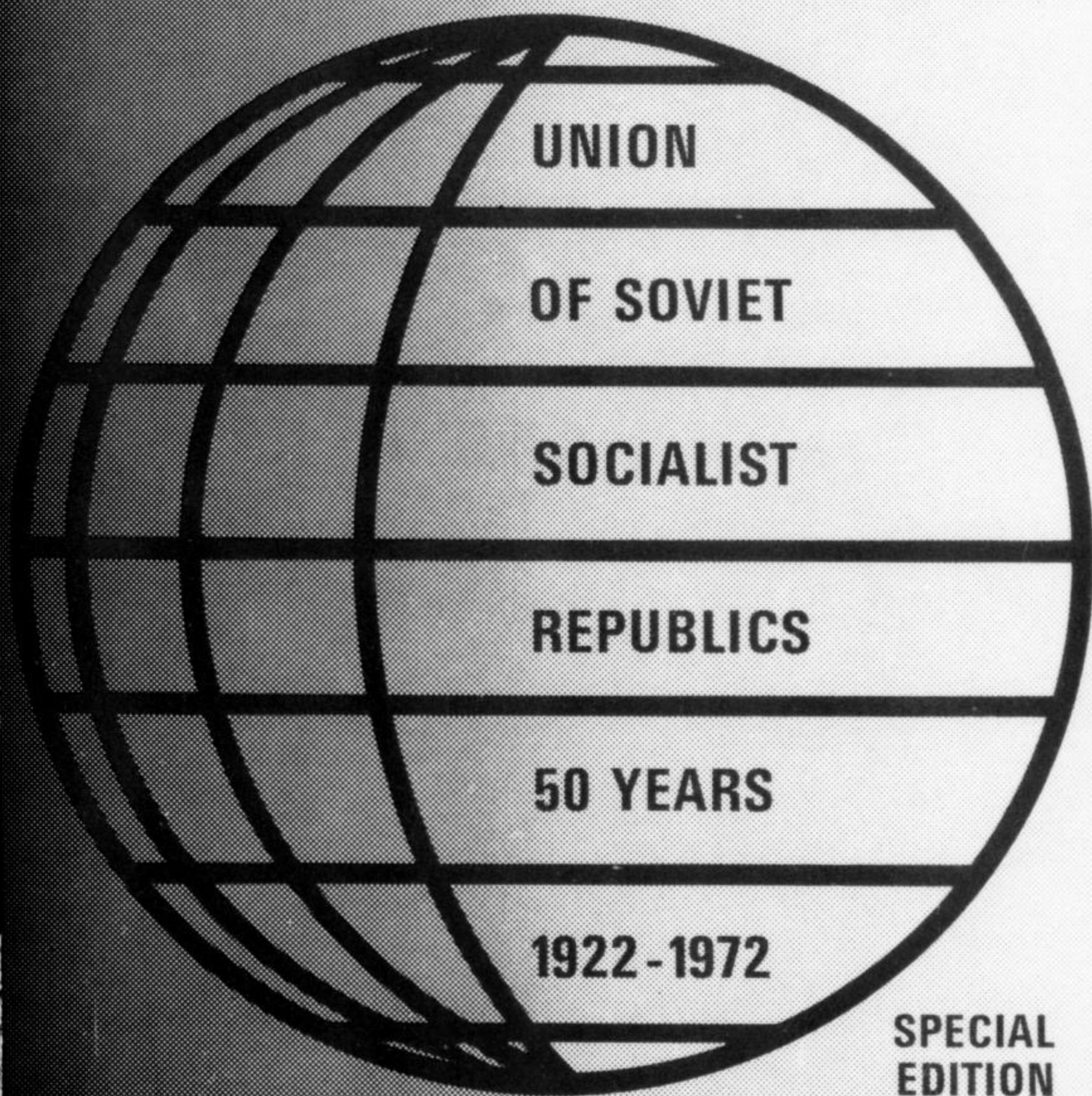
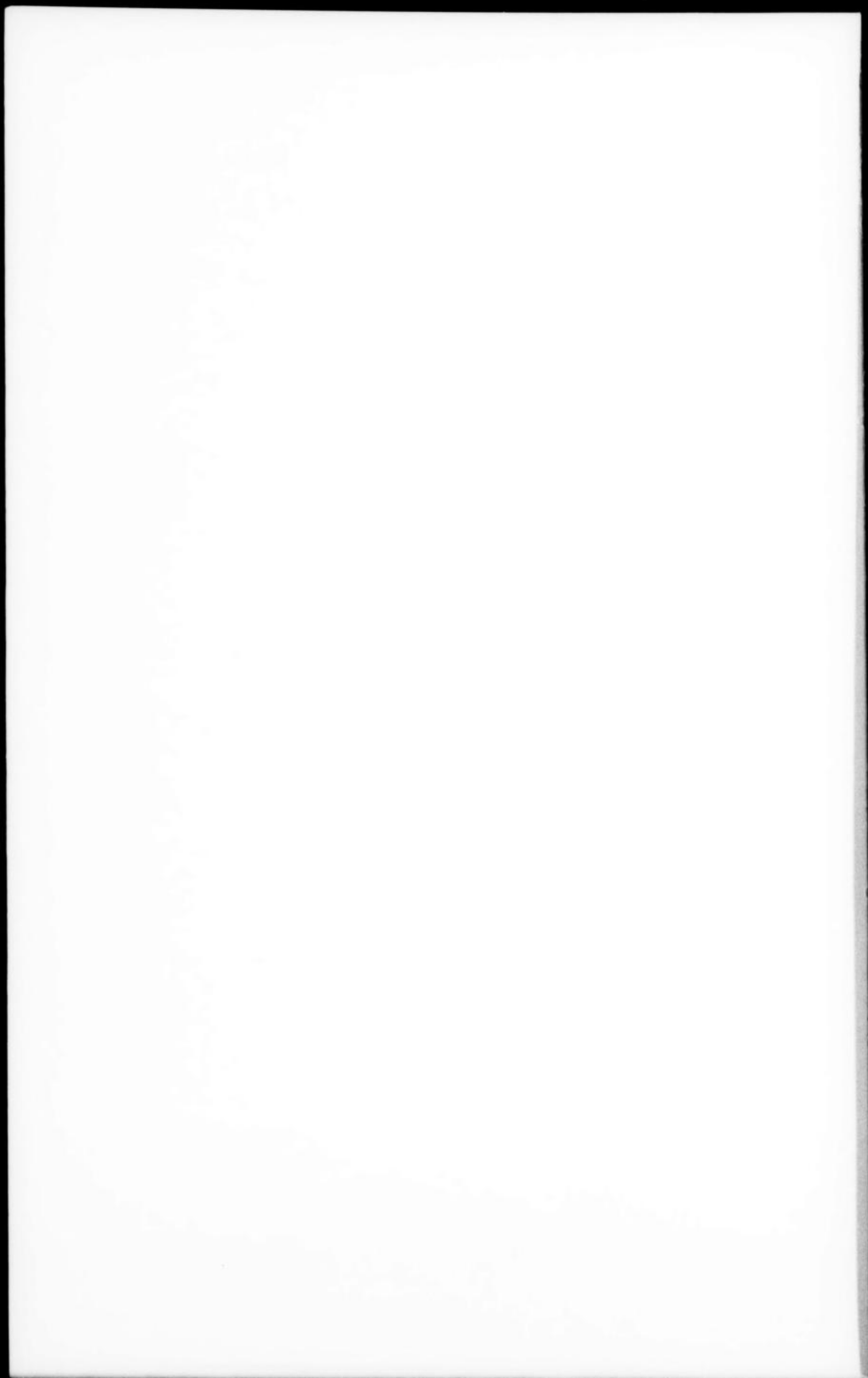


WORLD *Problems of* **MARXIST** *Peace and Socialism* **REVIEW**

Oct. 1972, Vol. 15, No. 10 50¢







WORLD Problems of **MARXIST** Peace and Socialism **REVIEW**

Theoretical and information
journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties

Oct. 1972, Vol. 15, No. 10

FIFTY YEARS OF UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (1922-1972)

- 3 Soviet experience of building socialism and its world-historic significance
- 4 Milestone in mankind's social progress
(Opening remarks of WMR Editor-in-Chief K. I. Zaradov)
- 5 B. N. Ponomaryov. International significance of formation and development of USSR
- 19 K. Tellalov. Socialist internationalism in action
- 22 R. Guyot. Outstanding contribution to revolutionary experience
- 26 **B. Sen** Soviet experience and national question in India
- 29 V. Pessi. USSR and national interests of Finnish people
- 32 A. A. Abdel-Hamid. Leninist principle of unity
- 34 B. Ashimov. Eliminating economic and cultural inequality
- 37 I. Cox. Beacon of peoples' struggle
- 41 N. Luvsanravdan. Materialization of objective laws of socialism
- 44 L. Bouhali. Flourishing socialist republics
- 46 N. Ashab. Powerful spur to national liberation
- 49 A. Werblan. Model of new international relations
- 52 G. Savvidis. Only road to fraternity of nations
- 54 G. Gensini. Some aspects of Italian Communists' fight for democracy and socialism
- 58 Kh. Bagdash. Fidelity to proletarian internationalism
- 60 M. Constantinescu. RCP in revolution and socialist building
- 63 A. Peter. No compromise in ideological struggle
- 66 G. Heyden. International relations of a new type
- 69 Y. Demir. Indestructible fraternal union
- 71 L. Junttila. Rise of a multinational culture
- 74 J. Szabo. Lessons of socialist construction in USSR

(continued next page)

(cont'd)

- 76 J. Fuchs. Bulwark of world revolutionary movement
- 79 M. I. Kulichenko. Soviet people: a new historical community
- 83 P. Bart. CP in fight against racialism
- 86 H. Noibert. Criterion of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism
- 88 A. Yata. Main force confronting imperialism
- 90 L. Van Geit. Anti-peoples' policy of monopoly bourgeoisie
- 93 M. Harmel. From feudalism to socialism, bypassing capitalism
- 95 I. Iskenderi. Powerful factor for peace and progress
- 98 P. Mendez. Source of revolutionary energy
- 101 L. Nagy. Soviet socialist democracy
- 104 M. Harmel. Power of proletarian solidarity
- 106 K. Ahmed. Against bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism
- 109 J. Fojtik. Soviet Union's growing prestige and authority
- 112 V. Venetsanopoulos. Triumph of Leninist national policy
- 115 E. A. Bagramov. Apropos falsification of national relations in USSR
- 118 R. Oehman. Road to women's emancipation
- 121 K. Mruhe. Arab liberation movement
- 123 M. Buschmann. Triumph of socialist ideas
- 126 C. Mendes. Portuguese Communists battle colonialism
- 128 I. Norlund. Fundamental significance of Soviet experience
- 132 T. Jaroszewski. General and specific in socialist construction
- 134 J. Foster. National problems in British working-class movement
- 137 R. Dix. Creative approach to CPSU experience
- 139 P. N. Fedoseyev. Internationalism, an inalienable part of communist ideology and policy. (Concluding remarks)

Second class mail registration number 2352. Printed in Canada.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is the North American edition of the monthly journal Problems of Peace and Socialism published in Prague.

Microfilm edition available through University Microfilms Library Service.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$5.00 a year \$9.00 for two years. Single copies 50 cents. Overseas: \$8.00 a year.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in Arabic, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Mongolian, Norwegian, Persian, Polish, Portuguese,

Rumanian, Russian, Singhalese, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish and Vietnamese.

Subscriptions to these may be obtained through PROGRESS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE, 487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto 133.

Or, in USA from IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS, 1730 West Arcade Place, Chicago, Ill. 60612

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is published by PROGRESS BOOKS, 487 Adelaide Street West, Toronto 133, Ontario, Canada.

Copyright © 1968 by Progress Books, Canada. All Rights Reserved.



Soviet experience of building socialism and its world-historic significance

An international theoretical conference on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, sponsored by Problems of Peace and Socialism and the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CC CPSU, was held in Prague July 5-7. It was attended by representatives of the following Communist and Workers' parties: Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Chile, Communist Party of Colombia, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, German Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of Indonesia, People's Party of Iran, Iraqi Communist Party, Communist Party of Israel, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Japan, Jordanian Communist Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco), Paraguayan Communist Party, Communist Party of the Philippines, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, African Independence Party of Senegal, South African Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Spain, Sudanese Communist Party, Left Party—Communists of Sweden, Syrian Communist Party, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of the United States of America.

The report on the International Significance of the Formation and Development of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was delivered by B. N. Ponomarev, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU.

Speakers at the conference emphasized the epochal importance of the Soviet Union's experience in solving the national question and in building socialism, the contribution of the USSR and the CPSU to the world liberation struggle against social and national oppression, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. Many participants spoke of the measures being carried out in their countries in connection with the 50th anniversary of the USSR.

The materials of the conference, which follow, are abridged.

MILESTONE IN MANKIND'S SOCIAL PROGRESS

Opening remarks of WMR Editor-in-Chief K. I. Zarodov

Our conference is devoted to an event that occupies a place of distinction in the heroic annals of revolutionary achievement. The constitution of the USSR opened up for the working people of Russia, for the international communion of mankind, a new era – one of friendship and fraternity of free peoples, of their positive coming-together on an internationalist basis. It was also a decisive factor securing favorable conditions for socialist reconstruction, the economic and cultural progress of all Soviet peoples, and for the consolidation of socialism's international positions. Furthermore, it was a conclusive victory for the ideas of proletarian internationalism, the result of the practical application of the Marxist principles of the new type of state.

Like the October Revolution, the formation of the USSR is connected forever with the name and work of the great Lenin. It was he who drew the immensely important conclusion that in the imperialist epoch the national liberation struggle is an inseparable part of the worldwide movement for socialist reconstruction. It was he, too, who produced the conclusive teaching on the national question and who put it into effect creatively in the complex conditions of multinational Russia.

Today, looking back upon the fifty years of the Soviet state, we can say proudly that the Communist Party, Lenin's party, has resolved the national question correctly. The mechanism of relations between nations in one state, built up under Lenin's leadership, has stood the test of time. Naturally, it is being improved, and the search never ceases for the most appropriate ways of further deepening the cooperation of Soviet people, of strengthening the Union.

In examining this experience we should follow the methodological criteria used by Lenin when he wrote of the international significance of the October Revolution in the broad, as well as narrow, sense of the word. In the former case, it is a question of analyzing the impact of the success of national-state development in the USSR, the rapid all-round flowering of the Soviet Republics, on various countries and peoples, and in the second case – of the inevitable recurrence in countries taking the socialist way of the basic regularities, as pinpointed by Lenin and confirmed by the practice of the USSR.

Marxist-Leninists have always cherished the international experience of the revolutionary struggle, of socialist transformations. Lenin said that Communists must absorb the achievements of all the preceding epochs, adopt all the best, all the progressive. This is doubly necessary as concerns the experience of national-state development, especially experience that can be used by peoples that have already tackled or are preparing to tackle the complex tasks of socialist construction in economically backward, as well as highly developed countries. The Soviet Union has to its credit

not only the experience of bridging centuries of backwardness in a short period of history, not only the experience of eliminating hostility among nationalities and compounding free peoples into a multi-national state, but also the experience of all-round economic, social, political and cultural development which turned the Soviet state into one of the mightiest powers of the world standing in the van of scientific-technical progress.

It stands to reason that the use of any experience, the Soviet included, presupposes a creative approach to it, and consideration for the pluses and minuses, for the national specifics of the countries concerned, and for the international situation.

And one more thing. Marxist-Leninists hold that the international prestige of the Soviet Union, its beneficial effect on the revolutionary process, on world affairs, is steadily rising. The recognition of this is not a matter of good or bad intentions, but a statement of an obvious fact. And to underestimate this is to slip from the firm soil of reality into the quagmire of subjectivism, to neglect the class view of the contemporary world.

Allow me, comrades, to express the hope that our conference will deal with the subject at hand in a spirit of creativity and will contribute to the elaboration of many important issues relating to the 50 years' experience of the USSR.

International significance of formation and development of USSR

Boris Ponomaryov

Alternate Member PB and Secretary CC CPSU

Acting on Lenin's proposal, the First All-Union Congress of Soviets proclaimed the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on December 30, 1922. This historic act, expressing the will of all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Republics, was a triumph for proletarian, socialist internationalism, for our Party's Leninist national policy. It was also another major victory for the international working class, for the forces of socialism.

Lenin stressed that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was as necessary for the peoples of our country as it was 'for the world communist proletariat in its struggle against the world bourgeoisie and its defence against bourgeois intrigues' (*Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 609).

The formation of the USSR is, in terms of its economic, political and ideological consequences, a special landmark both in the history of the Soviet state and in the social progress of all mankind. The integration of the Soviet Republics into one state helped to consolidate and multiply the gains of the October Revolution, ensure our country's rapid all-round progress, realize the advantages of

the socialist system and consolidate the defensive power and international prestige of the Soviet state. The friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union is an important factor in the revolutionizing and transforming influence which the country has exercised on the development of the world.

The results achieved by the multinational Soviet state are summed up in the CPSU Central Committee resolution 'On Preparations for the 50th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.'

Lenin's theoretical elaboration of the national question and the conceptualization in CPSU documents of experience gained by our Party and state in pursuing the national policy are an outstanding and widely recognized contribution to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism.

When we consider that all mankind consists of big and small nations, that the national form of state and social development will continue for a very long time yet, and that the national aspect continues to play a big part in relations between and inside the states, it becomes especially clear that the Leninist theory of the national question and our Party's activity in implementing it are of epochal importance to the class struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society.

The CPSU's historic contribution to the theoretical and practical solution of the national question

Marx and Engels regarded the national question as a basically social problem and showed its interconnection with problems relating to the socialist transformation of society. They theoretically substantiated the principles of proletarian internationalism and the unity of the proletariat's international and national interests. Obviously, a scientific theory of the national question could arise only after the working class appeared on the world arena. It was to the working class that history assigned the determining part in solving the national question.

Under imperialism and during the transition from capitalism to socialism on an international scale the national question has become even more pressing.

Lenin, who developed the principles of proletarian internationalism in application to the new epoch, showed the great role of the national liberation movement in the worldwide class struggle against imperialist domination, the capitalist system, for the socialist reconstruction of the world.

Lenin equipped the proletarian party with a revolutionary program on the national question; he formulated both the political requirements and the methodological principles. It became an organic part of his strategic plan for socialist revolution and the establishment and functioning of the proletarian dictatorship.

Lenin showed the dialectics of an effective solution of the national question. He substantiated in theory and proved in practice

that the slogan – the right of all nations to self-determination, not short of secession and formation of an independent state – can and should, under the guidance of the Communist Party, lead not to separation but to a *voluntary* and *free* union and federation of nations in the common struggle for a better future, for socialism.

Lenin set and solved in practice the fundamentally new problem of socialist national statehood. He defined the theoretical principles of international relations of the socialist type and outlined the ways and forms of building a multinational socialist state.

Lenin showed that the substance of the correct approach to the national question in a multinational country is to draw into the revolutionary struggle, and then also into the struggle for socialism, the peasant and the broad petty-bourgeois masses under the leadership of the proletariat. One of the factors behind the victory of the October Revolution, and of socialism in the USSR, was that the internationalist policy of the Russian working class won and rallied the multi-million peasant masses of different nationalities for revolution, for the struggle for socialism.

Lenin aimed withering criticism at the Right and 'Left' opportunist conceptions of the national question, showing the fallacy both of nihilism with respect to the national aspects and the role of the national liberation movement, and of nationalistic attempts to obscure or distort the social content of national problems. He recognized the presence of democratic, anti-imperialist elements in the nationalism of the oppressed nation, and showed to the proletarian party the forms and limits of supporting such nationalism.

Lenin fully disclosed 'the ideological and political affinity, connection and even identity between opportunism and social-nationalism' (Vol. 21, p. 154). And he showed the dangers which nationalism compounded with opportunism and revisionism may present to the revolution.

Lenin's great slogans on the right of nations to self-determination not short of secession, and on free and voluntary union of nations played an enormous part not only in the development of the revolution in Russia, but became a powerful stimulus, revolutionizing the masses and giving momentum to the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples everywhere in the world.

Also to be stressed is the fundamental importance of Lenin's internationalist approach to Party building, which, it will be recalled, triumphed as the result of a struggle against the Austrian Social-Democrats' conceptions of so-called cultural-national autonomy, as the result of a struggle against Mensheviks and Bundists in Russia, who were leading up to a fragmentation of the Party and withdrawal to 'national quarters.' Also of exceptional importance was the fact that by 1917, and also in 1922, the year of the founding of the USSR, single Party organizations uniting Communists of different nationalities – Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Latvians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Jews, Tatars, the peoples of the Northern Caucasus, and others – had already existed for many years on the whole vast terri-

tory of our country. In many ways, this helped to resolve the national question and facilitated the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

This other point is also to be stressed: literally dozens of nationalist parties were formed following the February Revolution. All of them advocated independence of a bourgeois nationalist complexion, opposed nations to one another, leading to national animosity and inciting strife between nations. It would have been impossible to safeguard the gains of the revolution, let alone to build socialism, if this process had been allowed to develop, if it had not been impeded by the fraternal ties of solidarity which arose between the peoples of Russia in the common struggle against tsarism and counter-revolution and if it had not been resolutely resisted by the multinational working-class party united on an internationalist basis. The logic of nationalism, as the course of the civil war demonstrated, led to counter-revolution and thereby to betrayal of the vital national interests of the people, the nation and all Soviet peoples. Nor did it come as a surprise that many nationalistic parties were found to have close connections with the imperialists, the interventionists, and became their hirelings.

Solving the national question in our multinational state was one of the key factors in the socialist reconstruction of society. A whole lot, really a whole lot, comrades, can be said about the development of the USSR, and it is important that the experience of this development should be known to the masses across the world. Here, we can mention only a few of the principal points.

In state construction, consistent implementation of the Leninist program meant establishment of Soviet statehood for all nations and ensuring complete political and legal equality for the numerous peoples of Russia in the framework of one federal state. This laid the groundwork for the voluntary unification of nations without coercion by one nation against another, a union, as Lenin said, based on 'complete confidence, on a clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolutely voluntary consent' (Vol. 30, p. 293). Such relations between nations were unknown in history.

By giving direction to the creativity of the masses, the Party proved in practice that the union of socialist republics – which has truly stood the test in the Great Patriotic War – is the soundest and the most flexible form of state in a multinational country. It permits of consequent improvements in the country's national-state structure, and harmoniously blends the interests of society as a whole with those of every nation on the basis of Soviet socialist democracy.

In economic and cultural construction the Leninist national program meant concentration of efforts on ending the actual inequality of nations inherited from the past. The policy of the CPSU enabled some of the nationalities in our country to bypass the capitalist stage in the passage to socialism – a course which Lenin discovered.

Exceptionally important was our Party's conception of developing culture, national in form and socialist in content. This important

discovery, effectuated in the Party's policy, has yielded epoch-making results. Soviet scholars produced written languages for more than 50 nationalities that had no alphabets of their own. Thus, in the sphere of language – one of the most important for national life – Soviet power not only proclaimed, but also provided the necessary *material* conditions for, real equality.

In the politico-ideological sphere the Leninist program meant a consistent Party and state policy to develop and consolidate the friendship of the peoples of the USSR on the basis of proletarian internationalism, and struggle against bourgeois-nationalistic survivals in the thinking and behaviour of men, and against chauvinism and nationalism.

Correct solution of the national question was assured by the unfailing implementation of Lenin's two-fold dialectical formula of combating great-power chauvinism and local nationalism. In different stages, in keeping with the concrete situation, the Party laid emphasis in its theoretical and political activity now on one, now on the other element of this formula.

It is a great achievement, and the main outcome of our Party's Leninist national policy that a new historical entity of men – the Soviet people – has arisen in the struggle for socialism and communism. Brought together by the identity of economic and socio-political aims, welded by their common Marxist-Leninist ideology, our peoples constitute one multinational collective, marked by an organic blending of national features and common Soviet features, which are socialist and internationalist in essence.

The CPSU cherishes the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union like the apple of its eye, for it is the biggest factor of its historic gains, the growth of its economic and political might, the steady rise in material and cultural standards and the development of the Soviet people's communist consciousness. The CPSU vigorously combats all nationalist tendencies whatever their form and wherever they surface.

With the USSR approaching its 50th anniversary, the 24th CPSU Congress adopted one more grand plan of further communist construction, providing for the all-round development of each fraternal Soviet republic and at the same time for a further gradual drawing together of the country's nations and nationalities. In the CPSU Central Committee's Report, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: 'This drawing together is taking place under conditions in which the closest attention is given to national features and the development of socialist national cultures. Constant consideration for the general interests of our entire Union and for the interests of each of its constituent republics forms the substance of the Party's policy in this question.'

No other country in the world has as many different nations and nationalities and such a diversity of national problems as ours. Some of our peoples had had their own form of statehood, others did not. The national question was also a colonial question, it was complicated by religious strife, it involved problems of relations between

peoples living compactly in one territory, and also problems of national minorities scattered in different areas. Dealing with the national question at different stages, the CPSU always reckoned not only with the internal socio-political, but also the international, conditions. And it was the first in history to find the answer to all these problems. The internationalist Leninist policy of the CPSU is based on the principle that long-term national interests cannot be ensured without solving the general tasks of the world revolutionary movement. As we see it, all this accounts for the exceptional wealth and universal importance of the experience of the CPSU in this sphere.

The national question in the modern world and the importance of CPSU experience

In substance, a new stage has begun in the development of the national question on a world scale. What are its main characteristic features?

First, the stronger dialectical connection between the international and the national in social development. There is a rapid formation, self-assertion and florescence of nations, and persevering economic, social and cultural development, on the one hand, lending urgency to the national question. On the other hand, there is a drawing together of peoples, a growth of objective, especially technical and economic, prerequisites for economic integration, for the elimination of barriers between nations and their drawing together, as the community of interests in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress is becoming increasingly obvious and the reciprocal influence of cultures is growing.

Second, the practical solution of the national question, not only in the Soviet Union, but in the framework of a whole group of socialist states, the emergence of new type inter-state relations between free socialist peoples and the emergence on this basis of an unparalleled international and inter-state identity – the socialist community.

Third, the effectuation in the main of the principle of self-determination in the vast zone of formerly colonial and semi-colonial countries, consolidation of young national states and the formation on a new basis of their foreign policy and economic ties; transformation of the contradiction between imperialist metropolitan countries and colonies into a contradiction between imperialism pursuing neo-colonialism and young national states.

Fourth, resurgence of national movements in some developed capitalist countries, which had the period of bourgeois and bourgeois-democratic change far behind them.

Fifth, the qualitatively new social content of the national question, and the close connection of the struggle for liberation from imperialism with the struggle against relations based on exploitation, with anti-capitalist tendencies.

Sixth, the growth of Communist parties in many capitalist coun-

tries into a substantial political force has added to the volume of the general national tasks in the activity of the Communists. This accentuates the need for combining national and international tasks and requires a deep appreciation of the fact that the success of Communist parties is inseparably linked with the development of the international Communist movement and its influence on all world development.

The revolutionary, anti-imperialist potential of the masses, whose national interests and aspirations conflict irreconcilably with imperialism, has now grown to unprecedented proportions. This is due to the new world balance of class forces, to the greater political consciousness of the peoples and their confidence in the support of the socialist countries and all organized progressive forces. It is also due to fundamental changes in the whole atmosphere of international life. The Leninist principle of self-determination and equality has now become a truly powerful material force.

The growth of the national liberation struggle is closely connected with the impact of the Leninist international policy of the CPSU and the common line of the socialist community, centered on strengthening world peace and curbing the forces of aggression. Implementation of the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress has seen considerable progress towards international detente. Soviet foreign policy initiatives, and especially the entry into force of the treaties with the FRG and a series of important agreements with the United States, facilitate world development in a direction favorable for many nations in resolving their fundamental national and social tasks. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are forcing imperialism to reckon with the realities, assuring respect for the right of nations to self-determination, to independent and free development without outside interference.

Today there is a greater objective connection between the national question and the development of the fundamental contradiction of our epoch, that is, the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale.

The creation and development of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is an example of nations developing their statehood in a single federal state, and the socialist world system is an example of increasingly closer ties between independent and equal socialist nations on the basis of socialist inter-state relations.

Available experience of relations between socialist countries shows that all-sided free development of each socialist state is a precondition for the success of all the socialist countries, and that, conversely, each socialist state consolidates and multiplies its gains by performing its internationalist duty and promoting the economic, political and ideological unity of the socialist countries.

Mutual trust and close all-sided fraternal cooperation among socialist countries reflect the objective requirements of the growth of world socialism and the laws of its further consolidation, while also ensuring the national interests of each member of the socialist community.

The Soviet state, its experience and policy have for more than half a century been a powerful real factor of social progress in the zone of the national liberation movement.

Now, more than ever, success in the struggle to consolidate the independence won by the peoples and the efficacy of their resistance to neo-colonialism depend principally on the positive changes achieved in the world situation in the past decades largely due to the growth of the economic and politico-military might of the Soviet Union and all socialist countries.

The all-round support by the CPSU and the Soviet state of revolutionary Cuba, the peoples of Indochina, the Arab countries, Chile, and the fighters against colonial and racist regimes in Africa is a major contribution to the liberation movement of our time. Our Party and the internationalist Soviet people possess an unshakeable sense of solidarity, which they translate into practice, with all peoples fighting for freedom and independence, against imperialism.

The national question today in the former colonial and semi-colonial zone has a number of specific features.

First, imperialism is trying to impose a new camouflaged and refined system of economic and political subordination on the young states, using the methods of neo-colonialism. As a result, the intensification of their economic ties and the general trend towards breaking down economic, political and cultural barriers between different countries, are coming into collision with the exploiting nature of the imperialist system. The possibilities created by the modern productive forces for drawing the peoples together are thus muffled and distorted.

Second, it is necessary to consider the diverse consequences of the active inclusion of dozens of young national states in international life. There is a definite line, though mobile and finely drawn, beyond which defense of legitimate national interests is adulterated with egoism, underestimation of the common tasks of all peoples, when one's own problems are solved without consideration for, sometimes even to the detriment of, the interests of other nations. In such cases, the national becomes nationalistic.

Imperialism is trying more and more to prevent the young national states from uniting in defense of their common interests and, particularly, to hinder their greater cooperation with socialist countries. This is a serious danger, because it is obvious and proved by the facts, that the support of the Soviet Union and the socialist community opens up real prospects for the young national states to strengthen their political independence, build up their national economy and enter into integration processes on an equal and mutually beneficial basis.

Also, sharp national conflicts flare up inside the newly-free countries. This is due to various processes. In some cases, the main reasons are rooted in the distant past, the period when rising feudal states incorporated different peoples and tribes. Nor should we overlook the fact that imperialist conquerors established boundaries that did not in the least coincide with the historical location of

different peoples. Not only did the colonialists preserve, but deliberately enlarged, the seats of national and religious conflict that had existed before they came.

The multinational Asian and African states can solve the national question only on the basis of deep-going democratic and anti-capitalist changes and by consistently fighting against neo-colonialism and imperialism.

It is natural by this token that the progressive forces and Communist parties in multinational Afro-Asian states attach so much importance to studying the experience of the peoples of the Soviet Union in building up national statehood. Comrade S. Sardesai, a veteran leader of the Communist Party of India, writes in his book *India and the Revolution in Russia* that free India has benefited considerably from thorough and attentive study of how the Russian revolution and the Soviet Union solved the vitally important problems which Indians failed to solve in the course of the struggle for independence, and which remain unsolved to this day. There is no doubt, he continues, that the Soviet success in building a happy family of different nationalities will show the way for the Indian people and help them avoid many difficulties.

Communists must see to it that the upswing of the national liberation movement in all its forms and the growth of national awareness should invariably serve the interests of the struggle against imperialism and the aims of social progress, the social emancipation of the masses. This all Communists regard as a crucial political task. These processes should lead not to the isolation and seclusion of different nations and peoples, but to closer bonds between them, not to impairment and division of the anti-imperialist forces, but to greater unity and consolidation.

In the industrially developed capitalist countries, too, where national problems had seemingly been settled back in the 19th century, the facts of the recent decades speak of a sharp aggravation. The liberation movement of the Blacks in the United States, the struggle of the Catholics in Northern Ireland against imperialist dominion and local reaction, the relations between Flemings and Walloons in Belgium, the problems of Catalonia and the Basque Provinces in Spain, and of the French population in Canada – all this shows that in the zone of developed capitalism, too, the national question calls compellingly for a solution.

Criticizing leaders who underestimated the national question in Western Europe, Lenin pointed out that collisions between imperialist countries may create a situation in which the question of defending national freedoms, of national wars, reappears on the agenda.

This was indeed the case during the Second World War, when the nazi aggression brought national disaster to many European capitalist states, and in a number of cases created a threat to their survival. The war against fascism was a great national liberation war of the peoples, in which defense of national interests combined organically with the struggle for democracy and, in several countries, for socialism.

Symptomatically, it was the Soviet Union, the first socialist state built on the principles of proletarian internationalism, that played the decisive part in delivering the European peoples from German fascism, defeating Japanese militarism, and creating the requisite conditions for the restoration of nationally independent states on the European continent and for the national and social emancipation of the peoples of Eastern Europe, and of China and a few other Asian countries.

In the postwar period the peoples of Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries faced a new threat to their national independence – this time from U.S. imperialism, which desired to create its own global empire and assumed the function of world policeman.

