others maintain that Leninism has a relevance only to countries where socialism has triumphed, or to economically developed countries with a large and well-organized industrial proletariat. These and similar attempts to belittle the role of Marxist-Leninist parties in progressive countries play into the hands of the enemies of Leninism and relegate to oblivion Lenin's most valuable propositions.

Leninism is a universal and integral doctrine applicable in all countries. Underdeveloped countries cannot accept certain aspects of Leninism and reject its fundamental principles. Equally, it would be wrong to reduce Leninism, in these countries, only to what Lenin wrote on the problems of oppressed nations.

Should we regret the organization, in colonial days, of Marxist-Leninist parties in China, Vietnam, Korea and other countries? Can we ignore the role these parties have played in the fight against imperialism and reaction? Liquidation of the colonial system, the weakening of imperialism and the existence of the socialist community have changed the world balance of forces. And this change has, in the process of anti-imperialist struggle, radicalized some social strata, particularly the petty bourgeoisie. Marxist-Leninists must reckon with these new developments in charting their revolutionary strategy and tactics. But they must not overlook the lesson of experience, namely, that the revolutionary potentialities of these strata are limited. A class analysis — and this is always required by Leninism — will show that the petty bourgeoisie cannot perform the historic mission of the working class and, consequently, a party representing the interests and ideology of the petty bourgeoisie cannot act as a working-class party. Obviously, this does not rule out winning over to the working class petty-bourgeois elements, notably among the intelligentsia.

Always conscious of the historic mission of the working class, Lenin emphasized the necessity and importance of independent working-class organizations. The working-class party, even if still in the embryonic stage, he said, should be supported and developed.

The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, the conditions for the holding of which had matured, and

which was carefully prepared and held in an exceptionally friendly and democratic atmosphere, gave a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist analysis of the world situation and of the problems of the anti-imperialist struggle. It declared: "Communists fight for the freedom, national independence and socialist future of their peoples. They are bearers of the ideas of scientific socialism and fight in the vanguard of the national liberation movement. This movement, the social progress of the peoples in the newly liberated countries, demand close cooperation between the Communist and Workers' Parties and the other patriotic and progressive forces. A hostile attitude to communism, and persecution of Communists harm the struggle for national and social emancipation . . . Hence, the banning of Communist Parties is an attack on the democratic rights and vital interests of the peoples. The participants in the Meeting support all the Communist Parties of the world, without exception, which fight for their right of legal participation in the political life of their countries."

In the progressive countries the working class took shape long before liberation and had an active part in the liberation struggle. It created Communist parties, steeled in the anti-colonial movement. They proved that they could play a major part not only in the struggle for national liberation and the victory of the national-democratic revolution, but also in the struggle for socialism. And if these Communist parties were relatively weak, this was partly due to the weakness of the working class, which, in turn, was the result of economic backwardness. But today economic development is producing a bigger working class and sharper class struggles. No amount of administrative and repressive measures can prevent the working class parties from strengthening their ranks and playing an increasingly more important part in national life.

The Algerian working people first came in contact with Lenin's ideas in 1920. In the beginning they were disseminated by Communist organizations closely associated with the French Communist Party founded at the Tours Congress. But they were also disseminated by Algerians working in France and participating in the social and political movement side by side with their French comrades. They returned to Algeria enriched with the experience of the class struggle.

The founding of the Algerian Communist Party in 1936 ushered in a new stage of the struggle. The Party united around a program of national and social emancipation

the vanguard elements, both Algerian and European, of the working class and of other progressive sections of the population. In founding the Party we were guided by this Lenin proposition: "We see in the *independent*, uncompromisingly Marxist party of the revolutionary proletariat the sole pledge of socialism's victory and the road to victory that is most free from vacillations" (Vol. 8, p. 159).

The Algerian Communist Party adopted the ideological, theoretical, tactical and organizational principles of the new-type revolutionary party as conceived by Lenin. It joined with other patriotic forces in the struggle and led powerful anti-colonial actions.

By its political, ideological and organizational work the Party contributed significantly to the spread of Lenin's ideas, the ideas, that is, of scientific socialism, and helped popularize the Great October Socialist Revolution and the vast achievements of the Soviet Union and, in later years, also of the other socialist countries. The Party was instrumental in awakening the political consciousness of the Algerian working class, in strengthening its mass organizations and instilling in it proletarian internationalism. It became the connecting link between the Algerian national movement and the international workers revolutionary movement. All this could be accomplished only by a working-class party. It will thus be seen that, despite shortcomings, at times even errors, the Algerian Communist Party played a major political role in preparing our people for the decisive battles of 1954-62.

But this required much effort and fortitude—three times the Party was outlawed. It participated in the liberation war, which was directed by the National Liberation Front, and in the course of which many Communists gave their lives, fighting side by side with their nationalist comrades. But armed with revolutionary theory, it was able to continue its revolutionary and patriotic work in changing situations, always upholding the cause of the working class and working people.

Following independence, in 1964, the first NLF congress adopted its program and constitution, envisaging organization of a vanguard party accepting the socialist principles set out in the Algiers Charter. The Communist Party called on its members to join the NLF in order to facilitate its conversion into a genuine vanguard party. However, pressure from the Right doomed this to failure. More, in 1965 the Right-

wing forces engineered a split in the NLF and accused the Communists of having joined it only to "take over the leadership by democratic procedures."

Despite the failure of this initiative, it was of great value for the Algerian revolutionary movement. It highlighted the vital need for a new-type revolutionary party embracing all the social forces prepared to accept working-class ideology and to fight for the triumph of scientific socialism. Furthermore, our initiative created more favorable conditions for contact, cooperation and joint struggle with front-rank elements within the NLF for immediate aims and for socialism. Last but not least, it enabled us, in these changed conditions, to strengthen the working-class party based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, by founding, on January 26, 1966, the Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria.

The preamble to its Constitution contains this passage: "The Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria shapes and conducts its policy and activity in conformity with the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, which has assured the rapid growth and momentous achievements of the international Communist and workers' movement in the fight against imperialism and reaction. Marxism-Leninism is a scientific world outlook, a method of analyzing reality and a guide to action. It is constantly enriched by the achievements of science and the experience of the workers' class struggle in Algeria and other countries."

The preamble also declares: "The Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria considers it its national duty, and a major criterion of proletarian internationalism, to promote friendship and solidarity between the Algerian and all other peoples that have set out on the road to socialism. This applies in particular to the people that carried out the Great October Socialist Revolution, the people of the Soviet Union, that decisive force of the world anti-imperialist struggle, and our ally and supporter in building a modern and independent national economy."

The Socialist Vanguard Party stands for unity of all the revolutionary and socialist forces of Algeria. It is working to strengthen its position, and to function legally as the party of the working class and all working people, a party capable of helping to carry forward the national-democratic revolution, which creates favorable conditions for Algeria's transition to socialism. Our priority aim is democratization, and here,

too, we are guided by what Lenin wrote: "To develop democracy to the utmost, to find the forms for this development, to test them by practice, and so forth—all this is one of the component tasks of the struggle for the social revolution. Taken separately, no kind of democracy will bring socialism. But in actual life democracy will never be 'taken separately'; it will be 'taken together' with other things, it will exert its influence on economic life as well, will stimulate its transformation; and in its turn it will be influenced by economic development, and so on." And Lenin emphasizes: "... consistent democracy, on the one hand, is transformed into socialism and, on the other, demands socialism" (Vol. 25, pp. 452-53).

In present-day Algerian conditions there is the possibility of establishing a revolutionary democratic regime that would enable the masses and all progressive forces to employ their revolutionary energy in the people's interests and prevent all activity in the interests of imperialism and reaction.

While fighting for its political and organizational independence and legal existence, our Party never loses sight of the imperative need to unite all patriotic and progressive forces in the anti-imperialist struggle. It is always mindful of the need consistently to carry forward the national-democratic revolution. Accordingly, it calls for a united front to replace the one-party structure. It declared in its statement of December 1, 1969: "It is not out of partisan considerations, but in defense of fundamental principles that we operate as an Algerian Marxist-Leninist party. But we believe that it is possible to find a common framework for a new upsurge of the progressive forces and their struggle. This could be done through a united front, a genuine democratic and popular front irrespective of what name it assumes." And the statement goes on: "We do not preclude *a priori* that, under certain conditions, a genuine socialist vanguard could emerge from the national liberation front or some other official progressive organization. In that case, the question might arise of uniting all the socialist forces in a single party, just as it had arisen in the socialist countries. Today, however, no one can say whether such a possibility will present itself and when."

Events have confirmed Lenin's prediction that the socialist ideas and principles are valid not only for industrial countries where the proletariat is the social base of the movement, but also for countries where

the peasantry is the social base. In the new conditions, with the working class growing in numbers and militancy, with the need—stressed by the Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties—to strengthen "the alliance between the socialist system, the forces of the working-class movement and national liberation," the existence of a Lenin-type party is a revolutionary necessity wherever the objective conditions for its formation exist.

Founded in accordance with the propositions of Leninism, the Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria is determined to continue

to work in the spirit of the Address of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties on the Lenin centenary: "Communists regard it as their task firmly to uphold the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the struggle against all enemies, steadfastly to make them a living reality, constantly to develop Marxist-Leninist theory and enrich it on the basis of the present experience of waging the class struggle and building socialist society."

Lenin's teaching— a dependable compass

WILLIAM KASHTAN

The celebration of the Lenin Centenary is for Communists and revolutionaries not a formal question. Embodied in Lenin and his ideas are the ways and means of transforming the world. And the more one reads Lenin's works, also not formally, but to get at the root or the essence of things, one cannot help but note the fact that, as distinct from others who may reach fame and flash out after a short period, Lenin's stature grew with the passing of time. His writings today shine and sparkle as they did when they were written. They are related to our contemporary world as when they were written many years ago. Only a genius could have that vision to be able to foresee developments.

Lenin always reminded Marxists that they must continually examine and re-examine phenomena, to see what is new in development so that they do not fall prey to dogmatism and lag behind events, always from the standpoint of the fundamental principles of Marxism.

Lenin was a giant amongst men. And he was a giant amongst men because he was above all a consistent revolutionary, who took as his task in a basic sense to seek out, to find, the contradictions tearing capi-

talism apart, to seek out and find those forces at each stage of development that historically and objectively are impelled to become the allies of the proletariat for the revolutionary transformation of society.

Lenin's contribution was not a particularly Russian contribution. It was a world contribution, from which everyone who wants to be a real revolutionary needs to learn. This must be emphasized today when it has become fashionable to be called a revolutionary. It is not always easy, particularly for people who are just beginning to be critical of the capitalist system, to see what is a real revolutionary path and what is a path which leads to defeat, what is a revolutionary phrase and what is serious revolutionary work which opens the door to socialism, what is specific and what is universal. Lenin's teachings constitute a guide and compass here, and those who reject Leninism in effect reject the prospects of revolutionary advance.

Our Party will shortly be engaged in a discussion on a Party Program — the path to socialism in Canada. We start on two basic premises. First, the need to take into account the national features and characteristics of our country. And secondly, to

take into account universal laws of social development. Despite the claims of some, Lenin argued against those who would try to disregard the national features and peculiarities of any country. In fact, his creativity arose from the fact that he dug deeply into the specifics which made the Russian Revolution possible. But he dug into it and developed and understood these specifics within the framework and universal laws of social revolution.

Our approach here too is along these two lines. It takes into account the national peculiarities of our country which are different from any other country, in terms of its specific features. These specifics or peculiarities are expressed in the two-nation state, in certain regional characteristics, in the social composition of the population, in U.S.-Canadian relations and so on. Certain areas of specifics arise here which may not necessarily apply to other countries.

But in the same way as Lenin rejected any tendencies to *disregard* national features, so he also warned against *exaggerating these features* and elevating them to something primary from which one could say that socialism in a country will be achieved in disregard of basic laws of social development. Our Party rejects this view.

Lenin placed as a cardinal question that the working class is that force which will be able to and will unite all other forces around it in bringing about revolutionary change. Today we are faced with the same debate Lenin was faced with in his time, expressed in the theories advanced by modern revisionists, particularly by Marcuse, to the effect that the revolutionary force that will transform society is not the working class but the young people and the intellectuals who are outside of production, and the Third World. A similar argument is advanced by the Maoists who put forward the viewpoint that it is the world village which will surround the cities. To these has been added the revisionist view that the scientific and technological revolution has fundamentally changed the working class, that a new class has arisen, the engineers, technicians and others, and that they, not the industrial working class, constitute the revolutionary forces of capitalist society.

These various theories negate the historical role of the working class which by its position in production is impelled, irrespective of the position it may take at a particular time in history, to assume leadership

of the struggle to bring about the revolutionary transformation of society. This is fundamental to the prospects of achieving a revolution or not achieving it, because to deny the role of the working class is to deny the prospects of revolutionary change. This has nothing to do with whether the working class is revolutionary in its outlook at this time, speaking of our country. What is decisive is that its position in society and production relations makes it that revolutionary force to transform society. Any party, any force that wishes to bring about a revolutionary change in society must base itself upon the working class without which there can be no revolutionary change in capitalist society.

Lenin's view was borne out in the course of the Russian revolution. It was borne out in revolutions that have taken place in other countries. And it will be borne out in the coming ones.

But with this Lenin advanced a question of paramount importance which has a bearing on our Party program and on perspectives of development in Canada. The working class by itself, he pointed out, cannot bring about revolutionary change. It must have allies and work to win those allies, uniting them around itself in order to achieve revolutionary change. Under the conditions of Russia, Lenin raised to a high point the necessity of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. Is the question of the worker-peasant alliance equally valid for those who are seeking social change, revolutionary social change in our country? There is no question of the validity, indeed the necessity, of the working class striving always to bring about an alliance between itself and other democratic forces.

Here the question arises, can we place the worker-farmer alliance in our program in the same way that shaped up in a number of European countries, and in tsarist Russia?

Here is a fruitful area for discussion. *The centrality of the question is not at issue*, because thinking even in practical terms, when the working class and those who support it finally achieve a socialist revolution in Canada, irrespective of the forms of the revolution, they must eat. Who is going to feed them? The question of the relationship of the working class to the small and medium sized farm owner, of winning them as allies in their struggle is therefore fundamental to the question of victory or defeat for the cause of socialism. But at the same time in our conditions there

is the fact that the technological revolution has affected the countryside equally as it has affected industry. It is estimated that by 1980 about seven per cent of the population will remain in the countryside. The farmers are being forced off the land by monopolization of agriculture. Monopoly has taken over agriculture. This is a significantly new feature of the processes at work in the countryside which has brought in its train a diminution of the numbers of those employed in agriculture. Nevertheless the farmers constitute an important ally of the working class in its struggle against monopoly and for social change.

But there are other forces that have begun to emerge from these changes in the structure of capitalism arising from the scientific and technological revolution. The scientific and technological revolution has brought about an enlargement of the number of intellectuals, technicians and engineers as well as young people in the educational system and of the universities. A growing number of them are compelled to oppose monopoly and its policies, whether consciously or unconsciously is immaterial at the moment. What is important is that they are impelled to move against the effects of monopoly control of the economy. The problem of effecting an alliance in our conditions in Canada, therefore, now takes on the character and form of an anti-monopoly alliance, a democratic alliance led by the working class and its Party, which includes the farmers, but is not limited to the farmers and includes the possibility and necessity of an alliance of the working class with the field of culture used in the broad sense of intellectuals and student youth, an alliance with or neutralization of sections of the middle class in the urban centers.

What one sees therefore by the very development of monopoly capitalism, and contrary to the belief held by some that the working class is diminishing in its size and in its possibility as a revolutionary force, that new forces have come into the fray which create the possibility of a wider alliance between a growing working class and those sections of society.

The immediate program around which such a democratic alliance will take shape has to do with the national peculiarities of our country, although not limited to it. This finds expression in the increasing domination of Canadian economic, political and foreign policies by U.S. imperialism, out of which the national and democratic issues are being joined. It has to do with the

two-nation character of the country, and the struggle to win genuine equality between the two peoples within one Confederal State. It has to do with the concentration of the power of monopoly over the economic life of the country and its total negative effects on the majority of the Canadian population. It has to do with the scientific and technological revolution, its potential and the aggravation of contradictions created by it.

Around these broad national and democratic issues the basis for a democratic alliance and a democratic revolution, irrespective of the forms it may take, will emerge.

So the question of alliance is fundamental to the question of the way to socialism. Who do you march with, who do you unite with in terms of the possibility of achieving basic social change in society? This is related to a third question, the passing over of the democratic revolution to a socialist revolution. What is our immediate strategic aim in Canada? Socialism or a democratic alliance directed against monopoly which opens the door to socialism? Our 20th Convention pointed out that we are faced with two phases of the struggle to achieve socialism in Canada. The first stage here is the necessity of achieving a democratic alliance of all the forces in this country directed to curb the power of monopoly. Our Party projected the idea of such a democratic alliance at our twentieth convention. It was also spelled out in a general way in the present program of our Party. A democratic alliance would include and could include the New Democratic Party, the truly national and democratic forces in Quebec, the trade union movement, the farmers, the youth, sections of the middle class in the city, all those who in one way or another are affected by monopoly and its policies and U.S. domination of the Canadian economy. We speak of this as a first phase because the aim of such a democratic alliance is not socialism. The aims of such a democratic alliance are basically directed to curb the power of monopoly through measures of nationalization and put an end to U.S. domination of the economy.

It is on this question of two phases of the struggle for socialism that differences arise. Some impatient people, including the ultra-Leftists, the adventurists and pseudo-revolutionists, deny Lenin's approach that *one must not leap over stages of development*, that one must be able at any stage of development to determine the main enemy at a given time and concentrate all forces

to isolate and defeat that enemy. Instead of understanding and applying Lenin's approach to strategy and tactics, they ignore it and want to take one leap to socialism. To them there are no intermediate stages to socialism.

Lenin dealt aptly with this viewpoint in connection with the development of the revolution in tsarist Russia and it could be applied here. "Imagine, gentlemen," he said, "that I have to remove two heaps of rubbish from my yard. I have only one cart. And no more than one heap can be removed on one cart. What should I do? . . . To begin with, the Russian people have to carry away in their cart all that rubbish that is known as feudal, landed proprietorship, and then come back with the empty cart to a cleaner yard, and begin loading the second heap, begin clearing out the rubbish of capitalist exploitation." (Vol. 12, pp. 282-83.)

The necessity therefore arises for the working class to devise a strategy, a tactic which at a certain stage develops its main blow against that main enemy, who if defeated would then open the door and make easier the advance to socialism for the working class and its allies. How should we pose the question of the main enemy in our country? Our program speaks of it as monopoly. But monopoly, if one breaks it down, is in large measure American monopoly control in Canada. What one sees is a mixture of monopoly which is both Canadian and American, with U.S. monopoly capital growing almost daily through takeovers, mergers and the operation of the multinational corporations and conglomerates. The struggle against U.S. domination and Canadian monopoly complicity in this process is thus a necessary part of the struggle against monopoly and for Canadian independence.

As stated before, we are not faced here with two separate phenomena but two phases of one process. There is no wall that separates the struggle against monopoly from the struggle for socialism. This is at the heart of Lenin's strategy which he developed in the course of polemics with the reformists and successfully applied in the Russian revolution.

At the same time there is a *distinction* between these two phases and this has to do with the aims set, the classes involved and the program around which they are united. It is therefore correct to make a distinction and define the boundary line between these phases or stages. It avoids leaping over stages and falling into the pitfall of adventurism.

The possibility of achieving such a democratic alliance is based upon the unity of the working class, its ability to unite with its democratic allies. This is directly related to the question of our relationship to the New Democratic Party, to the trade union movement and to other sections of the working class. (In our present program we speak of the idea of a farmer-labor party.) When the program was written the NDP had just come into existence and our program just in passing mentions the fact that the NDP perhaps could become a united all-inclusive federated, farmer-labor party. As history has shown, this has not been the case. The NDP has not become an all-inclusive, federated farmer-labor party. Instead efforts have been directed to turn it into a social-democratic type movement. Nevertheless it is a significant development in Canadian political life through which the working class is beginning to assert its independent political action.

Our Party's position towards the NDP was expressed at our 20th Convention around the idea of "cooperation and competition" with the New Democratic Party. Our Party proposes cooperation with the New Democratic Party on all questions around which we can jointly agree, the fight for peace and Canadian independence, the fight to advance the interests of the workers and the trade union movement, the fight for democracy and so on. We differ with the NDP in the sense that the NDP is a democratic reform movement which does not aim to bring about a fundamental change of society. The NDP does not advocate or stand for socialism. But its program veers in an anti-monopoly direction. Its base is an important and growing section of the organized working class and it is an important and growing political force in the country as a whole. We strive for cooperation with the NDP and members of the NDP without demanding that our ideological differences be resolved before such cooperation is achieved. At the same time we compete with the New Democratic Party. In what sense do we compete with the NDP? We compete with that party in the sense that we bring Marxism into the working class and daily fight against class collaborationist and reformist ideas and attitudes which are basically directed not to changing society but to getting some of the crumbs the capitalist class is compelled to give the working people and other sections of society from time to time to keep them satisfied or to check their revolutionary outlook. This does not mean that our Party opposes

reforms. But we see reforms not as a thing in themselves but only as part and parcel of training and helping to educate the working class to an understanding that these reforms by themselves do not settle questions in any fundamental way, and that to resolve them requires a fundamental change in class relations. There is a fundamental point of difference between our Party and the New Democratic Party. Therefore the necessity of cooperation and competition with that party, both of which open the door to a process of differentiation and the emergence of a Left within that Party, a process now underway.

The Communist Party has stated that it cannot defeat monopoly by itself, that only unity of all democratic forces and a democratic alliance including the NDP and the trade union movement makes that possible. The struggle for unity of all democratic forces presupposes a consistent struggle against class collaborationism, anti-communism and bourgeois ideology, be it in the trade union movement, the New Democratic Party or wherever the masses are to be found.

The necessity of bringing about the defeat of monopoly requires the greatest possible cohesion and strength of all those forces which objectively feel the effects of monopoly policy and must unite to change the situation. We see this as the first phase along the path to socialism: the necessity of a democratic alliance, the necessity of working-class unity, of strengthening the role of the trade unions and of the working class and making it and its Party the leading force in this alliance, the necessity of cooperation with the New Democratic Party, with the young people, youth organizations and others who agree with the aims of such a program and work wholeheartedly to strive to achieve it, irrespective of the fact that they may have differences with respect to socialism itself and the bringing about of a socialist society.

Here the question comes up of the second phase—the advance to socialism. A democratic alliance would not have a socialist program. Its main fire would be against monopoly. But it could not stop there because, either the democratic alliance would be compelled to move forward to socialism or, as history has taught the working class and those who are concerned with the necessity of social change, counter-revolution will unite its forces and impose a reactionary regime on the people. One cannot stand still. Either one moves towards socialism, or back to a situation in which monopoly is

again in command. The democratic revolution, irrespective of how achieved, must therefore pass over to socialist revolution, and the elimination of capitalist relations of production, to the political rule of the working class, socialist nationalization, public ownership, planning.

Our program of course is aimed to bring about the achievement of a socialist Canada. And we see the democratic alliance as one stage in this process. We advance the perspective of the possibility of a peaceful path to socialism. There are two paths to socialism, either a non-peaceful path or a peaceful path. This of course is not determined subjectively by our will. One must take into account the objective circumstances, the relationship of forces that exist at that particular time both internally and internationally.

Generally speaking, we take the position that there is the possibility of a peaceful path to socialism in Canada and we orientate on that. We say the possibility, not the guarantee, because while the working class would prefer a peaceful path, it does not depend on the working class whether a peaceful path will in fact take place. The question arises whether monopoly will allow the working class and its allies to advance to socialism by peaceful means or try to prevent it by a military coup or reactionary government. This too would be determined by the strength and unity of the working class and its Party, unity with its allies, and the extent to which monopoly, the most reactionary sections are isolated and discredited in the eyes of the people. And this too is related to the first phase—the possibility of a democratic alliance which would create the conditions for achieving a democratic majority that would bring this about. So we work for that possibility.

At the same time it is necessary to repeat what Lenin said on this subject, that one cannot absolutize any form. We cannot agree with those who argue that the only form is guerrilla war and other forms of armed struggle and try to impose that as a universal panacea on other parties. But a serious party needs to take into account all forms of struggle, the effort of reaction to prevent change. It must not create illusions in the working class that the change will be a simple one. It will require great struggle to curb monopoly. In fact the achievement of a democratic alliance would require great struggle and great effort and the passage over to the socialist phase

would require equally great struggle and great effort. The relationship of forces in our country, the relationship of forces on a world scale, developments in the United States, all of these would have to be taken into account in the final analysis in determining the path open to the working class.

But it is correct, theoretically correct, to advance the proposition of the possibility of a peaceful path to socialism, a parliamentary path as long as reaction does not close the door to that path. We advance the parliamentary path not in any narrow cretinist way but one which is tied in and related to the class struggle of the working class and the struggle of all the working people against monopoly outside of parliament. Here too one must sharply differ with the reformist point of view which places all its faith and all its hopes on parliamentary combinations and does not see that this reliance on a parliamentary form without mass struggle outside, or without raising the issue of the political rule of the working class, can only lead to defeat.

The possibility of a peaceful path includes formation of a multi-party government in the socialist phase, a multi-party government that would include the Communist Party, as the leading force in that alliance. Such a multi-party government could include other parties which agree upon the need to build a socialist system of society. It could include the truly democratic and socialist forces in the NDP. It might include the NDP as such for no one can tell at this stage how the NDP will look at a later stage. It may perhaps undertake a transformation and become in truth a socialist movement, or a socialist organization. Certainly, within the working class there will be certain changes in terms of the programmatic positions it will adopt and this will be reflected in the positions of the trade union movement which will constitute an important, even decisive element of government power. We speak here therefore of the possibility of a multi-party government that will embrace parties other than the Communist Party. This too is a theoretically correct proposition and theoretically correct for our Party to advocate. It is related to the possibility of bringing about a transformation of parliament, transforming it from its bourgeois character into a popular type parliament, a parliament whose essence will be the political rule of the working class.

These are our conceptions of the road to socialism. We think they correspond to

the positions developed by Marxism-Leninism. We think they correspond at the same time to the conditions and the possibilities in our country.

The orientation our Party takes here is not directed towards the achievement of a coup or a putsch. Those who orientate along these lines are doing a disservice to the cause of the working class and the revolutionary movement. They play with revolution and are not serious as to how revolution is to be achieved. A revolution cannot be achieved over the heads of the working class and against the working class but only by winning the majority of the working class for revolutionary change and in turn rallying all its allies around it. Our Party therefore bases itself on winning the majority of the working class to achieve a new government and a new power in our country.

Of course the possibility of achieving these objectives is tied in with what is done at the present stage of development, and we start here from the immediate economic, social and political problems before the people and before the working class. Here again one needs to draw from Lenin. No party can claim to be a vanguard party that is not able in fact to be closely tied in with the working class, able to express its interests, its needs and able to give leadership to the working class and its democratic allies. This is the aim our Party sets itself and has set itself right through its history.

Lenin made a point which is also apt for us when he said "don't do anything stupid, be clever and skillful." This too is a good yardstick for Communists and revolutionaries to bear in mind today, all the more so when the working class faces a very powerful monopoly class. The problems and the possibilities of being able to bring about the defeat of that giant of monopoly require great skill and a real concentration of effort, the ability to unite all the forces which can be united to isolate and defeat it. This requires a correct strategy and a correct tactic. And any party which forgets that, loses sight of that, falls prey to super-revolutionarism, adventurism, ultra-Leftism which, though they may satisfy subjective desires, are not able to transform society. Neither are revisionism and opportunism, which emasculate the revolutionary kernel of Leninism. Our Party's aim was, is, and remains, to transform society and build a socialist Canada. In this we are guided by Lenin's teachings.

Lenin, greatest revolutionary strategist of all time

GILBERTO VIEIRA

"An unexcelled strategist and tactician of the proletarian class struggle, Lenin was closely associated with the working people, proceeded from their vital interests, constantly felt the pulse of life of the people, and carefully studied the social psychology of the workers and peasants, of all strata of society, taking all this into account in the elaboration of political solutions."

(CC CPSU Theses for the Lenin Centenary)

Lenin's contribution to the defense and creative development of Marxism, whether in philosophy, political economy, proletarian revolutionary strategy and tactics, or in other fields, is truly inestimable.

He based his revolutionary strategy on the principles formulated by Marx and Engels, which he creatively developed and applied in the era of monopoly capitalism, the first world imperialist war and the first victorious proletarian revolution. Lenin's strategy was tested and implemented by different tactical means in the concrete conditions of his time.

One has to appreciate the tremendous difficulties and obstacles Lenin had to surmount in founding and consolidating the new type of revolutionary party. It required ceaseless struggle against "Left" and Right opportunist trends. At first Lenin was practically alone in fighting the reformism and national narrow-mindedness of the prestigious Second International leaders. It required firm purpose and perseverance to go *against the stream* in upholding the principles of proletarian internationalism amidst the jingoism that swept the warring countries in 1914-18. It required exceptional foresight to urge transition to socialist revolution in a Russia where the overthrow of the autocracy had generated liberal-democratic illusions. After that, the firm foundations had to be laid for Soviet gov-

ernment and the building of socialism to be started. And this in the midst of a civil war and the armed intervention of 14 capitalist states bent on stifling the proletarian revolution in its infancy. If we can form even a rough picture of these incredible difficulties, we can properly appraise the greatness of the leader of the revolution, the steel firmness and true humanism that were so characteristic of all his work. It is of the utmost importance for Communists, for all revolutionaries of our time, to study, assimilate and apply Lenin's immortal ideas.

* *

In the opening decade of Soviet government, reactionary ideologists throughout the capitalist world did their inadequate best to present a false and distorted image of Lenin. He was depicted as an incorrigible believer in violence, with utter contempt for all other forms of political struggle, to the point of rejecting them. That garbled picture of Lenin was so widespread that even an outstanding Peruvian Marxist, Jose Carlos Mariategui, the founder of the Peruvian Communist Party, was led to conclude that the anarchistic views of Georges Sorel "could influence Lenin's thinking" (that remark appeared in Mariategui's very interesting book, "In Defense

of Marxism," as a counterweight to the revisionist theories of the Belgian Social-Democrat Henri de Man).

In observing the Lenin centenary it is fitting and proper to dwell on this question. And not only because Mariategui's erroneous views need to be corrected, but chiefly because Sorel's views on violence are, in certain respects, very similar to the propaganda emanating from Peking and disseminated in my country along with the pronouncements of certain bourgeois philosophers and publicists.

Georges Sorel was a French sociologist who, in the early 1900's, became the recognized theoretician of anarcho-syndicalism, and for several years his theories enjoyed fairly wide currency in France and Spain. He was merciless in criticizing the parliamentary reformism of the Second International Social-Democrat leaders, to which he opposed unbridled violence: for him violence was a sort of universal panacea, the "magic wand" of the revolution. His best known book, *Reflections on Violence*, interprets history as a chain of catastrophes, obviously to substantiate his thesis that "socialism can exist only if there is an apologia of violence." For Sorel violence was "beautiful and heroic."

Lenin does not deal specially with this eulogy to violence. He mentions Sorel, as an anarchist critic of Marxism, only twice: in the bibliographical section of his article "Karl Marx" (A Brief Biographical Sketch with an Exposition of Marxism) published in 1915 in the *Granat Encyclopaedia*, and in his fundamental *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, where he describes Sorel as a "notorious muddler" (Vol. 14, p. 292).

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Indeed, nothing could be more alien to Lenin's scientific approach than Sorel's fantastic apology of violence. In a certain sense, Eugen Duehring was Sorel's predecessor. Duehring's extravagant theories prompted Engels to undertake a systematic defense of Marxist principles in his famous encyclopaedic *Anti-Duehring*.

If something did, as Mariategui claims, "influence Lenin's thinking," it was Lenin's first clash with Narodism and his subsequent ideological struggle against it. Narodism was a Russian revolutionary trend committed to the theory and practice of individual terror against the people's oppressors.

Lenin demonstrated with consummate

clarity that revolutionary Marxists must never tie themselves to any one tactic or any one method of struggle.

In his early writings, at the turn of the century, Lenin declared that the working class would prefer to take power peacefully, but the ruling class had no intention of ceding power, and consequently violent revolution was the only possible path in Russia. His article, "A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social-Democracy" (1899), in which Lenin criticizes the reformist views of *Rabochaya Mysl*, contains this passage: "The working class would, of course, prefer to take power peacefully . . . but to renounce the revolutionary seizure of power would be madness on the part of the proletariat, both from the theoretical and the practical-political points of view; it would mean nothing but a disgraceful retreat in face of the bourgeoisie and all other propertied classes. It is very probable—even most probable—that the bourgeoisie will not make peaceful concessions to the proletariat and at the decisive moment will resort to violence for the defense of its privileges. In that case, no other way will be left to the proletariat for the achievement of its aim but that of revolution" (Vol. 4, p. 276).

In another article, "The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement" (November 1900), Lenin says: "Finally, with regard to questions of tactics, we shall confine ourselves to the following: Social-Democracy does not tie its hands, it does not restrict its activities to some one preconceived plan or method of political struggle, it recognizes all methods of struggle, provided they correspond to the forces at the disposal of the Party and facilitate the achievement of the best results possible under the given conditions" (Vol. 4, p. 371).

This new revolutionary tactic, which Lenin subsequently developed comprehensively, is a distinctive feature of Leninism. It is the direct opposite of the reformist tactics of the Second International leaders, for whom the parliamentary activity of the German Social-Democrats was a model; the direct opposite, also, of the anarchist preachment of violence.

* * *

Lenin's prognostications were confirmed by the first Russian revolution of 1905. The profound social and political crisis of the tsarist regime, aggravated by the unsuccessful war with Japan, resulted in mass

political strikes which soon developed into armed action. The peasant revolt against the landlords assumed mass dimensions. But these armed actions had nothing in common with the individual terror of the Narodniks. In the article "From the Defensive to the Offensive" (September 26, 1905), Lenin defines the nature of these armed actions as follows: "Individual terrorism, bred of intellectualist impotence, is gradually becoming a thing of the past. Instead . . . military operations *together with the people* are now commencing" (Vol. 9, p. 283).

In another article, written during the first revolution (published September 30, 1906), "Guerilla Warfare," Lenin sets out these theoretical propositions concerning the various forms of struggle: "In the first place, Marxism differs from all primitive forms of socialism by not binding the movement to any one particular form of struggle. It recognizes the most varied forms of struggle; and it does not 'concoct' them, but only generalizes, organizes, gives conscious expression to those forms of struggle of the revolutionary classes which arise of themselves in the course of the movement. Absolutely hostile to all abstract formulas and to all doctrinaire recipes, Marxism demands an attentive attitude to the *mass* struggle in progress, which, as the movement develops, as the class-consciousness of the masses grows, as economic and political crises become acute, continually give rise to new and more varied methods of defense and attack. Marxism, therefore, positively does not reject any form of struggle. Under no circumstances does Marxism confine itself to the forms of struggle possible and in existence at the given moment only, recognizing as it does that new forms of struggle, unknown to the participants of the given period, *inevitably* arise as the given social situation changes. In this respect Marxism *learns*, if we may so express it, from mass practice, and makes no claim whatever to *teach* the masses forms of struggle invented by 'systematizers' in the seclusion of their studies. . . .

"In the second place, Marxism demands an absolutely *historical* examination of the question of the forms of struggle. To treat this question apart from the concrete historical situation betrays a failure to understand the rudiments of dialectical materialism. At different stages of economic evolution, depending on differences in political, national-cultural, living and other condi-

tions, different forms of struggle come to the fore and become the principal forms of struggle; and in connection with this the secondary auxiliary forms of struggle undergo change in their turn. To attempt to answer yes or no to the question whether any particular means of struggle should be used, without making a detailed examination of the concrete situation of the given movement at the given stage of its development, means completely to abandon the Marxist position.

"These are the two principal theoretical propositions by which we must be guided" (Vol. 11, pp. 213-14).

Lenin's attitude to elections and to revolutionary work in bourgeois parliaments provides a good example of how he applied these theoretical propositions. At the height of the first Russian revolution, when the workers were participating in political strikes and armed action, the tsar instructed his Minister of the Interior, Bulygin, to arrange elections to a so-called Consultative Duma. Lenin called for a boycott of the elections which, he emphasized, were meant to sidetrack attention from the strikes and the armed actions, and the Bulygin Duma was boycotted.

However, when the tsarist government appointed elections to the Second Duma in 1907, when the revolution was on the decline, the Bolsheviks decided to take part in the elections in order to utilize the parliamentary rostrum to expose the crimes of tsarism and the liberal bourgeoisie's policy of a compromise with the tsarist regime. The first Bolshevik deputies were elected and Lenin attached great importance to their work.

* * *

Unlike the rabid believers in violence, Lenin did not think armed struggle suitable *in all conditions*.

In 1917, after the tsar was deposed, Lenin regarded a peaceful development of the Revolution to socialism as quite possible. A special, very unique situation had arisen. In effect there was a diarchy. Soviets of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies sprang up everywhere alongside the bourgeois Provisional Government. On returning from Switzerland, where he had lived as an emigre, Lenin formulated the slogan, "All power to the Soviets!," which did not at the time imply the immediate overthrow of the Provisional Government or an armed uprising.

But the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, who held the majority in the Soviets, came to terms with the bourgeois government instead of demanding all power to the Soviets, and, ultimately, supported it against the people.

In his article, "On Slogans," written in mid-July 1917, Lenin said that a peaceful development of the Russian revolution was possible from February 27 to July 4, that is, until the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks active in the Soviets in effect supported the bourgeois government's order of opening fire on a demonstration. Now, Lenin said, "No one, no force, can overthrow the bourgeois counter-revolutionaries except the revolutionary proletariat" (Vol. 25, p. 189).