If these intentions could not be turned into reality despite the exertions of the U.S. ruling circles, if the latter's bid for world supremacy and complete control over all other states did not succeed, this was due chiefly to the consequent and unremitting defense of national independence by the democratic forces. And the policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries contributed to the struggle quite substantially. Naturally, we cannot say as yet that the battle is over. What is more, the question of defending national interests has assumed a new dimension in recent years. Now it is a question of combatting giant international monopoly complexes, headed as a rule by U.S. capital, which are trying to undermine the national sovereignty of other capitalist countries.

Nor can we disregard the danger to the peoples of Western Europe implicit in the plans of setting up, on the basis of the Common Market, a supranational political association where the tycoons of monopoly capital would rule supreme.

The diverse aspects of the national problem occupy a prominent place in the program of anti-monopoly struggle for fundamental democratic changes advocated by the Communist parties.

Struggle for the interests of immigrant workers is an important sector in the activity of Communist parties in West European countries. The condition of foreign workers shows clearly that under capitalism economic internationalization is exploitative and anti-labor. Working for the general interests of the working class of their countries, the Communist parties and progressive trade unions are also drawing foreign workers into the anti-monopoly struggle, combatting the bourgeois policy of splitting the workers' ranks and all forms of both economic and political discrimination against foreign workers, and demanding equal rights for them.

The experience of the Soviet Union has conclusively demonstrated that the victory of the socialist revolution and the solution on this basis of the national question would have been impossible without a consistent and unrelenting struggle against bourgeois nationalism and petty-bourgeois distortions of the principle of proletarian internationalism.

Lenin more than once called attention to the special toughness

and tenaciousness of nationalist prejudices. As socialism wins in more and more countries, he warned, combatting nationalism will become more and more important for the future of the international revolutionary movement.

Combatting nationalism is particularly important and should be specially stressed, because it has a direct bearing on the problem of war and peace, a crucial issue of our time.

In these conditions, great responsibility devolves on the socialist countries, on the Communist parties, for the prospect of ridding mankind of national strife and establishing friendship among all nations is tied in with their activity.

Yet the leaders of the Communist Party of China have defied this demand of the times. Their line shows that they have failed the test of loyalty to proletarian internationalism, the test to which history subjects every ruling Communist Party. This, in effect, has led to a rupture between the Maoist leadership of the CPC and the Communist movement, to a deterioration of relations with the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union, and even to military threats against the USSR.

A question arises: what is the cause of this development contrary to the nature of socialism?

It is common knowledge that the overthrow of the capitalist system secures all opportunities for a radical change in the national question and the complete eradication of nationalism. However, as the Document of the 1969 Meeting says, this does not come about by itself, is not achieved automatically. How these opportunities are realized in a country depends primarily on the subjective factor, i.e., the policy of the Communist Party guiding society.

What is needed to consolidate fraternal relations among peoples, among socialist countries, past experience shows, is a consistently Marxist-Leninist policy, education of the working people in an internationalist spirit, and resolute struggle against nationalism and chauvinism.

Failing this, as we see in China's case, there is the likelihood of a resurgence and growth of nationalism, to a point even when the country is counterposed to other socialist states. Moreover, the facts show that the levers and possibilities created by the revolutionary struggle, by economic and social changes along socialist lines, are utilized here for nationalistic purposes against the socialist community, the bulwark of the worldwide struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism.

A correct solution of the national question and national relations based on the principles of proletarian internationalism both in the countries building socialism and also in relations between them, provide enduring and effective guarantees against friction and conflict, let alone collisions. And, conversely, chauvinistic and nationalistic postures in ideology and politics may cause most adverse consequences in relations between nations and for the given country. That is why the struggle against such postures is so important and indispensable for the further progress of world socialism.

The ideology and policy of nationalism must not be confused with the growing national awareness of the masses, which is a natural and progressive process. Nor must the nationalism of an oppressor nation be confused with the nationalism of an oppressed nation, which, as we know, contains progressive, anti-imperialist elements.

But while considering all these intricate points, we should not lose sight of the main thing—that the nationalist ideology cannot serve the vital interests of the working class and the working people in general, the interests of socialism. Even the nationalism of oppressed nations, which has some positive elements, contains features which, if allowed to grow, befog the masses and give rise to tendencies hindering the attainment of progressive, and especially of socialist, revolutionary, aims.

It is now obvious that anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are the chief ideological weapon of the imperialists, the class enemies of the present-day revolutionary forces. And nationalism is a part of this weapon, used extensively by imperialist propagandists, reactionaries in the developing countries, and Right and 'Left' revisionists.

The recent experience of the revolutionary struggle has again confirmed the fact that anti-communist attacks on the policy of the CPSU, often even on the pretext of 'concern' for social progress and national independence, are really aimed against all the detachments of the world revolutionary movement and designed to disrupt the world socialist community, the main bulwark of the liberation forces.

The imperialist bourgeoisie is now resorting to refined, veiled forms of the nationalist ideology. But this does not mean that it no longer uses such extreme forms of chauvinism as racism. Racism is still being used, as attested by imperialist support of the racist regimes in Africa, the persecution of Blacks and Red Indians in the United States, by anti-Semitism, still cultivated in the capitalist West, and, particularly of late, by Zionism.

Bourgeois ideologists try to prevail on the masses that the social and political struggle in today's world is really a clash of different nationalistic forces. On the one hand, this is designed to stimulate national-opportunism in the international Communist and working-class movement and, on the other, to create a sense of futility and pessimism, and disenchantment in socialism's ability to eliminate national hostility.

A certain American reactionary sociologist, for example, hopes that the Communist parties will take the path of adaptation to specific national conditions followed by the Social-Democrats 50 or more years before them. The anti-Communists' objective is clear. The Second International did yield to social chauvinism, and this was the main reason for its bankruptcy in 1914. Now, 'national communism' is being foisted on the Communist movement for the same ends. But in vain! The guarantee is Leninism, which was and remains the firm ideological foundation of the international Com-

munist movement. The guarantee is the ideological tempering of the fraternal Communist parties.

The bourgeoisie makes extensive and shrewd use of revisionism and nationalism in the working-class movement to draw the ideologically unstable into the morass of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. We were reminded of this again by the renegacy of people like Garaudy, Fischer and Petkoff.

A certain section of imperialist ideologists and the opportunists, acting in unison, pose as enemies of nationalism. This applies to apologists of the so-called supra-national communities, the heralds of modern cosmopolitanism. Need it be said that here we have a specific variety of finance capital's expansionist ideology. But in this case, too, the imperialist ideologists are being supplied a 'finished' theoretical commodity by opportunism. I mean the concept of national nihilism peddled by Trotskyites and other 'Left' opportunists as 'true internationalism.'

For Marxist-Leninists it is clear that the battle against all brands of nationalism and imperialist cosmopolitanism requires a further all-round strengthening of proletarian internationalism as a key principle of their ideological and political activity. And the criterion of proletarian internationalism today is the attitude to the really existing socialism.

The principles of independence, equality and sovereignty of the fraternal parties prevailing in the Communist movement conform with the diversity of conditions and experience among the parties, and with their role as the vanguard of all the revolutionary and democratic forces of their nations and countries. But to perform this role requires unshakeable fidelity to proletarian internationalism. 'The national and international responsibilities of each Communist and Workers' Party are indivisible,' says the Document of the 1969 Meeting. 'Marxist-Leninists are both patriots and internationalists; they reject both national narrow-mindedness and the negation or under-estimation of national interests, and the striving for hegemony.'

The experience of the world liberation movement has shown beyond the slightest doubt that all distortion of the inter-connection and true correlation of the national and the international factors leads to isolation from the masses, to loss of the revolutionary perspective.

In this connection, we should like to emphasize that the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, its ideas and conclusions, have greatly strengthened the internationalist orientation of the entire activity of the world Communist movement. The interests of our movement, of all the revolutionary forces, requires a further intensification of the Communists' joint struggle against anti-communism, which is banking mainly on nationalism, and against Right and 'Left' revisionism.

History has summed up the results of the two ways of solving the national question – the Leninist socialist way, and the capitalist way.

The crisis of bourgeois democracy, which proclaims but cannot in practice achieve genuine national equality, is particularly acute and manifest in the conditions of monopoly capitalism. At its extreme, this crisis was expressed in the misanthropic racist 'theory' and practice of fascism, which made the monstrous attempt to 'solve' the national question by enslaving and even physically exterminating entire peoples. But even in 'ordinary' conditions, when there is no fascist domination, bourgeois society has proved completely incapable of securing the cooperation and mutual assistance of peoples. Lenin's conclusion that 'it is impossible to abolish national (or any other political) oppression under capitalism' (Vol. 22, p. 325) has been fully confirmed.

The real way of solving the national question is provided by socialism – abolishing the exploitation of man by man and radically reconstructing the entire socio-economic, ideological and cultural life of society. The experience of the socialist countries has irrefutably confirmed the Marxist-Leninist proposition that equality and fraternal friendship among peoples and abolition of national oppression is a general law, an organic element of building the new society.

With the Soviet Union approaching its 50th anniversary, the outstanding international significance of its experience stands out in bold relief.

The experience of the USSR shows that peoples of different national and racial origin can work together in making history and developing their own economy and culture.

The experience of the USSR shows that identity of political and ideological aspirations, and consequent implementation of the policy of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism create such a strong union of peoples that it is able to withstand the hardest trials.

The experience of the USSR shows that, liberated from national and social oppression, peoples reawaken to a new life. Relations of equality and fraternal mutual assistance help their economy to flourish. Fruitful mutual enrichment with spiritual values furthers the progress of their common culture, in which the best from all national cultures sparkles in a bright constellation.

The experience of the USSR shows the immense importance of the closest consideration for all nations, big and small, and intolerance of national nihilism and bourgeois nationalism.

The experience of the USSR shows how important it is to find a state structure securing truly equal democratic participation of all nations and nationalities in the bodies of state at all levels, in resolving all the common problems.

Analyzing the main forms of the positive development of national relations in the present epoch – the formation and consolidation of the USSR, the emergence of the world socialist community, the constitution of independent national states in formerly colonial countries, and examining these processes as a totality, we may legitimately conclude that socialism, maliciously depicted by the

foes of progress as a force ignoring national interests, has played a truly historic part in assuring national independence and national statehood for the overwhelming portion of the world population.

The finest minds have long dreamed of fraternity, of a community of the peoples. The successes of socialism, and of the national-democratic revolutions, have brought mankind closer to this ideal. The way to the true fraternity of all peoples is now known and tested—it runs through the struggle against imperialist violence, for the freedom and independence of all the peoples, for peace, democracy and socialism.

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM IN ACTION

Konstantin Tellalov
CC Secretary, Bulgarian CP

Profound understanding and creative application of the CPSU's epochal experience in founding and developing a multinational state of the working people is of immense importance for the advance of the revolutionary forces.

The Bulgarian Communists and people will celebrate the Soviet jubilee as their own holiday. For the formation of the USSR was a stupendous event not only for the Soviet Union, but for the peoples of the world. 'No unbiassed person anywhere in the world,' Comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of our Party, has said, 'can fail to realize that if mankind has not been hurled into the hell of a new world war, if imperialism can no longer impose its will on liberated countries, if the socialist lands are successfully building the new life, it is only because of the Soviet Union, that Red Giant risen to full stature on one-sixth of the earth, strong, peace-loving, generous, prepared to come to the aid of every people fighting for freedom, independence, for a brighter future.'

In building up the Bolshevik Party, Lenin devoted special attention to the national question. He was resolute and vigorous in upholding the right of nations to self-determination up to and including secession and the formation of independent states. For only in this way could the working class and its party win the confidence of the oppressed. And Lenin believed that the self-determination slogan would not lose its validity under proletarian dictatorship. He wrote: 'We want a *voluntary* union of nations—a union which precludes any coercion of one nation by another—a union founded on complete confidence, on a clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolutely voluntary consent' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 293). And Lenin emphasized that the utmost patience would be needed to eliminate the residue of the distrust inherited from capitalism and colonialism.

The emergence of the multinational Soviet state was the beginning of a grand effort to bring the masses into socialist construction with due account to the multiplicity of local conditions,

traditions and customs in the constituent republics. That was the only correct way to harmonize the development of nations and ethnic groups, overcome the factual inequality inherited from capitalism, stimulate the creative ability of the nations and bring them into close unity and friendship.

In this process of building socialism and communism there arose a new community, the Soviet people. Its characteristics are fidelity to communism, socialist patriotism and internationalism, dedicated labor and a high level of public and political activity, inveterate opposition to exploitation, oppression, national and racial prejudice, and class solidarity with the working people of all countries.

Experience has shown that no enduring community of nations is possible under capitalism. Crisis developments and continuous national, racial and religious conflicts in bourgeois countries are eloquent evidence of that.

The record of the past 50 years has clearly demonstrated that the USSR is the strongest and most flexible form of multinational state, and one, moreover, that is consistently improving its structure by combining the interests of the entire community with those of each nation on the principles of internationalism and socialist democracy.

History provides examples of one or another country playing a progressive role in social development. We know that industrial capitalism reached its zenith first of all in Britain, and Marx remarked that Britain was a model of the capitalist future of other countries. The October Revolution gave mankind another model, the USSR, the prototype of another, socialist future.

Present-day imperialist ideologists and Right and 'Left' revisionists have been at pains to prove that the Soviet experience is purely national, has no international universality and can serve as a model only for underdeveloped countries. They fail to see the dialectical unity of the international, or general, and the national, specific in socialist construction.

Of course, the Soviet Union's varied and rich experience should be applied creatively. Dogmatic contempt for national specificities, mechanical copying contradict the creative spirit of Marxism-Leninism and can only do damage to socialism.

No less dangerous, however, is negation of the general regularities of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, disregard of the momentous experience of the CPSU and the Soviet people and exaggeration of national peculiarities. He who disregards Leninism and Soviet experience invites anti-socialist anarchy and petty-bourgeois nationalism.

Today Right and 'Left' revisionists seek to belittle the role and significance of the Soviet Union in the world revolutionary process. Resorting to artificial theoretical constructions and outright falsifications, they want to prove that internationalism can be based on anti-Sovietism and that socialism can be built without, even against, the Soviet Union.

We are firmly convinced that the defense of triumphant socialism in the USSR is, today too, a priority task of the international Communist movement. Active support of the socialist community and its leader, the Soviet Union, is in our conditions the supreme manifestation of internationalism, for the forces of world imperialism and reaction are looking for allies among pseudo-Marxists, splitters and renegades.

The Maoists have made anti-Sovietism official policy. Animated by nationalistic and chauvinistic considerations, they make no difference between the United States and the Soviet Union. The example of China shows that when nationalism and chauvinism are allowed to thrive, processes are generated in socio-political life which compromise socialism, and aims and principles come to the fore in foreign policy that have absolutely nothing in common with internationalism.

Georgi Dimitrov, that staunch Leninist and great son of the Bulgarian people, considered the struggle against nationalism a supreme duty of every Communist. And if anyone still doubts that nationalism is a weapon of capitalist reaction and the sworn enemy of communism, he need only read the writings of 'Sovietologists' to see that this is so. The men who speak for anti-communism rely heavily on nationalism. In fact, bourgeois propaganda is making the most of nationalism as its Trojan horse in the world Communist and workers' movement.

True to Dimitrov, our Party has always consistently upheld internationalism and resolutely combated anti-Sovietism and nationalism in every form and manifestation. As Todor Zhivkov declared at the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties '... those who slander the socialist system in the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, are undermining the working people's trust in socialism.

'For all of half a century now, communism and the Soviet Union, communism and the CPSU, have been indivisible for millions of people, friends and foes alike. We cannot imagine the socialist community without the Soviet Union, nor the world Communist movement without, let alone against, the CPSU. That is a basic truth.'

The triumph of socialist revolution in a number of countries after World War II made it possible to apply Lenin's theory on the national question to relations between countries that had broken out of capitalism. What we have is a new type of relationships. Disinterested fraternal mutual assistance, trust and respect are replacing the national animosity of the past. All-round cooperation helps to develop the socialist system and each of its member states.

Their relations have no parallel in history and are inconceivable under capitalism. I might cite our friendship with the USSR. If today Bulgaria is a developed industrial-agrarian country, this is due to a decisive degree to the fraternal cooperation and disinter-

ested assistance of the Soviet Union. The new image of Bulgaria stands out in the 200 industrial establishments built with Soviet aid and now accounting for about 82 per cent of ferrous and 70 per cent of non-ferrous metals, and 80 per cent of petrochemicals. In the past 25 years we received from the USSR 1.8 billion rubles in credits to build the material and technical basis of socialism.

And no less valuable is Soviet experience in political development, the cultural revolution, etc.

Our Party has always linked the fight for socialism and communism in Bulgaria with the Great October Revolution and Soviet Party and State experience and support. We have now entered a new stage in our socialist development, the stage of all-round cooperation and integration with the USSR, the world's first and strongest socialist power. Nor is this a temporary task motivated by exigencies of the moment; it is a vital task and duty for all Bulgarian Communists.

In the fight for peace, democracy and socialism, Communists, workers, all revolutionaries and democrats are helped by the favorable international conditions the USSR has done so much to bring about. Today it has launched a far-reaching peace offensive which has raised its prestige still higher and has already brought a number of major achievements in promoting world peace and security.

OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION TO REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE

Raymond Guyot
Member PB, French CP

This scientific conference affords us an opportunity to express our deepest solidarity and friendship with the Soviet Union, which holds a vanguard place in the world and plays the decisive role in the titanic fight of the socialist forces and the peoples of the world against imperialism.

We are familiar with the CC CPSU decision on preparations for the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. The document, which is based on the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, and more particularly on its peace program, gives Communists everywhere a deeper insight into the significance and impact of that outstanding event, the emergence of the first multinational proletarian state. The FCP Political Bureau has adopted a series of decisions on the Soviet Union's jubilee. Our Party is conducting this political campaign in conjunction with spokesmen of the French working-class and democratic movement and representatives of international opinion.

The October Revolution was a thunder-clap that resounded across the world. The gains of the Russian revolution were a

new, highly important stimulus to the world proletariat's struggle for socialism.

The formation and development of the multinational Soviet state brought to realization the Marxist-Leninist principles of relations between nations and ethnic groups within one state and constituted a concrete solution of the national question. Peoples brutally oppressed by imperialism and colonialism now had hope that poverty, unemployment and illiteracy would be ended and the destruction of national culture staved off. More important still, the way was paved for their liberation struggle.

The rise of the Soviet state, like the victory of the October Revolution, will forever be associated with Lenin's work. A creative theorist, Lenin carried forward Marx's and Engels' ideas on the national question in a new situation. The fundamental principles of his doctrine are reflected in the Declaration of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics adopted on December 30, 1922.

For the first time in history, new relations were established between nationalities on the following principles: equality and sovereignty of Russia's peoples; the right of these peoples to self-determination, including secession and the formation of an independent state; the abolition of all privileges and restrictions on account of nationality or religion; the free development of national minorities and ethnic groups.

In defining the principles of the multinational Soviet state, Lenin devised a solution of the national question. His theory establishes a close dialectical connection between patriotism and internationalism, between a correct solution of the national question and the necessity for class solidarity of the workers of all countries.

Leninism is opposed to all nihilism over the national question, to all underestimation of national specifics, to the idea that 'nations have outlived their day.' Actually nations are historical formations of relatively recent date; there are peoples in the world still fighting for their independence, and nations have ample potentialities, but the imperialist bourgeoisie is impeding their use.

Revealingly, bourgeois ideologists today are particularly zealous advocates of the idea of 'going beyond nations.' They try to give ideological substance to the imperialist policy of oppressing peoples and of stifling national aspirations, a policy which ignores national interests in favor of monopoly interests and is directed against the independence and sovereignty of nations.

And revealingly, too, the 'beyond nations' idea is gaining currency just when multinational monopolies, set on winning more favorable conditions for plunder, are speaking frankly of their desire to 'push aside national legislations' as they encourage the creation of 'supranational' political agencies, specifically within the EEC.

The 'supranational' principle runs counter to Leninism, both theoretically and politically. By contrast, the CMEA countries were prompted by Lenin's ideas when they stated in so important a

document as the Comprehensive Program approved by them a year ago, that 'in future as well, cooperation and the socialist economic integration of the CMEA countries will be perfected and carried further on the principles of socialist internationalism, of respect for the state sovereignty, independence and national interests of the countries concerned, non-interference in internal affairs, complete equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance. . . . Socialist economic integration is taking place on an entirely voluntary basis, nor is it accompanied by the establishment of supranational agencies. . . ."

Leninism also rejects every form of nationalism. Nationalism always tries to assign to the proletariat's class struggle for emancipation and socialism a secondary role or to eliminate it altogether. This policy benefits none but the bourgeoisie, which dons an ultra-national garb to mislead the masses. Essentially, nationalism contradicts national interests, that is, the current and long-range interests of the nation concerned. An ideology thoroughly contradicting socialism, it inevitably resolves itself into anti-Sovietism. ,

Socialism alone can settle the national question. This is especially true today, when the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for social progress link up more and more. Cuba is an inspiring case in point. A similar process is beginning in Chile, Iraq and other new states battling with neo-colonialism. This link-up is also typical of the struggle of the working class and its allies against monopoly in developed capitalist countries. In Western Europe, particularly in France, the fight for democracy and socialism links up with the fight against the domination of U.S. big capital in the national economy, against subordinating the country to the interests of multinational monopolies and their decisions which they would like to carry out, at least when their interests coincide, through political integration within the framework of 'Little Europe' and the Common Market.

Victory of the working class and democratic forces in the fight for advanced democracy, their progress towards socialism, would, on the other hand, lead to national prosperity and make our country really independent on the international scene.

The general aspects of a situation and the characteristics of a popular movement should never be considered separately, Lenin noted, but as parts of a whole, as components of the peoples' great fight against imperialism, for socialism. There are common interests and hence objective solidarity between the working class of the metropolitan countries and the oppressed peoples of colonies. This prompted Lenin to extend the famous watchword of the *Communist Manifesto* to 'Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite.'

The French Communist Party has always sought to help the peoples oppressed by French colonialism in winning freedom and independence.

At present the French working class backs the fight against

neo-colonialism being carried on by the newly-independent peoples, inasmuch as France's relations with its one-time colonies are by no means innocent of a neo-colonialist bias and are, indeed, marked by political and economic inequality. The working class supports the fighters of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia politically and materially. This support should grow from day to day.

The workers and other socialist strata of France are engaged in a great battle against the power of capitalist monopoly, for radical political changes. The working class and the alliance of popular forces score big gains in the face of difficulties. It was against this background that our Party and the Socialist Party worked out a joint action program and government program.

The program is not socialist. It is a progressive economic, social and political program, a program for advanced democracy that will lay open the road to socialism for our country. It comprises the more pressing demands and indicates the economic means of meeting them. It also raises the problem of individual and collective freedom, diverse institutions and foreign policy.

The FCP considers that, given a system of advanced democracy, it is possible to make headway in settling the national question and to pursue, on the basis of equality and non-interference, a policy of cooperation with all countries formerly oppressed by French colonialism.

The 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR is being observed at a time when the balance of world forces is tipping more and more in favor of socialism, democracy, social progress, national independence and peace. While imperialism has not entirely renounced acts of aggression, it is compelled to accept peaceful coexistence and international cooperation. The Moscow talks between Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and President Nixon of the USA, which came after the agreements concluded between the Soviet Union and FRG and between Poland and the FRG, show that things have changed on our planet. However, the threat of world war has hardly been removed for good. And this means that the peoples must be on guard and work for peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

Mankind is passing through a new stage of development, reached as a result of the October Revolution and the founding of the multinational Soviet state.

What the countries of the world owe to the Russian working class, to the Soviet peoples, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to Lenin, cannot be exaggerated. Thanks to their struggles and sacrifices, we can now look forward to world-wide brotherhood. It is no longer utopia to think of a globe free from war, on which men and peoples will not be exploited any more, a globe that will be the home of one family of equal nations living in complete concord and cooperating for the good of all mankind.

SOVIET EXPERIENCE AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN INDIA

Bhawani Sen

CEC member and national council secretary, CP of India

The Great October Socialist Revolution marked the beginning of a new epoch when the national liberation movement of the oppressed nations received an unprecedented impetus, setting in motion a new upsurge of anti-imperialist struggles.

One of the first acts of the new Soviet power was Lenin's Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, which delivered the country's oppressed nationalities from the imperialist yoke and proclaimed the equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia. In 1922, most of the emancipated nations voluntarily joined the union together with the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. Thus the USSR was born, 50 years ago, and became a model for the solution of the national question.

The Indian national movement obtained a vigorous impetus from the downfall of Russian imperialism in 1917. Its aim was to obtain freedom from British rule and win a national state. The national problem in India has, throughout history, possessed two aspects. In the first place, India as a whole was yearning for freedom from foreign yoke; the struggle against British domination set in motion a unifying force integrating all the peoples speaking different languages, inhabiting different regions and having many different cultural peculiarities, into a common existence, with many characteristics of a single nation. At the same time, as patriotism, the motive force of the same struggle, asserted itself over religious, caste and communal distinctions, historically developed different linguistic-cultural groups inhabiting different distinct regions became consolidated as different nationalities.

The growth of the capitalist mode of production continuously reproduced both the two trends—Indian unity as well as distinct nationalities. As a matter of fact, this twofold process originated long before British conquest, but the separate regional-national forces were too strong for a united Indian resistance against the British merchant adventurers. This is the main reason which paved the way for British conquest of India. A common national consciousness of the Indian peoples developed through the penetration of the capitalist mode of production and common struggle against foreign domination, which ultimately forced the British to quit.

After the achievement of national independence, India has become a union of nationalities, autonomous in many respects and bound together into a common national state. India's independence confirms Lenin's scientific generalization that the tendency of every national movement is towards the formation of national states,

under which the requirements of modern capitalism are best satisfied.

The Indian union comprises within it 21 states, autonomous in several respects. They do not enjoy the right of secession. Besides these 21 states, there are nine centrally administered regions. The democratic movement in India demands the equal status of the nine with the 21. Peoples of all these regions respectively have their separate languages, cultural traditions and historical peculiarities within distinct geographical boundaries. But they have no separate distinctive economies except different degrees of capitalist development. The Indian Constitution recognizes 15 languages, though they have not been given the equality status as the central state language. That right is enjoyed by English and Hindi. Of the 15, one, English, is a foreign language and another, Sanskrit, is no longer used. The other languages cover over 90 per cent of the people of India. But no language is spoken by an absolute majority of the people. The largest single majority language-group, i.e., Hindi speaking people, consists of a little over 40 per cent of the population. Including these languages there are altogether 700 languages and dialects whose equality of status and development is essential for Indian unity.

There are many tribal peoples, with an aggregate population of 20 million, most of whose dialects are yet undeveloped as full-fledged languages. They are distinct ethnic units, many of whom live in distinct geographical areas inside the constitutionally recognized 'states' (i.e., provinces). They are gaining their own national consciousness with the sweeping upsurge of the democratic movement. Their demand for autonomy within the respective states is growing very fast.

Before the achievement of national independence, the national bourgeoisie which led the national liberation movement implicitly recognized the distinct existence of the separate nationalities, but did not consistently adhere to this recognition when the Indian Constitution was framed by the Constituent Assembly. The Communist Party of India, following the revolutionary principles laid down by Lenin, was the first Indian Party to demand the secession of India from the British Empire and also the first to advocate the reorganization of the states on nationality basis as autonomous within the Indian union. Peoples' movements supported and in some cases led by the Communist Party of India ultimately achieved some reorientation of government policy in this direction. This is how the original states recognized by the Constitution became reorganized on linguistic-cultural basis and expanded to 21 states. But naturally the fight still continues. The fight still continues to include the rest of the nationalities to be constituted as autonomous states and the tribal people to be granted autonomous regions within their respective states. The autonomous rights are to be extended, consistent with a strong all-India center.

The CPI adheres to Lenin's definition, subordinating the national

question to the interests of proletarian internationalism, which implies that the desirability of secession depends on the general interests of the proletariat and socialism.

Lenin pointed out that scientific, revolutionary solution of the national question is not an abstract formula. The question must always be examined in the context of the country's concrete historical development. And Lenin stressed that proper understanding of the historic and economic conditions in which national movements develop was essential for a correct approach to the secession issue. Adhering to this fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of India fought for the complete independence of India till victory was achieved but does not support secession of any of its constituent units, which was advocated by local reaction and British imperialism.

One specific feature of the national question in India is that no constituent nationality was ever the enslaver of any other constituent nationality. All the nationalities together were enslaved by imperialism. Now, it is imperialism which threatens her independent economic development and political policy.

But India is now a capitalist country and under capitalism the nationalities suffer from such discriminations as stifle equal growth for all. That is why the Communist Party of India fights for extension of autonomy, meaning thereby removal of all discriminations.

But the development in Pakistan, after partition, has been different. It was declared an Islamic state composed of East Pakistan (formerly East Bengal and now Bangladesh), West-Punjab, North Western Frontier province of Pakhtoons, Baluchistan and Sind. East Pakistan was converted into a field of investment for West Punjabi capital and it was converted into a colony of the latter. In East Bengal the West Pakistanis enjoyed special privileges. It was a clear case of oppression by the dominant exploiter minority belonging to one nationality upon another nationality as a whole. Naturally, there was a militant national movement of the Bengali people against the domination of the West with the demand for an independent Bangladesh, and secured it. It is after secession from Pakistan that the inhabitants of Bangladesh have begun to enjoy command over their economy and culture. These developments in Pakistan have further proved the theory of religion as a basis of nation-formation is a myth.

Most of the newly liberated countries are inhabited by more than one nationality. The national movements in these countries have culminated in their national independence. The next stage of the national movement in such countries concerns the unity and peace among the constituent nationalities on a truly democratic basis, which does not necessarily imply secession.

Lenin said: 'Insofar as national peace is in any way possible in a capitalist society based on exploitation, profit making and strife, it is attainable only under a consistently and thoroughly democratic republican system of government which guarantees full equality of

all nations and languages, which recognizes no compulsory official language, which provides the people with schools where instruction is given in all the native languages, and the constitution of which contains a fundamental law that prohibits any privileges whatsoever to any one nation and any encroachment whatsoever, upon the rights of a national minority' (*Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 427).

It is the total contravention of these basic conditions which dismembered Pakistan. India remains united. This she owes to the success of progressive Left forces in the national-democratic revolution. But the internal causes of conflict have not vanished. Therefore, the battle for the democratization of the country's political and social order continues.

The CPI holds that the problem of India's national integration based on genuine regional autonomy consistent with a strong center can be solved only by the working class in alliance with the peasantry, marching together with other revolutionary democratic forces.

The formation of the USSR 50 years ago showed that socialism is the only way to achieve the goal of genuine brotherhood of nations free from wars, national oppression and internal strifes. The march of the USSR from socialism towards communism, equality of all the nations comprising the USSR, its growing superiority over the advanced capitalist states in every respect and the disinterested help it renders to the national liberation movement is a glorious achievement of the present epoch. It is an imperishable monument of immortal Lenin, the great leader and teacher of oppressed humanity.

USSR AND NATIONAL INTERESTS OF FINNISH PEOPLE

Ville Pessi

Honorary Chairman, CP Finland

The vast international importance of the rise and development of the USSR was clearly brought out in Comrade B. N. Ponomarev's interesting report and other speeches. Soviet experience has shown that solution of the national question, genuine recognition of the right to self-determination, are a cardinal task of socialist revolution. The formation of the USSR was more than the formation of a union founded on complete freedom and equality of its members; it also provided the most favorable conditions for their development. It set an example of effective assistance of big and more developed nations to those kept in backwardness. And we can say with full justification that the rapid progress of these once backward areas—progress which in many respects has surpassed the achievements of leading capitalist countries—has done much to spread the ideas of socialism in capitalist, developing and colonial countries.

Bringing socialism to more than 100 nationality groups was pos-

sible only because the Soviet Communist Party has been guided by Marxism-Leninism and has pursued a resolute and, at the same time, flexible policy. The USSR has shown the world the viability and strength of scientific socialism and of Lenin's ideas on the national question.

We Finnish Communists have always felt the need deeply to study the rise and development of the Soviet Union in the context of our own history and that of our working class.

The Finnish bourgeoisie was very closely associated with the tsarist authorities and, more especially, the Kerensky government. But no sooner had the Russian proletariat taken power than it demanded secession from Russia. This was against the interests of our working class and our national interests.

The Left Social-Democrats were blind to the fact that the bourgeoisie was only looking after its own class interests. It was waiting for an opportune moment to join the imperialist powers in order to launch an offensive against the working class and take hostile action against the world's first socialist state. All this became clear when the bourgeoisie, working hand in hand with the German imperialists, drowned the workers' revolutionary movement in blood. The constituent congress of our Communist Party (August 1918) declared in its letter to Lenin that the unfortunate outcome of the proletarian revolution in Finland was due not to the mistakes of its leaders, but to the assistance German imperialism gave the Finnish bourgeoisie. German intervention, the letter said, was a severe defeat for us, but also a severe lesson. We Finnish Social-Democrats defended with all our passion and strength the independence that was given us by our Russian comrades, but the Finnish bourgeoisie bartered it away to German imperialism at the price of the blood of our revolutionary proletariat.

Lenin's signature on the document granting Finland independence was evidence of the Bolshevik's consistent policy against all national oppression, and this has been of tremendous importance in popularizing socialism in Finland. It has brought home to everyone how, in fact, Finland gained her independence. Destroying fascism in the Second World War, in which Finland was an ally of Nazi Germany, it was the Soviet Union that safeguarded our independence.

In this way the Finnish people came to see socialist federation as a guarantee of national self-determination. And this powered support for a policy of friendship and cooperation with the USSR. Even a section of the bourgeoisie found itself compelled, after the defeat of fascism, to rethink its attitude. But the main factor in orienting Finland on peace and friendship was, of course, the influence of the Finnish workers', and more particularly, the Communist movement, which following the victory of the Soviet Army could operate in conditions of democracy.

Friendship, cooperation and peaceful coexistence with the socialist Soviet Union is now taken for granted in Finland. Our experience

however indicates that the bourgeoisie can still mislead the working people by demagogic use of slogans allegedly aimed at upholding national interests and by raising a hue-and-cry about a fictitious menace to Finland. The fact is that conservative elements are doing everything they can to torpedo cooperation with the USSR, so important for our people. They are slandering the socialist system, exploiting nationalistic prejudices and distorting Soviet policy on the national-rights issue.

In all of this anti-Soviet propaganda the reactionaries make much use of Maoist arguments. For instance, they have taken up the Maoist 'superpowers' theory in an attempt to identify Soviet with U.S. policy towards smaller nations. They willingly disseminate the concept of 'rich' and 'poor' nations. In short, the Maoists are helping the bourgeoisie in its efforts to distort class relations and play down the class struggle. Generally speaking, Finnish public opinion condemns anti-Soviet propaganda, and now Maoist arguments are used to question Soviet foreign policy and reality. Maoist propaganda has not won wide currency, but nonetheless it helps the big bourgeoisie sow division in the working-class and progressive movement.

It is gratifying to know that the majority of our young people are not infected with a nationalistic mentality, take a keen interest in the developing countries, have an active part in the campaign to end the aggressive war in Vietnam, in the African solidarity movement, etc. This youth is strongly influenced by the remarkable political, economic and cultural progress of the Soviet Union's once-oppressed ethnic groups. It is this example of socialist society that has won the Soviet Union so much friendship in Finland and has so powerfully stimulated the younger generation's interest in socialism. The inspiring ideas of Marxism-Leninism have a special appeal to our students. At the last student assembly election at Helsinki University the Communists and People's Democrats polled 21.4 per cent of the vote, compared with their usual share of 17 per cent in national and local elections.

Today, too, we are, in a certain sense, battling for Finland's right to national self-determination by opposing her association with the EEC. True, the bourgeoisie and the Social-Democrats are not, at this time, suggesting membership in the Common Market. But even the so-called free trade agreement with it which they would impose on the country does not accord with our national interests. Among other things, it would accelerate economic monopolization with all the adverse consequences thereof. Greater EEC influence would mean the influx of foreign investments, making Finland more dependent on international finance capital. We are against all that. It would be much more to Finland's advantage to remain outside the Common Market and promote non-discriminatory relations with all countries, notably the socialist countries, with whom economic co-operation is based on mutual advantage, and with no political strings attached.

I have cited this example because capitalist integration is the very opposite of the Soviet Union's policy of respect for the equality of peoples and nations. The Common Market, in contrast, is designed to promote monopoly conglomerates and increase profits through intensified exploitation. The monopolies aim to keep wages and social benefits down to an 'international' level and curtail the workers' hard-won rights. That being so, for Europe's working people genuine patriotism means fighting the monopolies.

The 50th anniversary of the USSR is a great day for all fighters against exploitation and oppression. The decision taken half a century ago has proved a happy one for the Soviet peoples. It has shown the world the benefits and stability of their friendship and cooperation. It is evidence that true national feelings and internationalism are inseparable. We Communists know that in the vicissitudes of the struggle there are periods when national interests seem to clash with international. When the socialist countries are confronted with difficulties, or when anti-communist attacks become especially virulent, there is the temptation to depart from the principle of international solidarity. But the Communist parties cannot be guided by such transitory considerations which have never helped the Communists of any country. The stronger our international solidarity and our common responsibility for the Communist movement and the anti-imperialist struggle, the more successful will be our work, and the closer the triumph of our common cause.

The achievements of the Socialist countries and their active peace policy are a source of inspiration for the peoples in the struggle for freedom, peace and socialism. And what the Soviet Union has accomplished in fifty years shows how successful this struggle can be.

LENINIST PRINCIPLE OF UNITY

Abu Aitah Abdel-Hamid

Secretary Regional Committee, CP of Israel

The formation of the USSR is an important milestone in man's social progress. The USSR is the embodiment of unity and the friendship of peoples. The relations between nations in its framework have nothing to equal them anywhere in the world. True, there have existed multi-national states (the empires of Alexander the Great, and Napoleon, and the Roman and Ottoman empires). But these, created by force of arms and torn by national and class hostility, could not withstand the test of time. The Soviet Union is the first strong, multinational state of working people in history.

Much of the credit for its formation belongs to Lenin, who developed the teaching of Marx and Engels on the national question and substantiated the thesis on the right of nations to self-deter-

mination not short of secession. One of the first documents Lenin signed after the victory of the socialist revolution was the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, proclaiming their equality, abolishing all national and religious privileges and assuring the right of the peoples to free self-determination.

In contrast to the bourgeois policy reposing on the 'divide and rule' principle, there appeared Lenin's principle of the unity of the working people. The Marxist-Leninist conception of the national question and Lenin's national policy enabled the Communist Party to unite all nations and nationalities, and center their efforts on building a new society. The old society of national and class oppression was replaced by a new society based on the unity of the working people, without exploitation or oppression of one nation by another, and without national or religious privileges.

This society has been in existence for over half a century. The proletariat of all the Soviet nations fought shoulder to shoulder against capitalist enslavement, for social and national liberation. All the working people of former tsarist Russia acted as a powerful, united force. The Second World War was a severe test of the endurance and unity of the USSR. The Soviet peoples defended their socialist country heroically and selflessly, and defeated their enemy, displaying amazing determination and courage. The Marxist-Leninist teaching on the national question has passed the test in practice. The Leninist national policy and proletarian internationalism have won a complete victory.

In international affairs, too, the Soviet Union is faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism and equality of all nations, and consistently follows a policy of peace and friendship among peoples, and combats colonialism, racism and all forms of national oppression. It supports the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle for national liberation and social progress, against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

A vivid example of this is the Soviet Union's Middle East policy, its efforts for a just and durable peace in the region through full implementation of the Security Council resolution, and its defense of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine. The Soviet Union draws a sharp line of distinction between the pro-imperialist aggressive policy of the Israeli rulers and the true national interests of the people of Israel. The XVII Congress of the CP of Israel, held June 21-24, 1972, pointed out that the anti-Soviet campaign of the Israeli government and Zionist leaders is tied directly to American propaganda centers in Washington. This anti-Soviet conspiratorial activity against the socialist countries and anti-imperialist regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America is, in effect, payment to U.S. imperialism for weapons, money and political support. The purpose is to prepare the population of Israel for an escalation of the Middle East war.

As Communists and internationalists we reject this anti-Soviet propaganda. Friendship with the Soviet Union is of vital importance

for the people of Israel. The 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR is an historically significant event for all progressive mankind, as pointed out in a statement issued by our Party Congress. We hail the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, which effectively support the peoples' national-liberation and revolutionary movement. The Soviet Union delivered humanity from the fascist scourge and created conditions for avoiding a new world war. We wish the people of the Soviet Union new successes in building communist society and in the struggle for world peace and freedom.

ELIMINATING ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL INEQUALITY

Baiken Ashimov

Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Kazakh SSR

The Soviet people are celebrating a great occasion, the 50th anniversary of their Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The birth of this voluntary and inviolable union of truly equal nations is closely associated with the genius of Lenin, who worked out the fundamentals of the Communist Party's national policy which made it possible to abolish economic and cultural inequality of nations.

Even before the socialist revolution, Lenin developed the ideas of Marx and Engels and generalized the experience of the national-liberation movement in the age of imperialism (particularly in multinational Russia) to formulate the principles of a policy designed to overcome the economic and cultural inequality of backward nations and help them build the new society. These ideas were carried forward in Lenin's post-October works. Using Soviet Russia's early experience, he evolved the theory of direct transition from feudal relations to socialism.

It was creatively developed and put into practice by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The basic provisions of the Lenin program of building socialism – industrialization, bringing the peasant masses into cooperatives, the cultural revolution – are equally valid for all nations passing from feudalism to socialism. And they were readily understood and accepted by the millions who only yesterday were weighed down by colonial oppression, denied the right to political self-determination, to their own land and its riches, their language and culture, and living in feudal or semi-feudal subjection.

The Communist Party creatively adapted the Lenin program to the specific socio-economic and cultural conditions of each nation and warned against mechanically copying the more developed central regions of the USSR and against artificially prodding social transformations.

In the Soviet republics where, in those early years, pre-capitalist

relations still predominated, the Party introduced a series of stage-by-stage additional (or intermediate, in Lenin's definition) measures that took careful account of the degree to which the masses were prepared for social change.

The following are some of the more important of these measures: elimination of colonial vestiges in the economy, confiscation of feudal landholdings and redistribution of crop and the pasture lands among the poor peasants, wide-ranging state assistance to nomads settling on the land, organization and strengthening of peasant Soviets. This was paralleled by measures to increase the marketable product of agriculture, the formation of a working class and heightening its role in political life, wiping out illiteracy and raising cultural standards. In combination, these measures made for a steady elimination of feudal, tribal and clan institutions and the mentality they had inculcated, and for consolidation of the socialist nations and nationalities.

Socio-economic and cultural development of the Soviet republics was accelerated by the fact that they were part of a federation, of a close-knit union based on equality, friendship and fraternal mutual assistance. Only by pooling their forces and resources in a planned economy and with socialist division of labor and production cooperation, could they achieve a high rate of economic, social and cultural progress. This applies to all the peoples of the USSR, including those who in the past were still in the precapitalist stage.

Abolition of economic and cultural backwardness and successful transition from feudalism to socialism, by-passing capitalism, is vividly exemplified by Kazakhstan, a former colonial outskirts of tsarist Russia, with nomad or semi-nomad cattle economy, primitive farming and only the rudiments of industry.

In a short historical span, it covered the road from medieval backwardness to progress, from feudalism to developed socialism. Today ours is a powerful industrial-agrarian Republic with modern industry, a highly mechanized and diversified agriculture, a flourishing culture and high living standards. In size, 2.7 million sq. km., it is equal to the combined area of France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Norway, Finland and Sweden.

The cardinal material factor in our high growth rate has been the all-round and invaluable assistance of the more developed parts of the USSR and the big appropriations we received out of the Union budget. Thus, the biggest rail project of the 1920s, the Turkestan-Siberian Railway (Turksib), the country's third biggest coalfield in Karaganda, the Emba oilfields, the non-ferrous metals mines in the Altai and hundreds of other industrial units were financed out of the USSR budget.

And they have played a very important role in Kazakhstan's development. Take Turksib, the Republic's first major project: stretching for 1,500 km., it brings the western, southern and eastern parts of Kazakhstan into a single economic complex, directly links the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan with Siberia, making vast natural resources available for socialist construction. Lining

Turksib are dozens of rural and industrial communities largely inhabited by erstwhile nomads. Suffice it to say that at the close of the 1930s there were already 126 industrial enterprises here employing more than 26,000 people.

Socialist industrialization and collectivization posed the all-important problem of training skilled personnel. And here, too, we could rely on the assistance of the USSR government and the big industrial centers. We also started secondary and higher schools in Kazakhstan and sent young people to study in other parts of the USSR. In 1940, there were more than 40,000 students in 20 higher and 118 secondary specialized schools, and some 20,000 were being trained outside the Republic.

Soviet Kazakhstan, which recently celebrated its 50th anniversary, is a major producer of coal and oil, electric power, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, mineral fertilizers, tractors, farm machinery and many other goods. Our industry is now producing 158 times more than in 1913 and nearly 19 times more than in 1940. Fifty or so years ago Kazakhstan imported even the simplest manufactured goods; now its own goods are exported to more than 70 countries.

On the initiative of the Communist Party, we brought more than 25 million hectares of virgin lands under the plough. This formidable task was accomplished in a remarkably short time by the heroic labor effort of the Soviet people. The Party and Soviet government gave us the necessary funds, machinery and building materials. Hundreds of thousands of enthusiasts from all parts of the USSR helped in this vast undertaking which has made Kazakhstan an important producer of grain, meat, wool, etc. The republic's average annual grain yield comes to 21 million tons and the goal for the current five-year plan is 24 million tons.

The transforming force of socialism and the Leninist national policy have found vivid expression in the cultural revolution. In a country where less than two per cent could read and write and only 22 persons could boast of a higher education, there are now more than 10,000 general schools with an attendance of 3,300,000. Illiteracy was liquidated by the end of the second five-year plan period. We have 45 higher and 198 specialized secondary schools with a total enrolment of 424,000. The Kazakh Academy of Sciences, founded a quarter of a century ago, has grown into a leading center for high-level fundamental and applied research in many important fields.

The emancipation of women is still another of our social achievements. Women can now study, have an active part in production, culture and administration of the state. Fifty-seven per cent of specialists and technicians are women, and in public education and health they make up the majority. Of 28,000 research workers, 11,000 are women.

Kazakhstan is a multinational republic. You will find Russians and Kazakhs, Ukrainians and Byelorussians, Uzbeks and Kirghizians, Germans, Dunganians and other nationalities working in our factories, on farms and building sites.

With its huge economic potential and high level of productive forces, Kazakhstan holds a leading place in industrial and agricultural production. And our contribution to building the material and technical basis of communism increases from year to year. Like all the other republics, we are an organic part of the huge, unified USSR economic complex.

Our experience in abolishing economic and cultural inequality and in building socialism without having to go through the capitalist stage, has won international recognition. Of course, every nation that has chosen the non-capitalist path and the socialist orientation has many specifics, notably in economic structure, social relations and way of life. However, Soviet experience in banishing economic and cultural inequality of peoples still at the precapitalist stage and assuring their transition to socialism, has many common features and great attractive power.

BEACON OF PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

Idris Cox

Representative of British CP on WMR

The *World Marxist Review* was privileged to accept an invitation to send 18 of its Party representatives this spring to visit the Soviet Union on the occasion of the great 50th anniversary, divided into six groups, each of which visited a different Republic. I was fortunate in being one of four members of the delegation which visited the Tatar Autonomous Republic, and I can testify from my own experience to the great success which has been achieved in translating into practice Lenin's principles of national freedom in the Soviet Union.

The Tatar Republic was actually formed in 1920, two years before the Soviet Union came into being. So this year is its 52nd anniversary. Our delegation was simply amazed with the evidence of our own eyes at the obvious advances which had been made in the economy, housing and social services, and in the field of education and culture. We were able to witness for ourselves how peoples of different nationalities were able to live together in peace and harmony, and unite their forces in building a prosperous socialist community.

About half the population are Tatars, and nearly one half are Russians, together with thousands of Mari, Udmurt, Chuvash, and Mordva peoples. Newspapers and journals, together with radio and television programs, appear in both Tatar and Russian, and both languages are taught in the schools. Even the minority peoples have newspapers in their own languages, and are encouraged to develop their own art and culture.

We visited a secondary school in Kazan, and it was inspiring to witness the great advantages of socialist education. One of the

special features of this school was the teaching of foreign languages – English, German, French, and Spanish.

We spoke with workers and managers in the factories, with city committees of the Communist Party, chairmen of local Soviets in three different towns, the First Secretary of the Tatar Republic's Party branch, and with the Chairman of the Tatar Supreme Soviet himself.

Most of the workers, and many managerial staff, are young people. We spoke to some of them – they are all proud of their part in building the new society. There were interviews with poets, musical composers, and various scientists – a wide cross-section of the people as a whole.

Of course, we did not see everything. But from what we observed it was obvious that a great deal still needs to be done in the construction of new roads, houses, and flats, and the improvement of village life. However, the delegation was convinced that this small Republic was making big strides and is becoming one of the most advanced Republics in the multinational state of the Soviet Union.

Coming from a small country known as Wales, one of the four constituent parts of what is known as the United Kingdom, it was an inspiration to witness for myself how the national problem had been solved in the Soviet Union. Generally, when people abroad speak and write about Britain (which, with the inclusion of Northern Ireland, is known as the United Kingdom) they use the term England, and the British people are described as English. This is an incorrect term.

Comrade Ponomaryov performed a most useful service to all of us in stressing that the national problem not only exists in Asia and Africa, but has still not been solved in the developed capitalist countries in Western Europe. In many respects, this problem has become far more acute in Britain, the birthplace of the capitalist system. Take the acute struggle in Ulster in Northern Ireland. But this is not the only national problem facing the British ruling class.

There is an active campaign in Scotland to win their national rights and a Scottish Parliament to manage their own affairs. In Wales, the people are fighting to preserve their national language (which is centuries older than the English language) inspires thousands of young people into action, many of whom have served prison terms as a result of their militant activity.

When Wales was conquered 400 years ago the English Parliament made the Welsh language illegal, and though this prohibition was not fully implemented all kinds of obstacles were enforced to prevent the use of the Welsh language. Still, even one hundred years ago (in the time of Marx and Engels) the majority of people in Wales spoke the Welsh language, but as a result of English immigration and British Government opposition to the use of Welsh, only about one in four (about 700,000 people) now speak the language.

The CPSU Program makes clear its attitude on the various languages of the peoples of the USSR, and I quote: 'To continue promoting the free development of the languages of the peoples of the USSR, and the complete freedom for every citizen of the USSR to speak, and to bring up and educate his children, in any language, ruling out all privileges, restrictions or compulsions in the use of this or that language. By virtue of the fraternal friendship and mutual trust of peoples, national languages are developing on a basis of equality and mutual enrichment.'

During recent years there has been a growing movement to restore the use of the language, and give new life to Welsh art and culture, and there are now hundreds of primary schools in Wales in which every subject is taught in the Welsh language, with English as only one of its subjects. But this movement is led mainly by petty-bourgeois nationalists who are divorced from the class struggle, and do not regard national freedom as part of the struggle to achieve socialism, and which in fact has some anti-Soviet and anti-Communist trends. While the Communists in Wales are in the forefront of economic and political struggles, and hold key positions in the trade unions, in elections for Parliament the nationalists get far more votes than the Communists, not only from petty-bourgeois elements, but also from workers.

This is a danger signal for the Communist movement in Wales, for while the Communist Party recognizes the national rights of the Welsh people and strives to win support for the demand for a Welsh Parliament, it still tends to place these demands in a separate compartment from the class struggle as a whole, and the fight to achieve socialism.

The national problem still exists, not only in Britain, but perhaps to a lesser extent in France, where the Bretons also insist on advancing their own specific language and culture. In Belgium there are divisions between the Flemings and the Walloons. In Spain the Basques and the Catalonians also insist on their own identity. Throughout the capitalist countries of Western Europe, though they were among the first to create national capitalist states, they are still far from reaching a solution for their national problems.

The situation is even more acute in the underdeveloped countries. We are aware of the difficult problems which exist between the peoples of India and Ceylon, of the struggle of the Kurds and of the deliberate neo-colonialist strategy of imperialism in Africa to foment not only tribal and national conflicts, but also to encourage apartheid in South Africa, and the worst forms of racialism to hold back the further advance of the liberation movement in that vast continent.

The essence of imperialism and bourgeois nationalism is division and conflict, and along that path there is no solution to the national problem. While in Britain the Communists recognize the national rights of the Scottish and Welsh peoples and their just demand for

separate Parliaments to manage their own affairs, we are against splitting up Britain into separate parts. We stand for the united class struggle of the English, Scottish, and Welsh peoples against British monopoly capitalism, which is their common enemy, and against the whole system of British imperialism. We stand for equal rights for the people of Ulster in Northern Ireland, and for the achievement of a free and united Ireland, free from any form of British imperialist domination.

We do not conceive the solution of the national problem in Britain as something separate from the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, from the mass movement to end Tory rule, and from the building of the united front of all British workers to achieve this aim.

On this 50th anniversary we can learn big lessons from the experience of the Soviet Union. Despite the anti-Soviet mania of the Tory rulers and the opportunist maneuvers of reactionary Labor leaders, most British workers admire the great achievements of the Soviet Union. My own first great political experience over half a century ago was in the great 'Hands off Russia' movement when the new Russia was in serious danger, from the threats of British imperialism. In the Second World War the British workers regarded the Soviet armed forces and people as their greatest allies. Today, when British imperialism is more anti-Soviet even than United States imperialism they refuse to be diverted by the despicable attempts of the British Government to poison relations with the Soviet Union.

This 50th anniversary will serve to achieve closer relations between our two countries, and will also make clear that the Leninist socialist principles of freedom for all nationalities provide important lessons for our struggle, and make clear that our national problems can only be solved as part of the great struggle to achieve socialism in Britain.

This is not something we can achieve in isolation, but only in alliance with the liberation struggles and movements in Asia and Africa fighting against imperialism, by striving to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement, and by the lessons we can learn from the 1917 socialist revolution and the great achievements of the Soviet Union, which is not only the citadel of the socialist world system, but a beacon for the struggle of the peoples of the whole world.

MATERIALIZATION OF THE OBJECTIVE LAWS OF SOCIALISM

Namsarai Luvsanravdan

Member of Political Bureau,
CC Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

The 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is an event of world importance, epitomizing the grandeur of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proletarian internationalism and friendship of the peoples, and the realism of the Leninist national policy of the CPSU. The voluntary union of equal Soviet republics was a direct and logical sequel of the October Revolution, a result of the joint defense by the peoples of the world's first socialist country of the gains of the socialist revolution, of the new society.

The first socialist society in history and passage to building communism – this is the main achievement of the Soviet peoples in the past fifty years, their greatest contribution to the world revolutionary process changing the face of our planet. More than 100 nations and nationalities united on a voluntary basis in one socialist family have effected Lenin's plan of building socialism and accumulated epoch-making experience in socialist industrialization and radical reorganization of agriculture, in the cultural revolution, in solving the national question, etc.

The Soviet Union's true internationalism and fidelity to its mission in history is traceable to unfailing, consistent and firm observance of Lenin's postulate: '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' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 75).

The sovereignty and statehood of the nations in the federative framework of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics gave full scope to their creative energy and constructive powers. Socialist federation, cemented by identity of aims and interests, is a specific form of uniting different nations free from exploitation in a multinational state. And in his theses to the Second Congress of the Comintern, having summed up the experience of the first several years of the Soviet state, Lenin was quite right to advise the world Communist movement to study the experience of federalism in Russia.

The socialist countries are solving the national question with good results in keeping with Lenin's principles of proletarian internationalism, which have stood the test in the Soviet Union.

The socialist countries, including the Mongolian People's Republic, took guidance in Lenin's propositions and made creative use of the Soviet experience to carry forward in all spheres of life socialist

reconstruction of various forms. The Soviet experience, the imposing Soviet successes in economy, culture and in raising the living standard, evoke deep interest among workers and other working people of different countries. 'They all look towards one star,' Lenin wrote, 'the star of the Soviet Republic, because they know that it made tremendous sacrifices in order to fight the imperialists, and that it has withstood the most severe trials' (Vol. 30, p. 390).

The facts show that a principled, correct attitude to the USSR and its rich and varied experience, is of crucial significance for the world revolutionary movement, for success in building socialism. Departing from the Leninist principles of building socialist society and ignoring the historic Soviet experience, causes heavy damage to revolutionary struggle, socialist revolution and socialist construction, and is contrary to the interests of the peoples. It is precisely this kind of anti-people's, anti-Marxist policy and the great-power chauvinism of China's present leaders that impedes socialist construction in the People's Republic of China. Their violation of the Leninist national policy has given impulse to reactionary nationalism, to 'sinification' of lesser peoples and nationalities. The Maoists' blind anti-Sovietism and reactionary chauvinism is objectively helping the imperialists' global strategy of disrupting the unity of the socialist countries and prying away fraternal states from the Soviet Union, that main bulwark of the forces of peace and socialism.

The existence of the USSR, Soviet internationalist aid to the Mongolian people fighting for freedom, national independence, a happy life, and defence of revolutionary gains, was crucial for the emergence and growth of independent socialist Mongolia. 'We shall exert every effort,' Lenin wrote, 'to foster association and merger with the Mongolians, Persians, Indians, Egyptians. We believe it is our duty and *in our interest* to do this, for otherwise socialism in Europe will *not be secure*. We . . . will help them pass to the use of machinery, to the lightening of labour, to democracy, to socialism' (Vol. 23, p. 67).

In keeping with Lenin's recommendations, the CPSU and the Soviet Government have always followed a policy of friendship and cooperation, and given selfless aid to the peoples of the East, including the Mongolians.

The Soviet Union recognized the independence of the MPR and established relations of friendship and cooperation with it, rendering us selfless aid in building a new economy and national culture, in defending the gains of the people's revolution, and in consolidating our state sovereignty. The triumph of the non-capitalist way and Mongolia's success in building socialism are striking evidence of the revolutionizing and constructive force of Lenin's ideas of friendship and fraternal alliance in the battle for the common cause.

For Mongolians, the building of the new society by peoples of the Soviet East has been an inspiring example of passage to socialism bypassing the capitalist stage.

At present, the ever greater internationalist Soviet aid in build-

ing up our productive forces, enhancing the well-being and raising the cultural level of our people, our use of the rich Soviet experience of building socialism and communism, are bringing closer the full victory of socialism on Mongolian soil.

The friendship and cooperation of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples – socialist internationalism in action – are a model of the new-type international relations developing in the socialist world system. Mongolian-Soviet friendship is in keeping with Lenin's principles of alliance, fraternity and cooperation between big and small peoples, mutual respect and complete equality, testifying to the fidelity of the CPSU and MPRP to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Soviet Union, a consequent champion of Lenin's principles of the equality and sovereignty of all peoples, renders all-round aid and support to peoples fighting against imperialism and aggression, for freedom, national independence and social progress, acting firmly against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, and all forms of national oppression. This is borne out by the continuous Soviet support and fraternal aid to the heroic people of Vietnam and the Arab peoples fighting against imperialism and its henchmen.

The Soviet Union stands in the van of world social and scientific-technical progress. The impressive Soviet progress in building communism multiplies the strength of world socialism as the decisive force of anti-imperialist struggle, exercising a profound influence on world development. The Soviet Union dependably shields the historic gains of the socialist community against encroachments by forces of reaction and war. It bears the main burden in the fight against imperialism, for the emancipation of the peoples from national and colonial oppression. Recent events have shown once again that the Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, its indestructible economic and defensive power, are compelling the class enemy to recognize Lenin's principle of peaceful co-existence, and the invincible might of world socialism. The active practical steps of the CPSU and the Soviet Government in pursuance of the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress are an eminent contribution to world peace and international security.

Ideological subversion, particularly the bellicose propaganda of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism against the socialist community and, first of all, the Soviet Union, are part of imperialist strategy. As the MPRP sees it, it is the Communists' sacred duty not only to fight consistently for closer friendship and fraternity with the Soviet Union, but also to defend it from the attacks of imperialists and their ideological henchmen, opportunists of all shades. Attacks and slander against the Soviet Union, the main defender of the gains of socialist countries, the leading socialist force, or attempts to malign its vanguard role in the battle against imperialism, are tantamount to direct attacks against us, against all loyal friends and allies of the USSR.

In one line with the other fraternal parties, the MPRP firmly combats anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism, acting on Lenin's

call '... 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).

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party has always held that sincerity towards Lenin's great party, close unity and cooperation with it, are the main criteria of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It is the internationalist duty of our Party and people to cement and develop our indestructible friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, working untiringly to consolidate the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement and all the revolutionary forces of our time.

FLOURISHING SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Larbi Bouhali

National Leadership member,
Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria

When summing up the amazing advances of the USSR in every sphere over the past half century, it is particularly important to note that the Soviet Union is a multinational state which has achieved close unity and cohesion of all its peoples. This fact claims the attention of Communist and Workers' parties and the whole of progressive mankind all the more because the national question is a burning issue in the capitalist and the Third World. Various peoples of our planet, including those that have freed themselves from colonial rule, still suffer from national oppression and exploitation, racism and chauvinism.

Bourgeois politicians and ideologists question the Soviet Constitution. Yet 'unlike national, bourgeois democracy, which proclaims but never actually implements national equality,' says the CC CPSU in its decision on preparations for the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, 'socialist democracy guarantees the peoples equal rights and opportunities, and provides conditions for the solution of national problems with due regard to the fundamental interests of the working people of diverse nationalities.'

We saw how very correct this statement is during our recent visit to the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. It may be useful to point out that the development of this republic has certain aspects which under a bourgeois system would have played a negative part. To begin with, Moldavia did not develop in the same conditions as other Soviet republics. In January 1918 royal Rumania took advantage of civil war and imperialist intervention against the newly founded Soviet state to overrun Bessarabia. Until the reunification of Bessarabia with Soviet Moldavia (1940), or for 22 years, the Rumanian invaders oppressed and exploited the Moldavians and, furthermore, conducted rabid anti-Soviet and anti-

Russian propaganda among them. Added to this were four years of Nazi occupation. Not until Hitlerism had been defeated could Moldavia, free and united, begin its development as a sovereign socialist republic, a member of the Soviet Union.

Besides, Moldavia is virtually a multinational state. Along with Moldavians, who make up about 65 per cent of its population, it is inhabited by Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, Bulgarians, Armenians, Gypsies, Gagauz and many other nationalities. The number of Jews, for instance, is 98,000, this is a substantial number, but it does not create any particular problem.

In spite of the Zionists' intense worldwide propaganda, there were only 120 Jews in 1971 – mostly aged people – who chose to emigrate to Israel. And, of course, they left without difficulty, whatever anti-Soviet propaganda may say.

In contrast to nominal, bourgeois democracy, socialist democracy enables every citizen, irrespective of nationality, to participate in the country's politics and public life generally, in government at both republican and federal level.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the highest representative body, is composed of two chambers having equal powers: the Soviet of the Union, on which every federal republic is represented by a number of deputies proportional to its population, and the Soviet of Nationalities, on which every federal republic has 32 deputies irrespective of its area or population. This structure makes it possible, when passing a law or approving the national economic plan or the stage budget, to harmoniously combine the Soviet people's common interests with the interests of the federal and autonomous republics, autonomous regions and national areas.

At reunification in 1940, Moldavia was lagging rather far behind other Soviet republics socio-economically and culturally. Thanks to the socialist system and to aid from other Soviet nations, it was not long before Moldavia overtook other republics of the Union.

In 1940, industry's share in Bessarabian production was two or three per cent. In 1971, its contribution to the republic's economy was 56.7 per cent.

Culturally, Moldavia was one of the most backward regions before Soviet power was established. As late as 1944, 65 per cent of men and 85 per cent of women in Moldavia could not read or write. Now illiteracy is a thing of the past. All children go to school. Moldavia had no higher school, let alone a research center, before 1940. It now has 44,800 students, almost 6,000 research workers, including 1,900 with a doctor's or candidate's degree. Great progress in education, numerous theatres, cinemas, clubs, houses of culture and libraries, radio and television have advanced the culture of socialist Moldavia to an unprecedented extent.

No legislative act, however revolutionary, can in itself solve the national problem unless it is backed by the appropriate measures in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres making nations and nationalities really equal.

The national question has long been settled in the Soviet Union, where there are no national problems like those besetting the capitalist world. This is not to say, however, that what exists does not have to be improved. The CPSU is well aware of this necessity. 'The Party,' said L. I. Brezhnev at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, 'will continue to strengthen the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, steadfastly following the Leninist policy of ensuring the prosperity of socialist nations and of gradually bringing them closer together.'

The harmonious combination of the national and the international in the policy of the CPSU has world significance. The world Communist and working-class movement, like the national liberation movement, both of which are constantly faced with the national question in one form or another, find Soviet experience highly instructive.

The conclusion suggested by the facts is that the national question cannot be solved without removing the exploitation of man by man, without socialism. We are living in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, with imperialism losing its historical initiative for good, the international influence of the socialist world system growing and national anti-imperialist revolutions tending more and more to become social revolutions.

POWERFUL SPUR TO NATIONAL LIBERATION

Naim Ashhab

Jordanian CP Representative on World Marxist Review

While the Great October marked a revolutionary turning point in man's history, the formation of the USSR reflected this change in relations between peoples.

Relations of a new type took shape, based on the equal rights of all nationalities irrespective of number, stage of development or other criteria. These are relations of true brotherhood, with peoples helping each other, working jointly for economic and cultural progress.

International relations of this nature were unknown before the rise of the Soviet Union. Until then, the history of civilization, a history of warring classes and hostile nationalities, was governed by jungle law. The strong subjugated and oppressed the weak. This was regarded as natural until the Soviet Union appeared on the map. The founding of the USSR was an instance of Marxist-Leninist theory translated into reality, and the immortal Lenin was the genius who brought this great creation of our time into being.

The Soviet Union was from the first a living model of equal relations between nations and nationalities. Its emergence was a powerful revolutionary spur to the national liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries.

Having joined in a great union, the peoples once held down by

tsarism, which prevented their normal development by dooming them to national bondage, backwardness and ignorance, achieved with the aid of the Russian people and their working class in a short time a high standard of civilization, and began to compete with the most developed European capitalist countries, which attained progress and prosperity not only by their own effort but also through centuries of colonial plunder. The peoples of the Soviet Union have now outstripped them in higher education, medicine and other social and cultural fields.