Compelled to go underground, but still following developments closely and keenly aware of the people's mood, Lenin came to the conclusion two months later that *in the course of several days* there had again been a chance for a peaceful development. He said so in his article, "On Compromises," written on September 1-3, 1917, recalling the pre-July demand of "all power to the Soviets" and a government of Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks answerable to the Soviets. (Lenin pointed out: return to that demand is a compromise). Here is what he said: "Now, and only now, perhaps *during only a few days* or a week or two, such a government could be set up and consolidated in a perfectly peaceful way. In all probability it could secure the peaceful *advance* of the whole Russian revolution, and provide exceptionally good chances for great strides in the world movement towards peace and the victory of socialism" (Vol. 25, p. 306). Lenin held that this peaceful development of the revolution was a possibility "extremely rare in history and extremely valuable" (ibid., pp. 306-7). Further, he added, "Perhaps this is *already* impossible? Perhaps. But if there is even one chance in a hundred, the attempt at realizing this opportunity is still worth while" (ibid., p. 307), and in the concluding part of the article, written on September 3, he amplified: "Perhaps the few days in which a peaceful development was *still* possible have passed too. Yes, to all appearances, they have already passed" (ibid., p. 310).

Nonetheless, in the article, "The Tasks of the Revolution," which appeared on September 26 and 27, Lenin pointed out: "By seizing full power, the Soviets could still today—and this is probably their last

chance—ensure the peaceful development of the revolution, peaceful elections of deputies by the people, and a peaceful struggle of parties inside the Soviets; they could test the programs of the various parties in practice and power could pass peacefully from one party to another" (Vol. 26, pp. 67-68).

In most of the Soviets, however, the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik leaders opted against seizing power, and the counter-revolution began tightening its grip on the government and, bending to the wishes of the Anglo-French imperialists, sent war-weary Russian troops into new offensives against the German army.

* * *

In the circumstances, every chance of a peaceful development of the revolution vanished. On October 8, in his "Advice of an Onlooker," Lenin wrote: "The success of both the Russian and the world revolution depends on two or three days' fighting" (Vol. 26, p. 181). And this, too: "The transfer of power to the Soviets now means armed uprising" (ibid., p. 179). On October 10, the Bolshevik Party's Central Committee adopted Lenin's historic resolution that the situation was ripe for an armed uprising and that this uprising was inevitable.

On October 24, in his Letter to Members of the Central Committee, Lenin insisted that "to delay the uprising would be fatal" (Vol. 26, p. 234). Further, he added: "History will not forgive revolutionaries for procrastinating when they could be victorious today (and they certainly will be victorious today), while they risk losing much tomorrow, in fact, they risk losing everything" (ibid., p. 235).

On October 24, acting on Lenin's instructions, workers and soldiers rose victoriously against the government. The following day at 10 a.m. a solemn though laconic proclamation, "To the Citizens of Russia," drawn up by Lenin, said that "the cause for which the people have fought, namely, the immediate offer of a democratic peace, the abolition of landed proprietorship, workers' control over production, and the establishment of Soviet power—this cause has been secured.

"Long live the revolution of workers, soldiers and peasants!"

History reveals, therefore, that but a few weeks before the revolutionary battle for power, Lenin still did not rule out a peaceful development. However, Lenin and the

Party lost no time marshalling forces for armed action. When he saw the counter-revolution tightening its grip on power and preparing to dissolve the Soviets, he displayed unexampled energy and resolve in demanding of the Bolshevik Party that it should concentrate on preparing for an armed uprising, and provided direct leadership.

As Lenin saw it, revolutionary violence depended on the necessity of the oppressed replying to the attacks and terrorism of the oppressor classes. At the same time, he opposed the absurd pretensions of those who in their idealistic "revolutionary" fervor refused to reckon with the mood of the masses. Lenin had nothing in common with "theorists" who extolled violence to a point where it became, as with Sorel, a kind of omnipotent myth.

Lenin's strategy and tactics are based on a diversity of the forms of revolutionary struggle, their adequate combination and timely alternation of different forms. Yet his strategy and tactics rest on firm and immutable principles, among which it appears proper to single out the following:

1. *Mass Policy.* Lenin held that any revolutionary change must be the result of action and struggle by the broad masses, by the millions engulfed in the acute class struggle.

Listing the objective criteria of a revolutionary situation, Lenin also pointed to the following: "A considerable increase in the activity of the masses, who uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed in 'peace time', but, in turbulent times, are drawn both by all the circumstances of the crisis and by the 'upper classes' themselves into independent historical action" (Vol. 21, p. 214). Amplifying on this, he added: "It is not every revolutionary situation that gives rise to a revolution; revolution arises only out of a situation in which the above-mentioned objective changes are accompanied by a subjective change, namely, the ability of the revolutionary class to take revolutionary mass action strong enough to break (or dislocate) the old government, which never, not even in a period of crisis, 'falls', if it is not toppled over" (Vol. 21, p. 214).

The experience of all the revolutions of our epoch confirmed this basic proposition beyond a shadow of doubt.

2. *The Role of the Proletariat.* Ever since he began his ideological struggle against the Narodniks, who dreamed of a purely peasant social revolution, Lenin

held that the working class would develop, grow and ultimately become the decisive factor. In St. Petersburg, he taught forward-looking workers in terms of theory and practice to intensify the struggle for economic demands, combining it with a political struggle against the despotic regime and with the workers' revolutionary education based on the principles of Marxism. In 1894 Lenin set out the idea of the worker-peasant alliance as a revolutionary force, with the leading role played by the proletariat.

In all his stormy revolutionary activity, Lenin considered it necessary to support legal and semi-legal organizations of the working class (trade unions, cooperatives, and the like) and to rely on them in stepping up the struggle of the working-class Party.

For the workers to be the decisive factor in the revolution, Lenin pointed out, their class consciousness needed to be cultivated. Here is what he wrote on this score: "Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers *only from without*, that is, only from outside the economic struggle, from outside the sphere of relations between workers and employers" (Vol. 5, p. 422). Hence the decisive importance of the vanguard revolutionary role of the Communist parties in all capitalist countries.

3. *The Subjective Factor.* Lenin stressed that objective conditions alone, no matter how favorable (the inability of the governing classes to maintain their rule unaltered and a deterioration below the usual of the poverty and suffering of the oppressed classes), were insufficient for a revolution. In addition, there had to be the subjective factor: a change in the attitude of the majority of the working class, a mass worker-peasant movement and, especially, the existence of a strong Communist vanguard.

* * *

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in June 1969 pointed out that in Latin America "the strike movement of the workers, the actions of peasants, students and other strata show that broad masses throughout the continent are intensifying resistance to the dictates of the USA and its military designs. In some countries the revolutionary forces are resorting to armed struggle against the domination of the oligarchy and imperialism. The national feelings of the peoples and

economic difficulties might compel even some governments to take important measures against imperialism; this determines the tendency to establish or extend relations with socialist countries, including Cuba."

Many Latin American Communist parties, including that of Colombia, consider armed struggle unavoidable in liberating the peoples from the domination of North American imperialism and the traitor oligarchies. But conditions from country to country differ greatly, and this enables, say, the Communist Party of Chile to seek a new revolutionary solution, utilizing the elections, the broad popular unity movement based on a common program, and nominating a common presidential candidate of all anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist forces.

The Party's tactical line in Colombia is an amalgamation of all forms of struggle. We regard armed guerrilla operations as an essential factor in combating the violence of the ruling classes and the U.S. imperialist military intervention. As we see it, the revolutionary way in Colombia should invoke all forms and methods of mass struggle in combinations suited for the concrete local and national conditions. The Party regards the peasant guerrilla war as one of the highest forms of *mass struggle*. Guerrilla war, we hold, can be successful only where it corresponds to the needs of, and is supported by, the masses.

A new stage in the guerrilla movement began in May 1964, although the situation has still hardly become revolutionary. This happened, because large peasant zones were attacked by the government army under a "preventive" scheme framed by the U.S. military mission. The peasant movement, led by the Communist Party, could not remain inactive while its organizations and bases were under attack. It had no choice but to render armed resistance, and launched guerrilla actions in a number of districts.

Guerrilla operations continue, and U.S. imperialism, for all its power, is unable, and will never be able, to suppress them. However, the Communist Party holds that guerrilla warfare is not at present the basic and main form of the people's struggle in Colombia, where mass actions of other diverse forms are building up. However, it may become the basic form if the political situation deteriorates sharply enough and an openly despotic terrorist

government comes to power, striking all along the line against the hard-won democratic freedoms of the people.

At present, the Communist Party is trying to operate in the open, using all legal opportunities of political action. We participate actively in the struggle of the proletarian masses, the peasants, students and other strata. Despite the undemocratic restrictions of the two-party Conservative-Liberal "party" system of government, we take part in election campaigns and elections, which the oligarchic regime rigs up to observe the appearance of a "representative democracy." Thereby, the Colombian Communists act on Lenin's proposition about making elections a revolutionary means of struggle. Taking advantage of the limited and partial reform of the parity system that assures the traditional parties' monopoly on power, the Communist Party, for the first time in more than twenty years, nominated its own candidates—"convinced Communists speaking openly about their convictions," as Jose Carlos Mariategui aptly said—to the municipal councils and departmental assemblies. Since the parity Conservative-Liberal system, a system ruling out the election of exponents of all other political trends, is still maintained in the parliament (Senate and Chamber of Representatives), the Communist Party backs and promotes candidates of the revolutionary opposition, particularly the so-called rebel liberals, who oppose the oligarchic system.

We are determined, to the extent of our ability, to apply Lenin's propositions to the concrete conditions of our country. The North American imperialists and the ruling oligarchy alternate demagoguery with repressions, and bourgeois reformism with reactionary terror. To combat this, we need revolutionary tactics that provide for the right combination of all forms of workers' and peoples' struggle.

For the Colombian Communists 1970 is *Lenin year*. We are doing our utmost to disseminate far and wide the teaching of Lenin, the greatest strategist of the revolution. At the same time, we have set ourselves the task of analyzing our work self-critically and exhaustively as we prepare for our 11th Congress. That is how we are marking the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, the founder of the CPSU and the glorious Soviet Union, the founder of the world Communist movement, the fighter for the liberation of all peoples from the imperialist yoke.

Leninism and the communist movement in Czechoslovakia

GUSTAV HUSAK

Nineteen seventy is the Lenin jubilee year, the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army and the year preceding the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. All these events, so memorable for us Czechoslovaks, are associated with the name and the revolutionary teaching and activity of V. I. Lenin, the great revolutionary and thinker. Lenin's outstanding personality influenced the formation of the world Communist movement and of the various Communist parties. The birth of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the militant representative and vanguard of the working class, farmers, intellectuals and all other working people, is also associated with Leninism. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninist teaching enabled our Party to conduct the class struggle with eminent success in bourgeois Czechoslovakia, and then to head the national liberation struggle against the fascist invaders, crowning it with victory. Equipped with the Marxist-Leninist teaching, our Party and the working people laid the foundation of the socialist system in the new historical conditions and assured unexampled social, economic and cultural progress.

As we reflect on the jubilees and glance back at the past, we cannot but see that the finest chapters in the past half a century of our history were written when the CPC adhered to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, applying them creatively in its policy. Conversely, all delays, hesitations and partial failures are traceable to inconsistencies and to departures from Leninism, that source of the strength and progress of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

At the end of the First World War, especially after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a formidable revolutionary wave swept Europe, expressive of the profound crisis of the imperialist system. In a number of countries revolutionary political parties emerged in the labor movement. That was why Lenin was so preoccupied with uniting Communists on an international scale and ensuring Bolshevik Party aid to Communists at a time when the conditions were maturing for proletarian revolutions. Proletarian internationalism thus materialized into ideological and organizational unity and combatability of the Communist parties.

In the European environment the world Communist movement was the result of a separation from the traditional Social-Democratic parties, deliverance from the influences of reformism and revisionism, and dissociation, especially in Central and Southeast Europe, from the over-emphasis on specific national features. Lenin had a deep appreciation of the need for enduring centralization even before the Communist movement, facing a more experienced rival then enjoying greater popularity, attained full maturity; at the same time, Lenin saw more clearly than others the dangers implicit in "the infantile disorder of ultra-Leftism," puerile radicalism, borrowing experience and imitating examples. Consequently, Leninism amounted to a creative application of Marxism to the new conditions of the 20th century, predicating a creative approach in each country, each Party.

The plight of the working class in the then burgeoning Czechoslovak Republic

was an extremely difficult one. The victory of the national-democratic revolution, the disintegration of the Hapsburg monarchy, the victory of the Entente powers and, concurrently, the strong impact of the October Revolution, were accompanied by a wave of Czech and Slovak nationalism, which also afflicted the working-class movement. Among the workers, the political independence won after centuries of struggle created the illusion that socialism could be achieved by reform, with the help of a parliament and democratic elections in collaboration with the national bourgeoisie.

The dream of a republic without social and national oppression which democratic elections to government bodies at all levels would gradually transform into a socialist state, did not come true and gave way to disappointment, discontent and a sharpening of the class struggle. The politically conscious workers realized that the bourgeoisie was tightening its grip on the country, and the Left-wing Social-Democrats began searching for a new political conception and new ways and means of winning power, drawing for inspiration on the October Revolution, the revolutionary ferment in the neighboring countries and the international working-class movement for the creation of Soviets. For them, Leninism became the well-spring of theory. Their studies of Leninism aroused an unprecedented interest in political theory, and, as a practical consequence, the Left parted ways with the Right majority concerning tactics and program issues.

The founding of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1921 and its affiliation with the Third International, which embodied the unity of revolutionary working-class parties the world over, was a token of our labor movement's alignment with Leninism. Breaking with reformism, with the policy of coalitions and the revisionism of the Social-Democratic leaders, the different national contingents of our working class joined hands in a single, consistently revolutionary party. The politically conversant Communists saw that the only way for their party to achieve success and emerge victorious was to follow a deeply national and at the same time an internationalist policy, learn to apply Leninism creatively and succeed in winning over the mass of the people. They did their utmost to deliver the working-class movement from the toils of revisionism, to mould the proletariat into the hegemon and to prepare the ground for a proletarian revolution. This

was not easy to accomplish. The twenties were years of strenuous effort, preparing the Party for its revolutionary mission and winning a leading place in Czechoslovakia's working-class movement. However, the CPC leadership of that time failed to cope with recurring crises in the movement, with traditionalism, dogmatism and theoretical weakness. Not until its Fifth Congress did the Party find a way out of the difficult situation.

* * *

The advent of the new, Gottwald leadership at our Fifth Congress (1929) and the ascendancy of the Bolshevik line heralded the victory of Leninist ideas in the Party. The Leninist principles carried forward by the Bolshevik core headed by Klement Gottwald enabled the Party to clear out the opportunists and revisionists soon after the Congress and remove the danger of sectarianism, centering the attention of the entire Party on the basic issues of Bolshevization. The Party then mounted a more determined struggle against the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie and reformism, exposing the perils of fascism and the warlike designs of the imperialist bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union. Adhering to the principles of Leninism in its inner reorganization, the Party also fought against the policy of shifting the burden of the economic crisis on the working people.

The Communists championed the vital interests of the unemployed, the impoverished industrial and agricultural workers, the small peasants, small producers and craftsmen, defending them against social and national oppression, which weighed most heavily on the peoples of the Transcarpathian Ukraine and Slovakia and the German minority in the Czech areas. In the daily class confrontations the Party succeeded in establishing closer bonds with the mass of the people. The CPC learned to translate Marxism-Leninism into large-scale and resolute actions, combining practice and theory, which always influence each other and the interaction of which is a test for both.

Loyalty to the Leninist teaching coupled with the ability to apply it creatively, enabled the Communists to find the most suitable ways of working for the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Czechoslovakia. In 1934, the Party advanced the idea of socialist solidarity tied in with the slogan for an anti-fascist worker-peasant govern-

ment. Our theoretical conclusions and experience of mass struggle during the economic crisis helped forge the new line of the world Communist movement approved by the 7th Comintern Congress.

The 7th Congress of the CPC in 1936 was a decisive milestone in our search for the most suitable forms of approach to socialist revolution. With the country and people directly endangered by German and domestic fascism, we followed the principles enunciated by the 7th Comintern Congress and worked out a course combining struggle for democracy and national freedom with struggle for socialism. The Party's main line was to develop diverse forms of popular democratic action and to win working-class hegemony. The leading role of the working class enabled us to carry forward the proletarian line in the people's democratic demands. For this it was necessary to work for the defeat of the most reactionary segment of finance capital, breaking down its economic and political power and thereby weakening the positions of capitalism in general, reinforcing those of the working people, extending their participation in government and gradually creating the conditions for the conversion of bourgeois democracy into a democracy of the new type. By working out this creative fundamental revolutionary line, our Party lived up to one of Lenin's fundamental revolutionary behests applying to the working class of capitalist countries: "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 . . . All efforts and all attention should now be concentrated on the *next step* . . . That step is: the search after forms of the *transition* or the *approach* to the proletarian revolution" (Vol. 31, p. 92).

The new integral conception of anti-fascist struggle adopted by our 7th Congress shaped our policy when defending the Republic and its people from home and foreign enemies. Carrying forward that program, the CPC did not confine itself to mere proletarian revolutionary opposition and became the potential vanguard of the nation. Our Popular Front policy was aimed at building up a powerful anti-fascist movement that would disrupt the hegemony of the bourgeoisie, display initiative in the political field and exercise a revolutionary influence on the country's further development. This truly promising development,

however, was interrupted by the September 1938 conspiracy of international reaction, when representatives of the leading European imperialist powers journeyed to Munich to sell out Czechoslovakia to Hitler. The only ally that remained true was the Soviet Union. For our peoples, Munich became a synonym of Western betrayal, of the treachery of the big domestic bourgeoisie, of surrender by the leaders of the bourgeois and the socialist reformist parties. The 1938 tragedy showed that only the working class and the Communist Party could fight successfully for national liberation.

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Soon after Munich the Republic was crushed and political independence and national freedom wiped out. The grim years of the occupation followed. Throughout that period, the Communist Party did not cease fighting the invaders and home-grown traitors. It was the only Party that would not give in to the methodical persecution of patriots fighting underground. Despite 25,000 of its members paying for this with their lives, despite the tens of thousands of Communists flung into Nazi concentration camps, our Party was the only organized, ever reviving and growing force in the national liberation struggle. During the war and especially after the big Soviet Army victories, the Communists built up a broad national front, which also embraced the anti-fascist sections of the bourgeoisie led from London by ex-President Benes.

After disrupting the invader's rear, primarily through strikes and sabotage, the Communists gradually centered the national liberation struggle on partisan actions and on preparing a nationwide armed uprising. The Slovak national rising that erupted far behind the battle-lines in August 1944 was the peak of the Slovak anti-fascist struggle and, coupled with the country's liberation by the Soviet army, marked the beginning of a national and democratic revolution. The years of the national liberation struggle were the most heroic in the history of our Party. Under its leadership, the actions of the working class substantiated Lenin's words that it was the most progressive and at the same time the most profoundly national force. The working class became the main support and core of the national front of workers, peasants, small producers, intellectuals and part of the bourgeoisie. Its influence increased still more when the Soviet

Army came to the rescue of embattled Prague on May 9, 1945, during the people's rising. This raised the curtain on a new period in the national life of the Czechs and Slovaks, on a new era for Czechoslovakia.

* * *

The working class assumed power in our country in the course of a national and democratic revolution. The CPC, which headed that revolution, won considerable prestige among the people, gaining their support. The working class became the hegemon of the revolution, infusing it with its ideals, its conception of the socialist reconstruction of the liberated country. With the war still raging, the Party worked out a program of far-reaching social, economic, political and cultural change. Finalized in March-April 1945 and then approved by the National Front, it became known as the Kosice government program, conforming fully with the Leninist teaching on the relation of democratic and socialist tasks in the revolution. It corresponded to the aspirations of our people and laid the foundation of people's democracy. Apart from the Communists, it was adopted by representatives of other political parties in the National Front, including a section of the bourgeoisie then still fairly influential among the Czech and Slovak peoples. However, the bourgeoisie and representatives of the Right, though they seemed to accept these developments, accompanied by revolutionary political and socio-economic changes, were only biding their time. They thought the revolution headed by the working class would encounter difficulties, that they would manage to reverse it and gradually turn the country into a socially reformed bourgeois democracy. Their long-term plans envisaged a change in the development of the people's democratic system, for the question of "who beats whom," the question of power contested by the working class and the bourgeoisie, was still unresolved. This was evident from the continuous conflicts over the proper fulfilment of the Kosice program.

The main sectors of the old machinery of state had been dismantled in the course of the national and democratic revolution, with power shifting to the national committees, the new, popular bodies of power, in which the working class held determinative positions. For this reason they became a revolutionary landmark in the growth of Czechoslovakia, a turning point from the

bourgeois to the new, people's democratic state. The property of Germans and traitors was placed under popular control and in October 1945 the key industries, the natural wealth and the financial system were nationalized, while land belonging to enemies and traitors was confiscated without compensation and distributed among smallholders and landless peasants. The Communist-led revolution put an end to the bourgeois idea and practice of "Czechoslovakism," which denied the existence of an independent Slovak nation. By evicting the majority of the German population, which had backed the Hitler invasion and national oppression, the revolution consolidated political and national sovereignty and created guarantees against any new Munich.

The alliance with the Soviet Union, representing the country's new political orientation, was the most reliable guarantee of our independent political and national life. The Czech and Slovak peoples displayed a sincere affection for the USSR, viewing that first socialist country as a fraternal ally and guarantor of our security. That helped accentuate the national role of the working class, adding to its influence among the patriotic sections of our two peoples.

The very first days of the revolution convinced the Czechoslovak Communists of the correctness of Lenin's proposition that the transition to socialism required above all political power of the working class led by its Communist Party. And the working class knew only too well that its hopes could materialize only through consistent and successful fulfilment of adopted programs. The Communists, the chief initiators and organizers of economic rehabilitation, won over wide sections of the population. This was confirmed by the first democratic elections, which showed that they were the country's strongest party. The Communists polled 38 per cent of the vote, strengthened working-class power, drew up a new government program, the Constructive Program, approved by all the National Front parties.

In 1945-58, Lenin's theory of how, in the imperialist age, the general democratic grows into socialist revolution became the theoretical basis of other programmatic documents and demands. In all its activities the Communist Party was guided by the propositions set out in a number of Lenin's works. For instance, his "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It" was of immense value in shaping our concept of economic development after liberation.

Stage by stage the Party set new goals conforming to the country's needs and to the growing political maturity of its people. And although the Communists did not claim a leading role in the National Front, they played that role in practice, as evidenced by their mounting popular support and influence in the National Front, the National Committees, the government and representative bodies.

The anti-socialist opposition in the National Front government took advantage of the complex international and domestic situation created by the division of the world into two mutually-opposed camps, to step up its activities aimed at building up an anti-Communist bloc. The leaders of the non-Communist parties refused to implement its Constructive Program and tried to exploit the 1947 drought and crop failure on the principle "the worse things are the better." In short, their object was to discredit the Communists and reverse the balance of strength. The Communists mounted a counter-offensive, insisting on further nationalization, accelerated land reform and taxation of the millionaires. This won them mass support, and early in 1948 the Right, anti-Communist bloc, decided on a showdown before the parliamentary elections. In February, the Right-wing ministers resigned, precipitating a profound political crisis which soon developed into a decisive battle for power.

But the Communists were in full control of the situation. Acting with sober determination, they called for a way out of the crisis through active positive struggle for the people's demands and in this they had the energetic support of the masses. The anti-Communist plot was foiled by the determined action of the vast majority of our peoples and the government crisis was resolved constitutionally.

February 1948 was a turning point in Czechoslovak history, a qualitative change in the development of our socialist revolution, one that resolved for all time the issue of power in favor of the working class, now the country's dominant force.

The road was now open to full-scale socialist transformations.

* * *

After February 1948 Czechoslovakia took her place, politically and economically, among the socialist countries. Her cooperation with them was organized through the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Her security, the creative labor of her peo-

ple, were guaranteed by the 1955 Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, which became the foundation of the European socialist countries' political and military alliance. In formulating the various tasks involved in building socialism, the Party proceeded from the ideas Lenin enunciated in the early years of socialist construction in the USSR. This applied especially to one of the most complex problems of socialist transition, namely, reorganization of agriculture along socialist lines.

In this new stage of social development, the general line in building socialism was worked out at the Party's 9th Congress in 1949. Based on the fundamental principles of Leninism, it charted the principal goals in all areas of public life.

Much was accomplished in this complex period of socialist construction. The country's industrial potential was substantially increased. Economic growth rates over the past 25 years have been above world averages and higher than in many capitalist countries. Industrial output increased 500 per cent above the 1937 figure. Impressive headway was made in industrializing Slovakia, thus creating the conditions for gradually evening out economic, cultural and social levels in Slovakia and the Czech lands. The passage from small private to large-scale socialist cooperative farming was completed by the end of the 1950's. The very nature of farm labor was changed; output and productivity increased. And notwithstanding certain difficulties and unsolved problems, good results were achieved in raising living standards: personal consumption in 1968 was 200 per cent up on 1948. Gaping social disparities were eliminated. There was full employment, social maintenance for all groups of the population, free medical care, free school education and a shorter work week, continued progress in culture, science and other areas.

Socialist construction eliminated exploitation of man by man and gave us a new pattern of production relations, radically transforming the entire social structure. The foundations of socialism were laid. And it should be emphasized, particularly in view of certain erroneous theories current in recent years, that even in this period the working class must constantly extend its leading role, and that the class and Party approach, as understood by Marxism-Leninism, remains substantially unchanged. Unchanged, too, is the fundamental proposition that socialism is but the transitory

phase of advance from class to classless society. This process was begun by the working class and can be completed by it alone and under Communist Party leadership.

No new social formation hews a way for itself easily and without complications. Our work of building a socialist society has not been free of shortcomings, even tragic errors. The Party and state leadership committed some serious mistakes in restructuring social relations. The creative spirit of Leninism, the very foundation of all our progress, was gradually submerged in bureaucratic methods. Administrative intervention gradually replaced the Leninist principle of patient and painstaking work in winning the people over to the Party's policy. There were distortions and violations of law, shortcomings in purposive leadership, especially in certain fields of work.

There were instances of the political balance being disturbed by erroneous decisions which, however, were soon righted. Extensive economic development led to major difficulties in industry, agriculture and the service sphere. Not enough scope was allowed for solving Slovakia's vital development problems, and the situation was further aggravated by Novotny's disregard of the national question.

Wage-levelling was having an adverse effect on labor discipline and disturbed the harmony between various social strata. This applied especially to skilled workers and intellectuals. All this was a bitter experience for the Party. Its leadership proved incapable of applying Leninism in practice. More, it employed methods Lenin had criticized as bureaucratic and harmful. All these negative phenomena slowed down our development. Inability to arrest the deformation process diminished popular confidence in the Party leadership and, in the end, in the Party as such. All this was exploited by revisionists, "liberal" intellectuals and the anti-socialist forces to spread diverse forms of bourgeois ideological influence and to cultivate a petty-bourgeois psychology.

The Party's revolutionary core knew of all these shortcomings and was alive to the danger they presented. It tried to re-establish the Lenin principles of Party life and creative Leninist leadership of society. The struggle was not an easy one. It took the January 1968 Central Committee Plenum, which removed A. Novotny from the post of First Secretary, to halt the process. The

way was thus open for re-establishing Leninist methods, which would have oriented all the viable forces on overcoming the many defects. The point and purpose of the January Plenum was to put an end to the mistakes and deformations that were losing the Party prestige and weakening its leading role. The idea was to renew the Party's authority and to re-establish the prestige of Marxism by scoring new successes in the economic, social and cultural fields.

However, shortly after the January 1968 Plenum a strong Right-wing group became active in the Party leadership and tried to capture the Party and the machinery of government. Their activity, and the hesitant leadership of A. Dubcek, who increasingly succumbed to Right-wing influence and pressure, cleared the way for the revisionist and anti-socialist forces which had begun to take shape in the preceding period. The Rights within the Party and the anti-socialist forces outside it gained control of the mass media and set out to distort the real purpose of the January changes, and to give them an anti-socialist interpretation. Egged on by Western imperialist elements, they launched an open offensive, the aim being to vilify the positive results of the 25 years of devoted effort by the Party and the people, to disparage the role of the Party and to engineer a split. They idealized the pre-Munich republic and uncritically accepted the capitalist way of life. They assiduously popularized bourgeois views, especially among young people and intellectuals, denied the existence of class struggle and the class division of the world, and spread distrust in the fraternal socialist countries. Their attacks on our allies, notably the Soviet Union, were accompanied by the cultivation of nationalist and chauvinist sentiments. Old mistakes and exaggerations, which the Party had itself disclosed and sought to rectify in the spirit of the January Plenum, were held up as inherent qualities of socialism. These revisionists and anti-socialists were able to mislead part of the youth and intellectuals, and part of the working class.

In the summer of 1968, they intensified their attack on the fundamentals of socialism, seeking to destroy our political, economic and military cooperation with allied socialist countries, and advertised this to the world. Honest Party members were confused and disorganized by the Right wing in the Party leadership and by the forces operating outside the Party. It was

against this background that the events of August 1968 took place. To prevent complete political chaos and ward off the impending tragedy, our allies sent their troops to defend socialism in Czechoslovakia and in the socialist camp as a whole. The march-in of allied troops, attended at first by lack of understanding and a fresh wave of nationalist and chauvinist hysteria, was an act of international assistance.

* * *

Up to the spring of 1969 the Party was still influenced by the strong Right wing and was unable to give leadership and direction in solving the vital problem of consolidating the Party and society. There were fresh conflicts. The economic difficulties dating back to the pre-January period were sharply exacerbated under the rule of these "renewal-process" leaders. Anarchy was spreading in the economy and in society as a whole, also irresponsibility, negligence, parasitism and inflation. The Rights were on the offensive, and only in April 1969 did things change.

The April 1969 Central Committee Plenum removed Dubcek from leadership of the Party. The new leadership took decisive measures to abolish Right-wing influence and to strengthen the Party, the state and its organs by purging them of opportunists and revisionists. This was the beginning of the consolidation process. Its first prerequisite was to re-establish unity of the Party on class principles, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, to assure its viability and revolutionary militancy and to promote inner-Party life. We had to re-establish the Lenin principles of Party work, strengthen its leading role on every sector of successful socialist construction. The Communist Party had to be strengthened in a way that would enable it to rally all the country's honest elements and eliminate the results of the pre-January dilettantism and of the post-January political, social and economic demolitions and give the country leadership based on scientific understanding of its problems.

The first results became apparent towards the end of 1969: the Party was leading society out of chaos, the Right and anti-socialist forces were defeated in open political battle, and we could now give full scope to the constructive efforts of the Party, public and government organizations. The January 1970 Central Committee Plenum decided on an exchange of Party

cards as a further major step in activating the membership on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, strengthening the Party's revolutionary unity and purging it of careerists and Right opportunists. The Plenum also discussed the economic situation, particularly ways and means of eliminating the chaos and building up the economy, and oriented all Party members on combating irresponsible and negligent attitudes to work.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, now once again a firm component of the international Communist and Workers' movement, and having resumed its fraternal and allied ties with the socialist lands, launched a new effort to win over the people. And it is winning their confidence, though this is bound to be a long process requiring exceptional patience and a sensitive approach.

Through the exchange of Party cards, the Communist Party creates the guarantee that never again will it, or the country, find themselves in a catastrophic situation similar to that of the past two years. The duty of Party members is being reasserted: to display a high degree of dedication and initiative in the interests of the Party and the working class. In the course of the interviews that are part of the card-exchange procedure, the Party rids itself of the revisionists, liquidators and Right-wing opportunists responsible for all the damage. It parts company with men who by their political attitude and activity have cut themselves off from the Party. They caused much damage to the Party and precipitated a deep political crisis, the consequences of which we are now eliminating.

For the Party to fulfil its historical mission, it must unite around it all honest citizens, sensitively separate the misled and the disoriented from Right-wing and anti-socialist elements. This calls for purposive, far-seeing, frank, persevering and painstaking creative work, coupled with uncompromising political struggle against all anti-socialist and opportunist forces and trends. This, in fact, is the cardinal precondition for fulfilling Lenin's injunction that the Party must always be with the masses.

* * *

Our experience, our historic achievements, and our bitter lessons, make it incumbent on the working class and working people of Czechoslovakia to mark the Lenin centenary by re-dedicating themselves to

the creative spirit of his doctrine, strengthening the Communist Party as the militant organization of workers, cooperative farmers and intellectuals, and assuring the further development of our Republic, one of the first industrial countries to embark on the socialist path. The point and pur-

pose of the Lenin jubilee celebrations in socialist Czechoslovakia lie in consummating the process of consolidation in the political and economic spheres and in re-establishing the authority and prestige of Marxism-Leninism as the most progressive and humane modern world outlook.

The age of Leninism

KNUD JESPERSEN

The centenary of Lenin's birth is being celebrated by a world which his revolutionary doctrine and work did so much to change. It is being observed in East and West, North and South. For Lenin belongs to the whole of mankind. His teaching is materially embodied in the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia and holds out a clear socialist perspective for all peoples, showing them the grandeur and potentialities of the Communists' fight for progress and freedom.

Lenin gave us the pattern of the party of the new type, of the worker-peasant alliance, the Soviets as the socialist form of government in Russia. Drawing on the experience of history, he put these theories into practice and built the world's first dictatorship of the proletariat. He enriched Marxism by proving that revolution could triumph, and socialism could be built, first in one separate country. He enriched and developed Marxism, giving it a new dimension. In our day the ideology of the working class, of mankind's liberation, is rightly called Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin gave Communists a correct understanding of proletarian internationalism and taught them to work in a spirit of international solidarity. This is one of his outstanding contributions, and its importance stands out with especial clarity if one recalls the treachery of the Social-Democrats in supporting the armies of kings and emperors whose sole purpose was to make workers of different countries

fight for interests wholly alien to them. This was a flagrant violation of the pledge the Social-Democrat leaders had given in Basle to wage war on the kings and emperors, on capitalism and all it stood for.

The attitude towards internationalism was decisive in the rise and development of the Communist Party of Denmark. In the late 1890's there were already in the Danish labor movement men who understood and upheld the fundamental tenets of Marxism and who were anxious to see the working class follow Marxist policy. But they lacked profound knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory. The situation remained the same up to the Great October Socialist Revolution: true Marxists within the Social-Democratic party could not stop the party's drift to reformism. Only after the October Revolution, when Lenin's main works appeared in Danish translation, had the movement matured for the creation of a Communist party.

In this way, our Party has from the very outset been guided by Lenin's ideas. But there was still a considerable area of uncertainty, for only a small part of Lenin's works were accessible to the Danish reader. Nor was that deficiency made good by the outbreak of the war. The Party was driven into clandestinity and concentrated on putting out illegal anti-fascist literature.

And so, in the thirties, our cadres still lacked the opportunity adequately to study Lenin's works. And they had to be studied,

especially since many of our members had come from the Social-Democratic party and were susceptible to bourgeois ideas. Moreover, the class enemy always sought to present internationalism as little short of betrayal of one's own country. But every historical turning point—notably during the wartime anti-fascist struggle—furnished convincing disproof of that attitude. For he who betrayed proletarian internationalism and bowed to fascism was betraying his own country and endangering the independence and future of his people. In the ceaseless effort to strengthen the Party, the attitude towards proletarian internationalism and the Soviet Union was the touchstone of fidelity to communism. And the Party's growth was due in no small measure to the availability of Lenin's works, many of which had now appeared in Danish. They were studied in Party branches and played a decisive part in the Party's ability to withstand the ordeals that befell it.

In the pre-war years the Party was steel-ed in the fight on two fronts. At home, with the country in the throes of economic crisis, the fight was mainly for jobs and better conditions. Internationally, the Party had to fight the mounting menace of fascism in Italy, Germany and Japan. Franco's attack on the Spanish Republic came as a turning point in this anti-fascist struggle. On both fronts appreciation and application of Leninism in concrete conditions was decisive. And the Party proved equal to this task. It was able to inspire the youth and the working class to join in a powerful anti-fascist movement. The outbreak of the war demonstrated the importance for Denmark's destiny of international solidarity.

Denmark has traditionally been a bone of contention between the German and British monopolists. Its ruling element, so vehement in denouncing our allegedly anti-national position, was least of all concerned for the national interest. Its sole concern was to profit from maneuvering between the two rival monopoly groups. That was true during the Spanish civil war, and became even more pronounced as the danger of imperialist war loomed bigger. In this situation, there was only one genuinely patriotic party that faithfully upheld the national interest—the party that consistently followed Lenin's teaching and championed the interests of our people, warning against more concessions to fascism.

Lenin's theory of imperialism as the last

stage of capitalism gave our Communists a clear understanding of the issues at stake. Our Party declared war on the war danger. It could never have done so if it had taken a neutral stand in relation to British and German monopoly capital. Instead, it vigorously fought the fascist menace and called for a popular front against the impending danger of a world conflagration. Hundreds of Danes demonstrated their adherence to Leninist international solidarity by fighting side by side with the Spanish Republicans against the Franco fascists and their German and Italian backers. But we also alerted the people to the danger from the south, from German fascism, a danger made all the greater by the Danish government's unprincipled stand: it joined the "anti-Comintern Pact" and during the war shifted from a policy of concessions to one of collaboration with the Nazi occupation authorities.

This was a bitter lesson for many Social-Democrats: their leaders had abandoned international solidarity and looked on impassively as Denmark consented to disgraceful, and burdensome, cooperation with the German invader. The hypocrisy and falsity of bourgeois nationalism was again revealed. And again Lenin's teaching showed what path our people should follow to defend their country's interests. Everyone involved in the anti-fascist movement, Communists and other progressives and patriots, now fully realized that he who betrays other nations is betraying his own. The Communists were the most dedicated and staunch Resistance fighters, though many of their leaders were banished to German concentration camps or were persecuted by the Danish authorities eager to curry favor with the enemy.

This terse survey of Denmark's not so distant history highlights the importance Leninism has for us. It inspired our struggle which, as subsequent events were to prove, was of such extraordinary importance for Denmark's future. In fact, even ex-Foreign Minister and chairman of the Conservative Party Christmas Moller was obliged to admit that we had made a significant contribution: "If all the others had appreciated the role of the Soviet Union as the Communists did, much in Denmark would have been different." History never forgave those who, aware of the issues involved, had succumbed to anti-communism and anti-Sovietism and betrayed the interests of the nation.

Today, too, in the present tense inter-

national situation, it is the duty of every Communist to understand and carry out Lenin's ideas, for they alone are the key to resolving the problems confronting us.

After the war many West-European reformists, revisionists and neo-revisionists sought to play down the significance of Leninism on the plea that something more "modern" was necessary. They called themselves Lefts, but they equated the Soviet state founded by Lenin with the imperialist forces of the United States. This carried them a very long way indeed from any real fight for socialism, democracy and national independence. This new-fangled political technology, a by-product of the cold war with its anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, has made it perfectly clear that a scientific ideology and a firm, positive attitude to internationalism are indispensable factors of victory.

Lenin developed Marxism in adaptation to modern conditions, for his theory was based on an analysis of the situation created by the emergence of monopoly. Today, as during the war, all freedom fighters are bound to find themselves at a dead end if they do not predicate all their activities on Lenin's ideas. Unless they are guided by Lenin's teaching on internationalism and the nature of imperialism, the world will remain an enigma to them, with the class struggle confined to local issues (which, indeed, is the object of the false nationalism preached by the capitalists). Had we confined ourselves to our backwoods (to borrow Lenin's own words), we would have been unable to counter the war forces—as we are able to do today—and prevent them from destroying all life on our planet.

Leninism has a special relevance for Denmark. We have seen the attempts of the so-called modernists (neo-revisionists) to concoct a new ideology of which anti-Sovietism and anti-communism are component parts. Spokesmen for all varieties of "modernism" at one time argued that their altered attitude to the Soviet Union (anti-Sovietism) and "improvement" of Leninism (revisionism) did not turn them into poor socialists. True, this did help them score temporary successes, win votes and parliamentary seats and thereby solve some of their personal problems. But they became an obstacle to new movements, impeding or diverting them to wrong paths.

Experience has shown that the "modernists" finally landed in the reformist marsh and became merely a shadow or an appen-

dage of the old reformist party. Their argument that only a critical attitude towards the Soviet Union can win us support and advance the fight for a better Denmark, was no more than a propaganda cover for their real aims. Their leaders knew what they were doing and they cannot be absolved of responsibility for the developments that have strengthened the Right forces in Denmark.

Denmark's first parliamentary "labor majority," a costly experience, proved ineffectual. The situation could have been changed if the majority had used all the opportunities open to it. However, the "modernists" preferred to deceive the electors and take their cue from the reformist leaders. The "labor majority" was exploited to carry through a policy that had little to distinguish it from that of the bourgeoisie, with the result that it was defeated. A bourgeois coalition government was formed and there was a general shift to the Right.

True supporters of the Left were deeply disappointed. Many tried to persuade the "modernists" to abandon anti-communism, using arguments similar to those of the Communists. But the "modernists" would not budge, and there was a new split of the forces that rely on the Left and working-class electorate. Developments have revealed the complete insolvency of the "modernists," a fact no amount of publicity can conceal. In this situation, our Party has to find new forms of activity that will enable it to lead a new leftward trend. Lenin taught us that unity must sometimes be preceded by division. And we had to go through such a division because hostile groups were out to liquidate the Communist Party, arguing that Marxism-Leninism was not applicable to Denmark.

The Communist Party survived and fought a hard battle to strengthen and extend its political and organizational base. In this we have succeeded and, more important still, we have remained true to Leninism and are applying it in our practical work. And the results are there for all to see: we are the biggest and best organized political force of the Left. Numerous statements of confidence in our policy are complemented by solidarity in the fight to maintain our daily paper. We enjoy a larger measure of confidence in the factories, are more firmly entrenched in the trade unions, and the time is not far off when Communist policy will enjoy still greater support.

The Political Statement adopted at our 23rd Congress spells out the Party's position.

"The Left can win decisive influence on the course of social development. This means, however, that it must pave the way for coordinated effort as speedily as possible. It is high time the Left realized its position.

"Monopoly and reaction are stepping up their activity and massing their forces. . . . We, too, must intensify the struggle to defend the working population, ensure genuine democratic development and prevent Denmark's involvement in imperialism's military gambles and the catastrophe of another world war.

"This requires energetic effort. The battle can be won because it concerns the immediate interests of the vast majority of our people. More than ever before, the population lives by selling its labor or has interests in common with the wage workers. The trade unions are the biggest organized force. New organizations of wage workers have proved their capacity for action. The students come out actively and in organized fashion against an outdated educational system. The youth and other segments of the population are becoming more and more active in the present conditions of injustice and lack of rights. The desire for mutual solidarity is expressed in increasing measure.

"These social forces can form the mainstay of an effective anti-monopoly Left policy. Coordinating their efforts to make a joint and fruitful contribution would be a logical task for the Left in Danish politics and public life generally. Their action today falls short of their tasks and opportunities. While the rightists and reactionaries are uniting, the Left betrays lack of purpose and unity.

"This is largely a result of the 'labor majority' having disappointed the hopes people had put in it. The result was dejection and uncertainty which the Right and the bourgeoisie used for their own purposes.

"The experience of the 'labor majority' showed again that the labor movement and the Left today still have to choose between two courses of action: first, allowing big capital, the real master of society, to use them, and take care of their interests; second, taking advantage of the positions they have won to overthrow the rule of capital, drawing on the activity of all working people not only to defend the direct inter-

ests of the latter but to transform the very foundations of society and change the relationship of class forces.

"The former trend in the labor movement has taken the form of Social-Democratic policy. The latter trend is represented by the Communists. There are some other groups on the left side of the political camp. But reality confronts everyone with the need to choose between these two trends in the struggle of the working class and the people as a whole."

This policy activated the Danish Left, the warmest response coming from the factories, where united action has always been a common weapon in the fight for political re-orientation and economic gains. It also contributed significantly to the expansion of the peace and solidarity movements.

The Vietnam solidarity movement extends to every sector of political life and includes many who only a few years ago supported the United States. This is evidence of the extent and effect of the Party's pioneer work in exposing American imperialism's dirty war.

In all our peace efforts we are guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism and the peace and peaceful coexistence policy of the USSR and other socialist countries.

Denmark's best chance of escaping destruction—her best chance of survival—lies in a policy of neutrality. Nato, its supporters affirm, is the only answer to Denmark's security problem. We have demonstrated the fallacy of that argument by citing facts to show that the very existence of Nato has meant more war, and a heavy and dangerous militarization burden for Denmark. In contrast to the "solidarity with Nato" cry, we call for solidarity with all the peoples to wipe out militarism and war, solidarity of all the nations for international relations based on complete equality and not depending on a country's size or its social system. We have capsuled that in the slogan: "Denmark must withdraw from Nato to become a zone of neutrality and peace!"

That the slogan is a realistic one has been reaffirmed by our talks with delegations of fraternal parties of the Baltic area, the USSR, Poland and the GDR. This set off a wide public discussion on neutrality. Our practical object is to realize the idea contained in the Party's policy statement of 1949, when Denmark was dragooned into Nato. And that statement says: "The principle task today is to unite all the forces to liberate Denmark from her dependence on

Anglo-American imperialism and rescue her from a policy that must inevitably lead to war, poverty and oppression." This is bringing home the idea that there is another alternative for Denmark and that she can find true friends. Denmark is not yet free of Nato, but the popular movement prevented prolongation of the aggressive North Atlantic Pact for another 20 years. Unfortunately, we were not strong enough to prevent Denmark's continued membership in Nato, but from now on it will be reviewed every year.

Lenin repeatedly emphasized that to fight war, we must disclose the secrecy in which wars are engineered. We have followed that advice in showing our people that there are other solutions and that the evil Nato has brought to other countries will befall ours too. As a Nato member, Denmark is closely tied in with West German capitalism and militarism. And as part of the Nato integrated command she serves as a shield for West Germany. Considering Denmark's strategic position, war would for her mean total destruction. That is why it is so vitally important to pinpoint the source of the war danger. The results can be judged by the virtual isolation of the pro-U.S. faction on the Vietnam issue and by the mounting opposition to West German revanchist plans. Indeed, the pro-Nato parties can now see, even from the public opinion polls, that there is a constantly growing popular opposition to the North Atlantic Pact.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are doing everything possible to preserve peace. European security is essential to the very existence of the continent's small states, and the socialist countries' proposal for a European security conference is a practical step to changing the situation in our continent. And the change would guarantee the security and frontiers of all countries and would go a long way towards dismantling military blocs.

The proposal of the USSR and other socialist countries has infused a new feeling of hope. Europe's future must be shaped by its peoples, not by its generals. The Communist campaign for European security is still another proof that parties committed to international solidarity are the most dedicated champions of national freedom and peace. It is proof, also, that loyalty to Lenin's principles of proletarian internationalism is a constructive force, not an onerous burden.

As was only to be expected, certain groups have sought to hamper our campaign for European security and Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist parties. A small "ultra-revolutionary" faction has surfaced in Denmark with the express purpose of propagating Mao Tse-tung's ideas. Despite all their verbal fireworks—even invoking the name of Lenin—they have achieved practically nothing. True, they have won the benevolence of the bourgeoisie, which is indifferent to whether the Communist Party is split from the Right or "Left," as long as it is split. But the Communist Party has not split on this issue. Drawing on Lenin's works, it has effectively exposed the phrasemongers, showing that the Maoist attacks on the Soviet Communist Party are aimed at all Communist parties, that their purpose is to destroy the world Communist movement.

There is ample proof to show that the attitude towards the Soviet Union is the touchstone of fidelity to communism, and nothing will ever induce us to change our attitude. We are proud of our friendship with the Communist Party of Lenin and the Soviet state he founded. We consider this friendship a decisive factor in the fight for world peace and freedom. Today as always the Soviet Union is the bulwark of the people's struggle against imperialism, militarism and war. It is, as it always has been, their best ally in the fight for national security and independence. Leninism lives in the powerful socialist state, and he who belittles its importance is heading towards capitulation and, in the end, betrayal of his own country.

Lenin's teaching on internationalism has a direct bearing on the future of mankind. It brings out the interconnection between the fight for national freedom and international solidarity against the common enemy. It adds to the strength of each Party and, as last year's International Meeting in Moscow has shown, raises the authority of the world movement. We have always held that to be an internationalist is to regard national independence in context with common international aims, and not as two mutually-opposed entities. Recent events have borne this out. He who regards only one aspect, namely national sovereignty, as a counterweight to internationalism distorts both one and the other. To emphasize only international obligations is to detract from the struggle for national freedom and hamper solution of national problems. In short, Lenin's internationalism is universal.

It cannot be contrasted to national sovereignty, which is a component, and an important one, of internationalism. Internationalism wins the Communist parties the confidence of the working class in their respective countries.

Lenin opened inspiring vistas to the peoples of all countries. From the experience of many battles and reverses, he forged a doctrine that is leading the working class to victory. The October 1917 revolution strengthened in the international revolutionary movement the idea that to win freedom the working class must have a party based on Leninism. There is such a party in Denmark, the Communist Party. And notwithstanding all difficulties it is forging ahead, has won use of the parliamentary rostrum,

and many on the Left are coming to see that their aims can be realized only through a strong Communist Party. That is one of the reasons why the Lenin jubilee is being observed by all progressive Danes.

Lenin, the greatest teacher and leader of our era, ushered in a new stage in human history, created a new type of Party—the Communist Party. And we have every right to say that ours is the age of Leninism, an age which will put the seal of finality on war, oppression and poverty. Lenin's ideas have triumphed in a large part of the world. They have changed the very image of the world. And they continue to guide the peoples towards final victory in the struggle for national and social emancipation.

Socialism—main trend in world development

JANOS KADAR

For a considerable period in modern history, man's destiny, the trend in world development, depended on the aspirations of the ruling class of capitalist society and the intrinsic contradictions of its social system. Then the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia and, subsequently, the growth of socialism into a world system, re-patterned the international situation. Now it is the global struggle between the forces of socialism and capitalism that determines the future of mankind and lends expression to the main contradictions of our time.

Cognizant of the laws governing social growth and mindful of the simultaneous existence of two social systems, the Communists are working for the principle of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. Yet they know perfectly well that a keen competition, a class struggle between socialism and capi-

talism on a world scale, is under way in all spheres of social activity, ideology, politics, the economy and culture.

Convinced or mercenary, the ideologists, propagandists and politicians of the capitalist world have, ever since Marxian times, been trying to prove that the socialist idea is not viable, and now continue to attack the practice and reality of the socialist system. However, the socialist ideas and practice, and the socialist system, have stood the test of time.

The attacks of bourgeois philosophers have foundered. As 50 years ago, when attacked by the interventionists, so later, in the Second World War, Soviet power held out and passed "the test of arms." And in the past 25 years the new socialist countries, including the Hungarian People's Republic, have with the help of international solidarity repeatedly repulsed the overt armed or covert imperialist attempts

to intervene. Today, the people of Vietnam are carrying on their heroic struggle for the right to self-determination against the U.S. aggressors and their satellites. The fighting continues, imperialism's coercive aspirations are alive and are sure to surface. Yet the socialist countries are marching firmly along their chosen path.

Marxist-Leninist theory is the only scientific philosophy and outlook that rests on a genuinely enduring theoretical foundation. And the world's Communist and Workers' parties will fulfil their mission if they adhere undeviatingly to Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, developing both theory and practice, ever vigilant in face of the class enemy and displaying trust in the working class and the masses. Each day, in socialist as well as capitalist countries, the Marxist-Leninist parties wrestle, in a most contradictory situation, with a variety of complicated and difficult tasks. Yet, prevailing against all obstacles, they are driving forward, because the knowledge that capitalism is a moribund system and that socialism is the main trend in world development and the future of mankind, imparts tremendous strength.

In this article, I should like to touch upon a few topical points concerning the past and the present.

I.

In the mid-19th century, at the time of the publication of the Communist Manifesto, capitalism was in an era of growth and upsurge, highlighted by decades of free competition, the home and international expansion of capital, the continuing division of the world into spheres of interest and the consummation of the colonial enslavement of peoples.

For the proletarians it was a period of formation into a class, of ideological and political preparation for revolutionary struggle. At first spontaneously, then in a more organized way, the working class came to grips with capital, forming its own organizations, chiefly trade unions. In the political confrontation it could not carry on without its own ideology, and the Communist Manifesto, the first systematized document of scientific socialism, saw the light of day.

In the middle of the 19th century, the modern working class was still in its birth throes, although the poetic phrase in the Manifesto, "a spectre is haunting Europe,"

presaged the workers' emergence on the political arena as an independent history-making force.

A new situation arose at the junction of the 19th and 20th centuries. The period of free competition had ended, and the era of monopoly and finance capital rule, the imperialist era, began. The rivalry over markets, over enticing superprofits, became acute, and since no "untapped" territories remained, the struggle no longer was for the division but for the redivision of the world. The intrinsic contradictions and international conflicts of the capitalist world reached fever heat. Sinister clouds of an imperialist world war gathered on the horizon.

The working class, too, found itself in an entirely new situation. The turn of the century was the beginning of the imperialist epoch, but also of the epoch of proletarian revolutions and of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The formation of the workers into a class was completed. More and more extensively, the working class learned and accepted the teaching of Marx and Engels, and set up class organizations, thereby turning ideas into a material force. This made the workers an independent political factor. The preparatory period was over and practical political struggle, overthrow of capitalism and socialist revolution, became the order of the day. The question was whether or not the working class could fulfil its historic mission.

The First and Second Internationals, the parties they created and which they united, played a historic role in the early stage of the organization of the working class and in its early independent political actions. Yet when the need was greatest in revolutionary theory and organization, renegade Social-Democratic leaders of the turn of the century distorted the Marxist teaching, stripping the parties of the ability to wage an acute political struggle. The parties lost their political bearings and shed their revolutionary quality. The working-class movement was gripped by revisionism and opportunism. The notorious declaration of the "father" and principal exponent of revisionism, Eduard Bernstein, "the ultimate aim is nothing, movement is everything," was tantamount to a betrayal of socialism, expressive of the essence of revisionism.

That was when Lenin, the centenary of whose birth is reverently marked by all progressive mankind, stepped to the forefront. He owes his historic greatness precisely

to his apprehending the new situation. He showed that imperialism had ushered in a new epoch. He showed that in the new situation new tasks faced the working class. He studied imperialism and discovered the law of the uneven development of capitalism, drawing the appropriate conclusions. And in his article, "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe," he wrote: "Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country alone" (Vol. 21, p. 342).

Lenin repugned all the distortions of Marxism, applied the doctrine correctly, developed it to suit the conditions of the early 20th century, organized a new type of revolutionary working-class party and directed its activity with eminent success.

His system of theoretical and political ideas enriched scientific socialism and, as a result, we began calling it Marxism-Leninism; in other words, Leninism is the Marxism of our epoch.

II.

A place of distinction in Lenin's rich theoretical and political activity goes to his ideas and scientific propositions on the development of world socialism.

According to early Marxian forecasts, the socialist revolution was to have triumphed in the leading developed countries back in the 19th century. Basing their judgments on contemporary conditions, the exponents of scientific socialism held at the time that the revolution would erupt simultaneously in all the civilized countries, or at least in the leading developed capitalist states.

It was Lenin's genius that discovered the uneven development of capitalism, drawing the conclusion that in the imperialist epoch socialism could triumph in a few countries, or even just one, thus adding to the ideological substantiation of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Hence, Lenin's discovery exercised a decisive influence on the destiny of mankind and is, in our time too, a highly relevant proposition of our doctrine.

The victory of the 1917 October Revolution in Russia crowned all the preceding working-class struggles, proving a watershed in the history of mankind and bearing out Lenin's teaching on imperialism, on the party of the new type, on socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The existence of the Soviet Union and its more than half century of development is evidence of the irrepressible advance of socialism. The worker-peasant power has won and grown strong. Consolidation was achieved at home and abroad after the intervention was flung back and the Civil War was over. The policy of war communism, followed by the new economic policy, helped resolve the economic problems of the transitional period, and socialist ownership and socialist relations of production became dominant in the economy with the introduction of socialist planning and the socialist reorganization of agriculture. For the first time in history socialism became a reality, and this in one country alone.

In the Soviet Union, which has already begun setting the material and technical conditions for the transition to communism, the 1969 industrial output was 85 times that of tsarist Russia in 1913. At the price of a titanic effort, of tremendous strain, the Soviet people have traversed the distance from the wooden plough to space ships, from wholesale illiteracy to the world's most advanced educational system. With admirable dedication and heroism, they have built up and safeguarded from enemies the Soviet Union, the hope and support of all oppressed, the world's first socialist state, now an economically and culturally highly developed, and militarily invincible, world power. This exercised a tremendous influence on the international working-class movement and the general development of the world. The idea of scientific socialism proclaimed in the mid-19th century, and accepted then only by few, took material shape.

The period after the Second World War witnessed a new turn in world development, marked by the advancement of the socialist system. By virtue of the existence of the Soviet Union, the victory over Hitler Germany, fascist Italy, Japan and their satellites 25 years ago had a political, as well as military, impact. It was a victory over fascism, then the most dangerous enemy of the progressive world, of humanity. Also, due to the existence of the Soviet Union, the consolidation of the international working-class movement and the growth of democratic movements in a number of countries, political opportunities appeared for social emancipation. The peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, including our own Hungarian people, and later some Asian peoples and the people of Cuba, made the most of these opportunities.

As a natural result of the general advance from capitalism to socialism, this led ultimately to the emergence of the socialist world system, extending to three continents and comprising 14 countries. Breaching the then worldwide capitalist system, the victory of the revolution in Russia liberated from exploitation and oppression 138 million people, that is, nearly eight per cent of the world population in a territory amounting to 16 per cent of the earth's surface. And at the beginning of 1969, more than a quarter of the earth's surface and about 34 per cent of the world population, that is 1,200 million people, belonged to the socialist world system. Whereas in 1917, when the Soviet Union was the sole exponent of the new system, socialism accounted for less than three per cent of world industrial output, in 1969 the socialist world system produced as much as nearly 40 per cent.

III.

The constitution of the Soviet Union and later the growth of socialism into a world system, exercised a diverse and tremendous influence on all social processes in the rest of the world and radically changed its political appearance. As a result, the ascendant advance of socialism brought about a decisive change, a new situation, for the third time in five or six decades. At first, the capitalist system, fully-fledged imperialism, ruled supreme in the world. Then its undivided rule was breached. The Soviet Union, the first socialist country, then still going it alone, opposed the capitalist world system, whereas now, capitalism is opposed by a world system of socialist states.

In the worldwide class struggle between socialism and capitalism, the socialist world system is the main base of the fight for socialism, progress and peace. It embodies the political and economic power of the international working class and is the decisive force of the anti-imperialist struggle, extending invaluable support to every liberation movement.

The socialist world system exerts its influence primarily on the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and on the international Communist and working-class movement as a whole. It contains capitalism, restricting its ability to oppress and exploit, and influences the activity and behavior of the rulers of capitalist countries. The latter are compelled to make concessions to the working people

they would never have made when still undividedly ruling the world. The existence of the socialist world system provides favorable conditions for the liberation struggles of the working class in the capitalist countries. This is borne out by their scale.

In the capitalist world, the workers led by their revolutionary vanguard are extending and stepping up their struggle against monopoly capital rule. The economic struggles fought by the working people are more intense. Whereas some eight to ten million people participated in strikes annually in the developed capitalist countries in the past, the figure for 1968 was several times greater. In the past, working days lost in strikes added up to 45-65 million a year, whereas in 1968 the loss was 220 million. The working class is always the main force of the mass movement, but the mass base of the movement is broadening, and the increased activity of the youth, disappointed in capitalism and looking for a way out, has become an important factor. The struggle for better living conditions and greater rights is more frequently acquiring a political, anti-war and anti-imperialist complexion.

It was thanks to the emergence and the political, economic and military consolidation of the Soviet Union and the socialist world system that the anti-imperialist struggle of liberation in the Third World and the break-up of the colonial system unfolded and became an irreversible process. In 1919 as much as 77.2 per cent of the earth's surface was still occupied by colonies and semi-colonies with 69 per cent of the world population. By the beginning of 1969, as a result of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle of liberation, especially extensive in the recent decades, colonies occupied only four per cent of the earth's surface.

The peace movement and the political and military power of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries can prevent imperialism from starting a new world war. The socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, possess a war potential, insuperable even now, which they are continuously extending in order to safeguard the security of their own peoples and to assure world peace.

Thus, in our time, the socialist world system and the world Communist movement have become the standard-bearers of social progress, socialist revolution, national liberation and peace — the only realistic hope for mankind, for its future.

Supporting each other, the socialist world system, the international working class and the anti-imperialist liberation movement of the peoples are, cumulatively, that powerful factor of progress which has produced new conditions for the worldwide struggle between socialism and capitalism, between progress and reaction, peace and war.

In sum, the forces of progress now surpass those of imperialism and have become insuperable. This change in the relation of forces has opened up a way for humanity which, once imperialism is overcome, could achieve a genuinely free world in which exploitation of man by man, oppression of peoples and nations, and wars will be nonexistent.

IV.

Events of the time-span 1917-1970 show that the world victory of socialism is a law-governed and, in historical perspective, irreversible and accelerating process. But it is affected by interacting internal and international factors, and this poses new problems for which correct, Marxist-Leninist solutions have to be found.

Socialism develops on the basis of general laws. Its universal features, political and economic, find expression in the fact that the socialist countries—withstanding differences in past and present development—introduce the basic elements of socialism more or less simultaneously and by identical methods.

The establishment of working-class power, and the transformation of production and class relations in the European socialist countries were, basically, accomplished at one and the same time. The same applies largely to the transition from extensive to intensive development, measures to perfect the economic management system and use of the new technology.

The distinguishing feature of their socialist systems (alongside national peculiarities and many other factors) is working-class power, public ownership of the means of production and the social character of production and distribution.

Lenin gave us a theoretical explanation of the relation between socialism's universal features and development laws and national specifics in socialist construction. Application of the former does not preclude, but in fact requires, careful attention to national specifics, for both operate simultaneously. For the Communist Party

correctly to apply both it must fully understand the way they interact.

The experience of socialist countries, both in the fight for socialist power and, after its achievement, in building a socialist and subsequently a communist society, shows that socialism can progress uninterrupted only if the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism are not distorted, if the Communist Party exercises its ideological and political leading role, if there is a firmly established worker-peasant government, close ties with the masses, and if the ideas of internationalism are put into practice. There is the evidence of experience that only by observing these conditions were the socialist countries able to evolve a new social and production pattern and assure economic and cultural progress far beyond anything possible before the revolution.

The fact that in each of the 14 socialist countries we can single out features common to all of them, should not be taken to mean that they have been following a set pattern, or an imposed "model." In all these countries the new, socialist system is being built within a national framework. Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, for instance, differed in form, tempo and methods from the People's Democracies. But national specifics must in all cases be combined with operation of the general development laws of socialism, and, of course, they cannot be regarded as opposites.

The experience of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the upheavals our Republic had to go through, convincingly prove that the general principles and laws of socialism cannot be violated with impunity. Any deviation, whether to Right or "Left" opportunism, undermines the Party's leading role, and, consequently, hampers and prolongs the struggle for power and decelerates socialist development. More, it can dislodge a country from the socialist path. The defense, preservation and development of the basic principles and institutions of socialism is everywhere a permanent task. When dogmatism undermined these foundations, and revisionism attacked them, we employed all the forces at our command, national and international, for we were faced by an onslaught of the national and international forces of the old social system.

Our Party unswervingly follows a Leninist policy. With mass support it has won, upheld and consolidated popular rule and is

successfully completing the building of socialism, forging solid, working class-led national unity, and pursuing an internationalist policy.

V.

The recent achievements of the socialist lands and of the international Communist movement and the development of the international situation provide cogent evidence of the correctness of Marxism-Leninism. The 1957, 1960 and 1969 conferences of Communist and Workers' parties assessed and generalized practical experience and gave the parties better theoretical and ideological weapons. This should be properly appreciated, for in many cases the new problems led to ideological confusion and erroneous, Right-wing revisionist views or to "Left" opportunism. In this context, revealing conclusions can be drawn from the various interpretations of the interconnection between the general laws of socialist construction and national specifics.

Some merely avoid admitting the validity of the main general laws governing socialist construction; others slide into nationalist positions, laying all the emphasis on national specifics; others still negate the "Soviet model"—an appellation that covered the methods applied in most People's Democracies—even rejecting, at times, internationalism and openly opposing the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

What does a Marxist-Leninist analysis of reality show? What conclusions should be drawn from socialist theory and practice on this vital issue? The development of world socialism is a rich and multiform process. "All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable," Lenin wrote in *A Caricature of Marxism*, "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" (Vol. 23, pp. 69-70).

Undoubtedly, the building of socialism was hardest of all in the Soviet Union. It had no example to follow, no experience to draw on, and tackled the job singlehanded in the extremely harsh conditions of enemy encirclement. The socialist countries that emerged after World War II were, and are, in a much better position. They can draw on the experience of the Soviet Communist Party and from the very outset could rely

on the Soviet Union's political and economic might and on military alliance with it.

A peculiar feature of world socialism—and one that runs counter to earlier conceptions—is that so far it has triumphed, in the main, in less developed capitalist countries. But led by its Party, and supported by the entire working people, the working class in power in each of these countries has in a remarkably short space of time made good the lag of centuries and steeply raised living standards.

Some are inclined to draw far-reaching conclusions from this. But there is no law that the socialist revolution will conquer only in less developed countries. Communists do not indulge in idle prophecies. History and concrete conditions will determine in what direction, in what country, in what continent, socialism will hew a way for itself, and whether it will win by peaceful or non-peaceful methods, and, in general, whether socialism will become a pressing issue in a developed or underdeveloped country.

The history of our century fully bears out Lenin's proposition that the present era is not only one of imperialism, but also of proletarian revolutions. Capitalist society is ripe for socialist transformation. The path that led to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the founding of the Soviet Union, the emergence of the socialist world system and the collapse of the colonial system, will, in the end, lead to the triumph of socialism the world over.

The multiplicity of transition forms will apparently be manifested even more saliently in the future. For as more countries join the mainstream of social progress and advance towards socialism, more vivid and varied will the picture be, since each country will contribute to it its own distinctive elements of political, economic, cultural and social progress. This makes it all the more important to combine and co-ordinate general and specific features.

Why should we Marxists fear being accused of following a uniform pattern in building socialism, all the more so since this is not the case? Every social system has its general development laws. The capitalists are not so squeamish. Capitalism has produced a wide variety of forms of administering society. There are republics, monarchies, combinations of parliamentarism and monarchy, military juntas, some operating under monarchical signboards, empires, principalities, one-party

and two-party systems, and much more. But capitalism, too, has general features common to all these countries—the political power of the bourgeoisie, capitalist property of the means of production, the contradiction between the social character of production and private appropriation, exploitation.

We can envisage that in future socialist countries the specific features will assume different forms. But there can be no doubt that socialist revolution always presupposes the overthrow—by peaceful or non-peaceful means—of the rule of monopoly capital and its allies, and the establishment of the power of the working class and its allies, with conversion of the means of production to public property.

We can also envisage that these countries will be in a much better position than the present People's Democracies. They will be able to use the rich experience not only of the Soviet Union but of the entire socialist world system, its political, economic and military strength.

VI.

The independent countries of the socialist world system are developing against the background of the worldwide class struggle. They have to reckon with the fact that capitalism will exist for a long time to come.

Imperialism stands no chance of crushing socialism, but it is desperately resisting its spread. It has not abandoned its aim of overthrowing popular rule in the socialist countries, though it has changed its tactics. And today the tactics are to subvert these countries and break up their contacts with one another. The main method is political maneuvering, ideological confusion and economic pressure and penetration. Imperialism wants to destroy the unity of the socialist countries and turn them against the Soviet Union.

This counter-revolutionary policy relies on fomenting nationalism, contrasting national to international obligations, and setting the socialist countries on a "liberal" course. All these maneuvers harbor a distinct danger.

The experience of history shows that nationalism can penetrate the world workers' movement. More, it can find a receptive soil in socialist countries if their Communist Parties depart from the internationalist path. For survivals of nationalism persist even after the revolution and can

be activated by imperialist penetration, especially in the transition stage. And nationalism breeds differences and divergences injurious to the socialist cause, though they cannot alter the outcome of the contest between the two social systems.

In this situation, such things as the way the socialist countries and the socialist world system develop, their political, economic and military growth, the sharing of socialist experience, acquire exceptional importance. All this enhances the responsibility of Marxist-Leninist parties and their members to their peoples, their countries, to the whole of humanity.

Socialism will continue to develop within national frameworks. But with imperialism still existing, the progress of each country can be firmly guaranteed only as part of the socialist community. Consequently, it is our prime duty to continue to strengthen socialist unity and cooperation, which at the same time is the best national policy for our peoples.

Hence, the principal criteria of communist revolutionism are a Party's approach to nationalism and internationalism, the way it applies Leninism in relation to national and international, common and particular interests; the way it uses Lenin's ideas to counter petty-bourgeois "revolutionism," and reformism.

VII.

The earnest of continued development of the international Communist and workers' movement and of world socialism lies in strengthening internationalist cohesion. This requires understanding of the issues involved in the world struggle. The constantly growing unity of views achieved in the open and principled discussions at last year's Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties is strengthening world socialism and enhancing its authority.

Every stage in the history of the Communist and workers' movement has been marked by the existence of different international organizations, each of which performed a definite mission. The First, Second and Third Communist International—each have a definite historical significance. Today there is no need for such an international organization. But there must be systematic and comprehensive exchange of experience and coordinated action by the Communist and Workers' parties.

International meetings are a tested and

indispensable way of achieving that. Last year's Moscow Meeting did much to strengthen the unity of our movement. It helped the parties define their cardinal tasks in the changing international situation and the radically altered international balance of forces, and also in socialist construction and in shaping policy on pressing world issues.

The priority task of our Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, both in its theoretical and practical work, is to further develop socialist democracy, secure more efficient operation of the economy and higher levels in science, culture, education and socialist consciousness. Closer cooperation with other socialist countries, which has to be raised to a higher level to help our peoples in building socialism and to advance our international cause, remains a permanent task.

* * *

Imperialism's expansionist propensities, which are part of its very nature, recurring aggression, exploitation and continuous threats, keep the world in a state of tension.

Socialism is mankind's only way out of this.

In our view, the Communist and Workers' parties must, above all, be unswerving in their theoretical concepts. Marxism-Leninism is the theory of the world Communist movement, a theory enriched by the experience of each Party. Marxism-Leninism is the Communist and Workers' parties reliable compass in all their work and struggle to develop the socialist world system and world socialism in general. Each Party has the internationalist duty to work for unity of all our forces to overcome anti-Marxist views, Right-wing revisionist and "Left" opportunist deviations. By rebuffing the class enemy's attempts to sow confusion, we can successfully fight the nationalist contagion, for internationalism, for genuine patriotism.

That is the only way true Marxists, true Leninists, can assume the great responsibility in the decisive battle of our epoch, now that the conditions are maturing for a new thrust by socialism, now that socialism is the chief direction of world development.

Leninism and our place in the revolutionary struggle

MEIR VILNER

Lenin was a man of theory and practice, whose great intellect was devoted to the defense of Marxism against attacks from within and without the workers' movement. He developed Marxist theory and, at the turn of the century, applied it in the new era. This is how Leninism, the Marxism of the era of imperialism and socialist revolutions, was created.

Emphasizing that Marxism was not a dogma, but a guide to revolutionary action in changing society, Lenin rejected all

"theories" which, on the plea of developing Marxism, emasculated it, negated its foundations and adapted it to bourgeois ideology and interests. A principled fighter, Lenin believed that ideological deviations from Marxism in the workers' movement offered a grave danger to working-class theory, policy, strategy and tactics. That explains why his works are largely of a polemical nature. His polemics against Social-Democrat, reformist and Right opportunist deviations, on the one hand, and Leftist ad-

venturist ultra-revolutionary deviations, on the other, have helped all Communist parties scientifically to chart their ideological path and policy in the concrete conditions of their respective countries and to dissociate themselves from non-Marxist trends in the workers' movement.

Notwithstanding the epochal changes since the Great October Socialist Revolution led by Lenin, the need for ideological and political struggle in defense of Leninism, against all kinds of deviations in the workers' movement, and in the Communist movement itself, has not diminished with the passage of time.

Today we have the USSR, a mighty world socialist power, and the socialist world system of 14 states. The powerful international workers' and Communist movement has become the world's main political force. Imperialism's colonial system has been virtually destroyed. Imperialism can no longer determine the main direction of mankind's development—it is now determined by the revolutionary forces. All this makes it easier to be a Marxist-Leninist, a Communist, in our time.

Socialism has developed not only from an utopia to a science, but also from a science to reality in a substantial part of the world. Marxist-Leninist theory has thus been confirmed by practice. No other trend in the labor movement has led, or could lead, to the victory of socialism in any country. Leninism's opponents within the movement have been, and are, in power in a number of capitalist countries, but in none of them have they carried out socialist change. Only Leninism indicates the path to the victory of socialist revolution and the building of socialism and communism.

At the same time, the theoretical, strategic and tactical problems the march of history poses for the workers' movement are no less complex than those of preceding periods. Deviations from Marxism-Leninism today are no less dangerous than at the time when Lenin was fighting them. True, in our time the revolutionary fight for peace and socialism is being waged in more favorable conditions. But in these new conditions, too, the task of continuing the fight for socialism's world victory requires ideological struggle against deviation no less than when Lenin was alive. This is, at one and the same time, the very best and the most correct path to uniting the international Communist movement, strengthening proletarian internationalism and advancing the revolutionary cause throughout the

world and in each country, consolidating international peace.

There can be no doubt that the following words of Lenin retain all their validity and topicality in our day: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement" (Vol. 5, p. 369), and further: ". . . to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology" (Ibid., p. 384).

Experience has shown that yielding ground on ideological issues, abandonment of principled, comradely discussion, do not lead to mutual understanding or to closer unity of the Communist movement. On the contrary, they lead to ideological confusion on many questions, provide a nutritive soil for Right and "Left" weeds. Such principles as proletarian dictatorship, the Marxist-Leninist party's vanguard role, democratic centralism, international proletarian solidarity (the supreme Communist principle determining the attitude towards the Soviet Union as the central factor of the socialist world system, and towards the CPSU as first among equals in the world Communist movement), can be neither glossed over nor ignored. That has been demonstrated by the experience of a number of socialist countries.

In our time, the most dangerous deviation from Leninist principles in the Communist movement is nationalism. It negates the proletarian class approach, regards the struggle and problems of one Communist party in isolation from the common struggle, from the common interests of the international Communist movement, which represents the main political world force, on the anti-imperialist unity of which future historical development, the success of the effort for peace, independence, democracy, socialism and communism, depend in decisive measure. Nationalism is the common denominator of most deviations, both Right and "Left," that have arisen in the Communist movement. And it is no accident that the deviationists of every stripe and hue find, in many cases, a common language in the struggle against the general principles adopted by international conferences of Communist and Workers' parties, against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which, due to objective factors, is—as it was in Lenin's day—in the very center of the worldwide battle against imperialism.