This is a miracle if it is weighed against the state of affairs in countries where the level of development is similar to that at which these republics began their climb. In 1971 Kazakhstan produced 37.4 billion kwh of electric power, or more than Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Cambodia, Pakistan, Burma, and South Vietnam put together.

The Soviet people have solved the national problem by following Lenin's teaching. A model union of free fraternal peoples the USSR is the exact opposite of the inequitable forms of association typical of the capitalist world . . . a world based on injustice and national oppression. Ireland is a striking example of this injustice. Earlier it was Algeria, which the French imperialists tried to absorb. The U.S. imperialist aggression against the peoples of Indochina, Israel's imperialist aggression in the Arab East and the various forms of colonial and racial oppression in South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and elsewhere are glaring examples of national suppression, of attempts to deny peoples free self-determination and the right to choose their path of development without foreign interference.

In Israel, where Palestinian Arabs make up 12 per cent of the population, the proportion of Arab students in the universities and colleges is one-eighth of that of Israeli Jews. Arabs are barred from certain sciences, in particular technological. Discrimination is also common in other fields. The average annual income of a non-Jewish (usually Arab) family in Israel is estimated by official Israeli statistics at 62 per cent of a Jewish family's income.

Israel has a law which does not exist even in South Africa. This law permits organized expropriation of Arab land and property. The law empowers the authorities to seize an Arab's property on the pretext of his legal 'absence,' or his 'not being registered,' although he is actually living in Israel.

These are only a few examples of how the Arab minority is oppressed in Israel. As for the territories overrun in June 1967, the national oppression there has been still more brutal. This is exemplified by destruction of homes, confiscation of land and property, expulsions, establishment of Zionist settlements, preparations for the annexation of new Arab territories, exploitation and plunder of the population, and interference in education, not to speak of murders, terrorist acts, imprisonment, torture, exile and the denial to refugees of 1948 and 1967 of the right to return.

While the UN decision in 1948 provided a legal basis for the

constitution of the State of Israel, the chauvinist rulers of that state have invariably denied the Arab people of Palestine the right to self-determination guaranteed by the same decision.

On March 16 last the Knesset resolved that the Jewish people's title to Palestine is irrevocable – a blatant attempt to ignore the rights of Palestine's Arab people as if they did not exist.

The Palestinians on the East Bank of the Jordan also suffer from the growing tyranny of Jordanian reactionaries who flirt with imperialism and follow a policy of 'regional' oppression similar to national oppression. Indeed, setting the inhabitants of the two regions – the West and the East Bank – against each other has been an aspect of the reactionary regime's policy ever since the West Bank was annexed to East Jordan over 20 years ago. In this way reaction would like to disrupt and defeat the patriotic movement of the two fraternal peoples – those of Palestine and Jordan. Discrimination was markedly stepped up after the dismantling of the bases of the Palestine resistance movement in Jordan (September 1970) and later, when the collusion of reaction with imperialism and Zionism against the rights of Palestine's Arab people, including their right to self-determination, was carried deeper. This collusion found expression in the draft of the 'United Arab Kingdom' recently proposed by Jordan's rulers.

The reactionary regime, which is hostile to the genuine interests of the people and their patriotic forces, the Palestine resistance movement, and denies the Arab people of Palestine their rights, seeks to extend its social basis, composed mainly of the bureaucracy and the compradore bourgeoisie, as well as the big landowners. It also tries to bribe the middle and petty bourgeoisie of the East Bank by brutally oppressing the Palestinian population of the West Bank.

Ever since the September 1970 massacre, intended to destroy thousands upon thousands of Palestinian Arabs, the regime has been pursuing the inhuman policy of expelling Palestinians from the armed forces and the civil service and persecuting them in various other ways. At least 70 per cent of servicemen and civil servants today come from the East Bank. This is yet another indication of the national and 'regional' oppression resulting from Israeli occupation and the domination of Jordan's reactionary regime.

Our Party advocates fraternal relations between Palestinians and Jordanians to unite all national forces fighting against occupation, imperialism, national and 'regional' oppression, for the elimination of the consequences of Israel's 1967 aggression and for the self-determination of the Arab people of Palestine after their country has been freed. The anniversary of the formation of the USSR is an occasion for us to express once again our gratitude to the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union for their open-handed assistance and support to the Arab peoples fighting against occupation and imperialism, for social progress.

MODEL OF NEW INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Andrzej Werblan

Central Committee Secretariat Member,
Polish United Workers' Party

The triumph of Lenin's policy of proletarian internationalism, the proclamation of the USSR demonstrated to the world that socialism provides an enduring foundation for new relations between nations based on friendship and fraternal unity.

Much of the credit for founding and strengthening the multinational Soviet state must go to the Russian people. The revolutionary traditions of the Russian working class, its experience in the cultural and political fields, its dedication, were a paramount factor in the growth of the Soviet Republics and in shaping the socialist Soviet state and the socialist ideology.

Union of the Soviet peoples in a single socialist state predetermined the strength of the USSR, its development potential and its ability to withstand imperialist aggression.

For us Communists the Soviet solution of the national problem is not only a model of a fraternal community within the framework of a multinational state, but the basis for a socialist concept of international relations generally.

Soviet achievement and experience are of immense importance for the entire international workers' movement. They have a special relevance for Poland, the struggle of its working class and the destinies of its people. Lenin was in close and constant touch with our workers' movement and helped it work out a correct program in the fight for social and national liberation. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party upheld our people's right to self-determination, and in one of its first decrees, the young Soviet republic annulled the treaties on Poland's partition. This had a direct and important bearing on Poland's achievement of independence after the First World War.

In the 20 years between the two wars, it was only alliance and joint action with the Soviet Union that could have helped our people find the road to independent development in peace. We Polish Communists fought indefatigably to achieve that. But the propertied classes, wholly disregarding vital national interests, pursued a policy openly hostile to the Soviet Union. Its ruinous results are well known. The fallacy of the political conception of the bourgeois camp, their discrepancy with Poland's interests, and the bourgeoisie's incapacity to face up to the nation's vital problems, were starkly revealed in our people's ordeal during the Second World War. Leadership in the fight for national liberation and, later, power in the new Polish state, passed to the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class. The Soviet Army, the decisive force in smashing Hitler's war machine, brought our country freedom. Since then the Polish People's Republic has associated its future and the security of its frontiers with indestructible fraternal alliance with the

USSR. Socialism determined Poland's path into the future. And these two factors – the socialist system and unity and cooperation with the USSR – have been the key factors in solving all our problems.

Theoretical interpretation of the CPSU's experience of socialist construction is of outstanding importance for the development of Marxism-Leninism. The fundamental regularities of socialism, the principles of proletarian dictatorship and the worker-peasant alliance, public ownership of the means of production, socialist reorganization of agriculture, socialist planning, a democratic education system, socialist reorganization and dissemination of culture, cooperation and friendship of all the socialist states and strengthening their unity in the fight against imperialism – all these have been conceptualized in the process of revolutionary transformation and the building of socialism and communism in the USSR.

The experience of our United Workers' Party testifies that the leading role of the Party is one of the main regularities of building socialism. It has been formulated in the theory of Leninism and fully confirmed by the Soviet Union's more than half a century's practice and by that of other socialist countries. That is why the program approved by the Sixth Party Congress so strongly emphasizes strengthening of the Party's leading role. This implies working out and operating a correct development policy, steadily strengthening the contacts of all Party organizations with the working class and the people. And here our goal is to make every Party member a bearer of progress and socialist ideals.

Intimately linked with this are the main principles of socialist statehood. The basic feature of socialist democracy is broad participation of the working people in public affairs, the cultivation of a feeling of responsibility for carrying out the country's policy. These principles were set out by Lenin and are now being translated into practice by the USSR and other socialist countries.

Socialism does not have to borrow models from obsolete capitalist forms of political life. It creates its own model, best suited to formulating optimal socio-economic aims and rallying the people around the Marxist-Leninist Party for their realization.

Social progress brings to light new regularities in socialism's development. At the present stage, that of building developed socialism, one such regularity is fuller satisfaction of the people's growing material and cultural requirements.

This is a priority task. And for its accomplishment increasing importance attaches to the economic cooperation of the socialist countries, of which socialist economic integration is the supreme form. Our Party regards socialist integration not only as an important economic and organizational task, but also as a serious ideological commitment requiring that all citizens, our entire youth, be conscious of the fundamental truth that in this age concern for the future, for Poland's continued progress, is inseparable from closer unity with the Soviet Union and the socialist community. In this we have the organic fusion of socialist patriotism and internationalism.

Correct understanding of the dialectics of general regularities and national specifics is essential to the successful development of socialism in each country. Our Party's First Secretary, Comrade Gierek, told the Sixth Party Congress: 'The chief features of the advance to socialism are determined by the common regularities operating in all the socialist countries. They are manifested in concrete forms conforming to historical conditions and national specifics. . . . Failure to understand or properly appraise this truth has always made socialist construction much more difficult.'

There is the evidence of experience that the role of these general regularities increases as we advance along the socialist path. The socialist countries started at differing socio-economic levels. But mutual assistance and cooperation is evening out these levels in the course of economic and social progress, bringing the peoples of our new society closer together.

The question of general, universal regularities and national peculiarities in building socialism has become the subject of sharp ideological struggle. All anti-Marxist trends, both Right and 'Left' opportunism, negate the general regularities of socialism and, at the same time, impede correct understanding of each country's specific requirements.

In our day, nationalism has become the common denominator of all these anti-Marxist trends. And the harm of nationalist distortions is exemplified by the Maoist policy of the Chinese Communist Party leadership. For in Maoism, anti-Soviet chauvinism combines with an unprincipled pragmatic attitude to theory, and this has led to a complete break with Marxism-Leninism. The Maoists' policy is doing much harm to socialism, the fight against imperialism, and the Chinese people itself.

Closely connected with the Soviet Union's historical experience is the most vital problem of our time, the problem of war and peace. Never in all history has any country presented such a far-reaching and comprehensive peace program as that being carried out by the Soviet Union. Today, 27 years after the Second World War, with a new balance of forces, it has been proved beyond doubt that a policy of peaceful coexistence can be effectively implemented and world war avoided. This special regularity of our time, the continuation of Lenin's theory of peaceful coexistence, was discovered by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and elaborated at its congresses. On CPSU initiative the international Communist movement proclaimed saving mankind from thermonuclear war its historic mission.

People's Poland has an active share in bringing to reality the socialist countries' joint, coordinated foreign policy. Poland is making its own contribution to that policy, primarily in Europe, in accordance with its potentialities and position. The coming into force of the Soviet and Polish treaties with the FRG consummates 25 years of struggle for recognition in international law of the territorial status quo in postwar Europe.

For the Polish United Workers' Party peaceful coexistence does

not imply a relaxation of the ideological confrontation with capitalism. On the contrary, with the renunciation of force in relations between states irrespective of their political system the importance of the socio-economic competition and ideological struggle increases. And we are fully aware of the responsibility this imposes on our Party. We are confident that we have all the necessary conditions for victory in this competition with capitalism. That conviction rests on our own experience and, above all, on the momentous experience of the Soviet Union.

THE ONLY ROAD TO FRATERNITY OF NATIONS

Georgos Savvidis

Chairman, Central Control Commission,
Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus

The formation of a voluntary union of free and equal nations in a multinational socialist state helped oppressed nations and the working people of the world better to understand their own conditions, the inhumanity of colonial oppression and class exploitation, the wretchedness of the imperialist world, with its national discord, racialism, national seclusion and provocation of war. The formation of the USSR showed that the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the national question is not an utopia, but a scientific and fully feasible program that opens new vistas and opportunities to all the peoples.

The international labor movement, the Workers' and Communist parties, could now see Lenin's theory of the national question translated into living practice. The USSR set an example of combining national with socialist revolution, and its Leninist party an example of how international and national issues should be resolved.

In the 30s, when the Soviet people were bending every effort to build socialism, steadily transforming their country into a comprehensively developed power, the capitalist world was caught in a devastating crisis, with its concomitants of unemployment and poverty. Fascism destroyed all elementary democratic freedoms and human rights. It imprisoned and murdered Communists and other progressives as part of its preparation for war and imposed the rule of the most reactionary imperialist forces.

All progressives, all decent men, turned their eyes to the great socialist country which worked perseveringly for peace, calling for cooperation by peoples and democratic states to block fascism and avert a war.

The tragedy of World War II, started by imperialism and the result of national betrayal by the leaders of the Western powers, brought home to the peoples the full meaning of the Soviet Union's peace policy and showed how right it had been in urging a concerted rebuff to fascism.

The Soviet peoples' remarkable unity in the Great Patriotic War,

their stamina in the face of severe ordeals and their momentous victory over Hitler fascism, that dangerous enemy of all mankind, reaffirmed once more the viability and strength of the world's first socialist state and demonstrated anew the fraternity of its nations. The war was a test that could only be passed by a close-knit socialist state.

The workers' democratic gains were restored only with the Soviet Union's victory over Nazism. The workers' and democratic movement developed rapidly in conditions of peace and the legal opportunities won within the framework of the capitalist system. A number of European countries made the peaceful transition to socialism. The colonial system collapsed. Imperialism was powerless to prevent revolutionary change. Led by the Soviet Union, the socialist world system became the decisive force of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The unrelaxing energetic efforts of the USSR and the socialist community in behalf of freedom, national equality, international peace and cooperation, the decisive support and fraternal assistance to all embattled peoples, convinced the masses in every country that the socialist system is the bulwark of world peace and justice, the earnest of freedom and progress.

That is why the USSR's great achievements in building socialism and communism, its impressive progress in science and all other fields of human endeavor, are an inspiration to the international working class and to progressives in all parts of the world.

The Soviet Union's consistent internationalist policy is well known to our Party, the labor movement and the patriotic masses of Cyprus. They know, too, of the fraternal support and disinterested assistance the USSR gives embattled peoples.

The Soviet Union has always been our reliable supporter and our most faithful ally in the difficult fight against colonial misrule and in the present grim battles to defend the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. It is no exaggeration to say that the all-round support and assistance of the USSR have on more than one occasion foiled NATO imperialist plots and plans to enthrall Cyprus. That explains the increasingly close friendship between the Cypriot and Soviet peoples and between our Republic and the USSR. One evidence of that is last year's visit to Moscow of the President of Cyprus and the communique issued at its conclusion.

Our Party, AKEL, which plays a decisive part in uniting the anti-imperialist forces in Cyprus, sees its main patriotic and internationalist duty in promoting fraternal cooperation with the CPSU and all-round contacts between Cyprus and the Soviet Union.

The imperialists and reactionaries of all countries are working to undermine the Soviet Union's prestige. They are slandering it in an attempt to weaken the close friendship between our peoples and the great land of socialism. Anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, now the chief weapons of imperialism, are being used in repeated attempts to split the anti-imperialist camp and isolate

peoples fighting imperialism. That is why systematic exposure of this vile anti-Sovietism, its criminal motivations and aims, and helping people realize that anti-Sovietism can do great damage to the cause of national liberation and the international workers' movement, is now a priority task.

It is the duty of all Communists and progressives to defend with all their strength the USSR and the socialist community, as the decisive factor of mankind's progress. The people must know the Soviet Union's crucial role in combating imperialist plans. That is essential for unity of the anti-imperialist camp and for early victory of the forces of peace and social progress.

True to its historic mission, the Soviet Union stands at the head of the peoples fighting for freedom, peace, democracy and socialism, at the head of the anti-imperialist front. And it bears the main burden of this grim struggle with the courage, devotion, perseverance and consistency that is characteristic of the Soviet people.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS' FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

Gastone Gensini

Deputy Chairman, Central Control Commission,
Italian Communist Party

The formation, in 1922, of the Soviet Union – a multinational state with its distinct features and complex composition – was directly linked with the October Revolution, for the process of liberating and uniting the working people began under its powerful political and ideological influence.

In the years since then we have had constant evidence of its influence on the life of the Soviet people and on the history of all the nations. Thanks to Soviet power, the once-backward nations and nationalities living on the periphery of the civilized world were able, in a remarkably short span, to achieve impressive results in the economic, social and cultural fields and in their joint effort to build the new, socialist society. Following the road started in October, the Soviet Union made the biggest contribution to the fight against Nazism and fascism and to the restoration of democracy and peace in Europe and the world. It gave a powerful impetus to the emancipation of the colonial peoples, to the peoples' revolutions, the forerunners of socialism, and became one of the two great world powers. And all this, in little more than 50 years, drastically changed the world political map and the world strength-balance in favor of socialism. This opened up new prospects, opportunities and conditions for the fight for democracy, peace and socialism. And if today it has become possible – despite the formidable difficulties and dangers so dramatically exemplified by continuation and escalation of the imperialist near-genocide aggression in Viet-

nam and the new tensions in the Middle East—if it is possible despite all this to be optimistic about peace and peaceful coexistence, it is largely because of the liberating influence of October, the existence of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and the world Communist and anti-imperialist movement.

Such momentous events of Soviet political life as the 20th CPSU Congress, which, acting on Lenin's basic ideas, took into account the changes in the postwar world, made a valuable political and theoretical contribution in substantiating the realism of the idea of peaceful coexistence. The 24th Congress carried this further and set new practical tasks in the light of more recent trends. From the changed alignment of world forces and the orientation on peace and peaceful coexistence, the 20th Congress drew the important conclusion that there were realistic opportunities for intensifying the fight for democracy and socialism. And in this fight the revolutionary forces would, in conformity with national specifics and employing and modifying the instruments of bourgeois democracy, steer a course that need not necessarily involve armed rising. There can be no doubt that, in present-day conditions, the problem of independence and sovereignty of peoples and nations has acquired greater significance and topicality for the working class and its Party. For with the deepening crisis of imperialism the national question loses none of its sharpness; indeed it becomes more acute still. Lenin laid stress on this, as will be seen from his polemics with Bukharin, though at that time imperialism was still in its initial stage and the problem had not acquired its present sharpness.

What we call the *Italian road to socialism* presupposes the achievement of partial aims which, however, enable us steadily to expand and renew democracy, giving it a new content in conditions of relatively peaceful development. 'Our struggle,' Palmiro Togliatti wrote in 1961, 'gives the democratic freedoms a new content: it makes more valuable the right to freedom, for it brings it closer to the demand for prosperity and economic progress; it raises parliament to a higher plane; it requires serious democratic reform of the political structure (more authority to local self-government, regional autonomy, etc.); it raises the problem of introducing and developing new forms of democracy in industry and agriculture so that economic reforms and economic progress will serve to meet the vital demands of the working people. Everything we do to direct society along the socialist path inspires the struggle for democracy and democratic endeavor, lending it special significance and effectiveness. That must be clearly explained to everyone. And we should not only emphasize the inseparable link between the fight for democracy and the fight for socialism, but, more important, show by our deeds that for us democracy is something real and new.'

Gramsci drew on the works of Lenin and on the experience of the October Revolution to substantiate, both from national and international positions, the policy of the Italian working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party. In leading the working class

in alliance with the poor peasants to 'become the state' (to use Gramsci's words), Lenin and the Bolsheviks proceeded from an analysis of imperialism and the problems resulting from the First World War, the specific economic and social realities of capitalism in Russia, Russia's concrete link with the international situation, and the subjective conditions for revolution. This is both a general proposition and a concrete proof. It brought home to millions of workers, peasants and other working people throughout the world that the capitalist system is not invincible and that the working class can become the leading class. But the lessons of October should be neither learned by rote nor mechanically copied. The magnificent example set by the Bolshevik Party has to be understood in adaptation to differing historical situations, to the specifics of the different countries, if proper solutions are to be worked out. For it is not a matter of the revolutionary movement having grown to a point where it can follow general principles, using one or another tactical variant to fit a given situation. Speaking at the 1969 International Meeting, Comrade Berlinguer said: "This is a matter not only of national features which must be added to the common laws governing the development of the socialist revolution and the building of socialist society. For the general laws of social-development, the fundamental and common features of the socialist revolution, never exist in pure form, but always – and only – in historically-shaped and inimitable concrete reality."

Gramsci always applied that method, which is the very essence of Marxism. His analyses and all his work followed that method. There are many works and speeches in which Lenin counsels against copying Bolshevik experience and urges new, original paths. From this requirement of reckoning with national specifics, Gramsci evolved the Italian working class's policy of struggle and revolutionary strategy. That strategy, the concept of the Party as the working-class vanguard, was based on two essential and indispensable elements: close and critically-understood ties with the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin, the Communist International, and on firm ties with history, the conditions and distinctive features of our country.

We should reflect on what for Gramsci was the dominant theme: the revolution in the West, which Lenin foresaw, but which objectively could not break through to the surface. Lenin was aware of the insistent need for the revolution to spread to the more developed capitalist countries; this was very important for the development of the Russian revolution and the building of socialism. But Lenin said in 1918: 'The revolution will not come as quickly as we expected. History has proved this, and we must be able to take this as a fact, to reckon with the fact that the world socialist revolution cannot begin so easily in the advanced countries as the revolution began in Russia – in the land of Nicholas and Rasputin, the land in which an enormous part of the population was absolutely indifferent as to what peoples were living in the outlying regions, or what was happening there. In such a country it was quite easy

to start a revolution, as easy as lifting a feather.

'But to start without preparation a revolution in a country in which capitalism is developed and has given democratic culture and organization to everybody, down to the last man – to do so would be wrong, absurd. There we are only just approaching the painful period of the beginning of socialist revolutions' (*Coll. Works*. Vol. 27, pp. 98-99).

The fundamental implications of that thought retain all their validity, though, if you like, it is no more than a remark in passing. But it was from this, in the main, that Gramsci began his search to substantiate a working class policy fitted for a country like Italy in which 'capitalism is developed,' and to lay the foundations of hegemony. And it was to hegemony as an historical necessity that the October Revolution led by demolishing the machine of government and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. In Italy and other Western countries, however, hegemony must have a different basis. For we have to reckon with the complexity of our society, a country in which the state we are combating never appears in pure form, as some machine; it is always surrounded by a defensive system which the working class must crush piecemeal in the course of *protracted positional warfare*, 'devastating mutual siege' of the bourgeoisie and proletariat, in which the latter's ability to attract allies in the ranks of its adversary, win them over or neutralize them, becomes decisive. This can be achieved by uniting the forces around a program and actions designed to renew society. And it is the task of the working class and its vanguard, the Party, to forge such unity.

That is how, in broad outline, Gramsci saw the problem of working-class hegemony in Italy. For him it means *transforming* the working class into the dominant and leading class and building the new society. On this fundamental issue Gramsci is at one with Lenin, but he injected a new element in the light of new problems and situations. And it is no accident that Gramsci considered the concept of hegemony Lenin's greatest philosophical achievement, for it represented the ultimate synthesis of thought and action, thanks to which the Red October made the working class *the state*, fashioned new economic, political, social, cultural and moral relationships, giving material substance to the new world outlook, the new philosophy.

FIDELITY TO PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Khaled Bagdash

General Secretary, Central Committee,
Syrian Communist Party

The constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in December 1922 was a result of the October Revolution, an history-making event which exercised and continues to exercise its influence on mankind.

The great Lenin died a year after the founding of the USSR. But the Party he founded – the Communist Party of the Soviet Union – carried on his work, proving that it is totally loyal to its teacher. The CPSU worked consistently to fortify the new state economically, politically and militarily, and built it up into the citadel of socialism and world peace, a powerful ally of the national liberation movement and an invincible force in the battle against world imperialism. The victories of nations in the liberation struggle, their gains in social progress, in delivering themselves from oppression and exploitation – all this was possible only as a result of the aid of the Soviet Union.

That the people of Syria and a number of fraternal Arab countries were able to end the rule of feudal lords, landowners and big capitalists, and to embark on social progress, on non-capitalist development, and to begin creating the requisites for socialist construction, is due solely to the economic, political, military and cultural aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

A bourgeoisie ousted from power, Lenin pointed out, seeks support in its ties with world capital and world imperialism. Nowadays, the progressive forces, the workers, peasants and revolutionary intelligentsia rising against exploiters and oppressors, find support in the socialist system, of which the Soviet Union is the vanguard and bulwark.

This objective fact, of the utmost significance for the entire world revolutionary process, is now recognized not only by us Communists. Other numerous and broad forces, especially in the revolutionary-democratic parties and movements, in the newly-liberated countries, have also begun to recognize it. General Hafez Asad, President of the Syrian Arab Republic, said at a public meeting that friendship with the Soviet Union is not a tactical or time-serving matter for our country, but a stable strategic line. This view is taking root in the Arab world from the Tigris and Euphrates to the Atlantic Ocean and from Rabat to Baghdad.

The doubtlessly biggest crime of the Maoists in China is that they are trying to conceal the truth about the historic part played by the Soviet Union in the development of progressive mankind. It is a crime not only against the Communist and working-class movement, against the national liberation movement, but also against all other revolutionaries.

The Maoist postures are not only alien, but completely contrary to Marxism-Leninism. They are one of the results of nationalism – a dangerous excuse for vindicating deviations, both 'Left' and Right, and for betraying the country's and people's vital interests.

But these attempts are failing. The facts of life are stronger – facts that are winning the hearts and minds of millions of workers, peasants and other working people across the world.

The fact that the Soviet Union coped with all the difficulties and grew into a powerful force defying world imperialism and capitalism, is due to many reasons which we Communists know perfectly well. Today, however, it is appropriate to underscore the main and

basic factor, namely, that the Soviet Union has by means of the Marxist-Leninist teaching correctly solved the national question. It did not confine itself to merely applying the principles of proletarian internationalism and assuring the equality of nations and nationalities, big and small. It developed the concept of proletarian internationalism into the concept of socialist internationalism, which epitomizes the identity of the national interests of the socialist peoples. The relations between them are of a new type, assuring the rapid all-round progress of each nation, on the one hand, and their further steady merging, on the other. The experience of the Soviet Union and the socialist system as a whole shows that socialist internationalism neither abolishes nor obliterates the specifics of each people, its national language and culture. On the contrary, it gives fresh scope to national specifics, injecting them with a new, socialist content. It secures the florescence of peoples and, at the same time, their closer bonds and brotherhood, enriching the culture of each, and this, among other things, by fraternal interaction with other national cultures.

This internationalist policy, which rules out contradictions between the interests of the Soviet nations and nationalities, also rules out contradictions between the interests of the Soviet Union and the essential and true interests of any other nation in the world, including our Arab Syrian and other fraternal Arab peoples. If this were not so, the influence and prestige of the Soviet Union among the broad masses, would not be anywhere as strong.

The experience of the Soviet Union has confirmed Lenin's following words: 'It is *impossible* to abolish national (or any other political) oppression under capitalism, since this *requires* the abolition of classes, i.e., the introduction of socialism' (Vol. 22, p. 325). This should be an axiom for every Marxist-Leninist. Yet we see some exponents of 'national communism' or those who style themselves 'national Communists,' including Maoists, spreading a theory which suggests that the national question can be completely solved before the victory of socialism (i.e., in the presence of imperialist influence or under the capitalist system) or that national oppression is also possible under the socialist system. They have a peculiar idea of socialism, denying that it stands for abolition of class contradictions and, ultimately, of classes. The lessons of the Soviet experience are lost on them, though they prove that socialism abolishes national contradictions and completely resolves the national question.

Fortunately, neither the Maoist nor any other conception of 'national communism' has a foothold in our country. On the contrary, by virtue of their own experience progressive nationalists are aware that extremist or vague slogans are contrary to the interests of our movement against imperialism, Zionism, for the consolidation of national independence, for socialism. Progressive nationalists have increasingly clear ideas, are aware that only socialist development will enable them to solve the problems once and for all.

Our people are now fighting to eliminate the consequences of the U.S.-backed Israeli aggression, to liberate occupied Arab lands and secure the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. Our Party is working for further social progress and material prerequisites for the passage to socialism, for progressive, democratic Arab unity against imperialism and reaction.

All these formidable national and social objectives are quite practicable, provided there is sincere and unqualified cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

THE RCP IN REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST BUILDING

Miron Constantinescu

Alternate Member, Executive Committee of the CC,
Rumanian Communist Party

The proclamation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the First All-Union Congress of Soviets (December 1922) was an event of historic significance, a milestone in the formation and development of the Soviet socialist state, the first state of the working people of town and country, in consolidating worker-peasant rule and ensuring the equality and free national development of the peoples of the country. That far-reaching change was made possible by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which led to the overthrow of landowner and capitalist rule and the establishment of a state of workers and peasants, of the overwhelming majority of the people. The USSR was brought into being on the Leninist principles of resolving the national question and eliminating the distrust and the socio-economic, political and cultural inequality between nations inherited from the tsarist regime. This had a strong effect on the people's fight for social and national emancipation, for democracy and progress.

The victory of the October Revolution, which opened the era of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, raised the revolutionary morale of the working class. The socialist movement, the working class and other working people of our country, welcoming the news of the founding of the Soviet state, expressed their internationalist solidarity with it in demonstrations and other large-scale actions.

Many revolutionaries fought alongside the Red Army against home counter-revolution and the imperialist invaders' troops. A large part of the Rumanian navy and merchant marine backed the socialist revolution.

Ever since it was founded, the Rumanian Communist Party has firmly opposed the reactionary, anti-Soviet policies of the exploiter classes, considering friendship and good-neighborliness with the Soviet Union highly beneficial to both countries. In the period of illegality our Communists identified themselves with the struggle of the Communists, workers, and people of other countries against

reaction, for democratic rights, a better life, and their countries' freedom and independence.

The historic act which took place on August 23, 1944, in the favorable situation created by the offensive of the glorious Red Army during the Jassy-Kishinev operation was an expression of the people's will, result of the unification of a wide range of social, political and military forces organized and led by the working class and its Communist Party.

Throughout those years the Party carried forward Marxist-Leninist theory and applied it in a creative spirit with due regard to national conditions. While still in the underground, Communists worked hard to impart the Marxist-Leninist world outlook to the masses. In evolving its policy line, strategy and tactics, the RCP followed the objective laws of the revolution and socialist building and took into account the country's historical, economic and socio-political realities. Rumanian experience shows that the strength of the Party and its performance of its historic mission require devotion to the cause of the working class and people from whom it originated, in the Communists' loyalty to the lofty ideals of social and national emancipation of the working people, the all-round progress of the country and growing friendship with all nations of the world.

A signal achievement of the policy of the Communist Party is the Marxist-Leninist solution of the national question and the abolition of inequality and oppression of the working people of other nationalities, of all discrimination against them. The new system has provided broad scope for unhampered participation of every citizen, irrespective of his national origin, in every sphere of public life. It has strengthened fraternal friendship and unity between the Rumanian people and the country's other nationalities. The groundwork for friendship and unity was laid in the years of joint struggle against oppression and exploitation, chauvinism and racism, fascism and imperialism. United around the Party, Rumanians, Hungarians, Germans and other working people are joined in a common effort to advance the economy, science and culture of their country to make it prosperous. The Party's Marxist-Leninist national policy guarantees completion of the process of uniting the people morally, politically and ideologically. The triumph of socialism in town and country, and the changes in the economic and social structure, gave full expression to the Rumanian people's nationhood and ensured their development as a socialist nation. The unity of the whole people is the fountainhead of the strength and solidity of our socialist system. Unity of the Party's will and action is the main factor for working-class unity and the socio-political cohesion of all working people, irrespective of nationality, in maintaining and extending socialist gains and in building a fully developed socialist society on our soil.

The Leninist doctrine of the national question, applied in Rumanian conditions has been at the basis of the Party's political orientation.

A nation does not stop performing its role and mission with the victory of the proletarian revolution, in the revolutionary process of transforming society on socialist lines. Indeed, the transition from capitalism to socialism means raising the nation to a qualitatively higher plane. Having done away with exploitation and oppression and established social justice and equality, a socialist nation makes it possible to combine the interests and aspirations of the classes and every member of socialist society, and dynamically to use the energy of the whole people for progress and prosperity. Unlike previous formations, socialism creates the prerequisites of the all-round progress of nations and complete harmony between the peoples' national and international interests.

Nations will exist for a long time to come and will play an important part in social evolution. 'Our experience,' Lenin said, 'has left us with the firm conviction that only exclusive attention to the interests of various nations can remove grounds for conflicts, can remove mutual mistrust . . . ' Only in this way, he added, is it possible to 'create that confidence . . . without which there absolutely cannot be peaceful relations between peoples or anything like a successful development of everything that is of value in present-day civilization (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 386).

An important characteristic of the new social system and the entire political organization of Rumania is the steady progress of socialist democracy, which manifests itself, as Lenin noted, in the continuous progress of the individual and in the working people's increasing participation in the adoption and implementation of measures to speed social progress.

In December 1967 the Party's National Conference decided on the introduction of new organizational forms and methods of exercising political power.

By concentrating on socialist building, our Party fulfils its supreme duty to the people and honors its commitment to the working class of all countries, to the forces of socialism and peace. In line with the supreme responsibility devolving on it as an active contingent of the present-day revolutionary movement, the Rumanian Communist Party operates in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, which has always characterized its activity.

The Rumanian Communist Party actively fosters relations of solidarity, cooperation and friendship with all Communist and Workers' parties and contributes to the restoration and consolidation of the unity of the Communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and respect for the right of every party independently to frame its home and foreign policy, its revolutionary strategy and tactics, and its forms of organization and leadership.

Our Party continually develops relations of cooperation with the national liberation movements, with democratic and progressive organizations, with the peoples fighting against colonialism and neo-colonialism, for social and national emancipation, for their

independence and national sovereignty. It champions unity and solidarity against imperialism.

Socialist Rumania favors cooperation with all nations of the world; it advocates the principles of independence and national sovereignty, equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual benefit, and respect for the right of every people to shape its destiny as it sees fit. Our country wants a healthier international climate, an end to seats of tension and war, a peaceful settlement of disputes, and lasting international security. Hence we believe it is particularly important to set up a European security system encompassing all the countries of the continent. It would hasten the triumph of the common cause of peace, democracy and progress throughout the world.

'The Rumanian Communist Party and the Rumanian government,' said Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, 'think highly of fraternal relations with the CPSU and the Soviet government. They are set on continuing to work for the further strengthening and development of these relations on Marxist-Leninist principles, and for close Rumanian-Soviet friendship, which accords with the interests of world socialism.'

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, Rumania's Communists and all our people wish the Soviet people further progress in communist building. They are certain that relations between our two parties and states will continue growing on the solid basis of Marxism-Leninism, for the good of our common goals - socialism and communism.

NO COMPROMISE IN IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Alois Peter

Member PB, CC, CP of Austria

Austria is a small country. Sometimes it is referred to as the blind arm of the ever swelling, precipitous revolutionary stream. But that is a mistaken notion. The Austrian working class has its eyes on the struggle of the progressive forces of the national liberation movement and on the sharpening contradictions in the developed capitalist countries, imperialism's citadels and centers of strength, but most of all on the growing influence of the socialist states and their main pillar, the Soviet Union. The bourgeoisie, too, and the Social-Democratic leaders follow these processes closely.

Many reactionary 'ideological' conceptions have collapsed in the 50 years since the founding of the USSR. Take the one which inferred from tsarist Russia's backwardness that it is impossible to build socialism in a poverty-stricken semi-feudal land. And doubly so, said the exponents of this theory, since Russia is inhabited by so many peoples which tsarism was deliberately goading against each other, thereby precluding any possible resolution of the national contradictions. The formation of the Soviet Union, they

maintained, was an audacious experiment doomed to certain and swift failure.

But under the leadership of Lenin's party the peoples of the world's first worker-peasant state have coped admirably with their historic mission. The splendid results of socialist construction in the USSR, the triumph of Lenin's policy of nationalities and, especially, the successes of the Soviet drive for peace, have for many been the proof of the communist way, of Marxism-Leninism. None can ignore the shift in socialism's favor of the relation of world forces. Even opportunists, party managers and technocrats holding key posts in Social-Democratic parties can no longer preach their anti-Soviet line as a concept. They cannot do so because the underpinnings of their anti-Communism are crumbling under the impact of indisputable facts showing the grand achievements of the Soviet Union in its 50 years. It was not accidental, therefore, that the recent 12th Congress of the Socialist International in Vienna was centered chiefly on finding a 'new ideology.'

And another indicative point: the national question was passed over at the Congress in almost total silence, though it is common knowledge that the powerful multi-national concerns are tending to undermine national independence and sovereignty in some of the capitalist countries of Western Europe, and that the national liberation struggle of many of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples is gaining increasing significance.

The Social-Democratic leaders are aware of the deep-going changes in the relation of political forces across the world. A lot was said about this at the Congress. But the crucial point – why the world has changed – was never discussed aloud. And how could it be if the search for the right answer leads inevitably to conclusions which we Communists have arrived at a long time ago?

The Social-Democratic world has stated its intention of launching a 'new ideological offensive' in Europe. The need for an 'offensive' was substantiated by the Socialist International's General Secretary Janitschek in an *Arbeiter-Zeitung* article entitled, 'The Beginning of Ideology,' last year. Among other things, it says: 'In the past two decades Europe's Social-Democratic parties have experienced a real ideological crisis.' And it adds: 'The classical socialist aims – social aid, universal education, equality of rights, and the like – have already been achieved in the framework of the capitalist system.' Need we wonder why the General Secretary of the Socialist International has, mildly speaking, identified the classical socialist aims with the objectives of a charity organization. One more brief excerpt from the article, which I am quoting chiefly because Social-Democrats are not usually given to such admissions: 'Most European Social-Democratic parties have, despite their formal programs, thrown off their 19th-century Marxist garb. . . . Since the Second World War one party after another has redefined its basic principles. . . . It is a pity, however, that this is chiefly a negative, defensive ideology laying greater stress on what social democracy is not, rather than on what it is.'

Naturally, anti-Communist and anti-Soviet diatribes were heard aplenty at this Congress of the Socialist International. But its organizers were unable to overlook the new element, these days the most determinative in world politics. Neither could they avoid a discussion of the question of cooperation between Socialists and Communists. The French Socialists, for example, stressed the compulsion of a 'temporary alliance between Socialists and Communists' in their country, the Finnish Social-Democrats came out strongly for joint action with Communists on specific issues, while the spokesmen of one of the Social-Democratic groups of South Vietnam, praising the extensive Soviet aid to the people of Vietnam, described alliance with Communists and other progressive forces as the only way to victory over U.S. imperialism, avowed enemy of peace, progress and the freedom of nations.

The idea of unity, as we see, is steadily breaking its way in the working-class movement and in some of the Social-Democratic parties. Among other things, this confirms the validity of the conclusion arrived at by the 1969 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties that a differentiation is under way in the Social-Democratic parties and that their leadership has no other choice but to reckon with the workers' mounting desire for united action. But one thing we should not forget: Right and 'Left' opportunism is employing highly refined methods against the Communist parties, usually directed also against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. For example, some Social-Democrats say: We are prepared to make concessions to you Communists, and we agree with some of the foreign-policy acts of the Soviet Union, but what concessions are you Communists willing to make, and how far will the Soviet Union go to meet us?

Leaning on the prodigious experience of the CPSU acquired mostly in highly complicated circumstances, Communists know that compromises in politics are sometimes permissible and useful. But opportunists must not expect any concessions or compromises from us in the ideological struggle. We Austrian Communists have learned from our own recent experience that this is out of the question.

The revolutionary movement is making good headway. It is on the upgrade. The common regularities of socialist construction are for us, therefore, of greater significance and relevance. They operate in diverse forms, depending on the historical and national specifics from country to country. We must draw the due lessons from the historic experience of the Soviet Union in the past fifty years, and particularly from the solution of the national question. The Soviet Union has shown that national problems are soluble only on the basis of proletarian internationalism, by flexible tactics and a patient approach.

The Soviet Union is objectively the main force of the socialist camp and the entire progressive movement. Success in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism, is inconceivable without combatting anti-Sovietism.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF A NEW TYPE

Guenter Heyden

Director, Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC SUPG

The Fifth Plenum of the CC, Socialist Unity Party of Germany (April 1972), passed a resolution calling on all full and candidate members of the Party, all workers, cooperative peasants, intellectuals and other working people, all parties and organizations in the National Front, fittingly to observe the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. We are going to celebrate this anniversary as our own holiday. A relevant decision of the CC Political Bureau specifies the tasks of all Party organizations, trade unions, young people, government departments and enterprises, schools and universities and other collective bodies.

'The formation and progress of the USSR,' the Plenum resolution says, 'are of the greatest international significance as an outstanding example of creative and successful implementation of Marxist-Leninist teaching and the principles of proletarian internationalism. The experience gained in the 50 years of the existence and development of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is most valuable to us.'

This prompts me to offer a comment on the Italian comrade's contribution. In setting out Lenin's ideas about the development of the socialist revolution in various countries, it would be wrong to stress one-sidedly, out of context and without regard to historical conditions, that the Russian Communists' experience should not be imitated. To imitate in politics means, of course, passively borrowing experience without taking one's national specifics into consideration. And that does not help understand, let alone creatively apply, the laws of social development.

However, drawing on the universally valid experience of the Soviet Union is something entirely different. Lenin wrote that the October Revolution is of international significance even in the narrow sense of the word, meaning 'the international validity or the historical inevitability of a repetition, on an international scale, of what has taken place in our country.' He stressed that 'the Russian model . . . reveals to *all* countries something – and something highly significant – of their near and inevitable future. Advanced workers in all lands have long realized this . . .' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 21 and 22). Lenin's estimation of Russian experience proved perfectly correct. It was confirmed by socialist building in various countries of the socialist community, including such highly developed ones as the GDR and Czechoslovakia.

Soviet experience in settling the national question is very important to the world Communist and working-class movement and the national liberation struggle. Marx, Engels and Lenin pointed out that this question can be properly understood only if seen as part of the general question of the socialist revolution and the emancipation of the working class as an international class.

The USSR came into being as a result of the steadfast promotion of relations based on mutual assistance and support between the working people of diverse nations and nationalities of what was once tsarist Russia, relations which developed in the fight for Soviet power, against domestic and foreign counter-revolution. Its formation provides an important and universally valid basis for the class solution of the national question under socialism.

The formation of the USSR and Soviet progress in half a century have furnished factual proof of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the national question and contributed new valuable theoretical conclusions. They have brought out the general laws of development of nations and of the formation of their mutual relations under socialism, laws which are also of great significance in establishing links between socialist countries.

The victory of the socialist revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and social ownership of the means of production, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, and the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance constituted the basis for the complex and difficult task of evolving a new type of relations between the nations and nationalities of the one-time tsarist empire. These factors are also decisive in shaping new relations between socialist countries. The construction of a developed socialist society going on in various countries, including the GDR, on common socio-economic lines expresses the international essence of socialism ever more distinctly. It is also the foundation of the objective process of the socialist countries' drawing closer together politically, economically and ideologically.

Socialist economic integration, whose principles were laid down in the Comprehensive Program (1971), is particularly important today. It is aimed at using the advantages of socialism more effectively, increasing the economic power of the socialist commonwealth, gradually eliminating differences in the level of the productive forces between countries, bringing closer together and integrating national economies.

Along with the Soviet Union, brother countries have entered a new stage in forming a closely knit socialist family of nations building and defending the new society in common and sharing experience and knowledge, a family in which 'people all over the earth would see the prototype of the future world community of free nations,' as L. I. Brezhnev put it at the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

Socialist economic integration is not restricted to the solution of economic problems but has immense political significance. It is a decisive factor for the progress of world socialism, which is the pivot of the present-day revolutionary process.

It is only under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party that socialist society can be built in a country and qualitatively new international relations formed. This is one of the main lessons of socialist building in the multinational Soviet Union, whose successful development is a crippling blow to

bourgeois nationalism. It was through close cooperation of all its nations and nationalities that the Soviet Union became a mighty industrial state and won international prestige making it a bulwark of the worldwide revolutionary process and human progress and the main force of the socialist world system.

This lesson is of especial importance to the socialist countries. Each of them can hold its own in class confrontation with imperialism, make political, economic and cultural progress and effectively use its national potentialities only as a member of the socialist community. Close cooperation between socialist countries is an earnest that the advantages of the new system be fully brought to bear in every field and that the socialist world system as the decisive force of the revolutionary process will grow stronger.

Just as the progress of non-Russian Soviet republics was guaranteed by their union with the RSFSR, so the progress of socialist countries and the very existence of the socialist community are unthinkable without close alliance with the USSR, the world's most advanced country.

Inseparable bonds link the GDR with the Soviet Union, which is carrying out its program of building communism as the pioneer of progress. The Eighth Congress of the SUPG stressed our Party's main line, which consists in lasting alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as the principal requisite of meeting the vital interests of the republic's workers and other citizens. The attitude to the USSR and the CPSU has always been, and remains, the touchstone of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The SUPG has made a thorough study of the Soviet Union's universally valid experience, and creatively uses it in its own activities. Important for the continued development of fraternal relations between the peoples of the socialist countries is the strengthening of the working class and its party, heightening their leading role, spreading Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of proletarian internationalism, and bringing all the classes and strata of our people closer together on this basis.

The further dissociation of the GDR from the imperialist FRG is logically linked with the increasingly close alliance of our republic with socialist countries.

A new, socialist German nation is developing in the GDR. Its characteristics manifest themselves in close connection with the growing community of the GDR with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In contrast what exists in the FRG – where imperialist and Right-wing Social-Democratic ideologists and politicians talk about a 'single German nation' – is, in fact, the remnants of the bourgeois German nation with its class antagonisms and its imperialist ambitions in regard to the GDR and other countries. The development on German soil of two states with different social systems rules out all 'intra-German relations' between the GDR and FRG and makes pointless all talk about the alleged existence of a single German nation.

Soviet experience has shown that only socialism creates the prerequisites of real national progress. Capitalism, on the other hand, constantly involves nations in wars, crises and catastrophe, as the record of German imperialism indicates.

The rise of the USSR laid the cornerstone of mankind's fraternal association. It opened a new era in relations between socialist nations, initiated increasingly close ties and unity between them and their transition from a national to an internationalist way of life. The Soviet Union set the first example in this respect. The community of sovereign socialist states is destined by history to set the world revolutionary movement a second great example of establishing close international bonds between peoples.

INDESTRUCTIBLE FRATERNAL UNION

Yakub Demir

First Secretary, CC CP of Turkey

The Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, has given a classical example of how to solve the national problem.

Lenin and the Soviet Communist Party always linked the national question with the workers' class struggle, and did not separate it from the struggle for socialism. They always emphasized that the working people of all nations must be united. Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!—this slogan epitomizes the significance which Lenin attached to the interlacement of the social and the national struggle. And the Soviet people have always regarded this slogan as their guide to action.

The October Revolution liberated the peoples of tsarist Russia from social and national oppression and laid the ground for their incorporation in an equal union. The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, the Address of the Council of People's Commissars 'To All Laboring Muslims of Russia and the East' and the first Soviet Constitution, based on the Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People, like other decrees and laws, abolished all national and religious privileges and eliminated political inequality.

After the imperialist intervention and home reactionaries were defeated, Lenin's Party effectuated the plan of voluntary union of Soviet socialist republics, of the free and equal fraternal peoples.

The Soviet Communists, and we too, the Communists of other countries, have every reason to be proud of the remarkable results of Lenin's national policy. These not even the foes of Marxism-Leninism, not even the imperialists and their agents, can dispute. The new life of those nations in Russia that were backward under tsarism, has a tremendous effect on working people in capitalist countries and on oppressed peoples fighting for national and social liberation. For the imperialists this is a source of constant alarm. They try to lessen the force of the Soviet example, resorting to

the aid of Right and 'Left' opportunists, of renegades spreading lies and slanders.

The peoples of the USSR, subjected to the most severe trials known in history during the Great Patriotic War, have proved their fraternal union to be indestructible. And now, as they are building communism, the union is growing stronger and stronger. The Soviet people are closer to each other, their mutual aid is expanding. Their cooperation is now an objective law of development in Soviet society.

The material basis of socialist society has grown on a giant scale, the spiritual world of the Soviet people has changed quality. Economically developed republics have arisen in the backwoods of tsarist Russia; their national culture, filled out with socialist content, has revived. The equality of the peoples of the Soviet Union is not merely formal, as it is in multinational capitalist states. It is real, and this is eloquently illustrated by the achievements of nationalities doomed to stagnation before the October Revolution. A few figures: between 1913 and 1970 industrial output in the Soviet Union increased 92 times over, and in the case of Kazakhstan 146 times, Armenia 184 and Kirghizia 188. No less striking has been the progress in culture. In the 1970/71 academic year, according to published figures, Uzbekistan had 134 students of university-level institutions per 10,000 population, Kirghizia 139, Kazakhstan 165, Tajikistan 118 and Turkmenistan 129. Compare this to some of the capitalist countries (1966/67): Italy 65, Britain 70, the Federal Republic of Germany 49, Turkey 29, Pakistan 26 and Iran 14.

The policy of the CPSU completely changed the quality of the Soviet peoples' material and spiritual life. The new generations have been raised in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism. They are loyal to the ideals of the working class, to Marxism-Leninism, and are irreconcilable enemies of the exploitation of man by man and of national oppression. In his report to the 24th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: 'The Party shall continue to educate all the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism, intolerance of nationalism, chauvinism, national narrowness and conceit in any form, in a spirit of profound respect for all nations and nationalities.'

Loyal to Lenin's national policy, the CPSU is the maker of the great union and brotherhood of more than a hundred nations and nationalities, which are developing as they build socialism and communism. The internationalist policy and practice of the CPSU is a striking model of harmonizing the interests of the multinational society and those of each nation. By its national policy the CPSU has made an invaluable contribution to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

The impact of the October Revolution on the liberation struggle in the colonies and semi-colonies has been tremendous. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have unfailing Soviet support in their battle for national and social emancipation. Soviet political and economic cooperation with the liberated countries is based

on the principles of equality and mutual advantage. It fortifies the political independence and the achievement of economic independence by the developing countries. And the Soviet Union will no doubt always continue to support the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and social progress.

In our time, the national question stands well to the fore. Millions of people are still oppressed by imperialism and colonialism. Many peoples still suffer national and social oppression. Some are denied the right to national statehood, and cannot develop their culture and language, though they live as large compact masses on what is historically their own territory.

In the national question the Communist Party of Turkey acknowledges the right of nations to self-determination. And as we see it, this does not necessarily imply propaganda of the secession of nations. The principle of self-determination acknowledges every people's right to rule its own destiny, including the matter of preserving or rupturing various state links with other nations. This is how we conceive the right of nations to self-determination, attacked these days by both 'Left' opportunists and Right nationalists. And our conception conforms completely with Lenin's.

'We demand freedom of self-determination, i.e., independence, i.e., freedom of secession for the oppressed nations,' Lenin wrote, 'not because we have dreamt of splitting up the country economically, or of the ideal small states, but, on the contrary, because we want large states and the closer unity and even fusion of nations, only on a truly democratic, truly internationalist basis, which is *inconceivable* without the freedom to secede, (Vol. 21, pp. 413-414).

The right of nations to self-determination and the right to secession are thus two different, though interrelated, conceptions. This is how we Turkish Communists always see it.

In conclusion, I should like to stress again that securing the fraternal unity of working people of all nations fighting against imperialism, the common enemy, is one of the paramount tasks of Marxist-Leninists, of Communists.

RISE OF A MULTINATIONAL CULTURE

Lars Junttila

CP of Finland Representative on *World Marxist Review*

I would like to speak about my impressions as a member of a group of Communist Party representatives on this journal (apart from myself it included representatives of the Rumanian and French parties) who acquainted themselves with cultural progress in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Our choice of visiting Estonia was a good one. It is one of the smaller federal republics in both population (ca. 1,400,000) and area (slightly over 45,000 sq. km.). Yet its progress gives one a good idea of the great and manifold changes that have occurred in every

sphere of Soviet life since the USSR was formed. The cultural activities of the Estonians, like those of other Soviet peoples, are expressive of the finest national traditions. Socialist in content, Estonian culture is forging ties of kinship with the cultures of other nations, contributing to the moulding of a single multinational culture of the Soviet Union.

Anti-Soviet propaganda alleges that Estonia is 'occupied' by the Soviet Union and has 'lost' its national independence and culture. The fact of the matter is, however, that Soviet power in Estonia first became a reality as far back as November 29, 1918, when the Estonian Labor Commune was formed. In those days Estonia's working people already saw political, economic and military alliance with Soviet Russia as the best safeguard of their independent statehood. The Entente intervention broke off the incipient socialist development of Estonia, whose reactionaries made common cause with the invaders to crush the Labor Commune, launch white terror and set up a bourgeois dictatorship.

The ensuing twenty years of bourgeois rule made Estonia still more dependent on the capitalist West both economically and politically and brought on a socio-economic and cultural decline. The revolutionary situation that had begun to take shape in the late 30s resulted in the popular bloc's polling 92.8 per cent of the votes in the 1940 election, in which 80 per cent of the electorate took part. On July 21, 1940 Soviet power was restored with the establishment of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, which joined the USSR by the will of its people. A period of intensive socialist building set in. It was broken off by fascist Germany's attack on the Soviet Union. The war devastated Estonia, taking many lives and destroying 45 per cent of the country's industry. After the invaders had been defeated the Estonian people set out to rehabilitate their economy and carry forward their culture. Twenty-seven years after the war, the republic has most impressive achievements to its credit.

The Leninist national policy in Estonia and other Soviet republics exemplifies a correct combination of national with international interests. The result is overall and continuous material and cultural progress of the Soviet Union and each of its nations and nationalities, a progress which steadily enhances Soviet prestige.

Socialist building in Estonia went hand in hand with a cultural revolution. Now, whereas the cultural revolution in other Soviet republics began with the abolition of illiteracy, Estonia had no such problem. Nevertheless, one may also speak – as J. Kabin, First Secretary of the CC CP of Estonia pointed out – of a cultural revolution in a country where literacy was almost complete even under tsarism. In J. Kabin's view, a cultural revolution means something more than teaching the people to read and write. It is a process going much further, one leading to fundamental change in the ideological essence and social function of culture.

Broad access was afforded to education and culture generally.

This aroused the people's creativity. In bourgeois Estonia, J. Kabin told us, the people were barred from art, literature, and science. The achievements of civilization were the privilege of a small elite.

Contrary to the assertions of the ruling clique, culture in bourgeois Estonia was not really national. Indeed, a culture within the reach of only a privileged group can hardly be called national. In bourgeois Estonia there was another culture of course, a progressive culture linked with the people's fight for freedom and justice. But that culture, based on the working people's revolutionary aspirations, could not develop broadly.

In bourgeois Estonia, 40 per cent of children were unable to finish the general six-year school because their parents could not pay for it. The number of secondary schools decreased year after year. Tuition fees being high, only eight per cent of working people's children could afford to go to school. For the same reason the working people could not send their children to university. Only 2.6 per cent of the students received scholarships. We were offered a wealth of factual data illustrating Estonia's cultural gains since 1945. Here are some of them:

Education in today's Estonia is free and accessible to all. Compulsory eight-year education has been introduced. Most children receive a complete secondary education. The proportion of children in the upper grades of secondary school is ten times as large as in the bourgeois period. In 1970 there were 9.6 times more specialists with a higher education and seven times more specialists with a technical education than before the war. Scholarships were paid to almost 70 per cent of students. Nevertheless, there is neither a "surplus" of educated people nor unemployment as in the past.

The Estonian Academy of Sciences was founded in 1946. The republic has 19 research institutions. Its research personnel today is 8.6 times greater than in 1940. There are six higher and 37 secondary specialized schools.

All arts are popular and facilities for their development are ample. The work of writers, artists and musicians reflects the people's past and present and inspires them in building communism.

The bonds between Estonian culture and the culture of the other peoples of the Union are growing closer. Film and drama festivals and art exhibitions are held to acquaint the people with the arts of brother republics. There are also international cultural events.

Forty-three per cent of the budget allocations are spent on social and cultural activities. The tremendous cultural progress made in Estonia under Soviet rule has contributed to economic progress.

We satisfied ourselves once again that a people's education and culture can fully develop only under socialism and that the Soviet Union sets an example to all countries aspiring to socialism and communism.

We had every opportunity to compare the Soviet Union with capitalist countries as regards the state of culture. Capitalism cannot give all members of society access to culture even though

this is necessitated by the present level of the productive forces, nor can it ensure real cultural progress. Hence the deepening crisis of culture and education in capitalist countries.

The monopolies seek to put culture in the service of their class interests. In France, for instance, as our French comrades say, the cultural policy of the ruling classes is one of adaptation to reality. Some of it is beneficial, but is limited by the class nature of the regime. From the point of view of financial and tax policy, culture is seen as a luxury. Budget appropriations for culture are ludicrously small while the taxes imposed on films, private theatres, gramophone records and books are excessively high. In capitalist society the products of mental labor, like those of physical labor, are a commodity. Profit is the paramount motive of every capitalist who invests his money in the 'cultural industry.'

In Finland, for example, two firms control 70 per cent of the country's book publishing, another two firms run virtually all cinemas, one firm has monopolized the management of concerts and the manufacture of records, and three big companies publish 90 per cent of the press. Needless to say, allocations for cultural development are distributed primarily by the monopolies or their agents. Only one result is possible: a general crisis of culture.

The rapid cultural progress in little socialist Estonia is in total contrast to this. All progressive forces in bourgeois countries, with the Communists in the lead, resist capitalist domination of culture. This is why socialism, first of all in the Soviet Union, is seen by all progressives as a social system effectively solving all problems of cultural development. That Estonia and other Soviet republics could achieve such imposing cultural progress is due to the Leninist national policy. The 50th anniversary of the USSR is a day of triumph for the culture of Soviet peoples.

LESSONS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE USSR

Josef Szabo

Director, Higher Party School,
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

Proclamation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was an important landmark in human history and had extensive social and political reverberations.

By the mid-30s, the USSR had laid the foundation for socialism, and in 1939 the 18th Congress of its Communist Party could declare that socialism had in the main been built. This meant that the new social system had triumphed in all the decisive fields of endeavor – the economy, social relations and culture. But this was not yet a developed, mature socialist society. That required a still higher level of productive forces, fuller satisfaction of the people's material and cultural needs, further improvement of the class

structure, perfection of socialist democracy and solution of a number of other complex problems.

This could not be accomplished in a few years. Indeed, Soviet experience has shown that building a developed socialist society requires a relatively long period. The decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress indicate that, while further developing mature socialism, the Soviet Union is building the material and technical basis of communism.

The experience accumulated by the Soviet Communist Party is of vast international significance because, first, it exerts a powerful influence on the world revolutionary movement and, second, many features of socialist construction in the USSR recur in other countries.

Right and 'Left' opportunists, both of the old and new varieties, have denounced Leninism as a specifically Russian phenomenon applicable only to economically backward countries. Thus Roger Garaudy, in his *For a French Model of Socialism* (a revisionist book condemned by the French Communist Party), written under the influence of Trotsky and of those who are seeking to rehabilitate him, describes socialism in the USSR as a 'bureaucratic deformation.'

These Right and 'Left' opportunist views are untenable, for they negate the unity of Marxism-Leninism and its importance as a genuinely scientific revolutionary theory, also because they ignore the essential, historically-tested common features and regularities of socialist construction.

Even at the early stage of the socialist building, Lenin combatted all attempts to regard Bolshevik experience as purely Russian, but he was also opposed to simple copying of the Russian model. The building of socialist society, he emphasized, would assume different forms in different countries, and its general regularities would be supplemented by specific features.

In avoiding mechanical copying, we must never lose sight of another danger, namely, the trend to absolutize national specificities. In building a developed socialist society we are guided by the common regularities of socialist construction, at the same time carefully analyzing and applying the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The key lesson to be drawn from Soviet experience is that central state management and planning are the chief elements in the harmonious development of the socialist economy. The experience of the USSR and other socialist countries proves that economic planning – which must accord with the economic level and other specific features of the given country – is constantly being modified and developed. However, the central elements are the same for all countries at all stages. With this in mind, we are working towards more intensive and effective central management and planning, but not to the detriment of efficient operation of our basic production units. For correct coordination of effective central management and rational independence of production units is an economic necessity.

The trend towards such coordination can be seen in the Soviet Union and in most other socialist countries.

The Soviet Union, which has the socialist community's biggest economic potential, plays an important part in socialist integration. And there is ample evidence to show that socialist production relations offer better opportunities than non-socialist relations for economic integration. The most important element of socialist integration is identity of our economic aims, the possibility of planning, and the many other opportunities that are part of socialism.

The Comprehensive Program of socialist integration, the practical application of socialist internationalism, benefits all members of our community. With limited raw-material resources and a limited home market, Hungary is especially interested in promoting economic ties with other countries. Two-thirds of our foreign trade is with socialist countries, and one-half with the USSR.

Relations between members of the socialist community are developing against a background of ideological and political struggle between the two world systems. This is a component of the international class struggle which involves Hungary, too. The aim of imperialist strategy is to undermine economic, ideological, political and cultural ties between socialist countries. Our aim is to strengthen friendship with the Soviet Union, for this also promotes fraternal relations between socialist countries.

Hungary was liberated by the Soviet Army, and after the war the USSR helped us rehabilitate and stabilize the economy. In 1956 it helped the socialist forces suppress counter-revolution, and in 1957 its commodity and convertible-currency credits helped stabilize the economic basis of socialism. In the 1960's, production cooperation began to play a bigger part in our economic relations with the USSR. Mention might be made, in this context, of cooperation agreements for the production of aluminum, engineering goods and chemicals, in agriculture and also in science and technology.

Hungary's achievements in socialist construction would have been impossible without friendship with the USSR based on unity of interests. We always say with pride: our relations with the USSR rest on the close and indestructible political and economic alliance which benefits our two peoples and all the peoples of the socialist world.

BULWARK OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Jaime Fuchs

*World Marxist Review Editorial Board Member,
Communist Party of Argentina*

Fifty years is a very short span of time for a state to fully change its face and make progress winning universal admiration. Yet the

multinational Soviet Union accomplished this in spite of the ravages of civil war and economic blockade and a fascist invasion that took a toll in lives and property such as no other country had ever known.

The USSR is the first community of free nations and nationalities united by fraternal friendship and cooperation, an embodiment of Lenin's ideas. It has brought into being an entirely new type of people, citizens of a multinational state.

The October Revolution was an invaluable contribution to the worldwide revolutionary movement. Like the main principles of building socialism, it is of international significance. Lenin was opposed to the idea of mechanically transplanting Russia's experience to other countries. He was convinced, however, that 'certain fundamental features of our revolution have a significance that is not local, or peculiarly national, or Russian alone, but international' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 21).

Principles like the leading role of the working class and its Communist party, the worker-peasant alliance, the dictatorship of the proletariat, social ownership of the means of production, the socialist reorganization of agriculture, economic progress according to an integrated state plan, the introduction of socialism into ideology and culture, and proletarian internationalism have proved their international character and validity. To be sure, certain would-be innovators who are anything but original argue that there is more than one model of socialism, or 'humane socialism' as they call it. Practice has shown, however, that this notion may be alright for making up jigsaw puzzles but not for building a new life.

The achievements of the multinational Soviet state show that it would be wrong to say social progress in regions of age-long backwardness is impossible. Rodolfo Ghioldi, who visited the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic a few years ago, wrote: 'I saw the great achievements of Uzbekistan and thought of Catamarca, Santiago del Estero and La Rioja. The record of Uzbekistan, like that of other peripheral regions – the most backward ones under the tsars – refutes the concept of "poor provinces" in our country, for their poverty is due to the persistence of barbarous social relations and not to natural conditions.'

The dependence of Latin American countries on imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, and the rule of the landed oligarchy and big capitalists are the primary causes of their socio-economic lag, their poverty and the hardships of the workers, peasants and most other working people. The Indian inhabitants of the backward areas of some countries of the continent are discriminated. The private interests of the ruling propertied classes have warped the economy. They hold up the growth of the productive forces and are at the root of the unbalanced, increasingly uneven development of every country. As a result, some regions are relegated to the role of suppliers of raw materials. Theirs is a monoculture economy and there are still vast areas of wasteland along with heavily populated urban centers. Population density in the cities is enormous,

especially in the suburbs, most of whose inhabitants live in sub-human conditions. By contrast, highly industrialized towns with modern housing such as Sumgait in Azerbaijan or Rustavi in Georgia, have sprung up in the one-time wastelands of the Soviet Union. They symbolize the creative power of socialism.

Latin America has entered a new revolutionary stage. Socialist building in Cuba, the revolutionary process in Chile, the changes taking place in Peru and Panama, the Broad Front in Uruguay all foster the liberation struggle on the continent. The people's anti-imperialist awareness is growing as the structural crisis goes deeper. They are stepping up their fight for nationalization of the key economic branches, controlled by imperialist capital, for a far-reaching agrarian reform and genuine economic and political independence. To achieve these goals, it is indispensable to establish a new political power, a popular government representative of the working class and other popular forces. And that is the aim of the anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist fronts gaining strength in various countries.

Mass actions led by the working class have lately taken place in Argentina. General strikes involving millions – working people, members of the middle strata and students – are a recurring phenomenon. Action in some industrial areas took the form of popular risings. Economic and political demands are the motor of the struggle against a military regime subservient to imperialism and the oligarchy and backed by conservatives, including Right-wing Peronists. Hundreds of people, imprisoned on political charges, are threatened with torture and death.

The Communist Party, operating underground, is working to bring about a united popular front. Important steps in this direction are the ENA (National Meeting of Argentines) movement and the political alignment of young people who have held major demonstrations and carried out militant actions under a program providing for the people's participation in the exercise of political power and for deep-going social and economic changes.

The movement for national and social liberation has the firm support of the socialist world system, which the 1969 Meeting described as *'the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle.'*

The Soviet Union extends varied assistance to Cuba. It has important trade and technological agreements with Chile, Peru and other countries. A new type of international relations, based on equality and mutual respect, and the Soviet Union's varied aid to the fight against imperialist aggression and to the liberation movement are vivid manifestations of the Soviet state's inherent proletarian internationalism.

In his program theses on the national question Lenin noted that internationalism must not be reduced to nominal equality between nations but must help to do away with the existing inequality. The Russian proletariat, led by the Bolshevik Party, followed this policy from the outset. It made great sacrifices to aid the peoples of other republics, who, for their part contributed

to the effort towards building a new life. Proletarian internationalism runs through Soviet home and foreign policy.

This principle has been under constant attack from imperialism and reaction, which would like to isolate the liberation movement from its loyal ally, the Soviet Union, and sow mistrust and disunity. This is also the purpose of the Peking leaders' false claim that the world is divided into 'poor' and 'rich' countries; of the advocacy of a nonexistent 'third way' by certain nationalist groups; of the exaggeration of national distinctions by other groups, which leads in the long run to nationalism. Some people, while setting themselves anti-imperialist objectives adhere to a dogmatic position and ignore national specifics, distinctions and peculiarities which are due to the deforming influence of capitalism. It is not surprising that Right-wing ideologists and 'Left'-wing 'revolutionaries' make common cause in their attempts to disrupt the popular forces. Both groups are anti-Communist and anti-Soviet.