The fight against deviations, for stronger proletarian internationalism, is a vital

necessity for the Communist movement. National deviationists hide behind the essentially correct need creatively to develop Lenin's propositions in conformity with the present era and the specific conditions of each individual country. But creative Leninism must above all be, as its name implies, Leninism, and not a retreat from its fundamentals; it must develop the theory and practice of Leninism. Of decisive importance in this respect are the principles Marx and Engels tersely formulated in the following words: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," and "Workers of all countries, unite!"

Lenin pointed to the irreconcilable contradiction between bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism: "Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism — these 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).

We must fight, Lenin said, "... *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).

These Marxist-Leninist propositions have a special significance today, when the struggle against imperialism is worldwide, and when the existence of the socialist world system influences the revolutionary struggle throughout the non-socialist world. Their observance, far from impairing, actually promotes the interests of the revolutionary movement of a given country. In contrast, a narrow view of national interests militates, in the end, against the interests of the workers of that country, against its genuine national interests. For every weakening of anti-imperialist unity is seized upon by imperialism in its fight against the socialist system, the international workers' and national liberation movements and harms the revolutionary cause. There is no contradiction between the general national interests and the interests of the workers' movement. On the contrary, they coincide, if conceived correctly, from the standpoint of their permanent and general values as opposed to the partial, transitory and momentary.

Lenin wrote: "The national cause comes first and the proletarian cause second, the bourgeois nationalists say, with the Yurkeviches, Dontsovs and similar would-be

Marxists repeating it after them. The proletarian cause must come first, we say, because it not only protects the lasting and fundamental interests of labor and of humanity, but also those of democracy; and without democracy neither an autonomous nor an independent Ukraine is conceivable" (Vol. 20, p. 32).

Criticizing the Polish reformists, Lenin wrote: "The PSP* takes the view that the national question is *exhausted* by the contrast—'we' (Poles) and 'they' (Germans, Russians, etc.). The Social-Democrats, however, give 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" (Vol. 6, pp. 461-62).

That was written many years ago. But is it not a fact that today, too, we are faced with such nationalist views, and not only in the international workers' movement, but also among some Communists?

The experience of the Israeli Communist Party shows that the source of our strength lies in fidelity to Leninism, and that the nationalist deviation in our Party, which led to the 1965 crisis and the break-away of a nationalist group, was due chiefly to a retreat from class Leninist principles on the national question and sliding into Jewish Zionist nationalist ideology.

Our experience has convinced us that those who abide by the formula "'We,' Jews, and 'they,' Arabs," have landed in the marsh of nationalism. They abandoned Marxism-Leninism to join the forces hostile to progress, and directly supported the aggressive June 1967 war and the Zionist demand for annexation of Israeli-occupied territory. This was a betrayal not only of internationalist Leninist principles, but of the cause of freedom, the motherland and the people. For the Israeli rulers' aggressive expansionist policy, their alliance with imperialism against the Arab anti-imperialist national movement, run counter not only to the common interests of peace in the Middle East but, to a no lesser degree, to the true interests of the Israeli people. And in our day, too, this Lenin proposition has a very topical meaning: "To be an internationalist Social-Democrat one must *not* think only of one's own nation, but place *above it* the interests of all nations, their

*PSP—Polish Socialist Party (Polska partia socjalistyczna)—Ed.

common liberty and equality. Everyone accepts this in 'theory' but displays an annexationist indifference in practice. There is the root of the evil" (Vol. 22, p. 347).

The nationalist group that broke away from our Party is, ideologically and politically, on the other side of the barricade. Its formula is "the national cause comes first, the proletarian cause second." And this has harmed both the common interests of the world proletariat and the national interests of its own people. Only a proletarian approach accords with the fundamental interests of the working class and people of the country concerned, with the interests of the whole of mankind.

The dominant bourgeois ideology in Israel is Zionism, which Lenin combated in his time. And in our day Zionism is the nationalist reactionary ideology of the pro-imperialist Jewish bourgeoisie. Its center is in Israel and the USA.

Zionism seeks to sever the Jewish workers, the Jewish masses, from the joint struggle of all the workers and popular masses of the various countries for progress and socialism. It is thus detrimental to the Jewish workers and Jewish masses among whom it conducts its activity.

In the Middle East, Zionism's purpose is to shore up the political, economic and strategic positions of the imperialist powers. With their help, it is furthering Israel's territorial expansion. It is opposed to the Palestinian Arab people and the Arab anti-imperialist movement. The Israeli people, as the Palestinian and Arab people generally, have a common enemy, imperialism, and a common interest — national and social emancipation and peace. In short, Zionism is battling against Israel's genuine national interests.

Zionism has an active share in the international imperialist and reactionary struggle against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and in ideological and political subversion against the socialist lands. Zionism is helping neo-colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is thus doing immense damage to the Jewish masses, the Israeli people, and the cause of progress.

The June 1967 war, and U.S., also British and West German, imperialist support of the Israeli Zionist leaders' aggressive policy, cooperation between imperialism and Zionism in the global anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaign, now conducted on a much wider scale, furnish added proof that Zionism's ties with imperialism are just as close as they always have been.

All the facts show that the Zionist movement is not a national liberation movement, for it does not facilitate the liberation of any people or any country from foreign imperialist domination. On the contrary, it serves the global interests of imperialism and its own, Zionist, expansionist aims. *Zionism is not a national movement. It is a reactionary political movement of the Jewish bourgeoisie. It is misleading part of the Jewish workers by its nationalist slogans. Just as there is no "worldwide extraterritorial Jewish nation," there is no worldwide extraterritorial Jewish movement. Nor is Zionism an Israeli national movement, for it is opposed to the liberation of the Israeli people from imperialist dependence and co-operates with the colonial powers against the national liberation movement in the Middle East and other areas.*

The Communist Party of Israel has been waging a consistent ideological struggle against Zionist ideology and a political struggle against Zionist practice. We reject the Zionist leaders' theory that Zionism is identical with Israeli patriotism and Israel's national interests. There is no such identity. On the contrary, there is a fundamental contradiction between Zionism and Israel's national interests. Zionism jeopardizes the future of the state of Israel, prevents normal friendly relations with Arab nations, ties Israel to imperialism, its chief enemy, the enemy of all mankind. The fight against Zionist ideology and the Israeli rulers' pro-imperialist policy is part of the general struggle for peace, independence, democracy and socialism, and is in the interests of the Israeli working class and Israeli national interests.

We therefore believe that foreign elements, even if they call themselves "friends of Israel," are doing harm to our national interests by supporting Israeli government policy.

Our Party recently celebrated its 50th anniversary. Throughout all these years it has approached the national question from proletarian class Leninist positions. It fought to end imperialist domination and to make Palestine independent. When the country was under British colonial rule, our Party advanced a program based on annulment of the British mandate, withdrawal of all the colonial troops, independence and guaranteed rights for the Jewish minority. With time, the Jewish population of Palestine increased—in the special conditions of British colonial rule—and developed into a nation existing parallel with the Palestinian

Arab nation. This change in the country's national pattern made Palestine a country with a developing Israeli nation existing side by side with the Arab nation. In these conditions, our Party advanced a new program on the national question, based on immediate liberation from colonial rule and recognition of the rights of the two nations to self-determination in Palestine.

In both these periods our Party remained true to the Leninist principles on the national question, constantly guided by the interests of the anti-imperialist struggle, the interests of the working class, the genuine national interests of the Arab and Jewish masses. In these conditions, too, our Party adhered to the principles enunciated by Lenin. And when, on November 20, 1947, the UN Assembly annulled the British mandate, ordered the withdrawal of British forces from Palestine and the establishment of two independent states, a Jewish and an Arab, we supported that. In an atmosphere of hostility between the two nations, deliberately fomented by the colonial administration and its accomplices, this was the only way to eliminate foreign colonial rule and assure national independence of the Palestine peoples.

But we continued our ideological struggle against Zionism. We showed that the emergence of the state of Israel and its 22-year record have proved that it has not solved, and cannot solve, the "Jewish question" and has not abolished anti-Semitism and racism in countries where capital holds sway. Hence, Zionist ideology and practice are just as reactionary today as they always have been. And today there is the added factor of new reactionary aspects in Israeli policy, which serves imperialist interests in the Middle East.

Our Party has always opposed the policy of the Zionist rulers who deny the Palestinian Arabs their national rights. We have always taken as our starting point Lenin's proposition that "... the important thing is to distinguish the *principles* of the two trends. *Insofar as* the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation fights the oppressor, we are always, in every case, 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 privi-

leges on the part of the oppressed nation" (Vol. 20, pp. 411-12).

Accordingly, we fought British imperialist domination and supported the Arab anti-imperialist movement in Palestine, insofar as it was directed against British imperialism. We supported every manifestation of Jewish struggle against imperialism and its monopolies. Following the establishment of the state of Israel, we combated attempts by the Israeli bourgeoisie and its Zionist satellites in the workers' movement to acquire privileges at the expense of the Palestinian Arabs.

After World War II, progressive forces throughout the world supported the struggle against British rule in Palestine, as against colonialism everywhere, and upheld the right of the two Palestinian nations to self-determination. Today these forces are opposed to the Israeli occupation, carried out with the support of U.S. imperialism. There is no contradiction in this; on the contrary, there is complete consistency, for this is not an anti-Israeli, but an anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist attitude, just as in 1948 the progressive stand was not anti-Arab, but anti-imperialist, in support of the independence of the two Palestinian peoples.

In 1948, it will be recalled, only the Jewish people in Palestine won self-determination and the state of Israel was established. The Palestinian Arabs have still not obtained their national rights.

The state of Israel is a living reality. The only question is what kind of state it should be. The crucial problem is fundamentally to change Israel's policy, secure its withdrawal from imperialist dependence and its conversion into a peaceable anti-imperialist, progressive, and in the end, socialist state. In our day, any objection to Israel's right to exist as a state is contrary to Leninism, to the proletarian class approach to the national question, to the right of the Israeli people to self-determination, and to the real state of affairs in the Middle East and the world.

One should not confuse the existence of a developing nation in Israel with the Zionist theory of an extraterritorial "worldwide Jewish nation," or with the Zionist contention that the "Jewish question" can be solved by concentrating the Jews of all countries in Palestine. The emergence of the state of Israel has not changed the position of the Jews in capitalist countries, where they—and not only they—are faced with the same danger as prior to the found-

ing of the state of Israel. A new and important factor is the existence of the socialist world system centered around the mighty Soviet Union, and the radical change in the balance of forces in favor of peace, progress and socialism. This offers new opportunities to avert another world war, another catastrophe for the Jewish and all other peoples. Liberation of the Jewish masses in capitalist countries from anti-Semitism, persecution and the menace of annihilation, and the fundamental and complete solution of the "Jewish question" can be achieved only with the elimination of class exploitation and national oppression and eradication of the social and political roots of anti-Semitism, with the victory of socialism.

The Zionist ideologists want to identify Israel with Zionism and all the Jews with Zionists. But, both in principle and in practical implications, the two are incompatible: Zionism is contrary to the national interests of the Israeli people and—everywhere and always — to the interests of the Jewish masses. There have always been active progressive revolutionary forces among laboring Jews and other sections of the Jewish people, and they continue to play no small part in the Marxist-Leninist ranks.

There are class divisions and a class struggle in Israel itself. There is a Jewish-Arab Communist Party, which is consistently and unswervingly combating the aggressive Zionist policy of the country's rulers. Other forces, too, are coming out in opposition to that policy, which is turning young Israelis into cannon fodder for American imperialism and its hegemonic plans. The Israeli rulers are set on a course that might end in a volcanic explosion and national calamity.

Guided by Lenin's teachings on war and peace, we were able correctly to define the character of the June 1967 Middle East war as an aggressive war unleashed with the support of the U.S., British and West German imperialists. And unlike the Vietnam war, it was "Israelized" from the very start, since the U.S. government could rely on the modern Israeli army. The chief aim of the war, which in diverse forms continues to this day, is the overthrow of the anti-imperialist regimes, first of all in the United Arab Republic and Syria, liquidation of friendship and cooperation between the progressive Arab countries and the Soviet Union and other socialist lands, and reversal of the social changes in the Arab countries. In short, the chief aim is to force

back the Arab anti-imperialist national movement along the entire front and retain, or win back, imperialism's economic, military and political positions in the Middle East. For Israel, these are not national aims, just as its annexationist policy is not a national, but a reactionary Zionist, anti-national policy.

Faithful to Leninism, our Party is fighting under the slogan: "With the Arab peoples against imperialism, not with imperialism against the Arab peoples." In this we are following the Marxist-Leninist principle that a nation that oppresses other nations cannot itself be free. In fighting the aggression of the Israeli rulers, for recognition of the just national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, for evacuation of all occupied territories and the establishment of a durable peace between Israel and the Arab states on the basis of mutual recognition of the national rights of the countries and peoples concerned—we are acting both as internationalists and patriots.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which holds aloft the banner of Leninism, is giving decisive support and assistance to all peoples fighting imperialist aggression, for national and social freedom. The Soviet Union pursues a principled Leninist foreign policy that accords with the interests of all peoples and with the interests of world peace and socialism.

Only nationalists can see a contradiction in the Soviet Union's Middle-East policies of 1947 and 1967. It has always followed the Leninist policy of supporting national independence and national self-determination. Israel today is the scene of a massive anti-Soviet campaign, a concomitant of the chauvinism and militarism generated by the June war. The Zionist labor parties are working to undermine the people's faith in socialism, depicting the imperialists, with their lust for oil and blood, as friends of Israel, and the socialist Soviet Union, with its unremitting efforts for peace that is in the interests of all the peoples of our area, as an enemy. Our Party regards exposure of this anti-Soviet policy and popularization of the Soviet Union's actions and its momentous achievements in the building of communism, as a priority task in mobilizing the working people in a united front for peace and friendship between the nations, and against the government's anti-labor and anti-national policy.

Our 16th Party Congress (January-February 1969) declared that the chief arena of class struggle is between the two world

systems, socialist and capitalist. This stresses the special role of the CPSU as the leading force and the most powerful member of the socialist world system. The CPSU bears a great responsibility for the outcome of this struggle, for the achievements and destiny of the international workers' movement, for the future of world peace and of mankind. And this responsibility of the CPSU makes it incumbent on the entire Communist movement to show special solidarity with it. The CPSU's vanguard role entails special obligations in the interests of the entire revolutionary movement, and it is consistently fulfilling these obligations.

Accordingly, our Party considers repel-

ling anti-Soviet propaganda a very important patriotic and internationalist task.

Despite all difficulties and obstacles, our Party continues its fight under the banner of Leninism for peace and social progress on our sector of the national and social liberation front. The inspiring example of Lenin's life and struggle, his great ideological heritage, our deep friendship and solidarity with the Party of Lenin, the CPSU, and other Leninist parties, infuses in us fresh strength, optimism and unshakable confidence in the ultimate victory of our struggle for a peaceable Israel, independent of the imperialist powers, a socialist Israel that will be a true home for its working people.

What has assured advancement of Communist Party of Japan

Revolution in Japan and Marxism-Leninism

SANZO NOSAKA

The year before last, 1968, we celebrated the 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx and this year we are marking the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin. At present, with the ideas and theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin embodied in a vast movement that has reshaped world history and with all kinds of new tasks arising, it is more important than ever to study deeply the Marxist-Leninist ideological and theoretical legacy, to concretize it creatively and to achieve new advances of the revolutionary cause of the people of each country.

Since its inception in 1922, our Communist Party of Japan (CPJ), coping with various difficulties, marched forward steadily under the Marxist-Leninist banner at the time of the militarist and police rule of the autocratic monarchy with its succession of wars, and then during the postwar rule of

U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. Our Party has called on all its members to join in marking the centenary of Lenin's birth and intends to use this favorable opportunity for pledging that it will continue to advance its cause. Publication of Lenin's 45-volume Collected Works was completed in our country last year. Besides, we have decided to put out a 10-volume Selected Works in tribute to the Lenin centenary, to be compiled directly by our Party. The first volume has already come off the presses this year. The main purposes of this edition are, firstly, to provide broader access to the ideas and basic theses traceable through all of Lenin's works; secondly, to provide answers to the practical tasks of the Japanese working class and people, mindful of the concrete historical conditions and specific features of our country, and, thirdly, to show how

the serious trials now facing the world Communist movement and Marxism-Leninism can be correctly overcome and a new historical advance achieved. In addition, the CPJ is also organizing commemoration lectures, publishing special, jubilee editions of each of the Central Committee periodicals, and holding a variety of other functions. These commemorative functions on the centenary of Lenin's birth, combining with the preparations for the 11th Congress of the CPJ opening on July 1, will have a strong bearing on the further growth of the revolutionary movement in Japan.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN JAPAN AND THE ADVANCES MADE BY OUR PARTY

Lenin showed a sustained and deep interest in Asia, the East, and pointed out more than half a century ago that "a new source of great world storms opened up in Asia," that there had begun an epoch of such "storms and their 'repercussions' in Europe" (Vol. 18, p. 584).

Clearly, Lenin's analysis was profound and correct. The growth of the liberation movement of the Asian peoples and of the revolutionary movement for democracy and socialism, especially after the Second World War, proves conclusively that the region is certainly "a new source of great world storms."

These days, decaying U.S. imperialism is adapting itself to the course and results of the postwar international anti-imperialist struggle, on the one hand, and, on the other, profiting from the division in the world Communist movement and socialist camp to focus on Asia the spearhead of its aggressive policy, as evidenced incontrovertibly by the predaceous U.S. imperialist war of the sixties in Vietnam. The Vietnam problem has become the focal point of the international confrontation between the anti-imperialist forces and imperialism. Evading a direct engagement with the Soviet Union, China and other major socialist powers, U.S. imperialism is trying to concentrate its aggressive efforts against the smaller socialist countries and to crush them one by one. Our Party has defined this as a policy of "destruction one by one." Although that policy has foundered, U.S. imperialism is trying to continue it in a new guise. The Nixon administration's policy of "moderating international tension" is nothing but a fraud. Reducing

U.S. casualties by "Vietnamization," the U.S. government intends to turn the war of aggression into a campaign of attrition and thus retain its grip on South Vietnam. Furthermore, by fanning the flames of war in Laos, it is trying to create a "second Vietnam," while also stepping up preparations for aggression against the Korean People's Democratic Republic. The new peculiarity of the present day, as also evidenced by the Guam Doctrine, is that U.S. imperialism is trying to carry forward its aggressive policy in Asia by "shifting the burden" on to the anti-Communist Asian countries and with the support of a new multilateral military alliance.

And Japan holds a central place in these U.S. imperialist designs.

The promise to restore in 1972 Japan's administrative rights to the Okinawa Prefecture (population one million), unlawfully occupied by U.S. imperialism for a quarter of a century, was the object of a deal struck by the Japanese and U.S. heads of government in November 1969 at their meeting and in their joint statement. The meeting and statement were the joint product of U.S. imperialist demands that Japan participate more actively in the aggressive Asian policy and of the imperialist designs of Japanese monopoly capital, which, collaborating with U.S. imperialism, is eager to establish its own influence in Asia. This means that the Japanese-American Security Treaty will take a turn for the worse, that its character will become still more aggressive and reactionary and that it will serve as the nucleus for a multilateral Asian military bloc. Thereby, the revival and consolidation of Japanese militarism and imperialism, subordinate to the United States, will rise to a new, higher level.

By virtue of its world's highest rate of capital accumulation, Japanese monopoly capital has in recent years moved to second place among the capitalist countries for gross national product, and has been busily reviving and consolidating militarism and imperialism. As for the rate of growth of Japan's military potential, the facts show all too clearly that the percentage growth of its military expenditure in the past five years has been the highest among the leading capitalist powers. By the precipitous growth of its exports (of monopoly capital, as well as commodities) Japan, which continues to back up U.S. domination in Asia, contributes to the extension of imperialism in Southeast Asia. The Japanese and U.S. ruling circles will

try to renew the Japanese-American Security Treaty the 10-year term of which expires on June 22, 1970. They will try to turn that military alliance into the pivot of their domination in Asia.

In these circumstances, the role of the CPJ has gained considerably in importance. Japan is the only highly-developed capitalist country in Asia. For U.S. imperialism it is an important support point of aggression, for, as some say, "were it not for Japan, there would be no war in Vietnam." Our Party will unite the popular masses, promote a powerful united front, form a coalition government on its basis, annul the Security Treaty and build a peaceful, independent, democratic Japan that will stay out of all military blocs and carry forward a policy of neutrality. The impact of this on the entire situation in Asia will be tremendous.

Apart from conflicting with the demands of the Japanese people for independence, peace and neutrality, the revival and consolidation of militarism and imperialism in Japan, subordinate to the United States, also adds to the hostility of the ruling circles towards the demands of the masses, demands in defense of their lives.

The stormy economic growth of the sixties, which became the economic base for the revival and consolidation of the Japanese monopolies, was sustained with the help of foreign capital, national investment, rapid accumulation of monopoly capital, and brutal exploitation and plunder of the working class and the toiling masses. Inevitably, this entailed extremely low wages, high taxes, rising prices and inflation, and added to such municipal problems as air and water pollution, the traffic accident rate, and the like. As a result, a vast militant energy was generated among the people. The given period is also marked by the fact that four million able-bodied farm workers have been compelled to give up farming in the past ten years. Discontent and anger run high among middle and small peasants over the coercive capitalist reorganization of agriculture. Accordingly, CPJ responsibility is increasing still more for protecting the life of the people.

Entering the general parliamentary elections in these conditions at the end of 1969, our Party opposed the anti-national, anti-people's policy of the Liberal-Democratic Party government, advancing a far-sighted election program that centered actively on the future that the working class and

people of Japan should strive for. In the elections our Party made a clear gain of one million votes, polling a total of 3,200,000 or the biggest in all the postwar elections to the Chamber of Representatives. This total represented something like seven per cent of the aggregate ballot. The number of Communists elected to the Chamber of Representatives increased from four before the Chamber's dissolution, to fourteen. The percentage of Liberal-Democratic Party votes declined, though it gained additional seats and continues to hold the majority. The anti-Communist Rightist Party of Democratic Socialism retained the place it had held before the election, and Komeito, the anti-Communist conservative religious party, nearly doubled its seats with a total of 47. The Socialist Party lost considerable ground, winning 90 instead of the previous 134 seats.

Our Party's success in the general election increased its political weight, creating a new situation for the reorganization of the political forces and for the struggle of the Japanese people. It has become clearer still that our Party really is that main political force which will effectively oppose the Liberal-Democratic Party in the seventies. A new historical stage is opening in the development of the CPJ. From the standpoint of its historical mission, the advance made by our Party is no more than the first step, but a step that has buttressed confidence in the victory of Marxism-Leninism among still broader masses of the people.

CREATIVE APPLICATION OF MARXISM-LENINISM

At the beginning of the fifties, taking advantage of the predaceous war in Korea, the U.S. occupation authorities and the reactionary forces unleashed repressions against our Party. As a result, and also under the effect of international factors, a split ensued in the CPJ, which suffered a painful blow by reason of the ultra-Left adventurist tactics of the dissident grouping. In the circumstances, the influence of the Communist Party, too, declined considerably. In the latest general election, our Party was able to advance, because in the more than ten years since its Seventh Congress (1958), which made an independent and courageous analysis of the negative experience of the preceding period, the Party independently applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete

Japanese conditions and followed a clear political course.

Lenin fought more uncompromisingly than anyone against Right and "Left" opportunism, which tried to revise the Marxist principles. Yet, at the same time he elucidated as follows the necessity of an independent creative approach in the concrete application of Marxism: "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. We think that an *independent* elaboration of Marx's theory is especially essential for Russian socialists; for this theory provides only general *guiding* principles, which, *in particular*, are applied in England differently than in France, in France differently than in Germany, and in Germany differently than in Russia" (Vol. 4, pp. 211-12).

Acting on Lenin's idea, our Party has waged an uncompromising struggle in the past more than ten years against the various incursions of home and foreign modern revisionism and ultra-Left opportunism, which sought to revise the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, the CPJ continuously strove to apply Marxism-Leninism to the present changed conditions, to the specific Japanese situation, independently and creatively.

The cardinal problem in these efforts was to define the course of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic revolution on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist thesis on imperialism and the national question, as well as the theory on the transition from the democratic to the socialist revolution. This thesis, like the theory, is being applied to the unexampled complexities of the situation in Japan which, as a result of its defeat in the imperialist war and the subsequent occupation, has, in effect, become dependent on U.S. imperialism, while remaining a highly-developed capitalist country.

Lenin held that "imperialism means the progressively mounting oppression of the nations of the world by a handful of Great Powers" (Vol. 21, p. 409). Criticizing the opportunist theory of Kautsky, who maintained that imperialism annexed only "agrarian regions," Lenin said: ". . . The focal point in the Social-Democratic program (and of the Communist parties of today—S.N.) 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" (*Ibid.*).

Our Party drew the correct conclusion that, being a highly-developed capitalist country, Japan is now in the imperialist stage in the sense that imperialism in the economic domain amounts to monopoly capitalism. At the same time, the CPJ made a scientific analysis of the situation of an oppressed nation, a situation in which our people found themselves as a result of Japan's military, political and financial dependence on U.S. imperialism, the citadel of world reaction, and worked out the strategy which classes U.S. imperialism and its subservient Japanese monopoly capital as the main enemies of the revolution in our country. We named this the theory of "two enemies." Demolishing the fallacious variants of the "one enemy" theory advanced by the revisionists (who maintained that there was only one enemy of the revolution in Japan, namely, Japanese monopoly capital) and the dogmatists (who, conversely, considered U.S. imperialism the sole enemy), the theory of "two enemies" provided the correct strategic line for the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the toiling people of Japan.

Thus, applying Lenin's revolutionary thesis, our Party charted the course of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic revolution of the people, which will fulfil two tasks: the national task of eliminating the domination of U.S. imperialism and achieving genuine independence, and the democratic task of destroying the rule of a handful of Japanese monopolists.

At the same time, in view of the impending revolution in Japan and applying to concrete Japanese conditions the theory of the unintermittent development of the revolution from the democratic to the socialist—a revolutionary theory worked out by Lenin in his book, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, and other works—the CPJ defined the new form of this two-stage unintermittent development of the revolution from the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic revolution of the people to the socialist revolution.

Needless to say, there can be no final emancipation of the working class without building socialism. In our country, however, the way to socialism is blocked by the domination and oppression of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital; it can be opened up only by the victory of

the democratic revolution of the people, which will sweep these tremendous obstacles out of its way. Then, in the case of our country, which is in the stage of monopoly capitalism, this democratic revolution must lay the foundations for passing on to the socialist revolution and quickly, without an interruption, develop into that socialist revolution. The revolution in Japan will go through two unintermittent stages of transition from the democratic to the socialist revolution.

This course, followed by our Party, took shape in our fight against revisionist theories. The latter, in effect, denied the existence of U.S. imperialist domination over Japan and, taking Japan to be an independent imperialist country, maintained that the impending revolution would be socialist in nature. The essence of these views is Right opportunism, sidestepping struggle against U.S. imperialist domination and, in effect, negating the revolutionary duty of achieving national independence. On the other hand, our course also contrasted from the line of the ultra-Left opportunists. The latter, in effect, identified the revolution in Japan with the people's liberation revolutions in the colonially dependent countries and laid the accent one-sidedly on the struggle for national liberation from U.S. imperialism, evading struggle against Japanese monopoly capital and rejecting unintermittent transition to socialist revolution.

The development of events in Japan and the experience of the struggle of our Party and our people in the nearly ten years since the Eighth CPJ Congress adopted the Party Program in 1961, furnish graphic evidence that only the revolutionary course of our Party can provide the people of Japan with the perspective of genuine liberation. It has become still more obvious that the cause of the suffering of our people is rooted in the reactionary military system of national oppression, a system leaning for support on U.S. imperialism and monopoly capital, its ally and subordinate on the strength of the San Francisco "Peace" Treaty and the Japanese-American "Security Treaty" (the combination of which the CPJ defines as the "San Francisco system"). It has become still more obvious that for the Japanese people the destruction of this system and the building of an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous Japan are concrete top-priority tasks. In the course of the struggle for an independent, democratic, peaceful

and neutral Japan, the aim of an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic revolution of the people set by our Party has won nationwide sympathy among the masses who are protesting against the domination of foreign imperialism, and has evoked a democratic class response from the people who are experiencing hardships and privations under the rule of the handful of monopolies. National liberation through the expulsion of U.S. imperialism from Japan, the overthrow of monopoly rule and the institution of radical democratic political and economic reforms—these two democratic tasks are the main demands of the Japanese people. For Japan the socialist way will open up only through the fulfilment of these democratic tasks. Overthrowing monopoly rule and setting up the democratic power of the people, a democratic coalition dictatorship of the people, will inevitably create the conditions for passage to the socialist revolution.

The second important problem of our Party's experience in creatively applying Marxism-Leninism concerns the systematic development of CPJ policy so as to win the broad masses to the side of the revolution in the complicated social environment of highly-developed monopoly capitalism.

Our Party devoted particularly close attention to political activity that systematically set out the concrete Party line aimed at satisfying the demands of the masses, tying in their day-to-day vital interests and demands with revolutionary duty as it is formulated in our program, serving as the connecting link between these two aspects.

Lenin stressed time and again that "the masses must have their own political experience" after acquiring a revolutionary consciousness. He pointed out: "Propaganda and agitation alone are not enough for the entire class, the broad masses of the working people, those oppressed by capital, to take up such a stand (of direct support for the vanguard—S.N.). For that, the masses must have their own political experience" (Vol. 31, p. 93).

The broad masses are conscious of the necessity of revolution not only in theory, but also from their political experience. In modern Japan, where deep-going contradictions are made sharper by the effects of the revival and consolidation of U.S.-dependent militarism and imperialism, the working masses are advancing varied vital demands. Our Party policy shows the way, in concrete terms, of how these demands

can be satisfied, stressing that nothing but democratic power will guarantee their all-round satisfaction. Thus, proceeding from the vital interests of the masses, the political consciousness of the masses oriented on the constitution of a democratic coalition government and carrying forward the democratic revolution of the people, must be developed on the basis of their own experience. Therein lies the revolutionary significance of the Party's basic policy.

Having worked out its policy on topical problems, our Party centered its propaganda activity not only on exposing and protesting against the anti-people's character of the political line of the Liberal-Democratic Party government, but also on advancing its own positive, constructive and concrete policy in opposition to that line. With five political parties vying bitterly for the support of the masses, it is impossible for the Communist Party to win new support without a positive policy designed to satisfy the demands of the masses.

Our Party policy must contain two main elements:

Firstly, a concrete political course closely linked with the everyday demands of the masses. If in dealing with the question of prices and the problem of air and water pollution the Party always repeats the obvious truth that these "will be radically solved only by the revolution," such a party will depart completely from the vital demands of the masses. While warning sternly against the dangers of reformism, the CPJ has always devoted close attention to concrete reforms and, among other things, has set out a detailed and concrete political line to contain rising prices and resolve the problem of air and water pollution.

The second main element is a radical political course aimed at the all-round satisfaction of the people's demands. In the question of, say, rising prices and the problem of air and water pollution, the political line of our Party should attach serious importance to successive reforms. At the same time, it should conclusively show the source of these problems and resolve them thoroughly.

Since the matter is approached in a radical way, it is bound to affect the entire policy of the American-Japanese reactionary forces, the pillars of their rule, that is, is bound to be associated with criticism of the anti-national and anti-people's policy designed to protect monopoly capital and

strengthen the Japanese-American military alliance, the purpose of which is to assure domination in Asia. It will also inevitably require a national and popular political course in place of the policy of the reactionary forces.

Let us take but one of the problems, that of rising prices and air and water pollution. Since the present inflation and the sharpening of the municipal problems and monopoly capital's political line of reviving militarism are the inevitable result of the "rapid growth" policy, the need has arisen to change that policy.

Thus, the entire policy of our Party shows that some of the demands of the masses were effectively satisfied even under the Liberal-Democratic Party government. At the same time, this became a concrete and constant indication of the fact that only the overthrow of the Liberal-Democratic Party government and establishment of a democratic coalition government, followed by the institution of people's power, provides full and genuine guarantees for the satisfaction of these demands.

Having mobilized all its members, our Party acquainted itself with the vital demands of the masses, analyzed them deeply, and, cooperating with science researchers, non-Communist as well as Communist, did its utmost to formulate policy on the various issues. It has tried to react skillfully to every problem, to consider each on its own merits, and to elucidate its policy on the matter to the masses before any other political party. Furthermore, the CPJ concerns itself not only with the ordinary day-to-day problems, but has framed a fundamental policy for industry, a policy based on defending the people's interests and opposed to the long-term economic plans and the basic industrial policy of monopoly capital and the Liberal-Democratic Party government. The Communist Party has also set out the perspectives of using the natural wealth of Japan and put forward plans for developing the country's resources.

Also important is the fact that Party committees at all levels and the basic Party branches throughout the country have worked out a policy for their respective districts or enterprises, gearing it to the political course of the Central Committee, and that they conduct extensive propaganda of their policy elucidating it to nearly all the electors.

This political activity confirms the su-

periority of the CPJ course over the policy of other Japanese parties. The confidence of the people in the Communist Party has increased considerably, because our Party is the only one that can present the Japanese people with a valid perspective for the future.

Our Party has also actively elucidated the importance of using parliament and parliamentary struggle in the course of the revolution. At the same time, the Party showed how the principles of scientific socialism concerning the problems of plurality and the question of "violence" in the future independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan, as well as in socialist Japan, are creatively applied in the present conditions of the country. Taking advantage of various favorable occasions, the CPJ has published theoretical articles on these problems and its representatives have also set out its views at international theoretical conferences. For this reason it is needless to dwell in detail here on the above-said, and I should like merely to stress that propaganda and elucidation of these problems are necessary tasks in the ideological struggle, in the battle against anti-Communist propaganda.

The third example of how our Party, defending the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, applied them in the concrete Japanese conditions as a policy of day-to-day activity, is the question of United Front tactics.

In order to carry forward the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly revolution on the basis of the CPJ program, our Party is working for the establishment of a United National-Democratic Front embracing all democratic parties and groupings, the entire democratic mass. At the same time, the CPJ has repeatedly called on the democratic forces to conduct a joint struggle for the common priority tasks and taken the lead in organizing united actions. In our country, the Communist Party has become the true banner of democratic unity.

Fighting a continuous uncompromising ideological and political struggle against the opportunist trend headed by the Mensheviks, Lenin still repeatedly joined them on the organizational plane in united actions whenever necessary. In the international arena, too, while fighting bitterly against the opportunist and revisionist trends represented by Bernstein, Kautsky and others in the political and ideological plane, Lenin insisted when necessary on

international united action and on united front action by the 2nd, 2½ and 3rd Internationals, and actually achieved this in practice. And, as we know, Lenin's united front tactics were later developed by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern into anti-fascist united front tactics.

Our Party has studied the lessons of the Marxist-Leninist united front tactics and developed these tactics, the tactics of combining consistent ideological and political struggle against the opportunist trend headed by the Social-Democratic parties with, in necessary cases, responding to the wishes of the masses, united action on the basis of common tasks.

The Socialist Party of Japan (SPJ) and the General Council of Japanese Trade Union (SOHYO), the central trade union organization that supports the SPJ, are the most serious partners for such possible united actions. Having adopted the sectarian course of supporting none but the Socialist Party, the SOHYO advocates a political bloc comprising those two organizations only. The SPJ advances in its program the thesis of "overcoming communism" and adheres to an anti-Communist ideology, often groundlessly attacking our Party, on the one hand, but, on the other, influenced by the demands and the impact of the struggle of the Japanese working people, it follows a political course similar to that of the Communist Party with regard to some important problems. The SOHYO supports the SPJ in the resolutions of its congresses, as well as materially and organizationally, and at the same time tries to prevent the growth of Communist Party influence.

Our Party continuously calls on the SPJ and SOHYO to put aside the talk about ideological differences, to join actions in fulfilling the common tasks, to fight against the American-Japanese reactionary forces and to defend the interests of the people. By so doing, adopting a flexible attitude, the CPJ has organized united actions on several occasions.

In accordance with the principle of achieving the unity of the democratic forces, our Party has consistently, with the necessary restraint, conducted an ideological and political struggle against the ideas, theories and actions of the Socialist Party and SOHYO, which have turned against unity and the interests of the people. On the strength of facts, the CPJ criticized their anti-Communist sectarianism, split-

ting machinations connected with international factors, their vague attitude to the Trotskyite terrorist groups, and their opportunism in evading struggle against the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party. The CPJ called on the SPJ and SOHYO to put all this aside and to take part actively in united actions, in the United Front.

This experience of more than ten years shows clearly enough that the United Front policy advanced by the CPJ is essentially correct.

Two thousand organizations were set up throughout the country for joint democratic action in the mass campaign against the renewal of the Japanese-American Security Treaty in 1960. This is evidence of the great force of joint action. After the SPJ and SOHYO dissolved these joint struggle organizations, our Party levelled due criticism at the anti-Communist sectarianism of the Social-Democrats, who turned against united action and the United Front. Faithful to the people's aspirations for unity, the CPJ succeeded in organizing a number of joint protest actions against the "Japanese-South Korean treaty," the aggressive Vietnam war and on other political issues. We achieved victory in the election of the Tokyo governor by organizing joint actions of broad democratic forces headed by the CPJ and SPJ. At present, our Party is advocating the erection of a United Front and the constitution on its basis of a democratic coalition government that would renounce the Japanese-American military alliance and build a peaceful, democratic, neutral Japan. The CPJ is fighting perseveringly for these objectives. Coming out actively for unity, the Communist Party made gains in the latest general election. The SPJ, on the other hand, taking a passive stand and turning its back on unity, suffered a major defeat. The situation that has resulted in the SPJ and SOHYO will compel them to revise their former course. It is becoming more difficult for SOHYO to support the Socialist Party in the same way as before, that is, on the strength of decisions by its leading bodies.