That proletarian internationalism does not contradict either genuine patriotism or respect for national specifics is seen, among other things, in the fact that under Soviet rule numerous peoples who in the past had no literary language have created a rich national literature and attained a high cultural standard. Each federal republic preserves its national characteristics, makes maximum use of its natural resources and specialists in diverse fields. The republics increasingly combine their national interests with the objectives of socialist society as a whole.

Lenin repeatedly stressed the importance of socio-economic gains as a powerful argument in favor of socialism. Unlike the capitalist system, whose general crisis is going from bad to worse, with development becoming ever more uneven and contradictions mounting, the socialist world system is making steady progress. And its progress is furthered by combining the achievements of the technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist system, which found expression in the ninth five-year plan approved by the historic 24th Congress of the CPSU. The economic integration of socialist countries and the implementation of the Comprehensive Program adopted by the 25th Session of CMEA are founded on internationalism. This helps the socialist countries draw closer together in development level and to advance jointly to communist society. Soviet experience also reveals the outlines of the communist world economy of the future.

THE SOVIET PEOPLE: A NEW HISTORICAL COMMUNITY

M. I. Kulichenko

Head of Sector, Institute of Marxism-Leninism
of the CC CPSU

The Soviet people are a new historical, socio-political, multinational community of classes and social groups, of nations and

nationalities, of working people, based on socialism and the Marxist-Leninist world outlook with its inherent internationalism, and on common objectives and interests, a common economic and cultural life, common characteristics, way of life and tradition.

Man's progress has always given rise to different successive or co-existing communities (classes, nations, parties, and the like) and was in turn conditioned by them, for, as a rule, these communities in many ways stimulated social progress. The rise of socialism, leading to an unprecedented acceleration of world development, was bound to produce new historical communities. Shortly before the October Revolution, which opened a new era of history, Lenin wrote that socialism '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' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 38-39).

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat laid the groundwork for the formation of a new socio-political, internationalist community. Lenin noted that defense of the gains of the socialist revolution had welded the working class and the peasantry and that the Communist Party's policy united all Russia's nations in one great and powerful family. In the years of socialist building under the leadership of the Party and the working class, the Soviet people achieved close unity, and new, harmonious relations developed between classes, social groups, nations and nationalities. The Soviet people took form on the basis of social ownership of the means of production, a common economic, socio-political and cultural life, the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the interests and communist ideals of the working class.

The formation of the Soviet people as a new historical community passed through two stages. The first stage lasted from the victory of the October Revolution to the building in the main of socialism. The second stage covers the period of formation of a developed socialist society.

The leadership provided by the Communist Party and the multinational Soviet working class has at all times played a very important part in the formation and development of the Soviet people as a new historical community. It is the Party and the workers who have forged the close cohesion and internationalist unity of all the classes, social groups, nations and nationalities existing under socialism. The formation of the USSR according to Lenin's plan played a special part in this respect. It was only by combining all of the country's forces and resources that its free peoples were able to end in a historically short time the economic and cultural backwardness inherited from tsarism and capitalism, industrialize the country, collectivize agriculture, accomplish a cultural revolution, build socialism and make the Soviet Union a mighty, highly developed power which is now building communist society.

The Soviet people are primarily a socio-political community ex-

pressive of the social-class, moral, political and ideological cohesion of the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. They are also a multinational, essentially internationalist community of men. The formation and progress of the Soviet people benefited greatly from the establishment of social relations between nations, the abolition of virtual inequality in the economic and cultural development of big and small peoples, in the socio-political activities of the working people of diverse nationalities, the formation and consolidation on the basis of socialism of the indestructible friendship of peoples which has become the motor of Soviet society's development. Building socialism also meant settling the national question, and hence doing away with its adverse effect on social progress. It also contributed in vast measure to the formation and consolidation of developed socialism.

Embarking on communist construction, the Soviet people entered a new stage as a new historical community. The principal aspects of this stage are socio-economic and socio-political: providing the material and technical basis for communism, the gradual development of socialist social relations into communist relations, the growing leading role of the CPSU and the working class, still closer alliance of the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, and the formation of the new man. Deep-going qualitative changes also occurred in the content and forms of national relations as the socialist nations and nationalities developed and drew closer together.

The economy is, needless to say, the decisive factor for the cohesion of all nations, nationalities and national or ethnic groups within the Soviet family of peoples as a new historical community. It should be borne in mind that the economy of each Soviet republic exists and develops as a component of the integrated economy of the whole country and not in isolation from it.

Thanks to the integrality of the socialist economy and the identity of communist aims of all citizens, whatever their nationality, the Soviet people, as an entity, is not merely the result of a merging of nations, but a factor stimulating their development. The economic potential of the Soviet Union being built up by the country's peoples is steadily growing and their federal state effectively copes with such tasks as distributing the productive forces among the republics, redistributing funds and labor power, and raising the various economies to the same level.

The formation of features common to all nations and nationalities and the increasing importance and role of these features compared with people's national specifics are essential characteristics of the Soviet people as a new historical community.

First among the common features of nations and nationalities is a *common economic life* and the collective nature of the labor of all Soviet men and women regardless of nationality.

Our common economic life is based on common fundamental economic interests and the desire of every nation or nationality to do its utmost in building the material and technical basis of com-

munism. The increasing integrality of the Soviet people's economic life plays a growing role in the life of each nation or nationality.

The *integrality of the political life* of Soviet nations and nations and nationalities is becoming more pronounced with the years. It is rooted in the Soviet form of power, the oneness of the socialist system in its developed form, the close interconnection of the development processes of the country and Soviet national statehood, and the people's common interest in promoting socialist democracy.

People of all Soviet nationalities have developed *common characteristics*. These consist, first of all, in the common ideological principles of all nations and nationalities, whose world outlook is based on Marxist-Leninist theory and on new experiences which communist building contributes to it. They also consist in Soviet patriotism, the Soviet character and common Soviet traditions. Lastly, all the nations and nationalities of the USSR share in the multinational Soviet culture.

The specific feature of the *Soviet people's make-up* is their *growing internationalism*. It is a concentrated expression of all that is common in the national consciousness of each nation or nationality (and not simply of a social consciousness based on internationalism), which fuses with national consciousness and does not contradict it.

In addition to a common economic, political and spiritual life, all Soviet nations and nationalities have a *common territory* which they all regard more and more as their common economic, administrative and political patrimony.

Another important feature in the life and growth of all Soviet nations and nationalities is *the common language they have for mutual intercourse*: as a result of their economic, political, cultural and other ties this function is served by the Russian language. Russian was chosen for this purpose on a voluntary basis, nor does this in any way affect the free development of the other national languages.

Despite the close similarity of the common features of Soviet nations and nationalities listed above, none of these features is ethnic nor is developing in this issue. Their role is entirely social and manifests itself only as such. However, it has an appreciable, largely transforming effect on the really ethnic characteristics of nations and nationalities.

The Soviet people embody all the common features of the family of the fraternal peoples as a whole and each of them in particular: awareness and a sense of internationalism, patriotism and collectivism, firmness of ideological conviction, revolutionary optimism and collective effort to further communist building. The new socio-political, internationalist community is an embodiment of the unity and indivisibility of the international and national in a multinational state developing on socialist lines. This unity is an important objective law of socialism which expresses itself in trends towards the greatest possible prosperity of nations and nationalities and ever closer relations between them.

The immediate future will see still closer relations between nations as they advance to *complete unity*, which Lenin predicted as a logical necessity and whose attainment our Party regards as a program task.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE FIGHT AGAINST RACIALISM

Philip Bart

Member, Central Committee, CP USA

The solution of the national question is central to all peoples struggling for independence from the yoke of imperialist oppression. It was and will continue to be fundamental for Marxist-Leninist parties in imperialist countries, as well.

The national question in the USA is a crucial one. It may take different forms than in other highly developed capitalist countries, but its underlying principles are similar. The following points dealing with the national question were discussed and acted upon at our recent 20th National Convention: The Black Liberation Movement, which deals with the largest minority; the Chicano (Mexican-American origin living in the southwest); the Puerto Rican nation; the North American Indian peoples, and the Asian minorities.

The Socialist Party, from its inception, ignored this question entirely. It never gave attention to the struggles for national liberation. This resulted in a situation where the Socialist Party and other socialist organizations could not attract Blacks or any other minority to their ranks.

With the emergence of the Communist Party a fundamental change began to take place. This was in no small part due to the direct aid of Lenin and the Communist International. At the Second Congress of the Comintern where Lenin reported on the national and colonial question, the resolution later adopted specifically cited the Negro people in the USA. This was the first time that such reference was made. Additional documents of the Comintern on this question, addressed to the CPUSA, helped in crystallizing a clear Leninist policy.

In the course of half-a-century basic changes have occurred in the class composition of the Black population. They are no longer a majority in a contiguous area in the South, nor are they primarily dependent on an agricultural economy in such area. They comprise a large and significant section of the working class nationally. But this has not changed the character of their double oppression—that of a minority people and as part of the working class as a whole.

The problem today is not the struggle for land. But the problem is the fight for complete equality. The right to a job. Comrade Henry Winston, National Chairman of the CPUSA, in his report to

the National Convention cited some important facts on the special discriminatory practices against Black workers. One example is the singling out of this minority for special persecution and oppression in the process of production. Approximately 30 per cent of all workers in the steel industry are Black. Jobs are classified into 33 categories. Each higher category raises the wages of the worker. The majority of Black workers are in categories 1 to 8 – the lowest rates of pay.

We are not dealing here only with a problem of one group of workers receiving lower wages. This is a fact. We are dealing with the added problem which affects the economic, social, legal and all other relations. We are concerned here with a minority of some 25 million who are under particular persecution as a people – the Black people.

Comrade James Jackson, a member of the Party's Political Committee, wrote: 'The path of development of the Negro people toward individual and national equality does not take the route of struggle for national independence and political-geographical sovereignty and statehood. The Negro people in the United States historically, now and most probably for the future, seeks solutions to its national question in struggle for securing equality of political, economic and social status . . .'

The Chicanos comprise some 10 to 12 million, primarily in the southwest of the country. They are agricultural workers and are also employed in metal mining. They are not the lowest rung of the economic ladder. There too we find the persecution of a minority people. They are deprived of their national and cultural rights and their heritage. The Chicano resolution adopted by our Convention pointed out that 'They (the Chicanos) are related to Mexico through an epoch of their history whose rich heritage, constantly renourished by the flow of people between the two countries, continues to influence their customs and culture. Despite all efforts at repression the Chicano people have retained the use of their Spanish language, which constitutes a major factor in their consciousness of community, sustains national identity, fosters unity, and favors the cultivation of fraternal contact with the people of Mexico and all of Latin America.'

The first crime of genocide of U.S. capitalism was perpetrated against the Indian peoples. As U.S. capitalism expanded westward, it drove them off their lands, murdered their families, broke treaties signed with Indian nations, and continues today to treat them as wards of the government. Their languages and cultures have largely been destroyed. Let me make a reference to a more recent act. As late as 1970 more than 200,000 acres of Indian owned land was stolen by lumber interests.

While Comrade Ashimov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Kazakh SSR was speaking of the achievements of the Kazakh people, I was trying to make a comparison with the 'new' 49th state of the USA – Alaska. It is our largest state comprising some

600,000 square miles. It is smaller than Kazakhstan, yet a vast land. With the discovery of oil, the oil corporations have made a new rush, far more profitable than the gold rush of the past century. The oil interests are plundering the natural wealth of Alaska at the expense of the Indians and Aleuts.

Kazakhstan, a backward land in the past, has in 50 years built a new nation within the family of the USSR. It has a developed industry and agricultural economy. It has established numerous universities and expanded its rich cultural traditions.

Alaska was sold by the Russian Czarist government to the U.S. over a century ago. And it remains today a haven for the huge monopolists to plunder the land and its natural resources for their personal aggrandizement.

Imperialism, and in particular U.S. imperialism, has not exhausted all its facilities in its struggles to divert, defeat or stymie the movements for national independence. It utilizes and constantly seeks new ideological weaponry. It recruits intellectuals from its think tanks, including Black, as apologists to defend its system. Consequently the ideological struggle to attract the widest support for the Leninist national policies requires consistently combating their poisonous ideologies.

There are the theories of separatism which contain, in essence, reactionary bourgeois nationalism. They weaken and isolate the liberation movements. They are nurtured by anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism. Comrade Winston stated in a recent pamphlet: 'Separatism also distorts the meaning of valid features of the struggle for Black liberation. For instance, all varieties of separatist ideology - including Baraka's and Carmichael's - equate "community control" and Black institutions with liberation. Black institutions and control of communities in which Black people constitute a majority are a vital part of the struggle for liberation. But Black liberation can develop only as part of a wider struggle for "national control" over the economic and political life of the entire country - a struggle which cannot be carried out by Black people alone.'

Other variations on the same theme are projected by some Black leaders. U.S. monopoly has encouraged and given aid to some slick magazines 'devoted' to the Black liberation movements.

The Black people cannot escape oppression through nationalist bourgeois ideology. It is only through class concept and in unity with the working class as a whole that they can challenge the system of oppression and exploitation whose roots rest in imperialism. The Communist Party is participating in and contributing to clarity in this ideological struggle. The CPUSA was the initial organizer of the movement against aggression in Indochina. In its early stages this movement was red-baited and attempts were made to isolate it. But thanks to the persevering and resolute struggle, it now embraces, in one form or another, a majority of the people in the USA.

The recognition of proletarian internationalism is the key to victory against national oppression. Any equivocation or direct divisiveness as advocated by the Mao leadership can only retard or defeat this movement, although only temporarily. Within such unity lies the recognition of the leading role of the Soviet Union. Its historic leadership helps solidify and guarantee equality for all peoples.

CRITERION OF LOYALTY TO MARXISM-LENINISM

Harald Noibert

Head of Chair, CC SUPG Social Sciences Institute

With the victory of the October Revolution the world revolutionary process entered a new stage, has become more complex and varied. The Soviet state, for many years the only socialist country, became its forward detachment and mainstay.

The strategy of the anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation and socialism hinged on the extremely complex question: in what way and by what means can the Soviet Union, being the vanguard of the forces fighting imperialism, for socialism, exercise the most effective influence on the world revolutionary process? Leninism provides a clear and theoretically grounded answer.

Essentially, revolutionary strategy means, firstly, consolidation of all anti-imperialist forces around the Soviet Union for the defense of the existing socialism, and, secondly, Soviet influence on the world revolutionary process, supporting it in various ways and exerting the maximum effort to strengthen the existing socialism. Obviously, the stronger socialism is, the greater and more tangible is its influence. But the ways and forms of influence should correspond to the laws governing the working people's struggle for liberation.

For years, this Marxist-Leninist position has been bitterly attacked by 'ultra-revolutionary,' Leftist elements and Right opportunists. The Marxist-Leninist strategy of transition from capitalism to socialism is slanderously described as 'betrayal of the world revolution,' 'abandonment of the goal of overthrowing capitalism,' etc., by Trotskyite 'Left' opportunist elements.

Lenin exposed these views. 'Perhaps the authors believe,' he wrote, 'that the interests of the world revolution require that it be given a push, and that such a push can be given only by war, never by peace . . . Such a theory would be completely at variance with Marxism, for Marxism has always been opposed to 'pushing' revolutions, which develop with the growing acuteness of the class antagonisms that engender revolutions' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 71-72).

The Soviet Union's main influence on the world revolutionary process, of which it is the principal force, is effected by strengthen-

ing socialism, building communism and fortifying the all-round superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist.

The building of communism in the Soviet Union is undoubtedly a revolutionary task of a world-historic character. Socialism is greatly enhanced by the Soviet Union's efforts to promote socialist economic integration, broaden political cooperation and reinforce the defensive capability of the socialist community. All this helps decisively to alter the balance of forces in favor of peace and socialism.

The constantly changing balance of forces on the international arena is creating ever more favorable conditions for the struggle for social and national liberation. Following the Second World War the outlook appeared for a peaceful non-violent transition to socialism in a number of capitalist countries. Asian and African countries that won national independence could embark on the non-capitalist way.

The Soviet Union exercises an influence on other revolutionary movements by its example. The socialist commonwealth headed by the USSR is an invincible bastion and reliable support for all the revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. The USSR renders them active support.

It stands to reason that the effectiveness of this support depends in large measure on the revolutionary forces' degree of solidarity with the Soviet Union, on their defense of socialism against all forms of anti-Sovietism and on the extent of their cooperation with the USSR. Anti-Sovietism of any form and underestimation of cooperation tend to weaken this solidarity, allowing the imperialists to drive in wedges between the revolutionary detachments and movements.

The Soviet Union's policy of peace, its determined efforts in behalf of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, also exercise a tremendous influence on world affairs. The Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress is a splendid example. The principles of peaceful coexistence advocated in international affairs by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are compelling the imperialists to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of nations and reduce the opportunities for 'exporting counter-revolution,' for attempts to obstruct progressive anti-monopoly development in capitalist countries.

Therefore, it is important to expose attacks by pseudo-revolutionary and revisionist theorists on the Soviet Union's policy of détente and peaceful coexistence. The course of events has upset the claims that Soviet foreign policy pursues solely the interests of the USSR, and neglects the requirements of other revolutionary forces. Again and again, the Soviet Union has shown that its foreign policy facilitates the worldwide struggle for national and social liberation.

Also groundless are the assertions that peaceful coexistence helps

maintain a 'social status quo,' perpetuating the capitalist system. The fraternal parties at the 1969 International Meeting put down in the Document that the policy of peaceful coexistence promotes the development of the class struggle against imperialism on a national and international scale and facilitates a favorable solution of the economic and social problems of the developing countries.

The USSR is fulfilling its world-historic revolutionary mission under the experienced, wise and farsighted leadership of its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The interests of unfolding the world revolutionary process, of effective united action by the Communist and Workers' parties and all the anti-imperialist forces, and of cementing the unity and solidarity of the world Communist movement require the closest possible alliance with the CPSU. The SUPG holds, and its Eighth Congress confirmed again, that the attitude towards the Soviet Union and the CPSU is an important criterion of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

THE MAIN FORCE CONFRONTING IMPERIALISM

Ali Yata

General Secretary

Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco)

The Soviet Union has existed for half a century. All this time it has exercised an increasing and profound influence on the march of history, changing the relation of forces in favor of socialism.

Building its new homeland, the Soviet working class was endowed with a priceless gift; it had for its leader a revolutionary genius, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, who charted the plan of socialist upbuilding, and was there at the start of its realization. Lenin's tenets have stood the test of time and are invaluable for all revolutionaries.

The constitution of the world's first multinational socialist state was a triumph for socialism over imperialism, a triumph of reason and science, of dedication and patriotism over obscurantism, over bourgeois ideology and imperialist plunder. It was an inspiring example and cleared the way for other nations aspiring to social and national emancipation. Could anyone have done more for mankind? The exploit of the Soviet peoples is unmatched by any thing in history.

The Soviet Union's greatest merit – and the crucial factor in the success of socialist constitution – was that it battled unremittingly against imperialism. This was the principal guideline of Soviet foreign policy and won acclaim throughout the world. The Soviet Union knows better than anyone that imperialism does not change its spots, that it is still the main enemy of all peoples, and that U.S. imperialism, supported by its satellites, has not given up the dream of world supremacy. Working for the principles of peaceful

coexistence, fighting for the final elimination of the cold war and for international détente, and adhering scrupulously to the principles of respect for the independence and integrity of all countries and non-interference in their internal affairs, and striving to settle disputes and outstanding issues by negotiation, the Soviet Union is the main citadel of the anti-imperialist struggle, the force that is compelling imperialism to retreat step by step, that is deterring its aggressiveness.

In the year of its 50th anniversary, the Soviet Union, which stands at the head of the community of socialist countries, is the determinative force in the world revolutionary process. And it may now be appropriate to recall that it was due to the Soviet Union that the events following the Second World War gained revolutionary content. Not only was victory over fascism secured on the battlefield for socialism and the peoples; the relation of world forces changed; new, socialist countries emerged; the Chinese revolution prevailed, and so did the revolutions in Korea and Vietnam.

As a result, imperialism suffered yet another blow: the irresistible surge of national liberation led to the release of most colonial and semi-colonial countries from foreign rule and enabled some of them, such as Algeria, Syria, Iraq and Egypt, to embark on progressive development opening up socialist perspectives. For all these countries, the Soviet Union has been a loyal, constant and selfless ally, rendering increasingly substantial and varied aid. May I, therefore, here express deep thanks to the Soviet Union, its leaders, and its people.

For the Arab and all other peoples, the Soviet Union is an example. This does not mean, of course, that the peoples want to imitate the Soviet way of life to the letter; what it means is that they cannot but regard the Soviet system as the most advanced social system aspired to by all progressives.

Not only has the Soviet Union rooted out all forms of capitalism. It has also achieved tremendous progress and abolished the sad survivals inherited from the bourgeois and feudal system. The liberation of the working man, and particularly the emancipation of women, are real facts, and Soviet people, who have overcome the old way of thinking, devote themselves to material and spiritual progress. Their striving for communism cannot but evoke the admiration and enthusiasm of all peoples.

Their example is significant both for the developing peoples and the industrially developed countries.

The developing countries have the inspiring example of struggle against imperialism, against the dominion of foreign monopolies, against backwardness, poverty and ignorance, for an agrarian reform, rapid industrialization, development of national personnel, and social progress.

But the highly developed industrial countries, too, have a lot to learn from the Soviet Union, which has for long been a most advanced country. The fact that the USSR is the first cosmic

power is evidence of its superiority in many vitally important fields. The Western nations will find models to follow in industrial management, distribution of the national wealth, and of really democratic institutions.

The spiritual liberation and moral progress attained by the Soviet people, the moulding of the new man free from fear and the psychology of the downtrodden, from alienation, or, briefly, a free man, is a model for all countries.

Hostile propaganda has always tried to prove that socialism is impracticable and needless. Before the October Revolution it maintained that socialism will not take root in Russia due to her backwardness. Now, it says the same thing about the peoples of the underdeveloped states, while telling those in the developed countries that socialism is the lot of the poor, while rich countries will attain general welfare along capitalist lines. These conflicting and illogical notions underline the 'superpowers' and other theories.

The 'superpowers' theory says that the United States and the Soviet Union are the leaders of the world, and that laws of social development do not apply to them. This groundless invention is refuted by the facts. But it creates dangerous confusion by tarring a socialist country with the same brush as an imperialist state, that is, a country that has abolished exploitation of man by man for good and a state that reposes on exploitation and oppression, a country that has made a decisive contribution to the liberation of the peoples, and a state acting as a world policeman in the interest of the monopolies and reaction.

Like all true revolutionaries, we oppose the idea of identifying the Soviet Union and the United States. We do not hide our great joy at seeing the Soviet Union grow into a wealthy country in so short a period. And this not as a result of exploiting the working class or other peoples, but by dedicated labor and giant efforts. This is yet another example to follow not only for countries which, like ours, suffer from backwardness stemming from centuries of feudal and colonial oppression, but also for countries of a higher degree of development. We are happy that the Soviet Union has grown into a powerful, invincible state, the main force confronting imperialism.

This is precisely why we wholly denounce anti-communism and combat all its forms.

THE ANTI-PEOPLES' POLICY OF THE MONOPOLY BOURGEOISIE

Louis Van Geit

Member of Political Bureau, Secretary of CC,
Communist Party of Belgium

I second everything that has been said here about the impact on history of the formation of the USSR, its importance for the con-

solidation of socialism on one-sixth of the Earth's surface, for the socialist world system and the offensive of the forces of socialist and national emancipation against ever more of imperialism's strongholds and in the imperialist-oppressed countries.

I should like to speak of the national question in Belgium in the recent past and now, and some of the concomitant problems of the working-class movement and its allies, and of the solutions offered by the Belgian Communists.

Belgium is a developed capitalist country and has been one for a long time. Following the Second World War, particularly in the early 60s, it has seen a deepening crisis in relations between the state authorities, until now mainly unitarian, and our two big national communities—the Dutch-speaking Flemish and the French-speaking Walloon.

The roots of the crisis go back to the 19th century, when the exploiting class was culturally homogeneous. The bourgeoisie spoke French only, while the exploited, largely illiterate masses spoke the Flemish dialect of Dutch in the North and the Walloon dialect of French in the South. The introduction of universal primary education and general suffrage at the end of the century led to a gradual 'Hollandization' of Flanders, including a large portion of the bourgeoisie in the area, and to a consolidation of French culture in the Wallonian region. Brussels, a city of Flemish origin, also became French in background due to the social and cultural prevalence of the local bourgeoisie and the growing Walloon immigration. Though the capital was officially proclaimed bilingual, the French language predominated.

The Walloon region, whose coal made it the main industrial area in the 19th century, began to fall behind Flanders, where large industrial enterprises have been going up in the past 20 years in the proximity of the major international communication lines.

The big Belgian bourgeoisie, whose Flemish group acquired ascendancy, supported the linguistic and cultural demands of the Dutch-speaking community (to a point where Parliament was linguistically divided into two autonomous parts, each vested with sole legislative authority for its respective region in many fields, including radio and television). Yet the same big bourgeoisie, backed by the old bourgeois parties and the Socialist Party, has done its utmost to strip the democratic regional institutions of all real content, denying them the rights and resources demanded by the working class, the Wallonian community, the progressives in Flanders, and the impressive, though as yet somewhat vaguely oriented, democratic movement in Brussels.

The situation became complicated. The tension between the two communities, between the three regions, mounted steadily, spreading to all areas of the country's political, economic, social and cultural life. Nationalist currents represented by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties and expressing regional linguistic interests, are active in each of the three regions. Centrifugal tendencies be-

came stronger in the two traditional bourgeois parties – the Social-Christian which is in power together with the Socialist Party, and the former Liberal Party, now in the opposition.

Neither the monopoly bourgeoisie, closely connected with supra-national capitalist groups, with American, West German, French and Dutch capital in the Common Market, nor the leaders of the government parties have the slightest intention of dampening the centrifugal nationalist trends. On the contrary, they intend to use them to divert workers and the popular forces from the struggle for a democratic reform of the nation's political institutions, to goad them to internecine strife. They try to keep the flames alight by exaggerating what are largely unimportant purely linguistic antagonisms or focussing attention on the controversy over the prerogatives of the country's central authorities and the governing organs of the EEC.

This has impelled a growth of decentralized institutions, most of them undemocratic, lacking real power and resources, but doomed to scrimmaging among themselves, even inside each region. The longer-term plan is to deny Parliament and other elected institutions even those remnants of control which they are now still able to exercise.

This activity of the big bourgeoisie is greatly facilitated by the leadership of the Socialist Party, which is closely associated with the government, and the two big trade-union centers (the General Federation of Labor, predominantly Socialist, and the Confederation of Christian Unions), which are out to consolidate the unitarian state in defiance not only of the centrifugal bourgeois currents, but also of the insistent demands for a democratic regional reform by Wallonian workers and democratic forces and their progressive allies in Flanders and Brussels.

The country's recent history, like that of many other lands, shows clearly, however, that nothing but free association on a federative basis will instil accord among the national communities, securing autonomy for the big regions, as well as the integrity of the country as a whole. It is also the only way to unite the workers and democratic groups in Flanders, the Wallonian region and Brussels, and repulse the anti-people's and anti-national policy of the big monopoly bourgeoisie and its supra-national backers, opening up the way to the kind of far-reaching political changes that may be expected to result from the highly important agreements recently concluded by the Communist and Socialist parties in France.

This is why our Party is marshalling the workers and progressive forces in our three regions – especially Socialists and Christians, their representatives and activists, the political organizations and labor unions – for the battle for a democratic regional reform, principally a reform of the local communities.

This is why we want to acquaint the public with the draft of the law which the Communist parliamentary group has submitted to

the Chamber of Representatives. Our bill envisages locally elected assemblies and an executive body accountable to them in each of the three big regions, vested with powers and resources; at the same time, it envisages more effective parliamentary control over the central executive authorities.

FROM FEUDALISM TO SOCIALISM, BYPASSING CAPITALISM

Mohamed Harmel

Member, Political Bureau, CC Secretary,
Tunisian Communist Party

Shortly before our conference, several representatives on the *World Marxist Review* Editorial Board visited the Soviet Union. Comrades Dansoko (Senegal), Batal (Lebanon) and I were in Uzbekistan.

I do not propose to describe in detail this very instructive trip. I want only briefly to discuss the relevance of Uzbekistan's experience for Afro-Asian countries and the international implications of Uzbekistan's passage from medieval oriental feudalism to a modern socialist society.

Not all aspects of this experience are applicable in Afro-Asian countries – the differences are considerable. For one thing, Uzbekistan's transition to socialism was accomplished within the framework of the multinational Soviet state and guaranteed by the power of the worker-peasant government. Developing countries, in contrast, are not yet fully protected against encroachments by imperialism and reaction, though the existence of the USSR and other socialist countries, from which they receive valuable assistance, is having a positive influence on their development. Notwithstanding differences, however, there are essential common features from which we can draw valuable lessons.

At a time when underdevelopment has become dramatically accentuated and is a veritable scourge for millions, when different development policies have still to yield tangible results, Uzbekistan's rapid progress from underdevelopment to socialism is a universal lesson to be reflected upon by everyone who sincerely wants to see his country break out of economic backwardness.

Even Western non-Marxist experts admit that Uzbekistan is now a developed country. Having broken out of the 'vicious circle' of underdevelopment, having overcome 'zero growth' and having accomplished an impressive 'take-off' – I deliberately use their terminology – it has become a flourishing, and harmoniously and dynamically developing, industrial-agrarian country, and a centre, also, of culture and science. The large enterprises in the heavy and light industries, evenly distributed to cover all parts of the Republic, have radically changed the landscape. No Third World country can boast of so modern an industrial structure.

There is another aspect—the transition to socialism bypassing or cutting short the capitalist stage is living evidence of the realism of the path which is now conspicuous in the searches and activities of progressives in countries taking their first steps to economic prosperity. Uzbekistan's rich experience in the years since it was ruled by the tsars and the khans is expressive of the varied means and original methods employed in resolving the problems of transition. And two things particularly impressed us. First, the attitude of the revolutionary power to the various elements of different economic formations, for we know that the persistence of such elements is characteristic of Afro-Asian countries. Secondly, the attitude of the revolutionary power to century-old traditions. Both reveal some common features.

The predominance of small and isolated enterprises and the multiplicity of economic formation-elements, called for a flexible and differentiated approach in working out a timetable of transition measures and the way they should be applied to various groups of the population.

The revolutionary state did not demolish all the old formation-elements. Naturally, it eliminated the exploiter element of oriental feudalism, and gradually restricted and then eliminated feudalism and embryonic capitalism. As for the other formation-elements, they had to be persistently reformed and woven into the modern economic fabric. Uzbekistan's experience completely refutes the notion that revolutionary transformation implies a complete destruction of all the old economic formations, including small private production.

With Soviet power steadily gaining in strength and with the working people the owners of the basic means of production, it became possible to reconstruct small private production by drawing small and middle producers, both in town and country, into cooperatives. This was a socialist solution, and it signified transition from artisan and small-industry enterprises to large-scale socialist industry, from small peasant farming to large-scale socialist farming.

That was preceded by a series of transition measures. Foremost among them was agrarian reform, which returned to the tiller the land appropriated by the tsarist government. This was followed by another, more radical reform which eliminated the landholdings of the feudals and the rich, and was paralleled by increased state assistance to laboring peasants and by extension of the irrigation system.

The cooperatives acted as the main lever in all this, but only because cooperative membership was not imposed on the peasants; it accorded with their requirements and the cooperatives developed in line with the development of social relations and the productive forces.

What valuable lessons can be drawn from this approach, from the various means and methods employed in the passage from pre-capitalist to socialist society?

An agrarian country's road to socialism passes through a system of intermediate revolutionary transformations and transition measures. But it cannot pass from the one revolutionary transformation to the next, from one phase to another, without consolidating what has already been achieved, without creating the necessary preconditions and winning the support of the masses.

We Arab Communists were especially interested in socialism in an Eastern country in which Arab and Moslem civilization had left a deep imprint. We saw this in all its magnificence in Samarkand, Bukhara and other cities. The heritage of the past is intimately associated with the great representatives of Arab and world culture, the renowned mathematician al-Khorezmi, the world-renowned physician Abu-Ali Ibn-Sina, better known under the name of Avicenna, the philosopher Al-Farabi, to mention a few out of a much longer list. In this country, rejuvenated by triumphant socialism, we found a cultural climate the psychological features of which are by no means alien to us. And to this should be added that the Communist Party performed a veritable cultural revolution in a country where before illiteracy was practically universal, where only one man could boast of a higher education, where women were kept in near bondage.

It required immense energy, but also immense patience and flexibility, to overcome the stagnation and backwardness of centuries. The traditional school, the *Medrese*, and the *Shariat* courts remained for a time and no restrictive administrative measures were taken against them. But at the same time modern schools and institutes were started. Little by little, old traditions gave way to the socialist life, but the positive traditions have been carefully preserved and are part of the revolutionary Soviet tradition.