Another important problem arising from the United Front policy is the attitude towards the Right and "Left" anti-Party elements and towards the Trotskyites.

A radical petty-bourgeois trend has surfaced in recent years among a section of the youth and students in the environment of the continuing U.S. imperialist aggressive war in Vietnam, the deepening of the

contradictions of state-monopoly capitalism, the attempts to reorganize the universities and the system of education along reactionary lines, and the rising tide of the people's struggle. Anti-Party elements and counter-revolutionary Trotskyites are using this to organize all kinds of subversions. In our country, the Trotskyite groups are organizationally and financially connected with government and police authorities.

Brandishing their slogans of "anti-imperialism and anti-Stalinism," the Trotskyites howl openly about liquidating the Communist Party, crushing the world Communist movement and preventing cooperation between the CPJ and SPJ in the United Front. Thus, they play the role of a tool of anti-communism and division. There is a tendency among bourgeois journalists to extol the Trotskyites as a "New Left" grouping, and the like. Besides, the SPJ regards them as an allied army and insists on admitting them into the framework of the joint struggle. The CPJ criticized and exposed the ultra-Left provocations of the Trotskyite groups uncompromisingly for advocating violence, and insisted on their exclusion from the joint struggle for trying to disrupt the United Front. In so doing, our Party distinguished between the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites and the section of politically immature radical petty-bourgeois elements.

The true face of the violence-oriented Trotskyite groups is seen more clearly by the broad masses. At the same time, it is becoming more evident that the CPJ stand is a correct one. When organizing last year's united actions of October 21, it was decided to declare in an official letter the non-recognition of the participation in these actions of the above-mentioned Trotskyite groups.

While isolating the Trotskyite groups, our Party supports the development of the progressive student and youth movement. The All-Japanese Federation of Student Self-Administration Bodies (Zengakuren), a nationwide organization representing some 300,000 students, is among those democratic forces favoring a United Front of the people. The prestige of the Democratic Youth League, working under the leadership of our Party, is rising visibly.

All these issues are related to the policy and course followed by the CPJ, contributing to its advance in the environment of the so-called rapid economic growth of Japanese monopoly capital.

POLICY OF SELF-RELIANCE AND INDEPENDENCE AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

One of the important factors that impelled the growth of the workers' and people's confidence in the CPJ was that, being an independent party with an independent responsibility to the revolutionary movement in Japan and the world Communist movement, our Party firmly adhered to a policy of self-reliance and independence that never blindly followed the lead of any foreign party. We adopted this attitude, especially after the 7th CPJ Congress of 1958, by reason of grave experiences in our international relationships in the early half of the fifties.

The self-reliant and independent position of our Party in no way contradicts the position of proletarian internationalism. On the contrary, it is part and parcel of proletarian internationalism in the present stage, when the self-reliance, independence and equality of the Communist parties of all countries have become an essential precondition of the Communist movement's international cohesion. It is a position which combines genuine patriotism with proletarian internationalism.

This self-reliant and independent attitude is required for the growth of the revolutionary movement in Japan, because the revolutionary movement of the people is shaped by the internal development in each country, by its social contradictions and by the upsurge of the class struggle, and because revolution in each country is the independent affair of its working class and people. There have been cases when the question of division in the world Communist movement was "magnified," adding to its complexity. Impediments were created in this connection to the development of the democratic and revolutionary movement in Japan, with various events damaging the ideals of socialism and communism. In spite of this, our Party adhered firmly to its self-reliant, independent approach of independently evaluating all matters related to the world Communist movement, refusing to tolerate any interference whatsoever. This has become a decisive factor in securing the progress of the democratic, revolutionary movement in Japan. Seeing the self-reliant position of the CPJ on each specific issue, the working masses gained more complete confidence in our Party and a more profound appreciation of the ideals and essence of socialism and communism.

The important thing is that precisely this policy of independent responsibility to the revolutionary movement of Japan also cements international solidarity with the working class and the peoples of the world and actually contributes to the achievement of world Communist unity.

Lenin said the following: "There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own country*, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this, and only this, line, in every country without exception" (Vol. 24, p. 75).

The Communist movement is international in character. However, each Party contributes to the common historic international cause of the working class solely on the basis of the concrete conditions and the framework of its country.

Thus, combining the independence of each Party with international cohesion is gaining added importance these days for the entire world Communist movement.

Quoting Engels, Lenin said that the victorious proletariat "*can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing*" (Vol. 22, p. 352).

After Russia's working class assumed power, Lenin warned forcefully that big-nation nationalism surfacing in a socialist state would disrupt "all our principled defense of the struggle against imperialism" (Vol. 36, p. 611).

Lenin's struggle against "big-nation nationalism" and his warning to the "victorious proletariat" is instructive for the entire modern world Communist movement. A great-power chauvinist posture of any kind is inadmissible in the world Communist movement. No Party may unilaterally impose its opinion or its policy on other parties, even though it may subjectively regard them as beneficial for other parties.

Departure from the norms of the independence and the equality of each Party impedes truly international Communist unity in the struggle against imperialism. Such departure also impinges on the principle of the self-determination of nations, which allows for each Party's choosing for its working class and people its own way of struggle and development.

Of course, respect for the independence of each Party does not imply complete neglect of the necessity for mutual and useful exchanges of opinion among Communist

parties of different countries, the necessity for international conferences, and the like. Neither does it mean that the world Communist movement no longer needs to define the common tasks on the basis of scientific knowledge. And on no account does it demand a "polarizing" or "pluralizing" of the world Communist movement.

Our Party has spoken out on past occasions, for instance, against the passing of hasty one-sided judgments on controversial matters within the world Communist movement, through the use of international conferences for which conditions were still immature, or by other means. This does not mean, however, that our Party considers controversial problems insoluble. In fact, solutions for many of the controversial issues are yielded by the very course of the latest events and of the struggle. In the present period, with the world Communist movement entering a new stage of development, the current controversial problems are a reflection of the sharpening struggle against Right and "Left" opportunism and the related "big-nation nationalism." Once these problems are resolved, the world Communist movement will be able to achieve a new and genuine unity of a higher order.

Our Party could not wish more fervently that the world Communist movement should overcome the present division as soon as possible and that norms assuring the strict observance of independence, equality and non-interference in internal affairs should prevail in it on all accounts, with the movement's unity rising to that high level where self-reliant and independent parties uniting on an international scale should conduct the struggle against the imperialist, reactionary forces and achieve success in their activity. Our Party is convinced that at the present time this is the right way of translating into practice Lenin's behests.

At the same time, the CPJ holds that in order to achieve the early cohesion of the world Communist movement, it is important and necessary to struggle against the aggressive U.S. imperialist war in Vietnam, invigorating united action and the united front, even in the presence of controversial questions. As our Party sees it, it is precisely with this in view that an international meeting of Communist and Workers' parties could and should be held in order to discuss the question of united action in the anti-imperialist struggle, provided the conditions for such a meeting were ripe, and the parties concerned agreed on this.

The CPJ holds that in the present situation its proposal of convening an international conference of the anti-imperialist and democratic forces of the five continents is highly important and would effectively help to achieve a closer cohesion of the world Communist movement and an invigoration of international united action and the united anti-imperialist front. The importance of joint international actions and a close-knit anti-imperialist front is increasing continuously.

The materials of the 10th Congress of the CPJ (1966) state:

"The undying ideological and theoretical influence of the Marxist-Leninist teaching and the struggle of the real Communists, effectively associated with the liberation struggle of the anti-imperialist forces of the world and the peoples of all countries, will unfailingly overcome all difficulties, all manifestations of opportunism, and on this basis, achieve a truly Marxist-Leninist consolidation of the world Communist movement, achieve unity of a higher order. The world Communist movement will unquestionably cope with the present difficulties and, holding aloft the unconquerable banner of Marxism-Leninism, play a still greater role in the historical cause of liberating the peoples of the whole world."

Our trust in this grows stronger all the time.

BUILDING UP THE LENINIST MASS VANGUARD PARTY

Lastly, a most important reason why the influence of the CPJ has been growing in the past more than ten years is that our Party, coping with numerous difficulties, has consistently and independently engaged in building a Leninist mass vanguard party and in increasing the circulation of the Party's publications.

V. I. Lenin said: "Give us an organization of revolutionaries and we will overturn Russia!" (Vol. 5, p. 467). He laid the stress on building a politically, theoretically and organizationally strong party, that is, a Party that is "the genuine vanguard of the most revolutionary class" (*Ibid.*, p. 520).

Our Party has always considered expansion and consolidation of the Communist Party—the real vanguard—as the crucial condition for the victory of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic revolution and for opening the way to socialism. For this reason, the CPJ has always worked for a "powerful mass vanguard

Party with the necessary political and organizational resources for guiding the struggle of the masses of many millions" (from the decisions of the 10th CPJ Congress). Our Party rejected the revisionist contention that the growth and consolidation of a party occurs spontaneously as the result of the mass struggle. The CPJ has been extending and consolidating its influence self-reliantly, with predetermination.

Article 2 of the CPJ Rules obliges all Party members "to work among the masses, defend their interests, participate in their struggles, propagate the policy and decisions of the Party among the masses, distribute the Party periodicals and literature, organize the masses and work for increasing the Party's ranks."

The ruling class of Japan, a highly-developed capitalist country, has at its disposal a colossal propaganda apparatus. More than 30 million copies of the daily newspapers, including three national commercial papers with a circulation of five million each, are published in the country for a population of 100 million with nearly 24 million households, and there are more than 20 million TV sets and more than 40 million radio sets. In the environment of the "high growth" (the world's highest) of Japanese capitalism there arises an objective situation fostering illusions of a "rich society," "welfare state" and "revolution in consumption" among a section of the working people. In this environment the propaganda media hurl a colossal mass of information at the people each day, instilling bourgeois ideology in the people's consciousness. To counteract this influence, to which the popular masses are inevitably exposed, to advance the democratic movement and win the broad masses to the side of the CPJ ideologically and politically, it is therefore necessary to increase the circulation of Party publications, and above all that of the Party organ, that is, to use Lenin's expression, the all-national political newspaper. It is important that the entire Party should occupy itself methodically with increasing and consolidating the Party membership and with conducting a systematic struggle against Right and "Left" opportunism. It is essential, consciously and according to plan, to carry forward the ideological, political and organizational development of the Party itself.

Ever since the 6th plenary meeting of our Central Committee in the summer of 1959 (after the 7th Congress in July-August 1958) and the first all-national conference

of Party activists in September 1960, our Party repeatedly stressed the necessity of simultaneously extending work among the masses and in Party building. Standing at the head of the masses, our Party performed its work of building up the circulation of its newspaper and, at the same time, selecting progressives as "candidates for Party membership." The CPJ acquainted them with its program and policy, with the ideals and essence of scientific socialism, preparing them for admission to the Party. In the past ten years the CPJ has worked perseveringly to fulfil its plan of increasing the membership and promoting ideological education. As a result, despite the complicated situation in Japan, the Party membership has increased seven-fold against 1959. The circulation of our daily, *Akahata*, is eight times what it was in 1959, and that of its Sunday edition 40 times higher. Thus it was that our Party continuously consolidated its forces and influence. At present, the CPJ has approximately 300,000 members, and the daily and Sunday (weekly) issues of *Akahata* have something like two million readers. The Party owes its success in the latest general election to good progress in mass work and Party building, especially as regards extending Party forces and, among other things, increasing the circulation of our newspaper.

The CPJ cannot use the usual commercial techniques of newspaper distribution. That is why Party members do the delivering of *Akahata* to the readership. In this way, Communists have the daily opportunity of strengthening the bond between the Party and the readership. Lenin said: "The publication of an All-Russian political newspaper must be the *main line* by which we may unswervingly develop, deepen and expand the organization . . ." (Vol. 5, p. 501). Live political agitation, he noted, was impossible "unless we have an All-Russian newspaper, frequently issued and regularly distributed" (*Ibid.*). Our Party newspaper is the materialization in concrete Japanese conditions of Lenin's recommendations on this score. Those who perform the difficult and painstaking job of timely dissemination of the newspaper are Communists fired by revolutionary zeal.

As we saw it, acquiring a good knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and elevating the theoretical knowledge of all our Communists, helping them thus to apply Marxist-Leninist theory concretely in their practice, has been the basis for Party building. Hence, at all our Party congresses we have

stressed the need for stepping up ideological and educational work. In September-October 1969 we held a combined "month of mass propaganda, ideological education and extension of Party forces" campaign. The CPJ centers its efforts on improving the ideological and theoretical level of Communists. For this we have founded a Party school under the auspices of the CC CPJ and Party schools at different levels, and instituted a system of examinations for qualifying lecturers. As many as 70,000 took part in the three such examinations held to date. By now we have more than 10,000 lecturers of the primary and medium standard. The concept of a mass vanguard Party does not imply that the Party should become "mass" by lowering its politico-ideological levels and capacity for combat or by slackening its organizational work. As Lenin pointed out in his *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, and elsewhere, this concept implies the building of a large Party consisting of Communists conversant with Marxist theory and determined to serve the revolution militantly, as a Party which, while taking current conditions fully into account, preserves its basic character of a vanguard working-class party and not a party consisting of a handful of professional revolutionaries.

The advance and successes achieved by our Party in the past 10 years are, from the standpoint of our revolutionary duty, merely a first step. We still face many im-

portant tasks. Extending the influence of our Party in the trade union movement, a considerable section of which is still under Social-Democratic political guidance, forming strong Party branches in the big enterprises, fighting for the growth of the peasant movement, which is somewhat behind in organizational work, and building up Party branches in the countryside, which is still a political base of the Liberal-Democratic Party, etc. — all these are becoming extremely important tasks.

Our Party has never been as closely united as it is now on the basis of a current political line and the organizational principle of democratic centralism. As a result of its gains in the latest election, it has embarked on a new stage in its development, with ever broader masses beginning to show trust in the Party and an interest in its activity. Unquestionably, there is a good chance of increasing the membership more rapidly and assuring the advancement of the Party. As the mass struggle continues to develop, the situation will require a more rapid rate of increasing the Party forces and enhancing Party building. The CPJ must grow continuously as a theoretically strong Leninist mass vanguard Party capable of overcoming all difficulties and achieving the complete liberation of the Japanese people. We are confident that our 11th Party Congress this July will be an important milestone on the Party's way to a new advance.

Leninism and problems of revolutionary movement in Arab countries

NICOLAS CHAOUI

The centenary of Lenin's birth rounds out an age that proved the relevance of the Marxist-Leninist ideas. Leninism prepared and opened the new epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Among the most important distinctive features of our time is the diversity and complexity of the new developments and problems. All contingents of the world revolutionary movement face acute issues and tasks, the fulfilment of which is of the utmost significance for the road ahead. That, precisely, necessitates the fullest possible use of Lenin's theory, assuring its creative application to the present complex conditions and further enrichment.

The world Communist movement is the mainstay of the world revolutionary process and, in face of numerous difficulties, is cementing its unity, which is in a new stage these days, conforming with the conditions of the present times, closely analyzed by last year's International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. The leading role in the struggle for unity is played by Lenin's party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The impact on the world of Leninism cannot be isolated from the victory of the first socialist revolution, accomplished under Lenin's leadership, or from the influence exercised on the world by the achievements of the countries of the socialist system,

especially the Soviet Union, its main force. The Soviet influence on all aspects of growth is strongly felt in different parts of the globe. The times show forcefully how right Lenin was in saying that after the October Revolution the international situation would be characterized 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).

The post-October history of the revolutionary struggle shows that no battle of the revolutionary forces, wherever it breaks out, can be fought and won in isolation from the struggle against world imperialism of the Soviet Union and the socialist commonwealth.

This is borne out also by the experience of the liberation movement in the Arab countries, by their present struggle against Israel's imperialistic aggression, for the restitution of the usurped rights of the Arab people of Palestine. Middle East developments show the danger of isolating the Arab revolutionary struggle from the Soviet Union, the rest of the socialist camp and the international working-class movement.

LENINISM AND THE THEORY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION REVOLUTION

The avowed enemies of Marxism-Leninism and the proponents of a "new Marxism" in the countries of the national liberation zone are trying to repudiate the Marxist-Leninist postulates relating to the national liberation movement. They aver that Marxism-Leninism sprang up as the revolutionary theory of the working class in developed capitalist countries and concerned those countries only. They plead for a "new theory." Eager to repudiate Marxism-Leninism, Right revisionists accentuate some theses of the founders of scientific socialism on the ways of the revolutionary national liberation struggle, reducing them to abstract "prescriptions" and arguing that such "prescriptions" are worlds removed from the problems arising these days in the national liberation struggle of various countries, the Arab included. The "Left" revisionists, for their part, while also laying the accent, but of a reverse order, on particular postulates, try "copying" them with the new conditions as standard obligatory formulas and stereotypes. All that this "Left" trend does, however, is to grind the Right revisionist axe.

Not mere repetition of the formulas offered by Marxism-Leninism to facilitate the solution of a specific problem, but the use of Marxism as a guide to action is the basic purpose of the Communist parties. This was repeatedly emphasized by the classics of Marxism, especially Lenin. Only by the Marxist method can they study and analyze the realities and obtain scientifically grounded conclusions. The big challenge is to use correctly the basic Marxist-Leninist principles expressive of the general law of social development. Lenin put it most lucidly at the Second All-Russian Congress of the Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East in his analysis of the problems of the national liberation struggle: "Such are the problems whose solution you will not find in any communist book, but will find in the common struggle begun by Russia. You will have to tackle that problem and solve it through your own independent experience. In that you will be assisted, on the one hand, by close alliance with the vanguard of the working people of other countries, and, on the other, by ability to find the right approach to the peoples of the East whom you here represent" (Vol. 30, p. 162).

Lenin showed a constant and close interest in the national liberation movement and the national problem. He defined the basic

principles of the struggle for national liberation and framed the relevant policy and attitude of the international working-class movement and the Communist parties. We may safely say that Leninism was not, is not, and will not be merely a theory of the socialist revolution in capitalist countries, but also the theory of the national liberation revolution in colonial and dependent countries, that is, a theory of the world revolutionary process in the imperialist epoch.

The existence of Communist parties in the countries of the national liberation zone is the most important practical materialization of the influence of Leninism. They have played an eminent part in building up the national liberation struggle and assuring its victories, instilling in it the scientific revolutionary theory and consolidating its bonds with the international working class. In many countries, the Communist parties stood at the head of the struggle for the victory of the national liberation revolution and its growth into a socialist revolution.

In our Arab countries, too, the Communist parties played, and now play, a prominent role, contributing to the national liberation movement their scientific ideology and strengthening its ties with the world revolutionary movement. Another important contribution is their use of mass forms of struggle, promoting the participation of the toiling classes and strata.

Lenin evaluated the role of the national liberation movement and its place in the world revolution not only from the standpoint of its vast energy, but particularly from the standpoint of its relation to the common struggle of the working people against imperialism and capitalism, the essence of the epoch rung in by the victory of the first socialist revolution. From this standpoint, too, he defined the essence of the national liberation struggle, unfolding steadily as it turned into an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist movement; he pointed out that "the socialist revolution 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).

Lenin's prediction has come true. It is embodied in all the new strikes delivered by the national liberation movement at the forces of world imperialism; in the growth on a steadily increasing scale of national liberation revolutions into anti-capitalist

and social revolutions, and in the fact that the role in the national liberation movement of the working class and other working strata is growing steadily.

Consequently, Lenin's conception of the national liberation movement cuts the ground from under all attempts at belittling its worldwide significance. Conversely, the very fact that he emphasized the importance of the bond between that movement and the international working class, the fact that he stressed the necessity for the former to lean upon the latter, shows that the adventurist theories exaggerating the role of the national liberation movement and ascribing to it the main place in the world revolutionary process, like those disseminated by some Chinese theorists, are anti-Leninist.

THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE ARAB LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND ITS PASSAGE TO A HIGHER STAGE

The present stage of the national liberation movement is crystallizing in a special way in the Arab world. On winning political independence, the Arab peoples who are striving for national and economic liberation have come to grips with the imperialist forces and the bloc of feudals and the bourgeoisie. This clash has been crowned with major gains, the most important of which are the Arab progressive regimes set up after the elimination of the main foreign imperialist economic interests and, particularly, the nationalization of the Suez Canal.

The emergence of the progressive regimes enabled the Arab liberation movement to enter a new, higher stage in the 1960s, marked by a series of deep-going structural changes that struck at the local big capital and demonstrated the determination to advance towards socialism as the only way of eliminating backwardness and assuring progress and the future of the masses. This advance gained pace thanks to the aid of the international working class and the expansion and consolidation of cooperation and alliance with the socialist camp and its leading force, the Soviet Union. By virtue of these facts, the Arab liberation movement gained prominence in the world revolutionary process and helped build up the activity of many other national liberation contingents in Africa and Asia. Since this jeopardized imperialist and neo-colonialist interests, a counter-attack was mounted as part of the general imperialist offensive,

reaching its peak with the June 1967 Israeli aggression.

The confessed purpose of the imperialist Zionist aggression was to overthrow the progressive Arab regimes and deliver a crushing blow at the Arab liberation movement, thus underscoring the important role of the progressive regimes and the need to protect and consolidate their gains. At the same time, the Israeli aggression revealed the necessity of going over from the present stage to a new, higher stage in the Arab liberation movement.

The bond between the Arab liberation movement and the socialist camp, especially the Soviet Union, contributed to the fact that the imperialist Zionist aggression failed to achieve its basic aims. The Arab liberation movement withstood the imperialist assault and soon entered a new period of growth.

However, by and large, the events and changes after June 5, 1967, show clearly that the Arab liberation movement, particularly the progressive regimes, must go on to a higher stage not only in the anti-imperialist struggle of liberation, but also, and chiefly, in the social struggle at home against the remnants of feudalism, against capitalism, if they want to repulse the present imperialist Zionist aggression and to assure victory if that aggression is repeated. Above all, the struggle requires freedom of action and initiative for the mass of workers and other working strata, and especially for their organizations; it requires opportunities for them to participate in an environment of broad people's democracy, in political activity, organizing effective resistance to the imperialist Zionist pressure and the intrigues of home reaction, and in economic and social development, in its orientation and control.

The objective conditions for this new stage are mature. It is needed for the economic development of the Arab states, the further progress of which calls for more radical solutions; it is needed by the class struggle building up against the old and new forces of counter-revolution, and it is also needed to repulse the continuing imperialist Zionist aggression. Those are the factors that draw our concentrated attention to the necessity of complementing the objective conditions with the subjective.

The program adopted by our 2nd Party Congress in July 1968 deals with the matter in the following terms: "The battle against imperialism and home reaction, closely associated with it, has entered a de-

cisive stage, inasmuch as imperialism and reaction are organizing aggression, coups d'état and subversive activities with the object of destroying the progressive regimes and blocking the process of social growth. At the present time, the progressive regimes have come to a turning-point, for any further development in social reconstruction, its expansion and advancement has become impossible by old empirical means, by summit measures, relying on the emotional support of the masses, but neglecting, at least partly, the objective laws of economic growth. In the present situation, marking time imperils the future of the progressive regimes."

In other words, what we now need is a permanent revolution in the Leninist sense, that is, not stopping half-way but going over as the democratic revolution advances (keeping pace with that advance) to the socialist revolution. As Lenin put it, "from the democratic revolution we shall at once . . . begin to pass to the socialist revolution" (Vol. 9, pp. 236-37).

Lenin associated permanent revolution with the leading role of the working class. The imperative of the present time, therefore, is to sweep out the erroneous view that the working class is merely a reserve of the liberation movement in the Arab countries. That view is current among some of our leaders, though it conflicts with the scientific conception of social development, with scientific socialism and the experience of the revolutionary struggle. It is an objective imperative that the working class should make the basic contribution to the guidance of society.

Many of the factors and conditions prevailing in the Arab world, above all the weakness of the working class, have enabled representatives of certain petty-bourgeois strata in some countries to assume the leadership of the national liberation revolution and the process of social reconstruction. They have accomplished some substantive progressive measures thanks to the support and enthusiasm of the working people, with the mass of workers in the van, and thanks to the aid of the international working class. The socioeconomic changes and the accompanying class struggle have caused a class differentiation and a marked quantitative and qualitative growth of the working class. Its role has increased accordingly and there has appeared the possibility of broader participation by non-proletarian strata, including

the petty bourgeoisie, in the revolutionary process.

Among the important requirements of the new situation is a closer alliance between the working class and the non-proletarian strata; dissemination in their midst of the scientific revolutionary theory, and effective application of it in guiding the further development of the revolution. Establishment of this alliance in the desirable form envisages political means that would assure fulfilment by the organized working class of its historic role.

The spread and influence of socialist ideas among the Arab masses has increased markedly of late. Various political forces have moved closer to scientific socialism. This fact, too, shows that the only way to achieve a decisive turn is the way shown by the Marxist-Leninist teaching. That this is possible and necessary is borne out by the national liberation revolutions that have taken place in a number of countries. And it stands to reason that the transition to the new stage lays a heavy burden of responsibility on the Arab Communist parties.

THE NATIONAL QUESTION, THE PALESTINE PROBLEM, AND THE POSITION OF THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS PARTY

Inner-Party developments in the past few years and the Second Party Congress (July 1968) did much to set us on a correct policy on national problems. Our past attitude on these problems, notably the Palestine issue, was wrong and contrary to Leninism. For instance, we did not heed Lenin's precept that the Party must always differentiate between the nationalism of oppressor and oppressed nations, that the bourgeois nationalism of an oppressed nation always contains a democratic element of protest against oppression. Our practical work, however, was predicated on the assumption that the toiling masses no longer had any national sentiments, were not fighting for national aims, and in our time—particularly in the Lebanon—were not voicing the legitimate national aspirations of the entire people.

This erroneous stand was further aggravated by the fact that the national bourgeoisie, closely associated with neo-colonialism, had betrayed the national interests and abandoned the liberation struggle. More, the errors committed by our Party enabled the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie to

increase its influence by exploiting the national issue. Our stand on this issue was a manifestation of the "Left" sectarianism which for a long time dominated the Party and negatively affected its work in other fields too. The turning point came in the mid-sixties, when we took a long step towards eliminating sectarianism.

The Second Congress decisions are predicated on the reality that the national question directly concerns us as the vanguard of the working class and of other sections of the working people.

The policy worked out by the Congress does not cancel our duty to wage an ideological struggle against the danger of nationalism and chauvinism. On the contrary, the Congress resolutions make this struggle more effective, for now our policy rests on the scientific basis of Leninism. "Lenin considered a correct combination of the national and international in the activity of proletarian parties, of all contingents of the revolutionary movement, the central question of internationalist policy" (CC CPSU Theses for the 100th Anniversary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin).

In championing the national interests and rights of the Lebanese and other Arab peoples, our Party is always conscious of Lenin's emphasis 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). In the present Middle-East and world situation, proletarian internationalism is a cardinal prerequisite for marshalling all the revolutionary forces in a general offensive against imperialism. Seen in this light, one cannot overestimate the importance of the documents of the 1969 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Genuine internationalism implies struggle against national narrow-mindedness, seclusion and isolation in the Communist, workers' and revolutionary liberation movements.

A central feature of the program drawn up at the Second Congress is its correct, scientifically grounded position on the Palestine issue and the fight against the ever-present menace to the liberation movement and Arab unity offered by the Israeli invaders and their claims.

This is what the program says on the Palestine issue:

". . . Present-day Israel is a truncheon imperialism uses against progressive Arab

regimes. Israel is an imperialist gendarme in the Middle East. Its function is to protect imperialist interests and positions, undermine progressive regimes and suppress liberation movements. Israel is a transmission belt for imperialism's neo-colonialist schemes in Asia and Africa.

". . . In addition, Israel is a theocratic state based on suppression of the workers and on racial discrimination not only of the Arab minority subjected to constant persecution in areas under military government, but also of the Jews that have come to Israel from Eastern countries." The latest Israeli aggression has demonstrated anew that Israel is an instrument of imperialism's local-war strategy.

Accordingly, the program draws the following conclusions:

"Final solution of the Palestine problem must be based on principle and proceed from recognition of the Palestine Arabs' indisputable right to their land and country, i.e., recognition of their right to return to their country and exercise their right to self-determination there. There is no justification for situations created by violence and conquest. The fact of a Jewish presence should not militate against the Palestine Arabs' historical and natural right to their homeland."

Recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination is for us a matter of principle. The self-determination problem is intimately linked with our adherence to Leninist principles. Lenin attached great importance to self-determination, describing it as a sacred right, and regarded its practical support as a touchstone of the revolutionary party's genuine internationalism and as a major distinction between Communist and Social-Democrat opportunist parties. And like every other problem of the revolutionary struggle, Lenin did not treat self-determination as something abstract, out of context with historical conditions, the class struggle and the interests of the revolutionary, Communist movement.

Consequently, it is not a matter of accepting or not accepting the Jews' right to self-determination in Palestine, but that solution of the "Jewish question," created by imperialist capital, must not be at the expense of the Palestinian and the entire Arab people, or in a way that would impair the Arab revolutionary movement. Communists and other revolutionaries cannot but advocate a just solution of the "Jewish

question," cannot but condemn the persecution to which the Jews were subjected by the Nazis and to which they are still subjected in imperialist countries. The main factor here is that the existence of Israel is closely and organically linked with world imperialism and its aggressive plans and plots against the Arab peoples. And this close link with aggressive imperialism is not limited to the Israeli ruling circles: each successful aggression produces more chauvinist, racist and anti-Arab hysteria.

The Palestinian people's right to self-determination therefore acquires very special importance. For it concerns not only a nation fighting for self-determination in its own country, but one fighting a usurper who has expelled it from its native land. Hence, the return of the Palestinian Arabs to their native land is an inalienable part of their struggle for self-determination.

The legitimate Palestine resistance movement, which is supported in Arab countries and throughout the world, holds an important place in the Arab liberation struggle. Some have sought to counterpose to it other detachments of the Arab liberation movement in order to isolate and weaken it and split the liberation movement in our countries. The Zionist and imperialist forces that trample on the rights of the Palestine people try to bully the Arab nations by holding up the "menace" of the Palestine resistance. But every detachment of the Arab liberation movement must play its distinctive part in, and make an effective contribution to, the battle against imperialism and Zionism.

The imperialist and Zionist offensive is directly aimed at the Lebanese people and their progressive movement. As part of the common struggle, our Party has established a Popular Guard to defend the Lebanese frontiers and participate in the operations of the Partisan Forces Organization formed in Jordan as one of the detachments of the Palestine resistance. Recent events and changes in the Arab world highlight the urgent need for unity of all detachments of the Palestinian resistance. It must be strengthened and united with other progressive Arab countries. Armed with the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and the rich experience of the world revolutionary movement, the Arab Communist parties can make a valuable contribution in this respect.

SECOND PARTY CONGRESS. A BLOW AT THE "LEFT" ISOLATIONIST DEVIATION AND RIGHT OPPORTUNISM

As pointed out above, the Second Congress is of momentous significance for our Party. It formulated a scientifically based program to ensure a decisive turn towards developing the class revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the existing exploitive system and the transition to socialism. In this sense, the Congress consolidated the very existence of our Party as a revolutionary Communist Party.

The importance of the Congress lies also in the fact that it dealt a blow at the "Left" isolationist deviation, which had very nearly succeeded in diverting the Party from a correct assessment of Lebanese reality, i.e., from the prime condition for the successful activity of any Communist Party. It also dealt a decisive blow at the Right revisionist deviation, which likewise threatened to isolate the Party and hampered the re-shaping of its tactics in conformity with the changed situation in Lebanon and the Arab world and the restructuring of its organizational work on Leninist principles. The open and frenzied onslaught of the "Left" and Right factions was defeated.

The Congress adopted two basic documents: the Party's political program and its constitution, thus re-establishing its political and organizational Leninist pattern. The Central Committee report to Congress contained this passage: "The discussion and approval of two main documents, the Party constitution and political program, highlights the tremendous, truly exceptional importance of our Congress. For the first time in the history of the Lebanese Communist movement, the Communists, the working class, the entire people have an integral program based on Marxism-Leninism, one that indicates the path of Lebanon's advance to socialism and determines the social forces destined to achieve that aim. The program, the result of the collective thought of our membership, strengthens the Party in a major area of its work."

The program arms the Party with a revolutionary strategy and flexible tactics based on Marxism-Leninism and on a scientific analysis of the situation in Lebanon, the growth, alignment and demands of its social classes and strata and their role in the revolutionary process.

It provides a firm basis for implementation of our long standing slogan: Orienta-

tion on the working class, the peasantry, the revolutionary intelligentsia and other sections of the working population in order to bring the Party into the very heart of the popular movement. We have thus found a correct means of making our Party a mass party and bringing to reality the Congress slogan: "For a mass Lebanese Communist Party."

The new program provides a basis for mobilizing the workers and toiling masses, raising their class and political consciousness and the level of their economic and political struggle. It will enable us more effectively to enlist the working people in the national struggle to overthrow the rule of the financial oligarchy and establish a national democratic regime. Lastly, it makes for closer and broader cooperation with all progressive forces and genuine revolutionary movements, while maintaining the Party's independence and identity.

The correctness of our new line was confirmed in the struggle against Right and "Left" opportunism. But the chief proof of its correctness is the Party's growing influence in the progressive popular movement, its stronger position within the working class and other oppressed strata, its numerical growth and closer unity. The figures are revealing: following the Congress, Party membership increased significantly, for instance, by 38 per cent in Beirut in 1969, and by as much as 140 per cent in Party branches made up mainly of workers, students and in low-income areas.

Naturally, this growth of membership and influence infuriated both Right and "Left" groups. They stepped up their attacks on the Party, its positions and policy. During the crucial Middle-East events, our Party had to contend with dangerous conspiracies by government and reactionary forces. Their purpose was to destroy the Party as the prelude to destroying the popular liberation movement.

But the Party also had to counter subversion by "Left" adventurist groups outside its ranks. It became clear that the reactionary and imperialist forces were using these groups to undermine the progressive popular movement from within. Our Party therefore considers intensified struggle against the adventurist policy and undermining activity of Left-wing opportunist groups a serious task, while in no way relaxing the fight against reaction and the existing regime.

THE PARTY'S PRINCIPAL TASKS AT THE PRESENT STAGE

The Party's principal tasks are determined by the situation in Lebanon. We must see to it that Lebanon fulfils its obligations in the Arab struggle against the Israeli occupation and imperialist attack. In this connection, we are exposing the conspiracies of the financial oligarchy now in power; we are combating the reactionary and imperialist plans to suppress the Palestinian Resistance and the popular liberation movement. To improve the country's capability to repel aggression and Zionist occupation, our Party urges cooperation with other Arab countries and with the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union. In present-day circumstances, defense of the fatherland is the chief urgent task of our struggle.

The various factions supporting the reactionary regime have stepped up their activity in preparation for the September presidential elections. Their outcome will strongly influence the political situation in the next six years. That is why the U.S. and other imperialist forces are prepared to employ every possible means to secure the election of a president who will strengthen the imperialist monopolies' hold on the country and turn it into a hatching ground for new plots against the Arab liberation movement.

The ruling element wants to reduce the presidential elections to backstage bargaining and to prevent any participation by the masses. One of our tasks, therefore, is to foil these maneuvers and make the presidential election a political campaign in defense of the national interests and the demands of the people.

The ruling financial oligarchy is trying to solve the maturing crisis at the expense of the masses, at the expense of the country's economic and national interests, and at the same time strengthen its client ties with the imperialist powers. This has found expression in the sharper onslaught on the interests of the working people and the middle strata, which has led to more opposition to the regime and to greater militancy, as demonstrated in recent mass actions.

All these developments on national and, more especially, social issues, have shown the people that the financial oligarchy, linked as it is with imperialism and neo-colonialism, is their main enemy, the main obstacle to realization of their longing for national and social emancipation. According-

ly, our Party stresses the task of the revolutionary movement and the masses to overthrow the regime of the financial oligarchy. We consider this the first step towards socialist revolution.

A necessary condition for this is unity of the progressive and patriotic forces, and our Party is working for such unity with increasing energy. It has already done much to promote cooperation of these forces. A short while ago, our Central Committee adopted the Republican Charter, which it has presented for discussion to other parties as a starting point for a united front of the progressive and patriotic forces for concerted struggle against the rule of the financial oligarchy.

Faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism, our Party has worked for the militant solidarity of all contingents of the world revolutionary movement, in particular for solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people in their fight against aggressive American imperialism. The Party considers it its duty to strengthen the unity of the world Communist and revolutionary movement and to oppose all attempts to weaken that unity, especially the divisive and provocative actions of the Maoists.

The 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, the great leader of the world revolutionary movement, inspires us to fight for our revolutionary aims under the banner of Leninism.

Leninism is our guide

GENERAL SECRETARY
CC CP OF EAST PAKISTAN

This year is the Lenin centenary year. All over the world people are observing Lenin's birth centenary. The name of the great Lenin inspires the working people of the world in their battles for peace, democracy and socialism. Leninism helps find correct solutions of the complex and varied problems facing the revolutionary movement in Pakistan.

These problems are the consequence of the policy pursued by the ruling classes and parties since the creation of this state in August 1947. They have neither abolished feudalism nor put an end to imperialist exploitation. On the contrary, they have taken the path of free capitalist development and have brought USA's "economic aid" in the name of developing the resources of the country. The results have been disastrous for workers, peasants, in fact all the people of East Pakistan, who are severely exploited by the remnants of feudalism, native monopolists and foreign capital, first of all U.S. capital.

East Pakistan is an agrarian land. But 76 per cent of the peasants are landless and poor — the majority of the arable lands being in the hands of jotedars (feudal landowners) and rich peasants. The working class, which is a young one, is being heavily exploited and low wages, denial of trade union rights, etc., are playing havoc with their lives. The ever-rising spiral of the prices of food and essential commodities has caused untold suffering to the middle class population. The absolute domination of 20/25 monopolists over the native industries, banks, insurance, trade, etc., is also retarding the growth of the smaller and middle section of the bourgeoisie.

There is severe oppression of the various nationalities. Though Pakistan is based on the theory of "Muslims are one nation," in actual fact, it is a multi-national state with five distinct nationalities—Bengalis (East Pakistan) and Sindhis, Punjabis, Pathans and Baluchis (West Pakistan). It is in the interests of the native monopolists that the

rights of the Bengalis and the smaller nationalities of West Pakistan have been violently suppressed. The four linguistic provinces of West Pakistan had been done away with and "One Unit" was forced upon the various linguistic peoples of West Pakistan, depriving the Sindhis, Pathans and Baluchis of even the right to have education in their own mother tongue.

Of all the above problems, the national question has been a dominant question in the political life of East Pakistan and the demand for full regional autonomy (meaning thereby that only Defense, Currency and Foreign Affairs will be in the hands of the Central Government and the rest will be in the hands of the East Pakistan government) together with the demand for parliamentary democracy has been a main demand of the democratic movement for the last two decades. The ruling classes have consistently tried to suppress this just demand by violent repression and by dubbing it as "alien to the ideology of Pakistan," "a secessionist move," etc.

On the other hand, the policy of national suppression, as well as the domination of non-Bengali and Punjabi big business in the economy of the country and the Punjabi domination in the administration, especially in the public and military services, have created a strong anti-non-Bengali feeling among the Pathans, Sindhis and Baluchis.

Our Party, though small and working underground in face of heavy repression, is always playing an active role in the democratic movement with the slogan of unity of all democratic forces against the native and foreign reactionaries. It was because of the formation of United Fronts in the forms of the "Democratic Action Committee" and "Students' Action Committee" that an unprecedented mass upsurge took place for parliamentary democracy and autonomy. As a result of our united front policy the people of East and West Pakistan fought heroically and unitedly and the reactionary authoritarian Ayub regime was toppled.

It was at the height of this popular upheaval that martial law was imposed in March 1969. But the ruling classes have been forced to concede to some popular demands. President Yahia Khan announced on November 28, 1969, that parliamentary democracy will be established, that elections will take place on 5th October next, that the elected National Assembly will be entrusted with the task of framing a constitution for the country, etc. This is a signifi-

cant victory for the popular forces of Pakistan, where the dictatorship of Ayub Khan held sway for a decade.

But there are reactionary forces in the country, both inside and outside the government, which are hostile to the holding of elections and the restoration of parliamentary democracy. Our Party has repeatedly warned the people against the machinations of these reactionaries. Our Party is also explaining to the people that the ultra-Leftist slogans of "boycott elections" and "armed struggle" raised by a group of Pekingites (Pekingites who broke away from our Party in 1966 are now divided into three or four splinter groups) are objectively helping the reactionaries who want to subvert the prospect of elections and restoration of parliamentary democracy.

However, in the background of President Yahia Khan's declaration, various political parties are now engaged in an election campaign. A major issue in the election is the character of the future constitution, especially regarding the rights of the various nationalities.

The Rightist parties, such as Jamat-e-Islam, the Muslim League and others, have come out with their age-old reactionary slogans of "Muslims are one nation," "Islamic Constitution," "Integrity of Pakistan on the basis of Islam," etc., to deny the just and fundamental rights of the various nationalities. Those parties, serving the interests of big business, feudals and USA imperialists, are confusing the people in the name of religion.

On the other hand, the Awami League—the party of the rising bourgeois and petty bourgeois, which is now the strongest political force in East Pakistan—has made its six-point program, a program for the fullest regional autonomy for East Pakistan, its main election platform. Of course, the demand for full autonomy is a just demand. But, it is in the name of autonomy that the nationalistic Bengali bourgeoisie are preaching hatred against the non-Bengali and West Pakistani people as a whole. Pointing to the domination of a few big monopolists, who happen to be non-Bengali, over the economy of East Pakistan, the Awami League leaders castigate the non-Bengalis as "exploiters of East Pakistan," are arousing Bengali chauvinism and disrupting the unity of the working classes. They hope to sweep the polls with the tide of Bengali chauvinism. In this connection, it should be mentioned that the leadership of the Bengali nationalists may enter into a deal

with big business for power in the Center. They have also illusions regarding USA imperialism.

Bengali chauvinism has arisen as a reaction to the policy of national suppression by the ruling classes. Though this problem has come into sharp relief during the present election campaign, it has always been a serious problem before the democratic movement of East Pakistan, before the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants.

The problem of nationalities has always been a serious problem in the political life of Pakistan. In this context, the teaching of Lenin on the problem of nationalities is of great help to us.

Lenin, dealing with the nationality problem and the national question, said: "The interests of the working class and of its struggle against capitalism demand complete solidarity and the closest unity of the workers of all nations; they demand resistance to the nationalist policy of the bourgeoisie of every nationality. Hence, Social-Democrats would be deviating from proletarian policy and subordinating the workers to the policy of the bourgeoisie if they were to repudiate the right of nations to self-determination, i.e., the right of an oppressed nation to secede, or if they were to support all the national demands of the bourgeoisie of oppressed nations. It makes no difference to the hired worker whether he is exploited chiefly by the Great-Russian bourgeoisie rather than the non-Russian bourgeoisie. . . .

"In any case the hired worker will be an object of exploitation. Successful struggle against exploitation requires that the proletariat be free of nationalism, and be absolutely neutral, so to speak, in the fight for supremacy that is going on among the bourgeoisie of the various nations" (Vol. 20, p. 424).

"Complete equality of rights for all nations; the right of nations to self-determination; the unity of the workers of all nations—such is the national program that Marxism, the experience of the whole world,

and the experience of Russia, teach the workers" (Ibid., p. 454).

Guided by the teachings of Lenin, our Party is fighting against the reactionary communal ideology of the ruling classes, for full autonomous rights of the Bengalis and other nationalities. At the same time, our Party is waging a consistent political battle against Bengali and other national chauvinism for forging the unity of the working class and toiling masses of all nationalities of Pakistan against the monopolists and feudals collaborating with USA imperialism. The main election slogan of our Party is the unity of all the democratic forces of Pakistan against the Right-reactionary and communal forces for a democratic constitution, for a patriotic democratic government.

Our Party also knows that under the existing socio-economic conditions, elections, parliamentary democracy, etc., as announced by President Yahia Khan, even if these are implemented, will neither liberate the working class, peasants and other toilers from exploitation by the monopolists, feudals and neo-colonialists nor will it guarantee full right of self-determination to the nationalities. Guided by the teachings of Lenin, our Party seeks to utilize these bourgeois democratic reforms for carrying forward the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants.

For the solution of our country's economic crisis and for the liberation of our people, our Party has put forward an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, and anti-monopolist national democratic program. National democratic revolution as a means of transition to socialism is the objective of our Party for the period. Following the teachings of Lenin, the Party's program for national democratic revolution envisages a non-capitalist path of development and also includes the recognition of the right to self-determination, including the right to secession, for all the nationalities of Pakistan.

Leninism is the guide to our revolutionary movement, showing the way of liberating the people of East Pakistan as well as West Pakistan.

Proletarian internationalism— a policy and outlook

ALVARO CUNHAL

Proletarian internationalism, an essential element of Marxism-Leninism and the scientific substantiation of the mutual relationship and historic mission of the workers of all countries, is a policy and ethics, and the guide to revolutionary action, reflecting the reality of the capitalist world—the irreconcilable antagonism between the interests of the workers and the bourgeoisie in each country, and the “complete identity (solidarity) of interests and aims of the workers of the whole world” (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 108). The economic position of the worker, Lenin stressed, is “not national but international . . . the conditions of his emancipation also” (Vol. 35, p. 247). The proletarian is internationalist by virtue of his social condition, for to end capitalism and the exploitation of man by man in each country and throughout the world is the common cause of all workers.

I.

The main contradiction of capitalist society (that between the bourgeoisie and the workers) divides the exploited and the exploiters, no matter of what nation, race or continent. After the workers of Russia seized power in 1917 and built socialism, with the consequent disappearance of antagonistic classes, the watershed between the irreconcilable class interests merged in a natural way with the frontiers of the Soviet Union, the first great bastion of the international working class. Later, when socialist revolutions triumphed elsewhere, it merged with the frontiers of the socialist world. Objectively, the class interests of workers in capitalist countries coincide

with those of the socialist system, which, headed by the Soviet Union, has become the determinative factor in world development and the main revolutionary force of our era. Meanwhile, the national liberation struggle, in its stormy growth, has synchronized with the anti-imperialist struggle of the socialist camp and the workers of capitalist countries.

These historical changes have broadened the basis for, and added variety to, the forms of the unity and solidarity of the working people of the world.

Coupled with the revolutionary re-patterning of the world since the October Revolution, the internationalization of economic, political and spiritual life — which, Lenin noted, occurs “already under capitalism” and is consummated under socialism (Vol. 19, p. 246) — creates new objective conditions for the growth and application of proletarian internationalism.

By virtue of the world market and economy, the export of capital and international concentration and integration, the forms of international economic ties have proliferated and developed. But this internationalization benefits monopoly capital, which crosses frontiers, subjugates the weaker countries, plunders their wealth, exploits their manpower and controls their economic life, treating their independence and sovereignty as a mere formality.

In that process the uneven development under capitalism and the aggravation of national contradictions tend to generate nationalism and chauvinism. However, due to the internationalization of capital and the new forms of dependence and cooperation between the national bourgeoisie and foreign imperialism, and also due to the gen-

eral strengthening of the working class, objective conditions appear for the blending of national interests with those of the working class and the blending of the national struggle with the struggle for social emancipation, bringing home to the peoples that their interests coincide and arousing their internationalist sentiment and action.

In the socialist community, specialization, coupled with cooperation and the concentration of considerable resources on developing the main branches of production, like joint scientific research, is prompted by the growth of the productive forces, and doubly so in view of the technico-scientific revolution. However, in contrast to what is happening under capitalism, this leads to the harmonious economic growth of the socialist community as a whole, and of each socialist country in particular, and to a gradual eradication (directed ultimately at final elimination) of disparities in economic development from country to country. Under socialism internationalization conforms with the vital interests of the working class and those of sovereignty and independence. In effect, it represents an ever-closer fraternal alliance of the peoples of different countries, a fraternal coming together of nations. Given political equality, it is the most natural way of building the material basis for actual equality. At the same time, it is the result of the internationalist policy of the power-holding working class and the objective factor for the fruitful development of proletarian internationalism in relations between states, of socialist internationalism and socialist solidarity.

In the modern world, growth extends and consolidates the economic and social basis of internationalism infused by the working class (which alone could do it) through its Communist vanguard with a progressive and revolutionary content. As the term implies, proletarian internationalism is the ideology of the class, the ideology of the workers of all nations united by the struggle for socialism and communism.

"The socialist movement," Lenin wrote, "cannot triumph within the old framework of the fatherland. It creates new and superior forms of human society, in which the legitimate needs and progressive aspirations of the working masses of *each* nationality will, for the first time, be met through international unity, provided existing national partitions are removed" (Vol. 21, pp. 38-39).

This international unity of working peo-

ple irrespective of national frontiers, these "new and superior forms of human society," are carried forward by Marxist-Leninists in the complex process of history through the militant community of the workers and the exploited masses in countries ruled by capital and through the coming together of nations in the socialist states, the socialist commonwealth, the alliance of peoples fighting for national independence with the support of the socialist forces and the joint action of all the contingents of the world Communist movement.

II.

Proletarian internationalism comprises three basic principles: (1) unity and solidarity of the workers of all countries, including—as a key element—the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries; (2) recognition of the right of nations to self-determination and independence, envisaging their increasing closeness based on the identity of the interests of working people; and (3) priority in relation to particular and short-range interests of the common and international interests of the socialist revolution.

The unity and solidarity of the workers of all countries, irrespective of national frontiers, is the mightiest weapon used in fighting imperialism, a vital instrument of defending, consolidating and developing the successes of world socialism.

The Communist movement, the fraternal cooperation of its national contingents, is the supreme expression of international working-class unity.

Unity does not rule out independent and creative activity by fraternal parties as a consequence of the diversity of situations in which each Party operates from country to country. Equality and independence assure correct party leadership for the workers of each country and secure international cohesion that takes into account differences in condition and situation. Fraternal parties contribute their experience to the Communist movement and avail themselves of the experience of other parties, neither copying nor mechanistically borrowing the experience of others; on the other hand, they avoid exaggerating the specific features of the national aspect, making overhasty generalizations of their experience and imposing it on others, who operate in different conditions. Framing their policy, they proceed from an analysis based on knowledge of the general laws of social

development, socialist revolution and socialist construction discovered by Marxism-Leninism. Our unity is based on mutual aid, fraternal discussion, sharing experience, joint action and collective framing of the common line.

The solidarity of the socialist countries is an important expression of international proletarian solidarity and a factor of cardinal significance for the unity of the Communist movement. True, difficulties and contradictions are possible between the socialist countries due to disparities in their economic and social development, their different ways to socialism and differing historical traditions. However, socialization of the means of production and elimination of immanent class antagonisms assure the growth of the same and common process in all socialist countries, predicating for them one and the same aim, thus enabling them to overcome disagreements and avoid antagonisms by following a consistently internationalist policy. Existing difficulties do not detract from the historic significance of the community of states and nations animated by proletarian internationalism and socialist solidarity, that inspiring new phenomenon in man's history. The cohesion of the socialist community, its fraternal cooperation in all fields and immediate assistance in combating external and internal dangers, conform with the imperative demands of its growth and defense, helping to accelerate the revolutionary process and forging the unity of the Communist movement and other anti-imperialist forces.

The Communist movement is the result of the workers' struggle (scientifically elaborated and headed by Marx and Engels, in which the decisive role was subsequently played by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist International and Lenin) to forge a genuinely revolutionary and internationalist vanguard. Growth of the Communist movement into the mightiest political force of our time is the result of historic working-class victories and the titanic labor of generations of revolutionaries, millions of whom have sacrificed their lives.

Centrifugal tendencies, isolationism and, to a still greater extent, splitting activity are elements that tend to weaken and disrupt our movement, and are therefore contrary to the basic principles of international unity and solidarity, which are part of the revolutionary process. To defend and reinforce the unity of the Communist move-

ment is the sacred duty of all Marxist-Leninist parties, at once the revolutionary vanguard of the workers of their own country and national contingents of the world Communist movement.

Recognition of the right of nations and peoples to self-determination and independence, while envisaging increasing closeness based on the identity of interests of the working people of different nations, is the second basic principle of proletarian internationalism.

For internationalists this is not a mere endorsement of the right to self-determination; it implies effective support of peoples fighting for the exercise of that right. Thus, workers and Communists of the oppressor nations shoulder a special duty to the oppressed peoples. And in discharging it, revolutionaries face up to the most vicious slander, charges of "betrayal" and, all too often, to imprisonment and even the firing squad. The internationalists of oppressed nations, on the other hand, while combating misunderstanding, slander and persecution, cultivate among their people the spirit of fraternity with the workers of the oppressor nation.

The Soviet Union provides the first example of how proletarian internationalism is successfully applied in resolving the national question. There, formerly exploited and oppressed peoples have overcome centuries-old backwardness and built up a flowering economy and culture. Under Soviet power, with antagonistic classes eliminated and socialism built, self-determination and equality have stamped out great-power chauvinism, separatist sentiments and national narrowness, assuring generous and selfless fraternal mutual aid. In 1917 Lenin stressed: "The proletarian party... strives to *draw nations closer together*, and bring about their *further fusion*" (Vol. 24, p. 73). Solution of the national question in the USSR is a historic achievement, one of immense worldwide significance, a stage in the complex and long process of eliminating national inequality.

In Lenin's teaching the national question transcends relations between the peoples in the developed countries and is related to the struggle for the liberation of the peoples of all dependent countries and colonies, all those exploited and oppressed by imperialism. And having transcended the framework of a formal law, it is associated with the world revolutionary process, blending with the internationalist policy of

the revolutionary proletariat and the aims of the socialist revolution.

Lenin anticipated the social development, the revolutionary perspective, of the national liberation movement and its fusion with the general process leading to the elimination of capitalism and the victory of socialism and communism on a world scale. The collapse of the colonial system, the strong alliance of the national liberation movement with the socialist system and the world proletariat are, therefore, a striking confirmation of Leninism.

Though contrary to the expectations at the beginning of the century, victories of the liberation movement preceded proletarian revolutions in developed countries, they are closely linked with the struggle and the history-making victories of the international proletariat. Likewise, the national liberation movement, which delivers powerful blows against imperialism, accelerates the revolutionary process and facilitates the tasks of the proletariat, promoting the consolidation of socialist positions.

This alliance of the revolutionary forces conforms with Lenin's prophetic slogan, "Workers and the oppressed peoples of the world, unite!"

While supporting national anti-imperialist movements and stressing their revolutionary nature, even though they may be headed by the national bourgeoisie, Marxist-Leninists warn that neither national independence nor sovereignty can be fully secured and inequality and national oppression totally eradicated in capitalist conditions. In the absence of revolutionary power, with the bourgeoisie retaining hegemony, newly free countries on the capitalist road fall prey to neo-colonialism, meaning that they may again become an imperialist reserve, that their independence is in jeopardy until the working class (which grows in the process of capitalist development) is able to exercise a determinative influence on national policy.

Self-determination, independence and the equality of nations are all associated with the interests of the workers' class struggle and those of the socialist revolution. That is the substantive idea of proletarian internationalism in the context of the national question.

Priority of the interests of the movement as a whole is the fundamental principle of proletarian internationalism. That was emphasized, and most emphatically, by the creators of scientific socialism.

Projecting that conception, Lenin pointed to three basic points: firstly, proletarian internationalism requires 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), secondly, that "one must not think only of one's own nation, but place *above it* the interests of all nations, their common liberty and equality" (Vol. 22, p. 347), and, thirdly, 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).

If we take the revolutionary process in the broadest perspective, priority of the interests of the movement as a whole does not mean that any insuperable contradiction exists between the interests of the workers of one country and those of all countries. No such contradiction is in evidence. Even when in special circumstances the general may appear to conflict with particular interests, subjugation of the immediate interests of the workers of one country to the interests of the world struggle conforms in the ultimate with the interests of the workers of that country from the standpoint of the broad perspective of the battle for socialism.

In some historical situations (which Marx, Engels and Lenin referred to repeatedly in their works), the national movement may be the tool of the bourgeoisie and reaction in the fight against the revolutionary proletariat. Then, a conflict arises instantly between the interests of the national movement and those of the workers. Yet situations of this kind are more infrequent in view of the gradual divergence and ultimate contradiction of the interests of the nation and those of the bourgeoisie, accentuating the gradual identification of the interests of the nation with those of the working class, of the national consciousness with the class consciousness of the workers, the interests of one nation with the interests of all nations, and the struggle for national independence with the struggle for socialism.

Marxist-Leninists are at the same time internationalists and the staunchest champions of the national interest, for their internationalism is expressive of their lofty national sense and perceptive, far-sighted patriotism.

As the revolutionary process unfolds, the scope of proletarian internationalism

broadens. The relations among workers — the victims of capitalist exploitation and oppression — are linked with their attitude to the socialist countries and to the relations among the latter, and the relationship of the working class with peoples fighting against national oppression is linked with relations among nations in the framework of the multi-national socialist states and with relations between socialist states and the national liberation movement. These days, proletarian internationalism cannot be isolated from the struggle for the unity of the three revolutionary streams of the era — the socialist system, the working class in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement.

Thus, proletarian internationalism possesses a new, more profound historical content. Its basic principles originally defined by Marx and Engels and then elaborated by Lenin, are completely valid, because they refer not to some specific stage of the revolutionary process, but to the entire period of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

III.

Proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism, Lenin observed, are not merely two kinds of policy. They represent two outlooks that are as antagonistic as the classes whose interests they express. The former reflect the desire and aim of ending the exploitation of man by man and the system of national oppression, of eliminating classes and removing the inequality of nations. Bourgeois nationalism, on the other hand, seeks to perpetuate the division into social classes, the dominance of the bourgeoisie, the subjugation of the less developed nations, and to suppress the freedom of the dominant nation, thereby confirming that "a nation cannot be free if it oppresses other nations."

The revolutionary workers' fight against nationalism can be long and arduous. Oppression, exploitation, inequality, injustice and war have for centuries dominated relations between peoples. Great-power chauvinism, hatred of the oppressor nation by the oppressed, national egoism, hostility, antipathy and distrust have roots and causes that go back to the remote past, engendering deep-seated sentiment and prejudice. Lenin wrote: "These prejudices are bound to die out very slowly, for they can disappear only after imperialism and capitalism have disappeared in the advanc-

ed countries, and after the entire foundation of the backward countries' economic life has radically changed" (Vol. 31, p. 150). "The hatred — and perfectly legitimate hatred—of an oppressed nation for its oppressor . . . will evaporate only *after* the victory of socialism and *after* the final establishment of completely democratic relations between nations" (Vol. 22, p. 353).

For nationalism to be fully overcome, the objective factors fostering it must first disappear.

National prejudice is still rife in the labor movement under capitalism and during the transition to communism. Equally extant is the tendency towards narrowness and separatism, nationalism and chauvinism. Experience shows what appalling consequences nationalism and chauvinism can entail in a Communist Party and a socialist country. Maoism is a grave affliction springing from extreme nationalism and chauvinism. The revolutionary workers must be vigilant and must combat all signs of nationalism, because it is an ever-present danger.

If the world revolutionary process is not viewed as a single process flowing from the very course of social development and the interaction and solidarity of the revolutionary forces of different countries; if it is seen as a sum total of independent, autonomous national revolutions divorced from the general dynamics of the labor movement that owe little or nothing to the international victories of socialism; if, reviving theses that were proved invalid more than 50 years ago, the international significance of the October Revolution and the common features of the proletarian revolution are placed in question; if specific "models" of socialism are advanced, based on only the national perspective and not on available experience or the experience of the international working-class movement; if specifically national factors are portrayed as a general law of the revolutionary process; if, contrary to the objective laws governing the development of socialist society, references are bandied about to "national communism," building and defending it in isolation, exclusively with national forces; if, overlooking the complexity and relatively long duration of the withering away of classes and the survivals of their ideology, national unity is placed above international working-class unity; if the people is shouldered with the mission of performing revolutions for other peoples; if the role of

the USSR in the world revolutionary process is belittled and active solidarity with the Soviet Union is curtailed on the excuse that solidarity is superfluous; if cohesion is disrupted and, even, cooperation and contacts with fraternal parties are broken off—if these conceptions are approved of and defended and then followed, the result is tantamount to departure from internationalist class positions and to a slide into revisionism and nationalism.

Knowing that national prejudice is tenacious, the imperialists make the most of it to exploit the working people and, at once, to divide the socialist countries, the contingent of the Communist movement, and the Communist and national liberation movements. The imperialists pounce on the slightest sign of nationalism in the labor movement and do their utmost to encourage it. The axis of this ideological offensive is anti-Sovietism, through which imperialism seeks to disrupt each revolutionary contingent, to cut it off from the most powerful bastion of the socialist revolution and, also, to undermine the latter by subverting international solidarity.

Supported by Right-wing Socialists and "Left" pseudo-revolutionaries, the imperialists allocate huge sums for the conduct of this activity, using the mass information and propaganda media to exert continuous ideological pressure and to poison public opinion with the venom of nationalism. To this end, the bourgeois ideologues exploit diverse theories to diminish the workers' faith in the inevitable defeat of imperialism and the victory of the socialist revolution, eroding their internationalist consciousness.

One "theory" has it that the contradiction between "poor" or "proletarian" and "rich" or "bourgeois" nations is the main contradiction of modern times with the less developed capitalist countries and the colonies listed with some of the socialist countries in the former category, and the Soviet Union, the United States and a number of socialist and capitalist countries on equal terms in the latter. No significance is attached to class differences and conflicts in the imperialist and underdeveloped countries, with the proletarians of the former viewed as "bourgeois" and the bourgeoisie of the latter as "proletarians." According to another "theory," socialism is a Russian-Asian system imposed on Western countries or a Russo-European system imposed on Asian countries (the two variants alternating to suit the geo-political requirements).

These theories evoke a response among the less informed in the liberation movement and among intellectuals whose pretentious "Marxist" erudition does not make up for their lack of proletarian class intuition. Yet those theories are not a mere theoretical exercise, but are put into circulation as an ideological basis for extensive imperialist activity, with support from revisionism, aimed at rooting out the notions of antagonism and class struggle, at equipping counter-revolutionary forces in socialist countries with ideological gunpowder, fanning nationalism, hostility and strife among peoples, and at dividing the revolutionary forces.

Defending the principles of proletarian internationalism, using them in their practice, and combating nationalism in politics and ideology, ranks high among the tasks of Marxist-Leninists.

Sustaining our invincible class spirit and ideological firmness, we must adhere unfailingly to the advice contained in Lenin's works and follow the guidelines implicit in his practical activity, that is, display extreme caution and tact, extreme patience, consideration and sagacity, in our approach to the national question and national sentiments.

Lenin wrote: "A distinction must necessarily be made between the nationalism of an oppressor nation and that of an oppressed nation, the nationalism of a big nation and that of a small nation" (Vol. 36, p. 607). Special consideration must be shown for peoples oppressed for the longest time in order to overcome the "perfectly legitimate" distrust "towards the oppressor nations . . . even in their proletariat" (Vol. 31, p. 150). At the same time, we must come to grips with egoism and narrowness among the newly-independent nations and nations still fighting for independence, while combating all manifestations of national superiority or of injustice towards smaller nations. It is necessary "to make certain concessions with a view to more rapidly overcoming this distrust and these prejudices" (Vol. 31, p. 151). We should not forget that mutual confidence, without which no favorable development of peaceful relations and cooperation among peoples is possible, presupposes the right kind of long-term policy, any violation of which is liable to cause untold harm. These postulates are valid not only in the case of relations between states and nations, but also inter-Party relations.

The International Meeting of 1969 show-

ed that the Communist and Workers' parties are quite able to conquer nationalist trends and raise the principles of proletarian internationalism to a new level, principles that were reaffirmed by that forum as basic for the Communist movement and as the inspiring ideal for the revolutionary forces of our time.

IV.

Since there is no objective contradiction between the interests of the working class of any country and those of the international proletariat, there is also no incompatibility between the national and international responsibilities and duties of all the contingents of the Communist movement. A party that fails in its duty to the working people of its own country, also fails in its international duty, and a party that fails in its international duty fails its own people as well.

The Communist Manifesto says: "The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie." That is something the vanguard of the working class cannot do if it withdraws into the national shell. With international working-class victories facilitating victories of the national contingents, the victories of each contingent likewise facilitate those of the movement as a whole.

True, sometimes international solidarity and an immediate success on a national scale may appear to conflict. This may occur in the case of countries where the dominant bourgeoisie succeeds in poisoning public opinion with anti-Sovietism and anti-communist slander, to an extent where at some definite time close relations with fraternal parties cause a relative isolation of the Communists. The same may occur in countries where the dominant bourgeoisie, a bourgeoisie oppressing other peoples, succeeds in generating chauvinist sentiment, with the result that any internationalist stand in relation to an oppressed people may, in the short term, reduce the influence of the Party. However, it is rank opportunism for parties seeking an easy and rapid success and avoiding transient difficulties to abandon consistent positions of principle which alone can win over the masses and lead to final victory.

The connection between opportunism, nationalism and the conception of an alleged incompatibility of the workers' national and international interests, was emphasized by Lenin in his analysis of the

ideological roots of the opportunism that led to the collapse of the Second International.

Lenin wrote: "Advocacy of class collaboration; abandonment of the idea of socialist revolution and revolutionary methods of struggle; adaptation to bourgeois nationalism; losing sight of the fact that the borderlines of nationality and country are historically transient; making a fetish of bourgeois legality; renunciation of the class viewpoint and the class struggle, for fear of repelling the 'broad masses of the population' (meaning the petty bourgeoisie)—such, doubtlessly, are the ideological foundations of opportunism. And it is from such soil that the present chauvinist and patriotic frame of mind of most Second International leaders has developed" (Vol. 21, pp. 35-36).

This deserves deep thought. The "fetish of bourgeois legality" and renunciation of the class viewpoint for fear of repelling the "broad masses" lead to the substitution of legalistic criteria for revolutionary class criteria and to the spread of ideas peddled by ideologues of the petty bourgeoisie and imperialism. As a result, the "merits of freedom and Western democracy" (disguises for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie) are contraposed to the alleged "oppression" of the dictatorship of the proletariat (broadly democratic by nature). "The merits of sovereignty and national independence" under capitalism (disguises for the subjugation of other peoples are contraposed to an alleged "limited sovereignty" of socialist countries (which were the first in history to succeed in securing equality and independence for the peoples).

Instead of defending the USSR and the socialist camp against slander, there appear annoyance and irritation over praise of Soviet policy, continual stress on differences, and systematic criticism. Appraisals of international developments are distorted to make them fit transient national criteria. The only existing experience of socialist revolutions and socialist construction is criticized, because it fails to conform with the hypothetical course advocated by the national Social-Democracy. Thus, contrary to the social reality, exponents of this approach erect barriers and foment conflict, contraposing the national labor movement to the international, with the result that the international duty is viewed as an obstacle to success in the national struggle.

Opportunism obscures the essential factors of the workers' international unity, losing sight of the broader perspective of

socialist revolution in order to emphasize and attach priority to some definite national aspect. Opportunism, Lenin pointed out, "sacrifices the long-term interests of the working class to the cheap and paltry successes of the moment" (Vol. 6, p. 459).

Once the working class wins power, the identity of the national and international duty and fusion of socialist patriotism with proletarian internationalism becomes the basic guideline for the internal and foreign policy of parties holding power. Unity paves the way for progressive and independent economic growth, while national egoism and the trend to autarchy, though they may accelerate the immediate development, soon create economic instability, depress the rates of growth and are even likely to cause dependence on world capitalism. International community guarantees the advancement of socialist construction and national independence, while reduction of international cooperation and search for "national unity" (disregarding the fact that the class struggle is continuing), opens the way for growth of anti-socialist factors and forces imperilling the gains of socialism and the independence of the nation. Defense of socialism in one's own country blends with defense of the socialist community, while defense of socialism in other countries blends with defense of one's own country. Mutual aid in the event of danger to the socialist gains, whether emanating from imperialist or internal counter-revolutionary forces, is, therefore, simultaneously a national and international duty.

The independence of a Marxist-Leninist party does not conflict with loyalty to proletarian internationalism, just as doing its international duty does not conflict with its independence. "Each Communist Party," says the Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, "is responsible for its activity to its own working 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."

For the working class of all countries mutual influence and mutual aid are an imperative of the revolutionary process. Only heroic struggle by the workers and masses of a country can yield victory in revolution and the triumph of socialism, but their victory is never wholly ascribable to their own effort. Sometimes, in special historical situations, seizure of power by the workers of a country is made possible

even to a decisive extent by the victories and the direct aid of the revolutionary forces of other countries, as was the case after the Second World War. However, even in the absence of special circumstances, the working class of any country relies for support on the workers of other countries, on the existence and the achievements of the socialist countries, just as each socialist country relies for support on the achievements of other socialist states and on the solidarity of workers in the capitalist countries. The prime role in the revolutionary process, in interaction and mutual aid among the revolutionary forces, is played by the Soviet Union by virtue of the international significance of the October Revolution and the historic victories of the USSR, by virtue of its determinative influence in shaping the conditions for other socialist revolutions, for the growth of the national liberation movement and its application in practice of the principles of proletarian internationalism and intolerance of any nationalist violation of those principles (great-power chauvinism and national exclusiveness and narrowness), by virtue of its incomparable contribution and fraternal aid to the cause of liberation the world over, by virtue of its economic, political and military might which makes it the most dependable guarantor of the security of the socialist camp and of world peace, and, last but not least, by virtue of the unusually rich experience of the CPSU and the fact that for more than 50 years the Soviet Union has lived up unfailingly to the great internationalist duty set by Lenin—to be ready for and capable of the greatest national sacrifices in the name of overthrowing international capital.

There is no political vacuum anywhere in the world in the struggle of today between capitalism and socialism, between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between the peoples aspiring to independence and imperialism. All classes, all peoples and all states, though some of them may not yet realize it, have been drawn into the vortex of that struggle. No contingent of the working class can stand aloof and remain "neutral." He who tries to grapple with imperialism on his own, who tries to go it alone, is sure to fail. To think that the international working class can now afford to divide forces and reduce mutual solidarity is seriously to underestimate imperialist strength and do tremendous damage to the people's cause.

The present situation requires of Com-

munists to be more prompt in carrying forward various kinds of international initiatives, to be more prompt in jointly repulsing the offensive of imperialism and reaction, in fighting for world peace. The present situation requires that all support and solidarity be concentrated in the theatres of the biggest battles, where our positions are in the greatest jeopardy, where the peoples carry the greatest burden of effort in the class struggle. Always, until victory, we must stand with the people of Vietnam in its legendary confrontation with North American imperialism! Support and solidarity is also due to Cuba, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Arab peoples and those who are combating colonial and national oppression, to all victims of fascist and reactionary dictatorships, and armed imperialist aggression. Support and solidarity is due, too, to the Soviet Union, which, being the main bastion of the revolutionary forces and also the main target of imperialist strategy, requires the

real, effective, continuous and unfailing support and solidarity of all Communists, the working people and the peoples of the world.

For Communists loyalty to proletarian internationalism is no mere talk and propaganda. As Lenin pointed out, "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).

To defend the principles of proletarian internationalism defined by Lenin, principles infused with a new historical content by the growth of the revolutionary process, and, acting on Lenin's example, to follow a consistent internationalist policy, is the task of all those who are fighting under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of the theorist, the leader, the genius of the proletarian revolution, the fervent and exemplary internationalist the centenary of whose birth is being marked by the working people the world over.

Lenin and building socialist society

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

The centenary of V. I. Lenin's birth has stimulated extensive discussions in the world Communist and working-class movement of the path, the general situation in the world and the perspectives of modern society. This, because of the important role which Lenin has played in developing Marxism on the basis of his study of the evolution of society at the end of the past and the beginning of the present centuries, in generalizing the revolutionary experience of the international labor movement, in the practical activity that culminated in the victory of the revolution

in Russia and in building the world's first socialist state.

To be sure, it is difficult to review Lenin's prodigious and diverse activities in a magazine article. For this reason, I shall confine myself to his contribution to elaborating problems related to building socialism, to the construction of the new system. It is unquestionably a fact of great moment that we are celebrating the Lenin jubilee in a world where socialism has triumphed in fourteen countries and many peoples are striving to take the road leading to the new social system.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, organized and directed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Lenin, ushered in the epoch of proletarian revolutions, of the transition from capitalism to socialism. For more than a quarter of a century, the Soviet Union was the world's only socialist country, with its people compelled to build the new society in extremely difficult home and foreign conditions. It stands to Lenin's credit that, having developed Marx's teaching, he succeeded in applying it to the concrete conditions of tsarist Russia, equipping the Communist Party and the Soviet peoples with a scientifically grounded program for building socialist society, a society free from exploitation and oppression.

* * *

Devoid of any inclination towards dogmatism and routine, Lenin regarded Marxism not as "completed and inviolable," but as a theory which "socialists must develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life." In all his activity and in his works, Lenin was profoundly creative in his approach to Marxist theory, to the questions of revolutionary struggle and the socialist reconstruction of society. We know how intolerant the great leader of the working class was of tendencies which, in "loyalty" to the letter of Marxism, tried to reduce its living thoughts to a collection of static theses and axioms, robbing the revolutionary theory of the working class of its vitality—the ability to cognize the purport of events and find the right solutions for the burning questions of the working-class struggle for progress and socialism. "It is essential," Lenin stressed, "to grasp the incontestable truth that 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, p. 45).

Elaborating his theory of socialist revolution and building the new social system, Lenin proceeded from a scientific analysis of the reality of the Russia of his time. He devoted years to studying that reality, the subject of many of his works centering on the development of capitalism in Russia, the nature of the relations of production in the process of flux, and the relation of class forces clashing in life and in the social struggle. Working on his theory of

imperialism, Lenin examined the aspects of the international situation in the same spirit, studying the growth of the leading capitalist countries and the relation of forces on the world scale. The thesis that socialist revolution and construction can be accomplished in one country, is the result of such a comprehensive analysis of his contemporary national and international situation. A great discovery in social science, this thesis opened up new perspectives for the workers of Russia and the rest of the world, placing a new tool in their hands and giving impulse to their revolutionary struggle.

Lenin's works and activity prove conclusively that the decisive part in assuring the success of the revolution and socialist construction is played by close study of reality, of the corresponding stage of social development and the concrete conditions in which the working-class party operates, a creative approach to the issues of socio-economic and political life and an independent elaboration of the political line through the application of universal truths to any specific situation. From this organic bond with reality, with the concrete historical circumstances, from unfailing application of Marxist theory to the continuously changing social scene, Leninism derives its worth and immense viability. This essential feature of Lenin's creativity should be stressed all the more emphatically in the present conditions when, as a result of the profound changes of recent decades, the economic, social and political map of the world has altered so radically.