The October Revolution and the Soviet system have given us sterling proof that the East need not be a synonym of backwardness and stagnation; it need not be inward-looking, nor captive to the grandeur of its past and poverty of its present. Through national, and later socialist, revolution it can acquire creative dynamism and new effectiveness.

POWERFUL FACTOR FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS

Iraj Iskenderi

First Secretary, People's Party of Iran

The history of the past half-century is evidence of the international impact of the proclamation of the USSR and its experience in building socialism.

Indeed, that experience has conclusively demonstrated that society can get along very well without landowners and capitalists and that the working class can run the country, manage its economy, create a new culture and bring out all the latent talents and abilities of the working people. Avoiding the mistakes of earlier

revolutionary movements, history's first working class state did not hesitate to take strict measures against active enemies of the revolution, at the same time assuring broad democracy for the working people. Soviet experience is irrefutable proof that proletarian dictatorship, in one or another form, is essential to the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The October Revolution made the working class the ruling class in the world's biggest country. It defeated intervention by international imperialism, consolidated its power, and with unsurpassed energy launched on the building of a socialist society. All this enhanced the socialist consciousness of the world's international proletariat, strengthened its revolutionary spirit and faith in its strength and impending victory. The ideas of socialism and communism gained popularity among the masses, and the working class became more politically conscious and militant.

Soviet power put an end to national oppression. Once-subject peoples became free and politically equal nations with their own statehood, and were able to overcome economic, social and cultural backwardness without having to go through capitalism.

The founding of the multinational Soviet state infused a new spirit into the colonial and dependent peoples. For now they could see that freedom from imperialist domination was a fully attainable goal. And for them, the first socialist state became an inexhaustible source of moral and political energy. The flourishing economies and cultures of the Central Asian and the Transcaucasian Soviet Republics are an inspiring example.

Members of our Party who recently visited these Republics, some of which are Iran's neighbors, were impressed by the enthusiasm of the people, their pride in the growing economic strength of their Republics, their achievements in the social and economic fields. This and the strengthened defense capacity of the Soviet Union, its growing international prestige, are the results of free peoples joining together in a single socialist state.

A representative of our Party who visited Georgia saw that the republic has a modern industry and highly mechanized agriculture. And this in a country where not a single machine was produced before the revolution. Now Georgia is a major producer of engineering goods; the relatively small city of Rustavi alone exports such goods to most Soviet Republics and to 44 foreign countries. At present, 116 plants in Georgia are working on export orders. And there is this measure of socialist Georgia's rapid progress: in 1970 industrial output was 85 times the 1913 figure.

During their travels in the Soviet Union, our comrades could see that public ownership of the means of production and a unified economy have enabled many peoples to overcome, in a short space of time, the economic and cultural backwardness inherited from the tsarist days, when some of them were still at the pre-capitalist stage.

A simple comparison of Iran and a number of Soviet republics,

three of which are Iran's close neighbors, gives one an idea of what the 50 Soviet years have meant.

Per capita power output in 1970 was 210 kwh in Iran, and more than 2,300 in Soviet Azerbaijan, 1,100 in Tajikistan and 800 in Turkmenia.

Education: secondary schooling is compulsory in all Soviet republics, whereas in Iran, in 1970, eight million children under 15 were illiterate. The number of university and college students in Iran does not exceed 50,000 in a population of some 30 million; in the 1970-71 academic year the figure for four Soviet republics, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkmenia and Tajikistan, with a total population of a little over 12 million, was 200,000.

Correctly applying Leninist principles in solving the national problem, the USSR has actively supported colonial and dependent nations in international affairs. This has made it the bulwark of the anti-imperialist struggle. Nor has the Soviet Union sought anything for itself; its policy follows from the objective link between the anti-imperialist struggle of oppressed nations and the socialist ideology, which is irreconcilable to all national and colonial oppression.

While opposing colonialism and neo-colonialism, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are at the same time working to eliminate the menace of war. And the past few years have again convincingly demonstrated its role as a powerful factor in foiling plans to subjugate peoples. Its peace program, which envisages collective security in Asia – of which CPSU General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev spoke at the Soviet Trade Union Congress on March 20, 1972 – is attracting much attention throughout Asia. This initiative, one more manifestation of the USSR's Leninist policy of safeguarding peace, is of inestimable assistance to Asian peoples fighting the imperialist aggressors and for national independence, peace and progress.

No wonder the imperialists are waging a virulent propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union and communism. Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are expressly meant to divide and split the national-liberation movement and conceal from the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America imperialist plans that imperil the independence and progressive aspirations of the peoples. In an attempt to destroy their unity and weaken international solidarity, the neo-colonialists are spreading nationalist ideology, the pernicious character of which is now becoming especially clear.

The historic victory of the Soviet people in building socialism, their magnificent achievements in the advance to communism, achievements based on the equality of nations and their fraternal alliance in a single socialist society and state – add up to a powerful factor of progress. That is why it is the duty of every Marxist-Leninist, every Communist, to display the utmost loyalty to the great party of Lenin, the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and to strengthen solidarity with the first proletarian state, the greatest factor of peace and progress in the world.

A SOURCE OF REVOLUTIONARY ENERGY

Pedro Mendez

CC Member, Communist Party of Spain

Embodying the loftiest ideals of national equality and fraternal co-operation among peoples, the USSR was from the first a constant and powerful impellent in the freedom struggle of the exploited and oppressed. Once and for all, it took the side of the proletariat and the subjugated peoples. The Soviet Union influences the oppressed and exploited peoples and all freedom fighters through the example of its victorious revolution and through its creative effort. It always helps the peoples morally and politically, and often also materially and militarily. We Spanish revolutionaries bear witness to this. During our liberation war the Soviet Union was the only country to supply us with arms and send us its flyers, tankmen and military advisers.

The influence of the October Revolution was decisive when the Communist Party and other political organizations of Spain were founded. Paraphrasing the old saying, we may say that all roads lead to socialism, no matter how hard the imperialists try to disprove this.

Now that the U.S. aggressors are trying to break the heroic people of Vietnam, who set a magnificent example of staunchness in fighting for their independence, a particularly urgent task is to achieve unity of the world Communist and working-class movement and all anti-imperialist forces if we are to stop U.S. imperialism.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks, joining issue with the Bund, Otto Bauer and his like, upheld the inalienable right of nations to self-determination as a prerequisite of the struggle for socialism. On November 15, 1917 the Soviet government adopted the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, which removed all restrictions on account of nationality, proclaimed the complete sovereignty of the nations and nationalities of the country's outlying areas and granted them the right to decide for themselves whether they were to join or secede from Soviet Russia. In other words, the October Revolution demolished the walls of the vast prison which tsarist Russia was to its peoples. By this act it did something more than freeing them from oppression, exploitation and poverty, both material and cultural. It settled the national question, which until then had never gone beyond the realm of theory. On one-sixth of the globe, it was conclusively proved that the fraternal union of free nations is a colossal source of revolutionary energy without which socialism cannot be consolidated.

The Bolshevik Party merged in one stream the people's fight for peace, the peasants' fight for land, the fight of the oppressed peoples of old Russia against national tyranny and the fight of the proletariat, the leading force of the revolution, for socialism. This meant putting into effect Lenin's thesis that the struggle for socialism would be futile unless linked with a revolutionary approach to all democratic problems, including the problem of nationalities.

From this point of view, the formation of the USSR was both a materialization of the right of nations to self-determination and a historical necessity in the development of the world's first victorious socialist revolution, an inherent requirement. The formation of the USSR strengthened the international standing of revolutionary Russia, the vanguard fighter against imperialism. It showed the masses in the colonial and dependent countries the road to social emancipation.

In the half century of its existence, during which it had to withstand severe trials, especially in the years of the barbarous war of annihilation unleashed by the Hitlerites, the Soviet system proved that it has no equal in both social and political stability.

The October Revolution opened many roads, including the road to the self-determination of nations. It granted national minorities the right to free development and delivered them from age-long poverty and backwardness. Once threatened with extinction, they are now members of the great Soviet family of nations enjoying high cultural and living standards, which they owe to socialism.

The Soviet Union's progress over the past half century shows that the country has been following the right path. Of course, there are bound to be shortcomings in every great and difficult undertaking. It is now evident, however, that socialism could not have survived but for the USSR. This fact outweighs every mistake although Lenin warned against mistakes and when they were made nonetheless, he insisted that they be promptly corrected. He stressed the need to support and strengthen the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, saying that there could be no question about this since it was a union which both the proletariat of the country and the world proletariat needed in order to face up to the world bourgeoisie and foil its intrigues.

The CPSU established a mighty multinational state which defeated Nazi fascism, delivering mankind from it, paved the way for revolutionary gains in other countries and played a decisive role in making socialism a world system. The very existence and progress of the socialist camp and its varied assistance to revolutionary forces predetermined the fall of the colonial system of imperialism and enabled the freed peoples to end backwardness and begin building socialism, bypassing capitalism.

We attach tremendous importance to Soviet experience in solving the national question. It is the richest and time-tested experience, and we can benefit from it, suiting it to our conditions in settling *our own* national question|

Spain is a multinational state inhabited, along with Spaniards, by Catalans, Basques and Galicians. It presents great ethnic diversity, as Dolores Ibarruri has said. There is no denying this fact any more than the existence of a link connecting all the peoples of Spain. This link is the working class, which is a real cementing factor in our multinational state.

The powerful actions mounted by the proletariat speed the unification of the forces opposed to the regime. Working class parti-

cipation in solving Spain's problems is the earnest for a democratic and socialist solution of the national question. This is bound to come about, now that one-third of mankind has cast off capitalist tyranny.

Winning national freedoms for the Catalans, Basques and Galicians is part of the fight for democracy and socialism in our country. The increasingly vigorous actions of these nationalities for their freedom are, in turn, part and parcel of the general anti-imperialist struggle led by Spain's working class, which can exercise its leading role only if it firmly upholds everywhere the language and culture of the Basques, Catalans and Galicians and their right to self-determination, meaning also the right to found their own state. This also means freedom to opt for this or that form of voluntary association in a multinational state. This may take the form of federation but to bring the latter into being, it is first necessary, as Lenin pointed out, to provide genuine sovereignty for all nations and nationalities and enable them really to use their right to self-determination. To set up a federation in the absence of this right would be arbitrary. Our Party holds that a free and democratic union of the peoples of Spain will best meet their aspirations, the proletariat's class interests and the interests of both the democratic and socialist revolution.

Spain's Communists realize that the democratic goals they are fighting for at this stage encompass autonomy for the peoples of Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia and the eventual establishment of provisional governments in these regions expressing the interests of all anti-Francoists.

The political situation at home makes the early conclusion of a freedom alliance of all anti-dictatorial forces ever more impressive. Our objective should be a general strike. Public debate during this strike will help overcome the misconceptions concerning the the problem of nationalities among the anti-Franco opposition and the masses. In one form or another, this debate is already in progress; a draft for regional autonomy for the Canary Islands has been publicized and discussed at public meetings.

Solution of the specific problems of Navarre, Valencia and the Balearic Islands is among the tasks of the fight for democracy and socialism. This struggle is inseparable from the effort to establish a new type of relations with Latin America's peoples and put an end to the colonialist anachronism known as Spanish policy towards Morocco. It is not for individual nationalities to solve these problems but for all the peoples of Spain, who seek an end to landowner and capitalist rule.

These, then, are the problems which the working class and the masses in town and country are fighting to solve. The fascist dictatorship has made Spain a country of sharp social conflicts. Our working class, which is at the head of the masses and is acting under the leadership of the Communist Party, is the decisive factor for all changes in the country. There is no doubt that precisely the working class, united in Catalonia, the Basque Country, Galicia,

Andalusia, Castille and the Canaries, and fighting in common with the peasants, youth and intellectuals and all democratic forces for revolutionary change and the right of nations to self-determination, will defeat the reactionary regime and pave the way to socialism for a new, democratic Spain.

SOVIET SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Laszlo Nagy

World Marxist Review Editorial Board Member
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

I should like to discuss the development and extension of Soviet socialist democracy in the light of my impressions of a visit to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The importance of the subject is obvious: the political system must serve the building of socialism and communism and develop in step with the socio-economic relations. Hence, in building full socialism, every socialist country has to devise the best ways to develop its political system. Experience has shown that this is attended by a sharp ideological struggle, which is a major component of the international class struggle. Today we have to contend with Right and 'Left' revisionism on the cardinal question of the state and democracy.

Some contend that democracy cannot be developed without combating so-called étatism. Supporter of that view prematurely advance the demand for the 'disappearance' of the state as a prior condition to implanting genuine democracy. But they forget the elementary Marxist-Leninist proposition 'about democracy also being a state and, consequently, also disappearing when the state disappears' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 397).

Others denounce as 'revisionism' all intelligent attempts to devise realistic and scientifically substantiated ways of developing the socialist state.

Still others want to steer a middle course between these two extremes and suggest a 'new alternative,' i.e., separating the political system of socialist society from proletarian dictatorship. The Hungarian events of 1956, however, made it amply clear that this 'new alternative' is but a euphemistic name for the old multi-party system of bourgeois democracy.

All this convincingly shows the importance of Soviet experience, for the USSR has reached the stage of mature socialism and is forging ahead to communism. Furthermore, the Soviet Union has accumulated not only theoretical, but also a fund of tested practical experience in developing its political system.

Extension and consolidation of socialist democracy in the USSR is not a byproduct of the country's development, but the only possible form of the existence and progress of socialist society. Its

main purpose is to bring the entire people into administering the state, its economy and culture.

Socialist democracy is effected through the entire political system, but the main link is the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the vehicles of state power. And continuous development of this system of popular rule converts proletarian dictatorship into a state of the entire people, the transition stage to communist self-government, which constitutes a whole historical period.

In the light of my impressions, I would like to deal in somewhat greater detail with this aspect of the problem. We can already see shoots of the future, the transition to communist self-government. And in this context I would strongly emphasize the mass character of the Soviet political system, i.e., participation of the masses in the work of the Soviets and public organizations fulfilling state functions.

In the West, opposition to mass participation in decision-making comes chiefly from the technocrat and managerial community. The technological revolution, it is argued, rules out the very possibility of popular participation in economic and administrative affairs. This should be left to the experts, with the masses carrying out their decisions.

The new, socialist society was born under the slogan of 'All Power to the Soviets!' In those years, the call to emulate the example of the Russian proletariat was tantamount to fighting for Soviet power. And in 1917-20 this had a great international appeal, not only because it inspired the people to fight for social revolution, but also because the people wanted to exercise their power through Soviets. It was logical, therefore, that following the example of the October Revolution the first workers' power in Hungary called itself the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

The experience of the socialist countries has fully borne out Lenin's prediction that: 'The transition from capitalism to communism is certainly bound to yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat*' (Ibid., p. 413).

In many socialist countries the question of how best to extend socialist democracy is now a very practical one. Of course, the process is likewise bound to yield a variety of forms, but it will everywhere have certain common features.

All the differences notwithstanding, we can single out the following as common, or likely to be such, in every country passing to a developed socialist society.

First. All deputies are elected, accountable to their voters and subject to recall. They are representatives of the people, and regardless of all the intricacies of economic, political and cultural administration, the principle is always observed that deputies remain at their job in factory, farm or office. In other words, the majority of representative bodies at all levels consists of workers and farmers, i.e., people directly engaged in production.

Second. The mass public organizations, notably the trade unions

and YCL, acquire new, broader functions. On the one hand, they represent the interests of their members in dealing with economic and other government agencies, and, on the other hand, take over certain functions from government agencies.

Third. Extension and consolidation of socialist democracy is paralleled by tighter central control of society and the economy and by more authority delegated to local government. The resources of society are not dispersed, society and the economy are not atomized; personal, collective and public interests are combined and integrated.

Fourth. The Marxist-Leninist Party continues to direct political and public life and the process of extending socialist democracy. And this process begins with Party democracy, in which respect the Soviet Communists have set a sterling example. The CPSU has travelled a long and glorious path from a clandestine organization of revolutionaries to a mass party, the political vanguard of the people. It has translated into practice the Leninist principles of Party life: democratic centralism, criticism and self-criticism, election and accountability of all Party committees, collective leadership.

In *'Left'-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, written only three years after the October Revolution, Lenin set out with consummate clarity the features of Russia's socialist revolution that had international universality and would inevitably be repeated in other countries. Though this proposition has been confirmed by the experience of many countries, it is still being questioned in some quarters. While acknowledging the vast military, political and economic strength of the Soviet Union, the country that opened the way to socialism, some maintain that its experience has little to offer other countries. In short, the international importance of the *result* of socialist construction in the USSR is acknowledged, while the importance of the *processes* that made this result possible is deliberately minimized. That reasoning is contradictory.

Others regard the international significance of Soviet experience only as a thing of the past. True, they say, it has laid its imprint on the fight for power, socialist industrialization and socialist reorganization of agriculture. There was a time, it is argued, when this experience was necessary and useful, for the socialist countries had no other example to follow. Now, however, at a higher stage of socio-economic development and with the subjective forces of revolution more mature, it is much more important for each country to rely on its own experience.

Certainly, without a thorough study and interpretative generalization of one's own experience progress would be well-nigh impossible. But precisely nowadays, when the forms and means of revolutionary struggle are becoming ever more complex, it is vitally necessary to study the experience of those who have already passed these stages. Refusal creatively to apply the experience of others unnecessarily limits the opportunities open to a country, deprives

its Party and people of opportunities to accelerate the advance to socialism and communism. That is why we emphasize that Soviet experience in building developed socialist society and laying the material and technical basis of communism has world-wide implications; as Lenin foresaw in 1920, its basic features will be duplicated in other countries. And these features constitute an essential part of the international experience of all the socialist countries, for they reflect the central regularities of socialism as the first phase of communism.

THE POWER OF PROLETARIAN SOLIDARITY

Michael Harmel

CC Member, South African Communist Party

The establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was concrete materialization of Lenin's theory on the *national question*. For the first time in human history here was seen in reality a free and equal family of nations, created out of the ruins of that prison of nations, the tsarist empire.

For the people of our country, South Africa, the very existence of the USSR, where all exercise equal rights, is an inspiration and a beacon. Here in the country which is notorious throughout the world for its open and blatant state theory and practice of race and color discrimination, the problem of national liberation is all-important on the agenda of the day. Here all roads to economic opportunity and democratic rights are closed to the black majority. Those whose forefathers owned and occupied the entire vast and beautiful land of South Africa are told they are 'foreigners' except in the barren and scattered reserves, while nearly 90 per cent of the land, all the cities, mines and industries are monopolized by the white minority – less than one-fifth of the population.

Small wonder then that J. J. Gumende, then President of the African National Congress, returned in 1927 to South Africa from Moscow, where he had attended the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution, to say: 'I have seen the new world to come, where it has already begun.'

But it was not only the *example* of the USSR which fired and encouraged the peoples suffering from national oppression. The staunchly anti-imperialist and internationalist policy of the Soviet state has brought an immense accretion of strength to the forces of liberation all over the world. The great and decisive contribution of the Soviet people to the defeat of the Nazi axis was at the same time a crushing defeat of racialism, of the concept of master-race and lesser races. It had far-reaching repercussions as the tidal wave of national liberation spread throughout the great continents of Asia and Africa, forcing the imperialist powers to concede formal political independence and enabling the Asian and African peoples to advance still further to complete economic independence and to choose the non-capitalist road to socialism.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the practical, brotherly help rendered by the Soviet Union, today joined by the other countries of the socialist community of nations, to those peoples, victims of imperialist aggression or subjection, who are willing and able to fight for their own rights, for independence and liberation. It is particularly important today to express this truth, at a time when renewed efforts are being made, particularly by the present Chinese rulers using pseudo-Marxist phrases, to present Soviet policy as the same as that of the United States, employing such deliberately misleading terminology as 'super-powers' and even going so far as to talk of 'Soviet imperialism.' Let us ask these renegades from Marxism the simple question – which class or group in Soviet society could conceivably benefit from the innumerable costly and invaluable contributions which Soviet labor and skill have provided for the newly-independent countries – including (let us remember) China herself, before the ruling clique, for selfish and nationalistic reasons, saw fit to reject and to deprive the Chinese working people of that aid.

No one in his sane mind could deny that the practical and invaluable aid of the Soviet Union – to India, to Egypt, and many under-developed countries, to socialist Cuba and heroic Vietnam, to the fighting liberation movements of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and to our own valiant liberation movement of the Republic of South Africa – that this is diametrically and fundamentally opposed to imperialism. It is designed and intended to realize and to fortify national independence. It represents a genuine and disinterested contribution of the socialist working class to the cause of liberation from imperialism and colonialism.

The nationalism of oppressed peoples has, as has been pointed out, an important positive and progressive content. At the same time, like all national movements, these are made up of patriots of various classes and ideologies. One must always be on guard against narrow, parochial and even chauvinist tendencies which will inevitably make their appearance. But how are we to counter these tendencies? Is it for the Communists to stand aside from the national movements, to criticize them from outside? The whole 50-year experience of our Party shows us that this is a wrong and disastrous approach. The only guarantee of overcoming incorrect tendencies in the national liberation movement is for the Communists – while retaining the organizational independence of the party of the working class – to participate wholeheartedly in the common struggle of the nation, and to demonstrate not only in theory but in practice that the revolutionary proletariat and its Party are indeed the vanguard of the fight against foreign domination, for freedom and independence.

AGAINST BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM AND CHAUVINISM

Kerim Ahmed

Member of Political Bureau,
Central Committee, Iraqi CP

Study of Soviet experience helps learn and deepen the Marxist-Leninist theory of the national question. It also helps understand many of the problems of the present phase of the national liberation movement when the national interweaves with the social revolution.

The Soviet solution of the national question based on the abolition of exploitation and establishment of a new type of unity among nations and nationalities flowing from the identity of interests of the working class and other sections of the people, is highly valuable. The more pronounced the social complexion of a revolution, the closer is its link-up with the international revolutionary and socialist movement. This link-up – the unity of the revolutionary forces – helps achieve common goals in the battle against imperialism and the international monopolies. The struggle of the oppressed peoples against their oppressors, their striving for self-determination, is an important factor of the world revolutionary movement oriented against all forms of national and social oppression. The alliance between the national liberation movement, the socialist world and the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries is an objective fact stemming from the common interests and aims of the three revolutionary streams.

Proletarian internationalism, embodied in Soviet reality, is directly expressive of the identity of the interests of working people of different nationalities building communist society. Bourgeois nationalism, which expresses the interests of the capitalist class, is its antithesis – a poison weapon against revolutionary movements, against the workers' urge for unity and the people's vital interests. Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism, Lenin pointed out, are two opposite concepts of two large class camps in the capitalist world, representing two approaches to the national question.

In present conditions highlighted by the confrontation of socialism and imperialism, it is most important to explain this fundamental difference. Consequent implementation of the principles of proletarian internationalism and consideration for the basic popular interests in the battle against imperialism, are the essential guidelines for all progressive forces, especially the Marxist-Leninist parties. To be successful in the national and social revolution, we must combat bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism; this fortifies the sense of brotherhood and the alliance of the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces. The most important aspect of internationalism is solidarity with the Soviet Union and its great Communist Party, because the USSR is the mainstay of the anti-imperialist struggle

and renders invaluable help to movements for national and social emancipation in every part of the world. This is why anti-Sovietism and hostility to the USSR in every guise is one of the most malignant forms of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

In Iraq, too, we have a national question. Our main nationalities are the Arabs and Kurds; but there are also national minorities. Arabs and Kurds fought jointly for independence, democracy and peace against all forms of foreign domination. But after the July 1958 revolution or, more precisely, following its leaders' departure from the democratic revolutionary course, the national question acquired new dimensions. Later, too, it did not cease to be an important element in the policy of successive governments. Our Party, which played an active part in the national struggle, proposed a positive solution. It championed the Kurds' national rights and came to grips with the racist, chauvinist policy of reactionary elements, while also combatting the sectarian and separatist tendencies of some Kurdish groups. The best solution of the national question, the Party holds, is to grant Kurds autonomy within the Iraqi Republic. This would assure national unity against imperialism and its agents and likewise the social progress of the two fraternal peoples. The slogan of Kurdish autonomy is backed by Arabs, as well as Kurds, and has the approval of various political groups. The March 11, 1970 Statement of the Iraqi government was an important step closer to an objective approach to the national question by the Party of Arab Socialist Rebirth.

Recognition of the autonomy of Iraqi Kurdistan is in the interest of the Arab and Kurdish peoples, and of the Arab national liberation movement as a whole. It is in the interests of the Iraqi working class, of its unity, and paves the way for a just solution of the national question, for eliminating national conflicts, which impair the manpower and material resources of our country, impede the progress of the national-democratic revolution and vital social changes, while stimulating dictatorial tendencies.

A democratic and radical solution of the Kurdish problem is essential for Iraq's progressive development, for the joint struggle of Arabs, Kurds and the national minorities against imperialism, for the social transformations launched by the national government. It will create a truly democratic climate favoring cooperation of the country's national forces in the framework of a progressive front. It will fortify national unity and add to the country's ability to withstand the pressures of international imperialism and the maneuvers of the oil monopolies, against which Iraq has mounted a difficult battle requiring unity and mobilization of all national forces. It will also solidify the unity of the Arab revolutionary movement and reinforce its efforts to eliminate the consequences of the imperialist Zionist aggression.

By virtue of the profound changes in the Arab national liberation movement, it is merging more and more with the world revolutionary process. The cooperation among its numerous contingents, and between the latter and the socialist camp headed by the Soviet

Union, has become closer. The perfidious imperialist Israeli aggression in 1967 was an attempt to disrupt the existing ties. The attempt failed. The Arab peoples, the progressive revolutionary movements, have redoubled their cooperation with the socialist camp in all areas – political, economic, cultural and military. The vast selfless Soviet aid is the key to success in repulsing the imperialist aggression against the Arab world. Fraternal Soviet aid is exceedingly important for Iraq, for its economic growth. For example, the Soviet Union has in many ways helped Iraq to begin exploiting its oil resources, to build industrial projects, and effectuate large-scale irrigation schemes. The Soviet Union gave its full support to the nationalization of the Iraq Petroleum Company by the government in June 1972.

The Arab peoples are in the midst of a national liberation struggle against the Israeli invaders who are clinging to the territory of a number of Arab States with the support of world imperialism and its citadel, the United States. Success in this struggle depends largely on the ability of the progressive and national forces to form a broad front in order to regain the Arab lands and secure the right of the Arab people of Palestine for self-determination in their homeland. No less important for this is alliance with the socialist camp and its vanguard, the Soviet Union, and the world revolutionary movement.

This is the way the Iraqi Communist Party is working for closer bonds of friendship and fraternal alliance between the Arab peoples and the peoples of the USSR. It combats the animosity towards the Soviet Union cultivated by imperialism and Zionism and some so-called Left currents. The great Soviet Communist Party we regard as the vanguard of the world Communist movement, an important source of aid in our struggle to safeguard and consolidate our national independence, our struggle for social progress, democracy and socialism. We welcomed the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation concluded between the USSR and the Iraqi Republic in April 1972, for it strikes a powerful blow against imperialism and aggression, and gives impulse to the progressive measures under way in our country. It rings in an essentially new phase in the cooperation of the two countries.

Loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, our Party will work on for firmer solidarity with the CPSU. For us, Soviet experience is an inexhaustible source of inspiration in the battle for democracy, social progress and socialism.

THE SOVIET UNION'S GROWING PRESTIGE AND AUTHORITY

Jan Fojtik

Secretary, Central Committee
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

The path travelled by the Soviet Union in this past half century is proof of the viability and invincibility of proletarian internationalism. For fidelity to its principles is central to the successful all-round development of socialism. And the record shows that the importance of these principles steadily increases with mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, a historically inevitable process.

It was with a feeling of deep satisfaction that we welcomed the Leninist program of the 24th CPSU Congress. Its successful implementation has once more demonstrated the strength of the Soviet people's moral and political unity, its limitless creative potential and the inspiration this gives the world revolutionary movement and the fight against imperialism. Successful realization of the program helps consolidation and development of the socialist countries and inspires them creatively to apply the experience of the Soviet peoples, the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The world's first Land of Socialism always sets an example in creatively developing Marxism-Leninism. The 24th CPSU Congress summarized the experience accumulated in Soviet society and in the international Communist movement. By solving the basic problems of communist construction, the USSR opens wide development vistas for other countries.

The positive impact of the Soviet peace offensive is there for all to see. And this time, too, the Soviet Union is acting in the interests of all mankind. Its foreign policy, aimed at assuring peace and security, eliminating the seats of war and tension, particularly the menace of nuclear war, is a model of principled approach. It presents still greater opportunities for the revolutionary movement, the development of the socialist community and each of its members and for concerted effort in the advance to communism. That is why Soviet policy meets with such a favorable response throughout the world and is supported by all peace-loving nations, by progressives everywhere.

Lenin emphasized that without a close alliance of the Soviet Republics it would be impossible to safeguard their existence in the face of world imperialism, defend and strengthen the Union of Socialist Republics. But, he added, 'this measure is necessary for us and it is necessary for the world communist proletariat in its struggle against the world bourgeoisie and its defense against bourgeois intrigues' (Vol. 36, p. 609).

The Soviet Union has given inestimable assistance to the revolutionary forces, to all who are fighting for full emancipation from

imperialist oppression, to all who want to build the new life in a society free of exploitation, to all who are building this life in accordance with the vital requirements of their peoples. That is why the anti-Communists are making an all-out effort to mislead world opinion precisely on this point. They are spreading malicious slander about the Soviet Union, depicting its policy of consistent internationalism, class solidarity and class brotherhood as a policy that jeopardizes the sovereignty of other countries, equating it to the policy of the imperialist powers.

Using the same method and resorting to rabid anti-Sovietism, the Right opportunists tried to destroy socialism in Czechoslovakia. In 1968 they formed a bloc with anti-socialist elements. Its spokesmen juggled with such high-faluting phrases as 'rebirth of socialism,' 'socialism with a human face,' 'democratic socialism.' This was an attack on real socialism in Czechoslovakia, for behind these florid phrases were actions calculated to undermine socialist society, eliminate working-class hegemony and power, the leading role of the Party, socialist statehood, based on the principles of democratic centralism, and national and international unity.

The attack was directed at the vital interests of our peoples but was presented as an experiment in building a national, a Czech and also Slovak 'model' of socialism shorn of its general determinative features. And since this was confined to ideological discussion and polemics, the naive and unsophisticated were led to believe that at least the motivations were noble. But the philistine and bourgeois of yesteryear immediately appeared on the scene to exploit this opportunity. There were great 'discoveries': Czechoslovakia does not really belong to the socialist system, all its roots are in the West, in 'Europe.' That was the line taken by some writers. We were told that February 1948 and, consequently, the socialist revolution and socialist construction which abolished exploitation and gave the laboring masses a part in the country's political life, had jeopardized our national existence, and that unless we want to degenerate into barbarians and lose all traits of a 'cultural' nation and, inferentially, also the right to a 'modern way of life,' we must exert every ounce of energy to return to the 'Western fold'! And all this, Prague 'intellectualists' insisted, was discussion of the Czech question.

But that question had been solved, and the only question now was: would its solution, i.e., continued socialist development shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union and as part of the socialist community, be halted, even if only for a time, and the clock turned back to capitalism, or would we uphold socialism. We know what Munich meant for us. Following the founding of the independent Czechoslovak state, the national bourgeoisie tied the future of our peoples to the interests of the Western imperialist powers. Munich signified the collapse of that policy. It was a dastardly betrayal of our national interest. It was the prelude to Nazi occupation which opened the road to Hitler's gambles. In fighting the invader, in their effort to re-establish a free and independent state, our people relied

on their alliance and friendship with the USSR, which were basic to our solution of every major postwar problem. The Soviet Union vigorously supported our people in their desire to put an end to capitalist oppression and build a new society in which the working folk would enjoy respect and have a real opportunity to shape their destiny – in short, would acquire genuine sovereignty.

In the past, dependence on the Western powers ended in the loss of our sovereignty. Now, alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union is the guarantee of our peoples' sovereignty, independence and freedom.

That is *one* of the most important, if not *the* most important, lessons our people have learned. The anti-Communist strategists wanted to make them forget it, erase it from their memory.

They made a special effort to discredit the immeasurable assistance the Soviet Union had given us in building socialism. The mass information media were used to discredit everything Soviet and eulogize everything Western. That was done in the name of patriotism, though the men who now paraded as patriots had never had anything in common with our country, with the Czechoslovak people, its life and destiny. That is confirmed by their activities abroad – I refer to the reactionary doings of such men as Pelikan, Sik, Goldstucker, Liehm and their ilk. They wish our country every evil and would be glad to see it steeped in poverty, ruined, and without friends. Their nationalism has given way to cynical cosmopolitanism.

Fraternal assistance from the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, disrupted the main plans of the anti-socialist forces. It fully conformed with the fundamental interests of our people, for it was in defense of socialism proclaimed in February 1948, and in defense of our socialist gains. It also strengthened the traditional friendship of our and the Soviet people. The 14th Congress of the CP Czechoslovakia could record that this friendship and cooperation, consolidated in the 1970 Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty, is now stronger than ever.

The crisis developments, though they cost us dearly – and perhaps precisely because of that – gave our people a deeper understanding that friendship and cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries is the very foundation of our policy, the condition and guarantee of the successful development of socialism in Czechoslovakia, a reliable shield against the machinations of the counter-revolutionary and imperialist forces.