One third of mankind has taken the road to socialism and communism. The problems of building the new society are tackled in extremely varied conditions and in different forms, depending on the stage of development and the peculiarities of the respective countries. At present, the socialist states have achieved considerable progress in building socialism and face entirely new, tremendously difficult tasks. In the modern world the ranks of the working class have multiplied; it is playing an increasingly important role in social development; the political influence of the Communist and Workers' parties, the forward contingents of the working class, has increased substantially; the treasure trove of the Communist and working-class movement has been augmented with new forms and methods of revolutionary struggle. The national awakening of the peoples is under way on a mammoth scale; the imperialist

colonial system has broken up under the impact of the national liberation struggle and dozens of new states have risen on the ruins of former colonial empires. Far-reaching changes have also occurred in the developed capitalist countries as regards the level of the productive forces, the social structures, the role of the state and the class relationships. New social forces—peasants, middle strata, broad sections of the intelligentsia, women and the youth—have joined, or are joining, the struggle against the monopolies, against imperialism, for social progress and peace. One of the distinctive features of the present times is that medium-sized and small countries are taking an increasingly active part in international affairs, making their voice heard more and more effectively on the world scene, coming out against the policy of domination and oppression, for the right of all peoples to independent development. That the balance of strength in the world has changed radically in favor of the forces of socialism and progress, the forces of the anti-imperialist front, is another basically new feature of the modern times. And to these substantive changes of recent decades, which reflect saliently on all aspects of man's material and spiritual life, should also be added the deep-going worldwide technico-scientific revolution, the staggering advance of human knowledge.

All these changes require deep study and correct answers and solutions for all the problems that history has put on the agenda. To be a Marxist-Leninist means to tackle the new reality with audacity, shedding all preconceived notions and drawing due conclusions for the revolutionary struggle. That is the only way the Marxist teaching will help the Communist parties in fulfilling their historic tasks, the only way to overcome the tendency of stagnation, to galvanize revolutionary thought, secure the development of Marxism-Leninism in the present conditions and to consolidate it as an effective motive force of social transformations.

* * *

Lenin performed an historic service by drawing up the program of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, and substantiating the role and tasks of the Communist Party in effecting that program. Lenin regarded the Party as the vanguard, the forward contingent of the working class, the headquarters

of the revolutionary struggle directed against the old world, as the leading political force of the entire people in building the new social system. Having apprehended and developed Marx's ideas on the party, Lenin worked out the organizational, political and ideological principles of the party of the new type and worked hard in building such a party in Russia. The ability of that Party to fulfil the mission for which it was founded, was brilliantly confirmed by the subsequent political and social developments. Skilfully using the Leninist revolutionary strategy and tactics, the Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin in person, for the first time in history deposed the power of the exploiting classes and built a new, worker-peasant state.

As we know, the young Soviet Republic had to cope with an extremely complicated situation. While locked in struggle with the counter-revolution and imperialist intervention, fighting to preserve and consolidate the gains of the revolution, it had to work out and resolve entirely new problems related to the building of a socialist society. In the course of this turbulent revolutionary process, acting on principles affirmed by Marx and Engels and mindful of the new reality unfolding before his eyes, Lenin produced a sweeping concept of the main tasks of socialist construction, the forms and methods of Party work and the trends of the struggle. His skill in determining and adapting the political line, the methods of work, to the concrete and peculiar conditions of each period, coupled with his remarkable ability of combining revolutionary firmness and consistency with extraordinary flexibility, was an essential factor of success.

Some of Lenin's principles and propositions have stood the test as universal laws governing the building of the new system, enriching the revolutionary theory of the proletariat and the treasure trove of Marxism-Leninism. They have been proved viable and were successfully applied in the process of building socialism in specific and concrete forms by peoples who took their destiny into their own hands after the Second World War. With deep insight, Lenin pointed out that the general and the particular comprise an indivisible dialectical unity in revolutionary practice, as well as in life generally. To frame the correct policy it is necessary to apply the general principles of scientific socialism. Yet it should be borne in mind that the general is realized through the particular, through

the multiplicity and diversity of the concrete aspects of phenomena. The success of the working-class party's political line depends essentially on the extent to which it is able to realize in practice the general principles of revolutionary theory in accordance with the specific situations and circumstances.

An uncompromising foe of vulgar simplification, Lenin warned against the illusion that socialism can arise overnight in consummate form. Seizure of political power by the working class in alliance with the peasants and other segments of working people, he stressed, is but the beginning of the long process of socioeconomic transformations that restrict and finally eliminate the positions of capitalism, establish and extend the socialist relations of production and shape all areas of social life along new, socialist lines.

Lenin attached cardinal importance to building up the material and technical basis of the new system, maintaining that socialism presupposes a high level of the development of the productive forces. He regarded industrialization as the principal way of eliminating poverty and backwardness and achieving that high degree of welfare, civilization and culture without which socialism is inconceivable. Perceiving the importance of electrification when industrial electrification was still in its early stages even in the advanced countries, Lenin held that it should be the basis and one of the main levers of progress in the industrial and economic development of Russia. The subsequent years and the experience of other countries that took the socialist path have proved that an advanced material and technical basis is the decisive factor in building and consolidating the new social system.

A fundamental proposition of Lenin's theory of socialist industrialization is that industrial growth should be based on advanced science and technology, on improved organization of production and on high efficiency of social labor. In the final analysis, Lenin stressed, it is productivity of labor that assures the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist. The purport is that socialist ownership of the means of production paves the way for, and necessitates, a more efficient use of labor and secures true mass enthusiasm and initiative. This Leninist principle, too, has proved effective as a general law of socialist construction; its application is of the utmost importance for the economic

progress of the socialist countries, augmenting their national wealth and elevating their general level of welfare and civilization.

Lenin made a profound study of the socialist reconstruction of agrarian relations. He examined the peculiarities of the Russian countryside of that period, in which small farms predominated, and substantiated the ways and means of winning the peasants for large-scale cooperative production, emphasizing the voluntary principle. As Lenin saw it, the socialist reconstruction of agriculture implied a powerful material and technical basis and organization based on the gains of modern science and technology. Thus crystallized the solution of the most complicated problem related to the building of the new system, a solution suitable for all countries the agriculture of which is based on small-scale commodity production.

Lenin devoted considerable attention to culture. The importance he attached to it is revealed in his definition of communism as the quintessence of science and culture, of man's spiritual progress. He regarded acquisition and practical application of up-to-date knowledge as the most important and constant requirement in building the new society. This explains his profound concern for cultural and educational activity, for the development of education, securing for the entire population a higher degree of consciousness and culture.

He emphasized the decisive role of the masses in socialist construction. All his activity is imbued with the idea that socialism is the people's own cause, that the conscious activity of the masses is the basic factor of the new social life. That is why he demanded that all the salient changes in the social pattern should be carried through with the participation of the masses, who must be informed of all the facts, expressing their opinion and cooperating actively and consciously in framing all decisions of common interest. He never tired of stressing the inexhaustible sources of initiative and energy that derive from mass participation in the administration of society. It was typical of the great revolutionary leader's style that he sought regular contacts with people from all segments of society, that he heeded their opinion, criticism and suggestions and sought their counsel.

For only a short time was Lenin able to follow the development of socialist society as he had conceived it; his untimely death

terminated his volcanic activity. His demise was a painful loss for the Soviet peoples, the workers of the world and the entire revolutionary and progressive movement.

With dedication, the Soviet people continued the work begun under Lenin's leadership, setting up socialism on one-sixth of the earth's surface. Lenin's policy is embodied in the formidable growth of the Soviet productive forces, in the rapid Soviet economic progress. Socialist industrialization has been the nerve center of that progress, which may be illustrated by the fact that the 1968 Soviet industrial output was 79-fold that of 1913, amounting to about 20 per cent of the world industrial output. Industry is the cornerstone of Soviet economic and military power, the basis of the country's general advancement.

The peasantry has gone over to socialist collective-farm agriculture. A vast state sector has been built up in agriculture and extensive progress has been made in equipping that important branch of the economy with machinery and other technology, and in advancing agricultural science. This has brought about radical changes in the productive activity of the farmers, in their working conditions and life.

Soviet science has achieved eminent success in important spheres of modern knowledge, such as the study and exploration of outer space, the use of atomic energy, rocketry and electronics, pushing the Soviet Union to the forefront in the world's scientific hierarchy and enabling it to contribute substantially to the advancement of world science and technology. Imposing quantitative and qualitative progress has been made in all educational fields. The Soviet people have gone a long way in raising their material and spiritual level and in improving their standard of living.

The solidity of the Soviet system was tested conclusively in the civil war and the imperialist intervention, and in the years of the Hitler aggression. Inspired by fervent patriotism and boundless loyalty to the socialist cause, the Soviet people rose to a man to defend their great revolutionary gains. Displaying lofty heroism and devotion and shouldering the main burden in the bitter clash against fascism, the Soviet peoples made the decisive contribution to smashing that dangerous enemy of the freedom of the peoples and of civilization.

Today, 52 years after the October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet Union is a formid-

able power with a colossal economic, technico-scientific and military potential. The Communists and people of our country rejoice heartily over the achievements of the Soviet peoples in building communism—a most important contribution to consolidating the socialist world system, the forces of democracy and progress, and the common cause of peace and friendship among nations.

In the postwar, the building of socialism by a number of countries, resulting in the emergence of the socialist world system, was a new convincing confirmation of Marxism-Leninism. The brilliant victories of the Soviet Army and the other armies of the anti-Hitler coalition, and the giant scale of the people's struggle against fascism, for democracy and social progress, created favorable conditions for the unfolding of the revolutionary process. In these conditions, expressing the will and aspirations of the masses, the Communist and Workers' parties of a number of countries organized and directed powerful social battles against reaction, against the exploiting classes, fulfilling the historic mission of the working class, that of winning political power in alliance with the peasants and initiating the socialist reconstruction of society.

From disparities in the initial socio-economic levels of the various socialist countries, and from their many specific features, stem the variety of ways in which they tackled the tasks of the revolution and socialist construction. In the case of many countries, experience showed that the general and particular in the socialist revolution and in building socialism comprise an indivisible dialectical unity. Applying the general principles of scientific socialism is an imperative of correct policy-making, but, as the facts show, the success of the political line of Communist parties, their ability to unite the masses, depends to a substantial extent on the practical realization of these basic propositions in conformance with the specific situations in which the parties operate. By their creative approach to the tasks of the socialist revolution and to building socialism, the Communist and Workers' parties are contributing considerably to the treasure trove of Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought and revolutionary experience.

The growth of the socialist world offers vast opportunities for progress, progress impelled by the new system. In a short time in history, the socialist countries have

rapidly expanded their productive forces and established socialist relations of production. At present, the socialist system accounts for nearly 40 per cent of the world industrial output and has built up a considerable material and technico-scientific potential, exerting a tremendous influence on contemporary world development.

The transition from capitalism to socialism elevates the nation—a socio-historical category to which Marxism-Leninism has always devoted much attention—to a qualitatively higher level. By eliminating exploitation and oppression and establishing new production relations and social equality, the socialist system creates a community of public interests and aspirations, galvanizing the people's energy and securing full nation.

scope for the creative faculties of the entire

Socialism produces the preconditions for the all-round progress of the nation, for a harmonious blending of national and international interests. Securing the maximum use of the advantages of the new system, intensive economic, scientific and cultural development and a constantly rising standard of living, the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries are performing their historical mission of expressing the vital interests of the working class and their respective peoples. By so doing, they also perform their internationalist duty, because the greater the advance of each socialist country and the fuller and more consistent its realization of working-class ideals, the more substantial is its contribution to the might of the socialist world system, the growing prestige and influence of socialism in the world and to the invigoration of the anti-imperialist front. Socialist internationalism does not imply impingement on or violation of national interests. On the contrary, it promotes them, linking concern for the interests of one's own people with growing international solidarity with all the other socialist countries, the entire Communist and working-class movement, all the progressive and anti-imperialist forces. A policy that harmonizes national and international tasks is an essential condition for building socialism. Ignoring or neglecting either of these interconnected aspects can only impair the building of the new system, the common socialist cause and the revolutionary struggle.

For the first time in history, the formation of the socialist world system brought to the forefront the question of interna-

tional relations of a new type, fundamentally different from those under imperialism, because they had to ensure broad and fruitful cooperation among free and equal peoples linked by a community of aims, of system and ideology. Understandably, these relations could not be moulded into final shape at once, for they are unprecedented in history and represent a totally new phenomenon in international policy. Hence, they were not devoid of certain shortcomings, but these can and must disappear in the process of the continuous improvement of international cooperation among peoples building the new system. Experience shows that to secure the free, independent development and all-round progress of each socialist country while increasing the might and cementing the unity of the socialist world system, and enhancing its influence and power of attraction, these relations should be based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, full equality, respect for national sovereignty and independence, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual benefit and comradesly cooperation.

At present, there are certain differences of opinion and disagreements among the socialist countries. Some of these stem from the different specific conditions of the countries concerned. And some disagreements, especially their aggravation, are due to a lack of understanding or disregard for the differences in the historical development of the socialist countries and to a neglect of the fundamental principles of mutual relations. However, these disagreements should not affect their relations, unity and fraternal cooperation. We hold that if priority is given to what the socialist countries have in common, to what unites them, i.e., the identity of system and basic aims, Marxist-Leninist ideology, the supreme interests of socialism and the anti-imperialist struggle; if the norms and principles of the international relations of the new type are applied and strictly observed, and if relations between the socialist countries are based on mutual respect, with due consideration for the interests of each, the existing difficulties will be put out of the way in the interest of the unity and cohesion of the socialist world system and the present-day revolutionary struggle.

Our Party will persevere in working for the restoration and strengthening of the unity of the socialist countries and the international Communist and working-class movement, for we regard this as our basic

duty to our own people and to the common cause of socialism, peace and social progress.

The winning of political power by the working class in alliance with the peasants and other working people and the building of the socialist society in Rumania are convincing proof of the vital and transforming powers of Marxist-Leninist ideas applied creatively to conform with the specific conditions. Throughout its nearly fifty years, in the underground and in the flames of the armed uprising of August 1944, in the years of the people's revolution and the building of socialism, our Party has accumulated a wealth of experience in mobilizing, organizing and leading the working people. Crushing the resistance of the exploiting classes, the Party secured political power for the working class in alliance with the peasantry and ensured the establishment and consolidation everywhere of socialist relations of production, abolition of the exploitation of man by man and the complete triumph of socialism in town and country.

Mindful of the specific conditions in Rumania, which inherited an inadequately developed economy from the bourgeois-landlord regime, the Party centered its policy on building a modern material and technical basis for society. In its program of socialist construction it gave top priority to industrialization as the only way of abolishing economic backwardness, intensifying economic development, bringing about a social and cultural advance and strengthening national independence and sovereignty. As a result of this policy, enthusiastically supported by the entire people, industrial production doubled on the average every five years, exceeding the prewar level 15-fold. Industry accounts for 57 per cent of the national income against 30.8 per cent in 1938, and is quite obviously the main factor in the advance of our socialist society along the path of progress and civilization.

Socialist solution of the agrarian question was an essential factor in building the new society. Proceeding from Leninist principles and taking into account our specific conditions, our rural social structure and economic relations, the Communist Party made a big political and organizational effort to encourage voluntary membership in the cooperative farms, coupling this with building an adequate material and technical basis for agriculture. And large-scale socialist farming has clearly demonstrated its

superiority over the small peasant farms. Convincing proof of that can be seen in last year's gross farm output: 130 per cent above 1950, the starting year of cooperative farming. Moreover, last year's output covered all consumer and other requirements.

Socialism has meant far-reaching changes in our way of life, raising the masses of town and country to a higher social level. The 1969 national income was 460 per cent up on 1950, and this has meant a more than 150 per cent rise in real wages and salaries. Socialism has given our people the right to work and rest, free tuition in all schools, much better medical care, better housing, and has fundamentally changed the very image of our towns and villages.

The Rumanian working class has proved equal to its historic mission in building the new system. It has demonstrated heroism, a keen revolutionary spirit, indefatigable energy, ability to draw other classes into socialist construction, consistency and firmness in carrying out the Party's Marxist-Leninist line. The policy of our Party and working class has assured uninterrupted strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance, that indestructible foundation of our socialist system. And with the development of socialism and the deep changes it has wrought in the social structure, the unity of our working people has been steadily consolidated.

We know what importance Lenin attached to solving the national problem as a component of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. He who does not recognize and uphold the equality of nations, he who does not oppose national oppression and inequality in whatever form, Lenin emphasized, is not a democrat, let alone a Marxist.

History has endowed our country with a multi-national population: besides Rumanians, there are sizable communities of Hungarians, Germans, Serbs and other nationalities. Guided by Marxism-Leninism, the Rumanian Communist Party has from the very outset combated all national discrimination and promoted complete equality. These noble aims have become a living reality in socialist Rumania. Our society accords all citizens without distinction of nationality limitless opportunities to share in the administration of public affairs, make full use of their abilities in all spheres of endeavor and at all levels of public life. All our nationalities are represented in the Grand National Assembly, local government bodies and the leadership of mass

and public organizations; their languages are used in schools and in cultural, administrative and public institutions. In fact, they have their own schools, cultural centers, newspapers, journals and books and enjoy all the benefits of socialism on an equal footing with the Rumanian people. The multi-national local-government bodies, an eloquent expression of the profound democratism of our system, provided favorable conditions for all nationalities to share in social and political life.

Our achievements in building socialism are proof that the Communist Party has followed a correct Marxist-Leninist policy. It is successfully coping with the momentous task of political leadership, assuring creative application of the basic laws of Marxism-Leninism in conformity with Rumania's historical specifics. Our Party has developed and generalized the experience it has accumulated in the building of the new system in order to further improve its activity. At the same time, it studies the experience of the Soviet Communist Party and fraternal parties in other socialist countries, the experience of the entire international Communist and workers' movement, taking from it everything that accords with the specific conditions of Rumania's socialist development.

At present our people are devoting all their strength, all their creative energies, to fulfilling the program drawn up at the Tenth Party Congress. Proceeding from an analysis of the present stage of socialist construction, the Congress set the Party and people the task of building a comprehensively developed socialist society. The fundamental characteristics of this development stage are intensive growth of the productive forces, the building of a modern economic structure using the latest technology, attainment of higher levels in productivity, science, culture and education, and higher material and cultural standards for the entire people. Comprehensively developed socialism presupposes continued perfection of production relations and organization of society by distribution of all the goods and services it produces in a spirit of socialist justice.

Our policy is predicated on the Marxist-Leninist principle that broad democracy for the working people is an inalienable and important part of socialism. The deepening and broadening of socialist democracy requires more than bringing to reality the people's age-old longing for equality, freedom and justice, for which our workers

fought with such valor and for which many Communists gave their lives. For democracy is an objective necessity of the socialist system, a decisive condition of its continued progress. And socialist democracy can be based only on the initiative and creative energy of the masses, their active participation in the administration of the state and of all public life.

In drawing up the blueprint for the new stage of socialist construction, the Tenth Party Congress envisaged that the country's progress would create the necessary prerequisites for subsequent transition to the building of a communist society.

The following figures are indicative of our dynamic economic growth in the coming years. At the close of the current decade, national income will be more than 12 times the prewar figure, gross industrial output 34.5-40 times, gross farm output more than 3 times, investment 34-36 times, employment 4.4-4.5 times and real wages and salaries 3.7-3.8 times.

Considering the increasing complexity of economic processes and the demands posed by scientific and technological progress, our Party has elaborated a program for perfecting the entire economic mechanism with commensurate progress in all branches of social life. A prime element of this program is improvement of the economic structure to bring it into line with the requirements of modern production. With this aim in view, we have established industrial amalgamations, combines and enterprise groups, in other words, large, efficient economic units capable of maximizing the advantages of concentration, cooperation and specialization. Measures have also been introduced to improve economic planning, supply, capital construction and foreign trade, with financial and economic factors and such growth stimulators as profit and contractual relations playing a much bigger part.

The recent Party Central Committee plenum discussed integrated measures for a fresh advance in agriculture. The idea is to accelerate development in crop and animal farming through more mechanization. The plenum adopted a national program for more rational use of the country's water resources, envisaging more irrigation, dikes, anti-erosion measures. It covers the period from 1971 to 1975, but also outlines long-range projects to be completed by 1985. The plenum also adopted a national ten-year program for increasing livestock productivity. Under the next five-year plan,

agriculture will receive more than 100,000 million lei in investments, which is twice the amount invested in the entire economy under the first five-year plan (1951-55). Output of tractors and farm machinery will continue at an accelerated rate, the aim being to complete mechanization of all farm processes by 1975 and produce enough chemical fertilizers to meet all the requirements of a modern agriculture.

Reconstruction of agriculture along socialist lines to produce a new pattern of production relations is, of course, of great importance. But this alone will not solve our agricultural problems. Socialist production relations have to be complemented by a firm and comprehensive material and technical basis through mechanization, chemicalization, land improvement, etc. All this will enable us to utilize the vast resources opened up by socialism to devise a modern agricultural structure far superior to the old in social, economic and technical terms and capable of meeting rising consumer and economic requirements.

The purpose of all these measures is to secure more efficient application of the underlying principle of economic management—democratic centralism—and harmoniously combine centralized direction with a large measure of autonomy for basic economic units, which will have wider functions and more responsibility.

The Party has taken measures consistently to promote economic democracy by bringing the masses into active participation in formulating and carrying out major decisions. In recent years socio-economic questions have been more frequently subjected to nationwide discussion; conferences to discuss the operation and plans for various industries have become a regular practice. Management committees have been set up at factories to act as collective supervisory bodies, their membership made up of representatives of management, trade unions and elected delegates of workers and office personnel. General meetings serve as collective forums at which economic questions are analyzed and at which factory managements regularly report on how available material and financial resources are used to boost production.

Under socialism, the working people play a dual role, as collective owners of the means of production and as producers of all material goods and services. Accordingly, our Party has made it its duty to give full expression to this in all organizational and economic activity. Specifically, its aim

is to provide optimal conditions for all citizens to express their views on the way the country's affairs are run, criticize shortcomings and call to account those guilty of negligence, irresponsibility or incompetence in their stewardship of public property.

Unremitting struggle against bureaucracy, conservatism, irresponsibility and lack of initiative—those concomitants of excessive centralism—is a component part of our effort to improve direction of the economy and of public life. Nothing is more mistaken, Lenin said, than confusing democratic centralism with bureaucracy and set formulas.

The main guarantee of abolishing bureaucracy, Lenin emphasized, lies in enlisting the masses to share in the administration of public affairs. Lenin said that only when the entire population shares in this can we look forward to complete victory over bureaucracy. And guided by the spirit of Lenin's ideas, our Party and state have taken firm measures towards more efficient organization and functioning of the machinery of government. Concretely, we are trying to bring the central government departments into closer contact with public and economic activity, streamlining the management apparatus and drastically reducing the flow of directives, circulars and instructions which only drag out decisions and tend to dilute responsibility.

The new stage in socialist construction requires a much higher standard of activity by the Communist Party. And the Party has steadily improved the forms and methods of its work. A characteristic feature of this work is that the Party exercises its leading political role not by fiat, not by handing down administrative directives, but by its creative Marxist-Leninist policy operated through Party organizations closely linked with the people at every sector of socialist construction and by Party members setting an example of selfless and dedicated service in carrying out the Party line. Closely united around its Central Committee and with a membership of more than two million front-rank workers, farmers and intellectuals, the Rumanian Communist Party is the nerve center of the social organism. The boundless confidence and staunch support it enjoys among the people, irrespective of nationality, its unity of will and action—this is the earnest of Rumania's continuing advance along the socialist path to still higher standards of progress and prosperity.

Lenin repeatedly stressed the close link between the domestic and foreign policies of a socialist state. In keeping with that Lenin concept, the Communist Party and government, while consistently directing the people's effort in socialist construction, have been indefatigable on the international front, always on the side of the forces of progress.

The keynote of our foreign policy is friendship and fraternal alliance with all the socialist countries, with which we share a common system, common aims, a common, Marxist-Leninist ideology, and are joined together in the struggle for social progress and world peace. The Rumanian people are determined to work for closer friendship, alliance and all-round cooperation with all the socialist countries. Rumania will continue to give disinterested support to peoples fighting imperialism and will extend its cooperation with countries that have broken out of colonialism and are defending their independent development, with all the world's anti-imperialist progressive forces. Through its active policy of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, Rumania is extending its cooperation with all countries, and is consistently working to eliminate all breeding grounds of conflicts and tension that endanger world peace and security. Inspired by a feeling of responsibility for the future of socialism and world peace, our people will work with the utmost energy to strengthen the powerful anti-imperialist front. They will spare no effort to further international cooperation, eliminate the war

danger, safeguard peace and promote international security.

* * *

World developments offer indisputable evidence that mankind is following the road foreseen by Lenin, the road to socialism and communism. Armed with the revolutionary theory of the working class and having assimilated its creative spirit, the Communist and Workers' parties will continue their momentous work of refashioning society and building the new system, and will fulfil their historic mission with honor. That will be the basis for the continued development of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, which in our time can only be the result of the collective thought and experience of the whole Communist and workers' movement.

In celebrating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, we Communists must redouble our efforts for the triumph of the ideals of socialism in our own countries and work for cohesion of the socialist countries, the Communist movement, all anti-imperialist forces, which today are the fundamental factor of victory in the battle for peace, democracy and social progress. And in doing so we shall open up broader vistas for the triumphant march of the noble ideas to the realization of which Lenin devoted his life—the ideas of socialism and communism. This is the best tribute we can pay to the memory of the great revolutionary leader of the proletariat, the staunch champion of social and national freedom, the dedicated fighter for the victory of the workers' cause.

Marxism-Leninism

indivisible, indestructible

GUS HALL

The revisionist opponents of Marxism-Leninism have adopted the typical capitalist tactic of divide and destroy. They are busy at work separating Leninism from Marxism. They are out to separate the Communist Parties from Marxism-Leninism. They are out to separate the national liberation struggles from their socialist source of strength. They are out to separate the anti-imperialist forces from each other, to separate the Socialist countries and the Communist Parties in respective countries from each other and from the Soviet Union.

The attempt is to distort the teachings of Marx and of Lenin. Then separating them, and by so doing to destroy the science of Marxism-Leninism. They seek to turn back the tide of history, to defoliate the garden and rob the working class and peoples of the fruit of Marxism-Leninism.

The aim is to turn Marx into an old country gentleman, a radical humanist living in the pleasant English countryside in self-communion about abstractions of creating "a method of thought." And so the new vulgar revisers of Marx reduce his contribution to providing a "mythology." And so the only feature of Marxism that is then applicable to the problems of today is the "mythology." But even this is not the end of the line. This "mythology of Marx" is then considered of interest only for parlor discussions. This concept has led some to declare, "There is nothing in Marxism that has universal application or meaning." The "Marxist 'model' has turned out to be inconsistent with most of the revolutions led by Marxists." Such concepts are at par with saying that we will accept the method of thought but we reject all of the discoveries, the properties, the laws, the causes and effects of physical sciences.

To reduce Marxism to mythology is to reject it. These are attempts to repeat history. Their predecessors, the Kautskys and the Bernsteins, were successful, so the new generation of revisionists are hopeful they can do so again. But these revisers forget that the past generation of revisionists were successful only to a point, and for a short period. The force that destroyed their efforts and cut their successes was Leninism. This body of thought embodies the accumulated experiences of revolutionary struggle since Marx. It encompasses the new level of class and socialist consciousness developed since Marx. It draws a new kind of power from the new reality of working-class state power, a reality since Marx, and of course it embodies the genius of Lenin. This is the new insurmountable granite-like obstacle to all advocates of revisionism and opportunism.

What to do about Leninism? This is the problem they are wrestling with. How to get around it is their perplexing problem. This is most difficult because Leninism is Marxism. Marxism became Marxism-Leninism in the very struggle against revisionism, in the struggle against all forms of opportunism, left and right.

The events of Lenin's life are too fresh and current. Therefore, it is not possible to turn the image of Lenin into a "country gentleman." So the attempt is to separate Lenin from Marx by placing Marx into the English countryside and fencing off Lenin into a purely "Russian experience" in a "feudal Russia." But how to make this "Russian experience" so that it cannot have application to any other part of the world? The solution to this perplexing question is to describe pre-revolutionary Russia as some other world with features all its own

— and then to follow this by talking about how it takes generations for people to change. Thus the ground is prepared to say that the “Russian experience” either in revolution or building a new society is not applicable and relevant to any other country—not to “Asia, Africa, South America, the USA” or “Western” or even “near Western” Europe.

This then becomes the basis for the rejection of Leninism because after all it is an experience from a different world—it is a “Russian experience.” So the revisers distort and emasculate the teachings of Marx and of Lenin. They place Marx in the English countryside and Lenin into a “feudal Russia.” And then write some “scholarly” article about how “Marxism-Leninism does not apply to today’s new world” and proclaim themselves as new great revolutionary authorities.

Such efforts may impress some in parlor discussions, but they will not seriously affect workers and people who struggle and are in motion. The truth will prevail. And in the field of social, political, economic, philosophical phenomena the truth is Marxism-Leninism.

The question is not whether there are variations in reality or whether reality fully corresponds to theory. Lenin placed these relationships correctly — “The Bolshevik slogans and ideas on the whole have been confirmed, but concretely things have worked out differently, they are more original, variegated than anyone could have expected.” This is not what the vulgar revisers have in mind. Their variations are built to engulf the general, to destroy the basic theories and concepts of Marxism Leninism.

There are many variations and many levels of these attempts. Some are more camouflaged than others. Some attack from the flank and some are frontal attacks.

Let us call in two witnesses. One somewhat concealed, the other already out of his shell. The only real difference between the two is the stage of incubation. The first is still in the shell. He is Frank Marek (*Philosophy of World Revolution*). He sets out to separate Marx from the first successful socialist revolution, and then to separate Marx and Lenin from all revolutions since the historic October Soviet Revolution.

Because Marx’s “model” “did not fit backward Russia, Lenin replaced Marx’s theory of revolution with a new one.” So Marxism had nothing to do with the world’s first socialist revolution. Once achieving

this incredible feat Marek moves on. After the October revolution, according to Marek, “reality, then, has not stuck to the *ideas* put forward in the *classics*.” His “new law of social development and the new patterns” have placed Marx before the Soviet revolution and Lenin since to pastoral retirement.

Thinking he has successfully demolished the teachings of Marx and Lenin, Marek proceeds to conjure up his own “model.” When one clears away the egg shells where the “model” is in the process of incubation, the “model” turns out to be nothing more than the old revisionist “models” of reformism, painted with new words.

The “new law of social development, the new patterns of reality” turn out to be monopoly capitalist development, to the stage of state-monopoly capitalism, treated from the standpoint of reformism. It is clear why Lenin had to be removed. He dealt with these developments from a revolutionary Marxist point of reference.

Marek sees monopoly state capitalism as a stage where the basic relations of production are changing. Notice how he relates this to the struggle for socialism.

“It has been a basic tenet among Marxists that . . . in the case of the socialist revolution . . . only the seizure of power by the proletariat will make possible the socialization of the means of production. But, nowadays, this problem, is more complicated than that. The social character of production is forcing its way through even on capitalist soil and within a capitalist integument . . .

“ . . . in the advanced capitalist countries, too, the X-ray of our age enables us to detect the socialist structure.”

And so he concludes:

“It is not simply a matter of reforms, but of *structural reforms* . . . stage by stage, structural reforms which will confine and reduce the positions of power held by big business, and of forcing through, even before the proletariat has achieved the political leadership of society, the sort of measures which one used to envisage as being possible only if they had, indeed, already captured the leadership of the state.

“These measures of public ownership, planning and investment must be combined with other measures to ensure that already now, before they have yet become the decisive force in society, the workers shall have a share in the management of the economy and of individual firms. A many-sided struggle along these lines . . . would

be able to force big business to retreat and ensure more power and influence over the economy for the working class."

And so, this would achieve a situation where the workers would "avoid waiting about for those more acute forms of struggle which used to be considered essential for the socialist revolution." "Acute forms of struggle which used to be considered essential for socialist revolution," are the key words in the "new model." The new model is reformist because it avoids the concept of revolutionary struggle. It avoids the Leninist concept. "This truth is that no revolution can be successful unless the resistance of the exploiters is crushed." The struggle for "structural reforms" does not by itself become a revolutionary demand. Mass actions for concrete steps that destroy the tentacles of monopoly control can move the masses towards "crushing their resistance."

In Marek's "model" the anti-monopoly struggle is in a *reformist* framework. In a more openly incubated stage Svitak expresses the same concept.

"The original conception that the proletarian revolution is a means of winning power is being changed by the radical transformation of science and technology: - *this is true revolution*, which is bringing mankind, and the working class, much closer to freedom than any fighting on the barricades."

This is Svitak's concept for structural reforms.

Now let us call in this more open witness. This witness is interesting because since he wrote the words that we will use he has come out openly as a defender and a proponent of the worst features of capitalism and imperialism. In fact, the conversion from a reviser of Marxism-Leninism to an open proponent of capitalism seemingly took only a few days. In fact, only the few hours that it takes to fly from Prague to New York City. The witness is Ivan Svitak, a leading "theoretician," a popular figure in certain quarters in the 1968-69 Czechoslovakia. Now, this Svitak is a leading figure in a USA Counter-Intelligence Agency sponsored and related educational institution. He is an interesting witness because he, amongst other things, proves that the line between those who set out to destroy Marxism-Leninism by revision and distortion and the open proponents of capitalism is a rather thin one. Now let us see how he presented his revisionist views in Czechoslovakia in 1968. He was a popular figure on Czechoslovakian televi-

sion, radio, newspapers and magazines. He was the proponent of the "new" Marxism.

He also started by saying "Lenin must be separated from Marx." Thus, Svitak writes in *Student*, a Czech publication. "We must distinguish Marx's great thought about the liberating role of the working class from Lenin's specifically Russian thought about the leading role of the Communist Party."

That Svitak was against both the working class and the Communist Party becomes obvious when he continues. Marx "was not for setting up of the dictatorship of one class and one political party."

Marx would have had some choice blistering words to our witness had he heard himself described as "Marx was an earnest European with deep roots in the European culture based on antiquity, Christianity, the Renaissance and enlightenment." "But his teachings were taken over in the East of Europe and in Asia where there was no enlightenment." This is to say how can one ever think of relating the thoughts of a man with this background to revolutionary class struggle. In the hands of this vulgar revisionist Marx's deep internationalism (and the profound international significance of Marxism) is turned into "West European" chauvinism. Others also try to place Marx in a modernized version of the Judeo-Christian religious tradition and would honor him in a Cathedral window while seeking to obliterate the scientific features of Marxism-Leninism and rob the working class of its revolutionary philosophy. Of course, such a caricature of Marx has nothing to do with the real revolutionary Marx. The caricature image of Lenin has nothing to do with his genius and leadership (at the most crucial turning point in history).

The aim of all revisionists is to downgrade the role of the working class and to undermine the role of the Communist Party. It is an attempt to take the class essence, the class approach, out of all questions.

Marek's "new model" is not based on the leading role of the working class.

"Since the desire for socialism in the advanced capitalist countries is not going to draw its strength from increasing misery and inhuman living conditions and since moral, democratic and cultural considerations will play an ever greater part, it will also be necessary to re-assess the role of the intellectuals in the working-class movement."

"Thanks to the part they play in modern techniques of production, in automation and in the management of industry and the economy, they (the intellectuals) are coming to advocate the very arguments which have taken on significance in winning people for socialist ideas.

"Socialist consciousness, scientific socialism, has to be imported into the working-class movement from outside, by the intellectuals."

Svitak sees the working class as a threat to his concept of a "free man."

To the revisionists, capitalist and imperialist countries are "capitalist democracies" but the working-class rule in the socialist countries are "totalitarian dictatorships."

They are ready to accept the "mythology of Marx." If only Lenin had not used this mythology to develop and concretize the concepts of victorious working-class struggles and applied it to developing concepts of working-class power and the necessity to build a vanguard revolutionary party. They are ready to accept Marx' "methodology" and Lenin's "Russian experience" as long as they do not lead to a revolutionary path. Because this is impossible they are out to destroy "Marxism-Leninism."

Our vulgar revisionist witness tries to draw the logical conclusions from his distortions. "Marxism-Leninism is a functional ideological tool used by apparatuses to manipulate masses and not objective truthful and historical interpretations." To the vulgar revisionist the revolutionary party becomes "an apparatus." And leadership in struggle becomes "manipulation of masses"

and Marxism-Leninism becomes their "ideological tool."

We can now let the vulgar revisionist witness return to his present ideological home prepared for him by the most brutal, most warlike class of exploiters in all of man's history. Here he now defends the class that enslaves and exploits more people than any other in history. Here he defends the class that exploits 80,000,000 workers, holds 40,000,000 of its people in special bondage by a system of racism. Here he can sing glory to the class that is killing thousands of men, women and children in Vietnam. On this ideological dung hill Svitak still crows about "the freedom of man." This is the inevitable pattern of vulgar revisionism.

Marxism-Leninism is one indivisible revolutionary social science. It cannot be separated in form or content.

It is a living science. It is a science of life. Like all sciences, it gathers experiences. It goes through trial and error and the correction of errors. It continually studies the past and probes the new, the future. And in this process it develops, it grows. The aim of revisionism is to stop this process. To direct it to dead end pathways.

On this, the Centennial of Lenin's birth, we can confidently say to the vulgar revisionists: your attempts are coming too late in history. Your efforts may cause a disruption here or there. But the very processes of life and the class struggle have condemned you to failure. Marxism-Leninism is the process of truth. It is indivisible, it is indestructible.

Lenin, revolutionary Communist and revolutionary leader

RODNEY ARISMENDI

A man walked the Earth,
Warming it for centuries to come . . .
His life was not for him alone,
His death—a loss to all.
A man walked the Earth,
And his message warmed peoples' hearts.

Vicente Huidobro

LEADER AND PEOPLE

Near midnight on October 24, 1917, hours before the armed rising, the beginning of the socialist revolution, two men were walking in the streets of Petrograd, their steps echoing in the stillness of the night. Police and army patrols were combing the city, peering into people's faces, stopping some to check identity papers. They were looking for Lenin—the order was out to find him at all costs.

The two were stopped by a patrol. One of them, with the tall lanky figure of a Finn, kept the patrol busy examining his papers. He was Eino Rahja, a messenger of the Bolshevik Central Committee. His companion continued on his way, his short stocky figure silhouetted in the dim light of the street lamps.

Now, more than half a century later, hundreds of millions would recognize in this disguised figure Lenin, the leader of the world socialist revolution. A few hours before the salvo of the *Aurora* he was walking with sure, quick step, defying the lurking danger of death, to the Smolny, the general staff of the rising, situated at the other end of the huge city, now stilled by an ominous feeling of suspense.

Rahja caught up with Lenin and together

they approached the Smolny, once a finishing school for "young ladies of noble birth," and now Bolshevik headquarters. Ivan Yeremeyev, leader of a machine-gun squad of Putilov workers, recalls: "Lenin's appearance was a complete surprise. He entered the Smolny alone, without a bodyguard. We were all amazed at his boldness. For we all knew that the counter-revolutionary police were searching for him and that the Provisional Government had set a large reward for his capture. And now, without warning, without guards, Vladimir Ilyich walked into the Smolny, having crossed the city, where his enemies were looking for him high and low."

It is not altogether clear whether Lenin left his hideout by decision of the Party or on his own responsibility in order to take over direct leadership of the rising. The decision on the rising was made in July and August, and since then Lenin had been working to prepare it theoretically, politically, organizationally and militarily. This brought him into controversy with old Party comrades, and also with those who had only recently joined its ranks, men like Trotsky, whose anti-Bolshevik views were of long standing.

This period was one of supreme manifestation of Lenin's genius. He was 47 and

he would live another seven years, all of them crowded with titanic effort, years in which the foundations were laid of our era, the era of socialism's triumph throughout the world. But for that it was necessary to consolidate the victory of the revolution, withstand the trying ordeals of the Civil War, chart out the path to socialism in a country whose backwardness was compounded by economic ruin, found and lead the Communist International, elaborate the strategy and tactics of the world socialist revolution—of which insurrection of colonial and dependent peoples was an essential element—disclose the dialectical link between the problem of peace and the problem of revolution in a world split into two antagonistic and mortally hostile social systems. To be the leader of the Party—the most militant and battle-trained party of the proletariat, an inspiring example for workers' parties throughout the world — meant heading a leadership collective united by fidelity to Marxist principles, steeled in the crucible of ideological struggle, and operating on the basis of conscious discipline and individual responsibility.

There was no such thing as a Lenin cult. Lenin was a genuine popular leader (he had many occasions to uphold the "authority of leaders"). He was a leader loved and respected by the Party and the people. He never indulged in cheap demagoguery, trenchantly criticized mistakes, but his criticism was never tainted with bureaucratic pedantry. His knowledge was wide and versatile, his mastery of Marxist methodology superb. Referring to European labor leaders in one of his earlier works, *What Is To Be Done?*, he wrote, citing Engels: "In particular, it will be the duty of the leaders . . . to free themselves more and more from the influence of traditional phrases inherited from the old world outlook, and constantly to keep in mind that socialism, since it has become a science, demands that it be pursued as a science, i.e., that it be studied" (Vol. 5, p. 372).

All this, and much more, was accomplished in the last seven years of his life. But one could take other periods of his revolutionary career to demonstrate his greatness. One could point to the originality and theoretical richness in his interpretative generalization of the processes at work in the imperialist stage of capitalism, his fight against imperialist war, elaboration of the theory of the Russian revolution and the proletariat's leading role in its democratic and socialist stages, his

struggle against revisionism at Second International congresses. Nor can these be separated, for they are all part of Lenin, and a source of admiration and inspiration.

And yet, in my view, Lenin's personality stands out with especial clarity in the period from the spring to the autumn of 1917—from the night he pronounced the famous slogan: "Long Live the Socialist Revolution!" to the historic night when he walked through the city to the Smolny fully aware of the danger he faced. This latter episode might seem absurd to those guided by cautious prudence rather than calculated courage. But for me it is the key to an understanding of Lenin, whether as outstanding scientist, fervent revolutionary or leader of the Party. His life was dedicated to a single aim—socialist revolution. He was animated by that single aim, and he fashioned the instrument for its achievement: the Bolshevik Party, the Russian Marxist party. That is why Lenin was, above all, a *Communist revolutionary, the leader of Communist revolutionaries organized in the Party, the vanguard of the working class.*

This was the same Lenin who in his younger years had carefully studied *Capital*,* analyzed the specifics of Russia's capitalist development; the same Lenin who had studied hundreds of books on philosophy and physics to give battle to idealism in his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, or, on the eve of the first world imperialist war, made copious notes in investigating the imperialist stage of capitalism, made a thorough study of Hegel to release the "living soul" of Marxism, dialectics, and use it as a weapon against opportunism.**

Lenin made a close study of Clausewitz and other military strategists, made notes from Cluseret's book on street fighting, read extensively on the history of the great revolutions. He was gratified, when, in 1905, the tactics of barricade fighting, rejected by Engels on military grounds after the 1848 revolution and the Paris Commune, were developed in another form, guerrilla warfare.

One cannot but admire the crystal clarity

*"Lenin devoted the months spent in Kazan to mastering the theory of Marxism and making personal contacts with the young Marxists there. He made a serious study of Marx's chief work, *Capital*. . . . Lenin was completely carried away by the great ideas of Marx, by the irresistible logic and profundity of his scientific conclusions" (*Biography*, p. 28).

**". . . It is impossible to completely understand Marx's *Capital*, and especially its first chapter, without having thoroughly studied and understood the whole of Hegel's 'Logic.' Consequently, half a century later none of the Marxists understood Marx" (Vol. 38, p. 180).

with which Lenin formulated the task of liberating the working class and oppressed peoples, of reshaping man by abolishing exploitation. These ideas were enunciated in his earlier works, which were to become the indestructible theoretical foundation of Russia's victorious revolution. Specifically, this refers to such books as *What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social Democrats*; *What Is To Be Done?*; *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*; *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*.

What Is To Be Done?, a book remarkable for its lucid exposition, dynamic prose and forceful argumentation, contains this significant passage: "History has now confronted us with an immediate task which is the *most revolutionary* of all the *immediate* tasks confronting the proletariat of any country. The *fulfilment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark, not only of European, but* (it may now be said) *of Asiatic reaction, would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat*. And we have the right to count upon acquiring this honorable title, already earned by our *predecessors, the revolutionaries of the seventies, if we succeed in inspiring our movement, which is a thousand times broader and deeper, with the same devoted determination and vigor*" (Vol. 5, p. 373. Lenin underlined "most revolutionary" and "immediate"—all other italics are mine. R.A.)

THE PROLETARIAN PARTY AND THE REVOLUTIONARY FERVOR OF THE OLD GENERATION

Literary embellishment had no place in Lenin's writing: never would he sacrifice clear formulation to florid phraseology. And in the clearly formulated passage cited above he anticipated the epochal role of the Russian revolution and the influence it would exert on West and East. Later this was developed in his theory of world socialist revolution, in which all currents—proletarian, democratic and anti-imperialist—would merge. I should also like to note that Lenin approvingly mentioned the preceding generation of Russian revolutionaries, those small groups, armed with "bomb and revolver," who gave battle to the tsarist autocracy. It is as if Lenin was urging our much wider and broader proletarian, socialist movement, to *draw inspiration from the revolutionary fervor, energy and heroism of the Narodniks*. What a val-

uable lesson for all the Communist parties of the world!

It has been said that Lenin's attitude was determined by the fact that he was born on the borderline of two generations of revolutionaries: the old generation of the 1870's and the new, which produced the Russian Marxists.

To a certain extent that is true, but it should also be noted that Lenin was able to overcome the theoretical and practical shortcomings of the Narodniks* and disclose—on this he always insisted—the class substance of any movement. He wrote: "*The lesson our revolution teaches is that only parties which have a definite class backing are strong and able to survive, whatever turn events may take*" (my italics.—R.A.; Vol. 15, p. 342).

Lenin's starting point in criticizing the Narodnaya Volya movement and overcoming its defects (earlier begun by Plekhanov and his group) was a correct historical appraisal of its positive aspects. For it would have been wrong to allow certain parties and groups to appropriate the Narodnaya Volya heritage and use the movement's ideological and tactical defects to challenge Marxism, the working class and its party for leadership of the revolution.

Lenin admired the revolutionary fervor of this heroic generation, of which his brother Alexander was a disciple and continuer. In his "The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement," Lenin emphasized: "*We must train people who will devote the whole of their lives, not only their spare evenings, to the revolution . . .*" (my italics—R.A.; Vol. 4, pp. 370-71). And he concluded the article with words from the fighting speech the worker Pyotr Alexeyev made at his trial.

Lenin had the utmost respect for such revolutionaries as Andrei Zhelyabov and Sophia Perovskaya, who belonged to the group that engineered the assassination of Alexander II in March 1881.

Referring to the members of Zemlya i Volya, Lenin commended not only their revolutionary determination and heroism, but also their "*magnificent organization . . . that should serve us as a model,*" adding that "*. . . to regard a militant revolutionary organization as something specifically Narodnaya Volya in character is absurd both*

*"If the members of the Narodnaya Volya managed to play an enormous role in the history of Russia, despite the fact that only narrow social strata supported the few heroes, and despite the fact that it was by no means a revolutionary theory which served as the banner of the movement, then Social-Democracy, relying on the class struggle of the proletariat, will be able to render itself invincible (Vol. 4, p. 181).

historically and logically, *for no revolutionary trend, if it seriously thinks of struggle, can dispense with such an organization*" (my italics—R.A.; Vol. 5, p. 474).

In his article "Where to Begin," that blueprint of the future classical *What Is To Be Done?*, Lenin rejects the idea that "a fighting organization" signifies a change of tactics. The building of a "fighting organization" and the conduct of "political agitation" (my italics—R.A.) he emphasized, were permanent tasks. And replying to those who considered the existence of a "fighting organization" unjustified in periods of slow social development, Lenin remarked: "... It is precisely in such periods and under such circumstances that work of this kind is particularly necessary, since it is too late to form the organization in times of explosion and outbursts" (Vol. 5, p. 18).

The mistake of the revolutionaries of the seventies "... was in relying on a theory which in substance was not a revolutionary theory at all" and the revolutionaries "either did not know how, or were unable, to link their movement inseparably with the class struggle in the developing capitalist society" (Ibid., p. 474). One can therefore speak of Bolshevism, led by Lenin, developing in the struggle on two fronts, against Economism, Menshevism, etc., i.e., the Russian reflection of European Social-Democrat revisionism and reformism, and against the Socialist-Revolutionaries, who made the Narodniks' erroneous theoretical and tactical views the axis of their policy. In both cases the mistakes stemmed from negating the historic role of the proletariat and contrasting to it the peasantry as the main revolutionary force. It was with this concept, diametrically opposed to the fundamental principle of Marxism,* that the Narodniks went into the rural areas to "awaken the peasants." And having failed, they advanced the theory of an enlightened and heroic minority, more and more isolating themselves from the masses and resorting to individual terror and "political sensation." These tactics and methods were taken over by the Socialist-Revolutionaries who were closely linked with West European anarchist trends.

Lenin fought these tactical and theoretical conceptions at every stage of his political career. Time and again he exposed terrorism as futile tactics, opposing to it the Marxist revolutionary tactics of mass action. His approach was a far cry from

*"The chief thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society" (Vol. 18, p. 582).

that of the philistine and hypocritical Social-Democrat leaders. In his article "Where to Begin," he rejected the idea that all terror should be denounced on principle, for terror is a variety of military operations and could be justifiably applied — indeed, even become necessary — in specific situations. "But the important point is that terror, at the present time, is by no means suggested as an operation for the army in the field, an operation closely connected with and integrated into the entire system of struggle, but as an independent form of occasional attack unrelated to any army" (my italics—R.A.; Vol. 5, p. 19). In other words, in a revolutionary situation, during a popular rising, in a civil or liberation war, terror is a component of strategy. And Lenin believed terror was proper, including its use to remove police agents, in the revolutionary atmosphere of 1906. However, it is an altogether different matter when terror leads to isolation from the masses, distracts from the important task, in every political situation, of revolutionary training and organization and "diverts the most active fighters from their real task, the task which is most important from the standpoint of the interests of the movement as a whole" (Vol. 5, p. 19).

The following, I think, is typical of Lenin's approach. Addressing the Swiss Social-Democratic Party congress on November 4, 1916, on the different trends in the international Socialist movement (at that time Lenin was waging an uncompromising struggle against the revisionism of the Second International leaders), he touched on the question of terror in connection with the assassination of Sturgkh, the head of the Austro-Hungarian government, by the Social-Democrat Fritz Adler.

Terrorism as "tactics" implies "... systematic organization of political assassinations unconnected with the mass revolutionary struggle..." A splendid definition!

Lenin did not know whether Adler followed this erroneous tactic, or whether the assassination was "a single act in the transition from the opportunist, non-socialist defense of the fatherland tactics of the official Austrian Social-Democrats to the tactics of revolutionary mass struggle."

And so, Lenin's approach was free of philistine hypocrisy and lamentation. He carefully analyzed the fact—just as if he were dealing with a phenomenon of nature—in all its political implications.

Terror tactics are fallacious—that is the first conclusion. Far from helping the revolutionary cause, they help reaction sup-

press the revolutionary movement, lead to unnecessary destruction of revolutionary cadres, and to actions in which the masses have no part whatever. And citing Russian experience, the record of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin drew this definitive conclusion: "At all events, we are convinced that the experience of revolution and counter-revolution in Russia has proved the correctness of our Party's more than twenty year struggle against terrorism as tactics" (my italics—R.A.)

Lenin's ideological struggle was successful because "terrorism as tactics" was countered by the genuine revolutionary tactics of mass struggle, in which propaganda and action are combined. And Lenin singled out three preconditions and determining factors of victory:

1. "... This struggle was closely connected with a ruthless struggle against opportunism, which was inclined to repudiate the use of all violence by the oppressed classes against their oppressors."

2. "... We linked the struggle against terrorism with many years of propaganda, started long before December 1905, for an armed uprising."

3. "... Four years before the revolution we supported the use of violence by the masses against their oppressors, particularly in street demonstrations . . . We began to devote more and more attention to organizing sustained and systematic mass resistance against the police and the army, to winning over, through this resistance, as large as possible a part of the army to the side of the proletariat in its struggle against the government, to inducing the peasantry and the army to take a conscious part in this struggle" (Vol. 23, pp. 122-23).

Lenin argued, and proved, that dogmatic denunciation, or even sharp criticism, of terror tactics as fallacious were not enough. Terrorism had to be countered by genuine revolutionary tactics. In this way, while building up the Party's unshakable theoretical foundation in ideological struggle against erroneous petty-bourgeois conceptions, Lenin imbued it with the heroic revolutionary traditions of Narodnaya Volya*

Nadezhda Krupskaya, commenting on the requirements Lenin formulated for Party members, remarked that Narodnaya Volya had "many heroes who, in their attempts

on the life of the tsar, his officials and police chiefs, consciously faced death for the sake of their cause. And Lenin had the greatest respect for the Narodnaya Volya leaders," but unlike them, Krupskaya adds, he believed that "the existing system could be changed only by the efforts of the organized millions, by their struggle, and not by lone fighters. But the heroism of Narodnaya Volya laid a definite imprint on the work of our Party." And Krupskaya continues: "Our Party absorbed their understanding of the need for revolutionary tempering, combat readiness, ability to dedicate oneself to the struggle for the proletarian cause, for the triumph of socialism. Without revolutionary tempering, without revolutionary perseverance and discipline in the tsarist days, our Party would never have become a powerful force."

PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONARY

First and foremost, Lenin was a professional revolutionary and as such he set a glowing example for Party cadres, for whose education he was always concerned. In the new era, Party cadres, he believed, were the core of the proletarian party. It is said that one of the Menshevik leaders—I do not remember whether it was Dan or Abramovich—complained that Lenin was invincible because all this thought, his very life, were centered on the revolution.

And at this "fiery hour of decision" (to use a Latin American saying) on the night of October 24, 1917, Lenin was where his duty called him. Nor could it have been otherwise.

For he had lived for this moment. His thoughts and work were centered on it—he had gone through exile, emigration, through the numberless dangers that beset the life of a Communist—for this moment of triumph.

Some might argue that that moment of triumph was the result of a fortuitous conjuncture of historical events; some might be inclined to expatiate on the role of the personality, on how things might have shaped out if Lenin were kidnapped or killed on the eve of the Great October Revolution. Others might even affirm—with the air of the "infallible" German professor referred to by Bismarck* — that Lenin's behavior on that night was wrong. All such speculative conjecture smacks of professorial pedantry, for the revolution provides no absolute guarantee that its

*"The Social-Democrats will always warn against adventurism and ruthlessly expose illusions which inevitably end in complete disappointment. We must bear in mind that a revolutionary party is worthy of its name only when it guides in deed the movement of a revolutionary class" (Vol. 6, p. 194).

*Bismarck is credited with the maxim: "God knows everything, but the German professor knows even more."

leaders (like "generals who die in bed") will be immune to the danger of death. On the other hand, it should be perfectly clear that the Party and the organization of revolutionaries are in duty bound to safeguard their leaders and that the latter must always be where "the action is."

Who will venture to accuse Lenin of rashness or adventurism? On the contrary, when necessary he worked abroad. He ridiculed adventurism.

The following episode is typical both of Lenin's personal bravery and determination, and of his keen feeling of responsibility, which led him to shun unjustified risks. After the Stolypin coup of June 3, 1906, Lenin had to leave Finland and make his way to Stockholm by steamer from Abo. But the port was being watched by the police, and Lenin set out for the steamer's next stopping place. Part of the way lay across ice which was still unreliable; at several points it cracked underfoot. Lenin was later to relate that the first thought to cross his mind was "What a stupid way to die!"

No, he was not rash. He was a real revolutionary. He loved life, and did not want to "die in a stupid way." But he did not for a moment hesitate, when it was a question of resuming his place in the leadership of the struggle, to use the mass appeal of his personality in an hour of decision.

We must not ascribe to him the traits of an adventure-novel hero. For above all, I repeat, he was a professional revolutionary. But he was a hero, a hero of the era of the world socialist revolution. Men of his stamp, inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideology, are to be found in the vanguard when epochal problems are being resolved. This applies to the men of 1905. It applies to the tested underground workers of many countries who know how to avoid the traps set by imperialist and fascist regimes frightened by the spectre of revolution. It applies, too, to the Bolsheviks in all their activity and struggle. It applies to the organizers and fighters of the International Brigades in Spain, so many of whom fell in battle. It applies to those who conquered the Nazi plague, who fought in the trenches, withstood torture in concentration camps, to the heroes of the underground, to the Resistance fighters who struck terror into the enemy thanks to skilled organization and action. It applies to Ho Chi Minh, the man who traversed all Asia bearing Lenin's word and open-

ing up bright horizons for the teeming millions of that continent. It applies to Dimitrov who defied the Leipzig court, certain that the future was with him. It applies to Julius Fucik, who, like so many others, proved that revolutionaries were tougher than any torture yet devised. It applies to Nikos Beloianis holding his carnation. And it applies to many others: to the thousands of Latin American Communists assassinated or tortured to death, burning up in the grim but hopeful struggle; to Mella, and Fidel Castro and his associates, who espoused Communism by reason of their devotion to the people and the revolution, to Che Guevara.

Repatterning the world together with the proletariat, heading the movement of all the oppressed, these people sometimes committed mistakes.* But mistakes are unavoidable in an unprecedented undertaking rounding out the pre-history of human society. So these people are the backbone of the revolutionary era.

All sorts of foul things have been said about them, about these working-class revolutionaries, these ranking workers of the revolutionary party of which Lenin dreamed, which Lenin forged, building it up into a huge party of worldwide significance embodying the genius of the man who stood in the center of our epoch.

For anarchists and frenetic petty bourgeois, Communists are bureaucrats or dictators. But then, the imperialism and the radical petty bourgeois went to all lengths to portray Communists now as heartless, bloodthirsty monsters for whom "the end justified the means" and now as burlesque and unfeeling officials devoid of lofty inspiration.

Communists are accused of reformism when they reject empty "revolutionary" verbiage and define the problems in accordance with the political situation and the degree of mass preparedness, and are accused of Blanquism and voluntarism when they rightly accentuate the role of the Party and speak out against positivist, revisionist or social-democratic degeneration (some day the revolution will come about automatically . . . for our grandchildren).

Communists are stigmatized as dogma-

*"Even if we committed 10,000 mistakes for every 100 correct actions we performed, even in that case our revolution would be great and invincible, and so it will be in the eyes of world history, because, for the first time, not the minority, not the rich alone, not the educated alone, but the real people, the vast majority of the working people, are themselves building a new life, are by their own experience solving the most difficult problems of socialist organization" (V. I. Lenin, Vol. 28, p. 72).

tists when they fight for the principles, the theory and the perspective of the socialist revolution and for internationalism, its inseparable element. And they are accused of opportunism, because they apply the Marxist theory and method to concrete realities in the concrete political period . . . The enemy makes use of everything—the term “Marxism-Leninism,” the traditions, the experience, even the life-stories of some of the Communists, opposing them to other Communists or to the movement as a whole.

That is not novel. The ferocity of the attacks, it is true, has probably increased, for time has proved that Marxism-Leninism is the most advanced theory and that Communists, Party cadres, professional revolutionaries (in the loftiest, Leninist sense of the word) are the victorious vanguard of humanity in this, the most revolutionary period of world history that began in October 1917.

Greater delirium and acrimony is hardly possible! In her splendid portrayal of one of the periods in Lenin's life, the writer Marietta Shaginyan observed: “That infinitely delicate and modest, sensitive and kind, equal and ordinary man—loved for this as no other on earth—that man, who left an indelible mark on our epoch, was accused of every possible transgression: anti-democratism, dogmatism, arm-twisting, a craving to be dictator, suppressing criticism, ‘bookishness,’* and even — *horrible dictu* — of making a cult of his personality! But to personal attacks Lenin responded with near indifference, even irony.”

Years ago I learned of an evaluation of Lenin by a French anarcho-syndicalist who had known him during his Paris period. That Frenchman, enthralled by the ideas of Georges Sorel and engrossed in his *Reflections on Violence*, conceived Lenin as a run-of-the-mill professor of political economy aspiring to be a Socialist, as a cautious supporter of purely organizational action. For that gentleman, violence was the demiurge of any *revolutionary situation*, of the revolution itself (the idealistic Bergsonian philosophical influence on Sorel is well known). Yet Lenin, who fought social-democratic reformism tooth and nail and regarded anarchism as the retribution for the opportunism and reformism of many Second International leaders, viewed the

problem of violence as part of the class struggle, tying in the methodology of violence with politics.

During revolutionary storms and during the times of preparing revolution melancholic reformists and centrist conciliators branded Lenin as an errant Marxist contaminated with *Blanquism and anarchism*. Yet when circumstances changed and tactical breadth and flexibility were required, anarchists, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Otzovists* and “Left Communists” complained of him as of “a much too fervent exponent of pacifist action,” and the like. Yet Lenin was always Lenin. He boldly anticipated new forms of struggle and objected to their being confused by superficial comparison with Blanquism or anarchism. Sarcastically, he wrote: “Inexperienced revolutionaries often think that legal methods of struggle are opportunist because, in this field, the bourgeoisie has most frequently deceived and duped the workers (particularly in ‘peaceful’ and non-revolutionary times), while illegal methods of struggle are revolutionary. That, however, is wrong. The truth is that those parties and leaders are opportunists and traitors to the working class that are unable or unwilling . . . to use illegal methods of struggle in conditions such as those which prevailed, for example, during the imperialist war of 1914-18 . . . But revolutionaries who are incapable of combining illegal forms of struggle with every form of legal struggle are poor revolutionaries indeed” (Vol. 31, pp. 96-97; the word *every* was underlined by Lenin, while the rest are my italics—R.A.)

This was Lenin in his grandeur, integrity and singleness of purpose, embodying the distinctive qualities of the Communist Party member — revolutionary energy that could move mountains combining with a profoundly scientific, critical and impartial assessment of concrete situations and unquestioning dedication to the cause of revolution.

To achieve this harmonious blend is the Party's historic mission. Party unity must combine unity in program issues, tactics and organization. Based on the principles of *democratic centralism*, the Party must combine—and this is not easy—purity of doctrine and unity of ranks with diversity and breadth in its links with the masses; rigorous organization of Party cadres with extensive ties among the workers and the

*L. Nadezhdin's figment in his pamphlet, *The Eve of the Revolution* (mentioned by Lenin in his Works, Vol. 5, p. 493—Marietta Shaginyan).

*Otzovism—a trend urging recall of Bolshevik deputies from the State Duma.—Tr.

people, and clarity of purpose—seizure of political power by the proletariat — with clarity and flexibility in tactics, setting political tasks for a definite period only. Ever faithful to Marxism, though never treating it as a ready-made prescription, Lenin warned in his *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats* that it is impossible to provide a "slogan of struggle" unless we study every separate form of the struggle minutely, unless we trace every stage of the struggle during the transition from one form to another, so that we can define the situation at any given moment, without losing sight of the general character of the struggle and its general aim, namely, the complete and final abolition of all exploitation and all oppression" (Vol. 1, p. 328). For this purpose, Marxism charted "the correct line, which is equally remote from exaggerating the importance of politics, from conspiracy (Blanquism, etc.), and from decrying politics or reducing it to opportunism, reformist social tinkering (anarchism, utopian and petty-bourgeois socialism, state socialism, professorial socialism, etc.)" (Vol. 4, p. 177).

Compounding theory, politics and organization in a creative and dynamic unity, the Party is the means of overcoming those erroneous views. Yet for raising the question of this unity so insistently, opportunists accused Lenin of advocating "bureaucratic centralism," an autocratic organization of bureaucrats.

These strident accusations have resounded against the Communist Party throughout the present century. Real bureaucrats suckled on anti-communism and virulent anti-Sovietism, bourgeois ideologists of all hues, anarchists and near-anarchists, mad-brained petty-bourgeois acting as "revolutionaries for an hour" in the environment of the unfolding revolutionary storm, and all kinds of renegades, continue to level this incredible charge against professional revolutionaries and a "party machine" that exists nowhere but in their imagination. History, the dazzling history of the 20th century, has given an answer to this howling: every revolution of our time is the product of the objective conditions, the Marxist analysis of which was produced by Lenin; it is the work of the peoples led by the world Communist movement. Despite all twists and turns, all peculiarities, modern history revolves round that one axis—the contemporary working class led by its Party, a party built as Lenin conceived and organized it at the turn of the

century, as a projection of the well-known propositions of Marx and Engels.

To be sure, mistakes have been made, and sometimes there were deviations or tendencies that affected the strength and power of this movement of the millions rising in different parts of the world in a setting of different levels of social development, of unexampled twists in the class and national liberation struggle, retarding the performance of the movement's function of "locomotive of history." And, as Lenin taught, the mistakes and deviations must be rectified. Marxism-Leninism and its organizational embodiment, the Communist Party, and they alone, stand at the head of the socio-historical transformation and building of the new world.

Somewhere on the sidelines of history there die all other theories and organizations opposed to the Communist movement: the opportunistic revisionism of the Social-Democrats, the strident petty-bourgeois anarchism and the thousands of other combinations and compounds of these two trends, which are portrayed as the "latest" theories but are, in effect, the product of an intellectual and tactical "mini-thinking."

As Lenin anticipated, the socialist and anti-colonial revolution continues its advance, with the contingents of the Communist movement going from strength to strength.

In developing the principles of Party building — to Plekhanov's surprise and the annoyance of Kautsky and Bebel, and misunderstood even by the magnificent Rosa Luxemburg—Lenin insisted on frontal struggle over the question of the organizational pillars of the party of the new type. Later, with his usual fervor and energy, Lenin would say: "In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organization." The proletariat will become an invincible force that neither the tsarist autocracy nor the "senescent rule of international capital" will be able to withstand once its "ideological unification on the principles of Marxism" is reinforced "by the material unity of organization, which welds millions of toilers into an army of the working class." That army, he added, "will more and more firmly close its ranks, in spite of all zigzags and backward steps, in spite of the opportunist phrasemongering of the Girondists of present-day Social Democracy, in spite of the self-satisfied exaltation of the retrograde circle spirit, and in spite of the tinsel and fuss of intellectualist anarchism" (Vol. 7, p. 415). And these prophetic lines put down

in 1904, have been borne out by the revolutionary history of our era.

THE WAY TO THE SMOLNY

Lenin's challenge to history on the eve of the October has a pre-history. In one of her books, Nadezhda Krupskaya relates in simple terms, as a soldier would relate a battle, Lenin's life on the threshold of the revolution or, more precisely, during the time shortly before going to the Smolny, when he wrote his *Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?* Krupskaya mentions two of his letters to the Central Committee, raising the question of an armed uprising and seizure of power, the famous letters, "The Bolsheviks Must Assume Power" and "Marxism and Insurrection," in every sense truly classical works. "Then," Krupskaya recounts, "Lenin decided to move to Petrograd. He began by moving closer to the city, from Helsingfors to Vyborg . . . He wrote me a cryptographic note to find him lodgings (the reference is to Fofanova's flat in the Vyborg precinct) . . . Lenin was always conscious of the necessity never to forget the old underground techniques . . . The Finnish comrades brought him to Petrograd." Further, Krupskaya notes: "At once a few of the comrades began grumbling: 'He came without permission'. But it was not a time for grumbling. The Central Committee convened. Vladimir Ilyich raised the question of an armed uprising, of revolution. The vast majority of the Central Committee agreed with him . . . In fact, the Soviets had by then shifted to the side of the Bolsheviks . . . The Soviets were already in favor of an uprising."

Lenin was always as close as possible to the center of the action. As much as 110 days had passed since the government outlawed Lenin after the July demonstration, compelling him to go underground. A dragnet was spread to find and kill him. He guided all revolutionary activity from different places, including his famous retreat at Razliv, near the Bay of Finland. During that time he wrote many of his works, among them *The State and Revolution*, which subsequently filled nearly three volumes of his Complete Works.

One cannot help admiring Lenin's courage in the light of the modern underground techniques. His life in perpetual danger, he moved from one retreat to the next—he, leader of the greatest revolution in history, leader of the best organized and hardest steeled party of all time! Lenin found shelter in the homes of Petrograd workers, in a twig hut on the shore of Lake

Razliv, in the dwellings of Finnish workmen, and in workers' quarters in the Vyborg precinct. Until he finally came out of hiding to provide direct leadership in the concluding stage of the armed uprising, the beginning of the socialist revolution. He crossed the border into Finland disguised as a locomotive fireman. He put on a wig and shaved off his moustache to make himself unrecognizable. Unrecognizable? His appearance may have changed, but as ever his eyes sparkled ironically, his glance filled with the usual resolution. That was the Lenin we see in the photograph of his passport, issued to one K. Ivanov, a worker. Lenin on his way to the Smolny.

Are not all these things of the October consistent with his attitude to the 1905 revolution? On June 14, 1905, a rising erupted near Odessa on board the cruiser *Potemkin*. Immediately, Lenin contacted Bolshevik Mikhail Vasiliev-Yuzhin, instructing him on behalf of the Party's Central Committee to leave for Odessa at once. What tasks did Lenin set him? Vasiliev-Yuzhin was to prevail on the seamen to effect a landing, occupy the city, arm the workers and begin agitation among the peasants. "Furthermore, every effort must be made to gain control of the rest of the fleet," Lenin said. "Then, send a gunboat for me at once. I shall go to Rumania."

The 1905 uprising failed. But even at that time, in 1905, Lenin "steered the course to insurrection." He arrived in St. Petersburg on November 8, 1905, and assumed his place at the head of the Party. A general strike was declared on December 5, and on December 7 fighting erupted on the barricades. Lenin was deeply conscious of the worldwide historical significance of these developments. While Plekhanov and others said arms should not have been taken up, Lenin welcomed the revolution, the harbinger of the new epoch, of the future victory of the working class. Subsequently, he described it as the first popular revolution of the imperialist epoch.

Lenin had a warm heart and cool head, and required the same of all leading Communists. He made everything an object of study—the role of the then just formed Soviets; the proletariat as the leading force in the struggle; the alignment of classes in the 1905 Revolution, which, among other things, bore out his thesis on the worker-peasant alliance being the motive force of the Russian revolution; the Marxist proposition on unintermittent revolution, a synthesis of the 1848 experience and the Paris

Commune; the realistic chances of an armed rising winning at the present level of military technology and organization; the role of political and economic working-class strikes and their interrelation with insurrection, a concept differing from the old anarchist idea of a general strike as a panacea, and, last but not least, the role of the working-class party equipped with the correct theory and appropriately organized.

During the storm of 1905 Lenin flung himself into the fray, knowing that tsarist Russia, which had entered the imperialist epoch and was rent by contradictions, was the weakest link in the imperialist chain. Even at the height of the reprisals of 1907-1910, Lenin pinpointed objective causes for a new eruption, paving the way for the inevitable breakthrough.

Yes, Lenin was the symbol of *the times*, expressive of the imminence of revolution, of the fact that socialist revolution had moved to the top of the agenda. And that he has been throughout our epoch. He lived and worked for the sake of that night on October 24, for the sake of the victorious rising of October 25.

"WITHOUT REVOLUTIONARY THEORY THERE CAN BE NO REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT"

Some people will possibly conclude that Lenin placed theory second to practice, that he was exclusively a man of action, a militant political practitioner and active leader of the Party. What is more, some people still artificially contrapose the image of Marx, the thinker and philosopher, to that of Lenin, the revolutionary practitioner who carried revolution into effect. That view is false in both respects. Marx was never an armchair scientist, and as for Lenin, he wrote: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement" (Cf. *What Is To Be Done?*). He shared and defended the world outlook of Marx and Engels even when "eminent oracles" such as Kautsky, followed by lovers of artful machinations such as Trotsky, proclaimed philosophy a personal fad, or when the "bright lights" of the Second International ridiculed as absurd academism the Bolshevik "mania" for continuously discussing theoretical and ideological problems and safeguarding the theoretical purity of the proletarian party.

We shall see further that the impact of Leninism derives precisely from the keenness of Lenin's theoretical foresight, from

his defending and creatively developing Marxist theory, this algebra of socialist revolution. The essence of that theory — in politics, as well as in ideology — is dialectical unity with practice. Challengingly, Karl Marx, then still a young man, spelled out this essential difference between his own theory and all the other ideologies, which he regarded as a "false consciousness." Take his famous thesis: philosophers merely explained the world in different ways, but the purpose is to alter it. This was not meant to belittle theory, as Althusser thinks, but to elevate the theory that developed on the basis of practice and materialized in politics inasmuch as the latter was expressive of the class struggle, because classes would continue to exist until the final triumph of communism. If it adheres to scientific principles, the Party embodies this interaction of practice and theory, and of theory and practice. This it is that makes the Party the vanguard of the proletariat, as Marx and Engels pointed out in the *Communist Manifesto*. In his article, "Our Program," written when Marxism was still a minority trend in Russia, Lenin said that Marx's theory "made clear the real task of a revolutionary socialist party: not to draw up plans for refashioning society, not to preach to the capitalists and their hangers-on about improving the lot of the workers, not to hatch conspiracies, but to organize the class struggle of the proletariat and to lead this struggle, the ultimate aim of which is the conquest of political power by the proletariat and the organization of a socialist society" (Vol. 4, pp. 210-11).

And Lenin performed that task, which involved theoretical, political and organizational activity. He worked out the theory of the Russian revolution, applying the theoretical postulates of Marx and Engels creatively to the reality of Russia, which experienced continuous revolutionary convulsions. Our teaching is not a dogma, but a guide to action, Lenin wrote. Not only does he repeat this time and again, but puts the idea brilliantly into practice. And in 1917, he re-phrases it in his "Letters on Tactics," a new theoretical work, thus: Every theory at best only outlines the main and the general, only comes near to embracing life in all its complexity (Vol. 24, p. 45). In his evaluation of the "revolutionary time" in Russia when the revolution took a new turn (Cf. Lenin's works of April 1917), Lenin is true to the creative, anti-dogmatic spirit of Marxism, and thus also to himself. For proof we may

turn to his work, *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*, which Lenin wrote when he was only 24. As far back as that, too, he wrote that theoretical and practical activity blended into a single whole.

The growth of the Bolshevik Party — an arduous path travelled from 1903 to 1917 in the stormy setting of Russia and of international upheavals—was the result of a correct *program* and of correct *tactics*, which conformed with the actual revolutionary process, representing a striking fusion of Marxism and the Russian revolutionary reality.

As a historic personality, Lenin is the product of the harmony of national and international development.

It was no accident that in an emotional passage in *What Is To Be Done?* he re-

quired the Marxist Party to achieve a greater degree of continuity in the revolutionary traditions of the country, inspired, devoted and heroic, from the theoretical and class standpoint, in relation to the previous generations of Russian revolutionaries.

During revolutionary storms and at times of persevering, patient and methodical work in organizing the movement, Lenin passed all trials, all the great trials that the workers and history require of their leaders.

Genius, sense of purpose and other exceptional personal qualities blend in Lenin with the qualities of an outstanding revolutionary, the Communist leader of the victorious movement comprising millions, a movement that makes our century the era of the triumph of communism.

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