Forging ahead for our people means forging closer ties of friendship with the countries of the Warsaw Treaty and CMEA. It means marching abreast with the Soviet Union, that trail-blazer of socialism and communism, with the vanguard of the world revolutionary movement, with the Land of Lenin.

Forging ahead for our people means learning from the Soviet people, from its Leninist vanguard, the CPSU, perfecting the administration of socialist society in a Marxist-Leninist spirit, strengthening government of the working class and the socialist

system, enhancing the moral and political unity of the people, and promoting closer friendship between the nations and the nationalities of our country. The CPC has corrected its mistakes and, following the Soviet example, has resolved the question of relations between Czechs and Slovaks through socialist federation. We can say that this important step has strengthened our socialist system.

Klement Gottwald, the great leader of our Party, emphasized that the attitude to the Soviet Union and its Communist Party is the criterion both of proletarian internationalism and of true patriotism.

Speaking at the recent congress of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Union, Comrade Husak said: 'He who is sincerely devoted to his people and country, is concerned for their present and future, will always with profound conviction, support, and do everything to strengthen our friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union.'

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia considers it a prime task and duty to stimulate socialist internationalism, and particularly affection for the Soviet Union and respect for the Soviet people who are marching ahead to communism.

TRIUMPH OF THE LENINIST NATIONAL POLICY

Vasilis Venetsanopoulos

CP of Greece Representative on World Marxist Review

The formation and development of the Soviet Union was as important to the Greek people and their revolutionary movement as to other peoples.

The Communist Party of Greece came into being in November 1918, one year after the victory of the Great October. Its founding congress sent a message of warm revolutionary greetings to the Soviet Republic. Our Party, which has always sided with the peoples of Soviet Russia, emphatically protested against the Entente's dispatch of a Greek expeditionary force which joined in the intervention against the new state. The Greek people's campaign, strongly supported by the CPG, compelled the government to recognize the USSR on March 8, 1924.

From the earliest days of its existence the Soviet government showed through deeds its respect for the principles of international relations proclaimed by it. It renounced the rights of the tsarist government in the international economic control body. The control had been imposed on Greece by imperialist powers and was ruining our people. Subsequently the Soviet government repeatedly took a stand against all imperialist interference in Greek affairs.

The Soviet Union has upheld the Greek people's legitimate interests at every crucial stage. Everyone knows of the Soviet Union's recent stand against the establishment of U.S. bases in Greece. The Soviet Union's consistent support of the Republic of Cyprus and its effective solidarity with the Cypriot people's struggle are also

well known. As a result, the danger of Cyprus being turned into a U.S. and NATO base was eliminated at the eleventh hour and the national sovereignty and independence of the island were maintained.

Our people have had more than one opportunity to see the vast importance of normal relations with the Soviet Union. They have seen the disastrous consequences of the Greek government's rejection of Soviet proposals, especially on the eve of World War II, proposals which would have benefited Greece, for they were intended to prevent the war from spreading to the Balkans.

During World War II the Greek people gallantly resisted Hitler Germany's invasion and during the occupation, which they could not avert, they organized the heroic national Resistance movement. When, in August 1944, Soviet troops advanced to the Balkans and when the Greek National Liberation Army (ELAS), using the favorable situation resulting from this, set out to fully liberate the country, Greece's British and U.S. 'allies,' who feared that the people might win and establish democratic rule, immediately launched an armed intervention against Greece and struck at ELAS in December 1944. Taking advantage of our mistakes, the imperialists robbed the Greek people of their victory over fascism and provoked a civil war. Afterwards, in 1967, the U.S. imperialists, carrying out NATO plans, imposed a fascist dictatorship on Greece.

The Soviet Union upheld the Greek people's interests during those events, and today it backs our people in the fight to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and restore democracy.

Our Party, the CPG, and the progressive forces of our country regard the policy of peaceful coexistence followed by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as the only correct policy, one which serves the interests of the peoples of Europe and the world, in particular the interests of the Greek people. They see the proposed conference of all European states, including Greece with its fascist regime, as a step to dependable security for the peoples and the world. The successful outcome of the conference would in any case provide more favorable conditions for our people's struggle, and would in no way prevent the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and the democratic forces of all countries from continuing to support them.

The vanguard position of the Soviet Union in the worldwide fight against imperialism is an objective reality and not a subjective wish. This is the reason for the affection enjoyed by the Soviet Union and the CPSU. It also means that our main task is to defend the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community. This was our task not only when the Soviet Union was encircled by capitalist countries and was the world's only socialist state. It is our task today, too, when all the might of imperialism is directed against the socialist community, particularly the Soviet Union.

Our people and Party will celebrate the glorious jubilee of the USSR, the 50th anniversary of its formation, while carrying on their difficult struggle to overthrow the dictatorship and re-establish

democratic freedoms in Greece. Mounting opposition and resistance to the dictatorship, a growing spirit of anti-dictatorial unity and increasing contradictions within the junta are the main aspects of the situation in our country today.

The junta has been trying to end its isolation with support from the U.S. imperialists and to reach a compromise with bourgeois political forces, so as to present a better face and deceive international opinion, though its attempts are fruitless.

Sustained struggle against the junta's anti-popular policies, its betrayal of cardinal national interests, and the open and active support it gets from the U.S. imperialists has intensified anti-dictatorial and anti-U.S. sentiments. A contributing factor is a certain increase in the activity of our Party and other anti-dictatorial organizations and parties. Mounting discontent led to more action by the people, a differentiation among bourgeois political forces and a certain though unstable coordination of the struggle against the dictatorship.

There is an upward trend in economic struggles, a growing movement for a general amnesty and stronger opposition on the part of almost all political forces to the fascist Constitution, the junta's policy towards Cyprus and the granting of bases to the U.S. Sixth Fleet. A certain differentiation is also taking place among army officers. The anti-dictatorial front is expanding.

The CPG calls on all anti-dictatorial parties and organizations to cooperate if only on such issues as a general amnesty and the complete repeal of martial law – already urged by spokesmen of the anti-dictatorial forces – and on steps to improve the working people's condition.

In urging other parties to cooperate, the CPG invites them to consider the minimum demands of its program which may prove acceptable to all opponents of the dictatorship. These demands consist in fighting jointly to overthrow the dictatorship and restore the people's sovereign right to decide freely, by vote, on the political system of their country and the regime under which they are to live.

To enable the people freely to express their will when the dictatorship has been overthrown, it will be necessary to form a government of anti-dictatorial parties and organizations. This government would repeal all emergency laws and measures, hold elections, guarantee the unfettered functioning of all anti-dictatorial parties and organizations, including the CPG, re-establish democracy in the trade unions and cooperative organizations, immediately release all political prisoners and announce a general political amnesty.

The struggle of our Party, the democratic forces and the whole Greek people to overthrow the dictatorship, and bring to Greece democracy, peace and socialism, is inseparable from the worldwide revolutionary process which gathered momentum after the victory of the Great October and has for half a century been inspired by the great achievements and progress of the USSR.

APROPOS THE FALSIFICATION OF NATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE USSR

E. A. Bagramov

Deputy Chief Editor of *Kommunist* (CPSU)

To pinpoint the main element of some current bourgeois conceptions of national relations, we should no doubt deal with the attempts to prove the omnipotence of the nationalist virus and the inevitability of nationalistic policy in the present era, in which bourgeois ideologists allow for no exceptions as to region or socio-political system. As they see it, the source of unavoidable conflict is rooted in the essence of nations. National distinctions are said to breed irreconcilable national interests and, consequently, nationalism and chauvinism. 'Although a jet plane can cross the entire territory of the average nation in less than an hour and one of the many globe-girdling satellites can do it in less than two minutes,' writes Harvard professor Karl Deutsch in his *Nationalism and Its Alternatives*, 'nationalism today is still one of the strongest political forces in the world.'

Treating nationalism as a non-historical, mystical category, bourgeois ideologists associate with it their hope for socialism's collapse.

How? To begin with, they take the Marxist-Leninist postulate that socialism is incompatible with nationalism. From this they draw the obviously lame conclusion that socialism contradicts the national interest. The gnosiological implication is that national and nationalist are identified. And upon this foundation they build the proposition that the socialist system does not conform with the requirements of peoples, that it has no future and that it exists only through a forcible suppression of the rights of nations.

The claim that the Soviet peoples were united forcibly is, indeed, the *leitmotif* in bourgeois literature relating to the history and present stage of the multinational Soviet state (R. Pipes, H. Seton-Watson, A. Low, L. Snyder, G. Wheeler, and others). Yet many of the 'Sovietologists,' however grudgingly, concede the successes of the Soviet peoples. But they claim that they were achieved at the price of suppressing national freedom.

It is certainly not surprising that bourgeois ideologists resort to all possible dodges to prove the unprovable.

Contrasting the class and the national tasks of the working class, the foes of Leninism create the artificial dilemma: either struggle for workers' power or liberation of nations. Yet it is sufficient to recall what Russia looked like before the Revolution to understand that liberating the peoples was inconceivable without eliminating the autocracy and the landowner-capitalist system which doomed them to suffering and poverty. Workers' power was required to effect deep-going social reconstruction across the length and breadth of the former Russian empire, to organize joint aid and mutual assistance among the peoples.

Reactionary ideologists try to cast doubt on Soviet federalism, deliberately contrasting the national and the union-wide interests of the peoples. In place of a serious analysis of the structure of the USSR as the world's first union of truly free peoples, they indulge in all kinds of speculation. For example, they ask: who is more independent – the American states or the Soviet republics? In so doing they ignore the fact that the U.S. structure has been a bleak failure in assuring the rights of the Black, Puerto Rican and other peoples and national minorities, and that therefore the reference to it as a model solution of the national question is unconvincing in every respect.

The peculiarities of the present stage of national relations in the Soviet Union stem from the objective laws of the developed socialist society, the process of building the material and spiritual prerequisites for direct passage to communism. Naturally, they are socially more mature and conform with the attained high degree of internationalization. So, the problems in the Soviet sphere of national relations are of an entirely different kind than in the capitalist countries. Their substance is defined in the Program of the CPSU and the decisions of the 24th Party Congress – fortifying the might of the USSR, further economic growth of all Soviet republics, development of national cultures and Soviet culture as a whole, the coming together of nations, and education of people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and patriotism.

Bourgeois critics interpret our preoccupation with problems of national relations in their own way. They are eager to prove that the Soviet national policy has allegedly fallen short of its aims.

The ideologues of anti-communism go out of their way to try and disrupt the fraternal unity of the peoples of the USSR. They try to oppose the interests of different nations, to reanimate the former national strife. Hostile propaganda is trying in vain to fan mistrust of the Russian people, whose revolutionary energy, dedication, diligence and profound internationalism have by rights won the sincere respect of all the peoples of our socialist land.

Forcible assimilation and Russification and rising nationalism in the USSR is one of their favorite allegations. Walker Connor, for example, says that the Soviet Union 'despite more than a half-century of programmed assimilation finds its "national question" not only unresolved but growing in intractability.'

Has the Communist Party ever proclaimed assimilation of nations as a concrete trend of its policy? Of course, not. Assimilation (and in future the merging of nations), as Marxism-Leninism sees it, occurs naturally, and interference by administrative or other means would only impede the real coming-together of nations. While they take a positive view of the processes of assimilation, provided these are natural and voluntary, Communists are farthest from the thought of pushing or accelerating them.

What is the real connection between the solution of the national question and the assimilation of nations? For one thing, the for-

mer does not depend on the latter. Solving the national question in a multinational country – in the accepted sense – means eliminating the national oppression and inequality (not only legal, but also factual) inherited from capitalism, joining the peoples in a fraternal union, eliminating distrust and alienation. As a result of the reconstruction in the Soviet Union, no national question exists there in the sense that it does in capitalist conditions.

But the florescence and coming-together of nations continue as a process, adding strength to the friendship of the peoples and broadening their cooperation in building communism. As the nations come closer together, their economic and socio-political unity growing stronger, they acquire new, common features. The emergence of the Soviet people as a new historical identity reflects a real phase in the process of the coming-together of classes, social groups, nations and nationalities. But if the formation of the Soviet people is not yet eradication of disparities between classes, there is all the less reason to speak of any eradication of national disparities. In other words, the more than one hundred nations and nationalities of our country continue to develop also in the environment of mature socialism.

One more question. What is the specific weight of the processes of assimilation in the general national processes in our country? The reply is furnished by the results of the union-wide census of 1970. It reflects an absolute growth (against 1959, the year of the previous census) of the vast majority of nationalities. The exceptions are Jews, Mordivinians, Karelians and a few smaller national groups, which are involved in processes of voluntary assimilation.

The census reflects the free development of the languages of all the fraternal peoples. Yet it also reflects the linguistic assimilation of a segment of Soviet citizens. All the same, assimilation is not the main trend in linguistic processes. This should be stressed, and not least of all because bourgeois ideologists continue to allege Russification of the peoples and their all but forcible conversion to the Russian language, and the like. All languages have equal rights in the USSR. Yet in the setting of the friendship and coming-together of peoples, of their ever-increasing cooperation, they need a language for communicating with each other, and this need is filled by the Russian language.

Let us look at yet another, perhaps the most widely circulated, allegation of bourgeois propaganda: the price which the peoples of the former national peripheries have allegedly paid for their material progress. Here is what an English 'Sovietologist,' reputedly a specialist on Central Asia, one Geoffrey Wheeler, says on this score: ' . . . Although the material condition of the peoples of Soviet Central Asia has already improved during the Soviet regime, their political and cultural development on national and traditional lines has been – and is still being – inhibited.'

But let us see how matters stand with the 'inhibited' national cultures?

On the eve of the 50th anniversary of the USSR, the peoples of our country are able to take deep pride in the unprecedented growth of culture and education in all the Soviet republics. Soviet republics that had no higher educational establishments before the Revolution, now have them in dozens.

True, the question is not only one of quality. The florescence of the cultures of the Soviet peoples is linked closely with the natural process of mutual influence and harmony. One of the main regularities in the development of the cultures of the peoples of the USSR is the growth of socialist content and a simultaneous development of national forms.

THE ROAD TO WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION

Rodney Ohman

Left Party—Communists of Sweden Representative
on *World Marxist Review*

The rise of a new historical community in the Soviet Union also meant a qualitatively new situation for women. In present-day Kazakhstan, for example, tens of thousands of women are deputies to local government bodies. Yet it is a region where a mere half a century ago feudal exploitation still reigned.

What are the reasons for this democratization of the people's life?

Socialism brings about a colossal growth of the productive forces, a development which necessarily has its effect on women's social condition, since it is determined by the role they play in production.

The Soviet Union, which has proclaimed the equality of women, expressly provides conditions enabling mothers to combine motherhood with gainful employment. As of 1970, women made up 51 per cent of Soviet wage and salary earners. In the RSFSR, Byelorussia and Lithuania their proportion is 52 per cent and in Estonia as high as 53 per cent.

This massive involvement of women in production predetermines their political and social activity. Women hold 45.8 per cent of the seats in local government bodies and 31 per cent on the Supreme Soviets, where their proportion is steadily growing. These figures are much higher than in the developed capitalist countries, which pride themselves on their bourgeois democracy.

The Soviet Union has more women in charge of factories and cooperatives than any other country. Women play a most important role in medium-level management and in all mass organizations. In 1968 women constituted 56 per cent of the membership of factory and local trade union committees. The dialectic of socialist and communist building demands that women's abilities be used to the full.

In the period ahead – provided the progressive forces in the world

jointly, by correct policy, compel capitalism to observe the principles of peaceful coexistence with the socialist system – the Soviet Union will be able rapidly to create material prerequisites for relieving women to the maximum, as Lenin had envisaged, of 'petty, stultifying, unproductive work' (Vol. 30, p. 43) in the household.

This being a very long process, I cannot but subscribe to the opinion often expressed in the Soviet press that in addition to efforts to 'socialize' housework still more, it is essential constantly to strive for a comradely redistribution of this work between working man and wife.

Soviet women, who during the Great Patriot War made an invaluable contribution to the defense of the socialist system and the defeat of Hitlerism, have also exploded the bourgeois myth about the 'gentler sex.' The purpose of this myth is to conceal the fact that the capitalist system cannot solve the problem of full employment for women, that at times of low economic activity unemployment hits women hardest and that their labor is rated low on the labor market.

The public in Sweden shows a keen interest in the problem of genuine equality for women. The Left Party – Communists (LPC) envisages the following prospect in its fight for socialism: 'Granting everyone the right to useful labor. Effectively equalizing incomes. Granting women the right and opportunity to be active in any sphere of public life on an equal footing with men. Carrying on a resolute ideological struggle against bourgeois prejudices and out-dated notions, so that the process of women's emancipation may lead to complete equality between man and woman.'

The Leninist *principles* of building socialism are identical for all peoples effecting the transition from capitalism to socialism. This means that Sweden's road to socialism will be conditioned not only by the general contradictions of capitalism and the struggle of the masses, but also by such specific factors as the degree of industrialization, the alignment of class forces, and ideological and political traditions, that is, the overall historical situation in which the struggle for socialism goes on.

There are those whose subjective notions of socialism are at variance with reality. In the communique on the talks between the LPC and CPSU in May 1972 our Party declared that it advocates real socialism. This means that it dissociates itself from petty-bourgeois trends whose proponents refuse to understand that all the essential criteria of the new social system have crystallized and manifest themselves in the Soviet Union.

The struggle of the masses in both old national states like Sweden and one-time colonies is directed against imperialism and exploitation. Unfortunately, people occasionally fail to see this fact because they approach it from a bourgeois standpoint. It is widely held, for example, that the decisive boundary in the world lies between the 'rich' and 'poor' countries.

That is why the draft Program submitted to the 23rd Congress of the LPC stresses that the main contradiction in the world today

is the contradiction between capitalism and socialism. The draft makes clear that poverty in the developing countries is a result of imperialist exploitation and that there is no basis for it under socialism, which has smashed the shackles of imperialism. It points out that the leading imperialist powers, as well as regional blocs like the EEC, oppress other peoples through old and new forms of colonialism, through the overt or covert use of force. It is imperialism and not socialism that destroys the natural resources of dependent countries, impedes these countries' economic, social and cultural progress and imposes a double oppression upon them — by domestic parasites and foreign oppressors. The socialist countries are the mainstay of movements for national and social liberation, against this oppression.

The draft program describes Sweden as a small but voracious capitalist country whose big monopolies in quest of profit seek to extend their positions on the world market. They export capital and transfer enterprises and production to other countries. The biggest Swedish export companies use more labor power in their enterprises abroad than at home.

The Swedish state backs the operations of finance capital abroad by granting it export credits and investment guarantees, helping the monopolies of other countries to entrench themselves in Sweden and actively promoting the merger of Swedish and foreign big capital. Among other things, it supports the imperialist monetary system under which developing countries are plundered and helps the Club of Ten in framing policies designed to strengthen imperialist positions in the world. The state takes part in big capital's attack on our people's right to decide their affairs as they see fit. It tries to drag Sweden into the EEC and the new order established in Europe by the monopolies — an attempt resisted by increasing sections of the Swedish people.

The LPC is opposed to EEC membership in any form, to the mounting influence of international monopolies in such key industries as computers, oil refining and electronics, in which U.S. monopoly domination is particularly disastrous. Our Party is against all monopolies operating in our country.

The LPC demands that Sweden stop bolstering the dollar and withdraw from capitalism's international financial and monetary organizations, whose control extends to the developing countries. We demand that Sweden's so-called assistance policy be aimed at supporting movements for national and social liberation and countries ruled by progressive regimes.

The draft Program stresses the need for united action by all factory workers, Swedes and foreigners alike. Our labor movement is becoming more and more aware of the need to fight for the complete equality of immigrants in professional, economic and cultural matters, of the importance for the working people of various countries resisting multinational monopolies. Our Party regards all the peoples fighting for freedom, democracy, socialism and peace as allies of the Swedish working people.

Needless to say, central to the anti-imperialist struggle of the Swedish working class and people is the fight against monopoly capital, which is linked with world imperialism and its stronghold, the United States.

The Swedish solidarity movement is intended, first of all, to help the heroic peoples of Indochina, the Arab countries fighting against Israeli aggression, the patriots of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique and the Irish upholding their national unity and freedom.

The Swedish people are interested in more extensive trade and technological and cultural exchange with the Soviet Union and the socialist commonwealth as a whole. They want new relations between nations based on appreciation of their sovereign rights, mutual assistance and decisive gains in the fight against the big monopolies and imperialist aggression.

THE ARAB LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Kerim Mruhe

Member of Political Bureau and Secretary of CC, Lebanese Communist Party.

The class nature of the October Revolution and of Soviet power provided the objective basis for the solution of problems arising in the building of the new type of state – the socialist multinational state. It is on this basis that the Soviet state has become, by its example and direct material assistance, the main bulwark of the people's fight against capitalism and imperialism.

The Soviet experience has always been a model of the Leninist approach to the national question, one of the most difficult. Today, 50 years after the USSR was established, the peoples of numerous countries, including ours, turn to Soviet experience. The Arab peoples are faced with many national problems, including general ones like those of Arab unity or the Palestinian people, as well as with problems concerning national minorities. The bourgeoisie cannot solve these problems, which continuously grow more acute and prompt the peoples to more resolute action for freedom and progress. In this fight, certain forces use methods which we Communists consider wrong and try to rectify from class positions, according to Marxist-Leninist theory, without, however, raising an insuperable barrier between the national movement and ourselves.

Our Party is aware that the principal criterion in examining the national question is the class criterion, that is, the need to approach it from the standpoint of the interests of the working class and the socialist revolution and to consider whether it accelerates or slows down the revolutionary process and the struggle for progress and socialism on the national and world scale.

In keeping with this approach we determined our stand on the national movement of the Arab people of Palestine which flared

up with fresh vigor after the 1967 aggression and developed into armed resistance. It was essential to discern its fundamental, positive aspect. Accordingly, we showed flexibility in estimating the misconceptions brought by it into the Arab national liberation struggle. These misconceptions gained some currency due to certain internal and external factors, such as the presence of unstable petty-bourgeois elements in the leadership of the movement. Our Party and other fraternal parties are doing their utmost to implant the correct approach and eliminate mistaken views inside this movement, an anti-imperialist national liberation movement.

Our Party's position on Arab unity and other national issues is based on the same principles as its program and the theses of its Third Congress note.

It is hard to describe in a few words all that the Soviet Union has done for the Arab national movement. The solution of the national question, the immense achievements of socialism, and the economic and social progress of the one-time tsarist colonies, which resembled many of our countries in development and which have become prosperous socialist republics as members of the Soviet Union, have shown our peoples the road to freedom and progress.

The Arab peoples, in particular the Lebanese, remember the Soviet Union's principled stand at crucial stages of the Arab liberation movement. The Lebanese people are indebted to the Soviet people for their independence and so are other Arab peoples. The Soviet Union played a decisive role in the fight against military blocs and imperialist aggression at numerous stages, specifically during the three-power attack on Egypt in 1956 and the U.S. occupation of Lebanon in 1958.

The economic development of a number of Arab states following the anti-imperialist road is likewise based on Soviet aid. Soviet policy materialized in assistance in equipping the armies of Arab countries with progressive regimes, and in their reorganization after the June 1967 aggression, defense of these regimes against imperialist Zionist aggression, steps to end the Israeli occupation of Arab territories, support for the liberation fight of the Arab peoples, specifically the Palestinian people, and for progressive measures adopted by some Arab states, such as the nationalization of oil in Iraq and Syria.

Friendship with the Soviet people is of general national significance to the Arab and all other peoples. Naturally, our country has benefited in recent years from its friendly relations with the Soviet Union. This friendship is becoming an internal factor in the life of our country, in its resistance to imperialist aggression in any form and in its effort to end backwardness. Hence it would be hard to overestimate the treaties of friendship with the Soviet Union concluded by Egypt and Iraq, for they are an expression of deep-reaching relations between the Arab liberation movement and the Soviet Union.

However, these relations are opposed by reactionaries and Right-

ists in the Arab national liberation movement and even by some forces advocating Leftist slogans. In substance, we regard anti-Sovietism as anti-communism, whose nature is not changed by the class or political allegiance of its exponents. On this issue, Rightists and 'Leftists' often merge. This is not to say that we tar them with the same brush. True, some people in Arab countries, for example, all too often fail to understand the real meaning of slogans, and are impelled by spontaneous and thoughtless motivations in picking their line. However, those who succumb to Maoist or Trotskyist ideas are as anti-Soviet in their postures as the Rightists for the same reason that makes anti-Sovietism part of the anti-socialist bourgeois ideology.

It is beyond question that in their anti-Sovietism certain nationalist bourgeois groups in Arab countries lean on the ideas of the Chinese leaders, who misrepresent the Soviet position in an effort to split the working-class and Communist movement and isolate the national struggle from the Soviet Union, the main force of the international revolutionary movement.

The Communist movement, like other genuinely progressive forces in the Arab countries, has effectively resisted anti-Soviet calumnies from both the Right and the 'Left.' Our movement seeks to refute this slander, which has nothing to do with reality. Joint struggle of the progressive forces throughout the Arab world and in each Arab country to solve national liberation problems in close cooperation with the Soviet Union is very important in this respect.

The tendencies which manifest themselves in Lebanon in connection with domestic and all-Arab problems are expressive of the desire of the patriotic section of the masses to promote revolutionary unity. These tendencies are linked with the development of relations between our Party and the Progressive Socialist Party, as well as, on an inter-Arab level, the Baath Party, Nasser's followers and progressive national forces.

In fighting for the victory of socialism in Lebanon, we take special account of the actual situation and its peculiarities. We consider that the Soviet experience of building socialism is universally valid. This applies, first and foremost, to matters connected with the general laws of the socialist revolution on which every people must lean in fighting for national liberation and socialism. Reality shows that to ignore these laws is to jeopardize the cause of socialism.

TRIUMPH OF SOCIALIST IDEAS

Martha Buschmann
Presidium Member,
German Communist Party

In its June 7 statement on the 50th anniversary of the USSR, the Presidium of the German Communist Party declared that this jubi-

lee of the Soviet peoples is a momentous landmark in mankind's struggle for progress.

The 50 years of the Soviet Union are evidence of the triumph of the scientific and genuinely internationalist national policy worked out by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. In his concluding speech at the First USSR Congress of Soviets, M. I. Kalinin said: 'What we are doing today, in this relatively modest setting, has worldwide implications. It may be that their importance is not fully appreciated now, at this moment, but . . . we are here laying the cornerstone of a truly fraternal community.' This has been fully and conclusively confirmed. For without the growth and development of the Soviet Union, the unparalleled growth would be inconceivable of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist potential of the masses, whose national interests and aspirations are in irreconcilable conflict with imperialism. These 50 years have confirmed anew the strength of proletarian internationalism, first enunciated by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* and since then a guiding principle of all Communists.

That is why, in this jubilee year, the German Communist Party is conducting a wide campaign among the working people and youth to popularize the Soviet Union's peace policy and its achievements in the social, economic and cultural fields. Our Party reaffirms its position, set out in the Duesseldorf Congress theses: 'The GCP is bound by ties of solidarity with the Soviet Union and the CPSU, the GDR and SUPG, other countries of the socialist community, the revolutionary workers' and anti-imperialist liberation movements throughout the world. The GCP wants to bring proletarian internationalism to all the workers of the Federal Republic.'

Imperialism's encroachment on national sovereignty and the peoples' right to work out their own destiny, now meets with more determined resistance. The reason for that should be sought in the materialization of Lenin's idea of national self-determination and national equality. In the fundamentally new international situation, with the socialist community a potent factor of peace, the imperialists find themselves increasingly compelled to reckon with reality. This offers the peoples better opportunities to attain their national and social goals.

The recently ratified FRG treaties with the USSR and the Polish People's Republic show how, in the changed international conditions, significant headway can be made towards détente. The treaties are an important opening for European peace and security. In the FRG they give our Party and other progressive forces greater freedom of action in the fight against the aggressive proclivities of the reactionary big business element, the war monopolies and the CDU/CSU. The ratification campaign made it crystal clear that the reactionary forces continue to disparage the people's right to self-determination, equating it with their own imperialist policy of expansion.

In the Federal Republic, as throughout the senile world of capital, the nation is divided into mutually opposed classes. Monopoly capital relies heavily on nationalism, chauvinism and anti-communism to camouflage its rule and aggressive designs. The policy of the present government, led by the Social-Democrats and Free Democrats, is likewise not free of nationalism and anti communism, both of which are directed mainly against the German Democratic Republic.

Our Party is energetically combating German imperialist designs. Addressing the third plenum of our Executive on May 20, 1972, the Party's Chairman, Kurt Bachmann declared: 'There is the proof of history that the big business drive to extend its power-sphere has nothing in common with the interests of the working class or with peace and progress. It is directed against the people's right to self-determination, against the working class, which has nothing to gain from more power in the hands of the Flicks, Abses and Thyssens, the old imperialist clique that brought ruin to our country. The working class and the people want to roll back and overcome the rule of big capital, the Abses, Flicks and Thyssens, for it is an obstacle to progress.'

That has been the policy of the GCP which, in its Duesseldorf theses, came out in resolute opposition to bourgeois nationalism, declaring that overcoming the rule of big capital is the very essence of a real national policy. The theses contain this passage: 'The new variant of nationalism and revanchism is set out in the "united nation" and "special inter-German relations" formulas. The GCP proceeds from the fact that the working people have founded their own, socialist state, the GDR, in part of the former German Reich. The establishment of worker-peasant power and the building of a socialist society have fostered the development of a socialist nation. In the FRG there are the class divisions of a bourgeois nation. The imperialist Federal Republic is tied to NATO and integrated in America's global strategy. The socialist GDR holds a firm place in the socialist commonwealth, and since there can be no "inner relations" between the capitalists and the workers, between capitalism and socialism, there can be no "inter-German relations" between the capitalist FRG and the socialist GDR. As long as the FRG remains an imperialist state, its relations with the GDR must rest on the principles of peaceful coexistence of sovereign states with differing social systems. These can be only normal relations based on international law.'

Our Party's solidarity with foreign workers in the FRG, now numbering more than two million, is an integral part of our fight against nationalism and revanchism. And our Party believes it has the constant duty of strengthening and broadening this solidarity also because the capitalists resort to nationalist incitement in an attempt to set the West German workers against their foreign class brothers and in this way undermine class solidarity.

The GCP is working on the premise that the workers' fight against

economic and social oppression is intimately linked with proletarian internationalism.

Experience has taught us that the fight against nationalism and chauvinism is directly related to solution of the pressing problem of our time, the problem of war and peace. This has been proved in the past and fully applies to the present.

Those who would incite enmity towards the USSR are enemies of peace, progress and the national interests of our people. Any policy designed to promote our national interests must be oriented, above all, on peace and friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. And inasmuch as this will not come automatically, the FRG population must know: the success of rolling back aggressive imperialist policy, as materialized in the treaties signed by the USSR and Poland with the FRG, was possible primarily because of the changed world balance of forces.

This determines the direction of GCP activity. Our Party faithfully abides by the principle which German Communists have always upheld, in good times and bad: every Communist must be judged by his attitude towards the Soviet Union and the CPSU.

PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS BATTLE COLONIALISM

Catarina Mendes

Member, Central Committee, Portuguese Communist Party

In his *The State and Revolution*, which he completed on the eve of the October Revolution, Lenin shows how, on winning power, the working class must help liberate all working people, all the oppressed. Lenin's thoughts, espoused by the working class, the peasants and the progressive intelligentsia, have made it possible for the first time in history to resolve such a formidable problem as the national question. The key points here are: elaboration of the concept 'nation'; examination of national movements from the point of view that the nation is a historical category of a definite epoch – that of capitalism in its stage of florescence; solution of the question of autonomy (its conditions and forms to suit the interests of the majority, principally the proletariat).

The formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922 stood for the practical realization of Lenin's national policy. And its development has shown that socialism alone can fully resolve the national question and assure the efflorescence of nations.

The subsequent achievements of the Soviet Union – building the material and technical basis of communism, fortifying its military capability, progress in science and technology, and in space exploration – added to the international influence of the USSR, backed up its struggle for peace and the independence of nations, and enabled it to aid the struggle of the working class and the people all over the world.

Soviet experience is used by the fraternal parties. Soviet achieve-

ments have facilitated victorious socialist revolutions in other countries, have impelled the emergence and bolstered the defense of the socialist world system, have given stimulus to the Communist movement and to the successes of the national liberation struggle. Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, our General Secretary, said on this score: 'Taking guidance in Marxism-Leninism, studying the experience of the world revolutionary movement and giving due consideration to the external factors, the workers' revolutionary vanguard in capitalist states analyzes the reality of the respective countries and defines stages of the revolution, the aims and forms of struggle, the ways of winning power, and even outlines the features of the future socialist state. This scientific approach to the problems of socialist revolution has nothing in common with *a priori* searching for some special "model of socialism" which disregards the objective laws and historical experience, that common element present in all socialist revolutions.'

In the present fascist conditions, Portugal exploits, oppresses and rules many peoples, clinging to its colonial empire by force of arms or by demagogical and juridical expedients. According to the Constitution, territories already free from fascist Portuguese rule are still part of the state, such as Goa, Daman and Diu, incorporated in India since 1961.

The people in the colonies are nominally styled as Portuguese. The article in the Constitution, 'On Citizens,' refers to 'the overseas territories of Portugal' and to 'special guarantees for natives.' It follows that in fascist Portugal there are 'citizens' and 'natives.'

The government claims that 'colonialism is nonexistent in the Portuguese territories in Africa,' because the country has 'no colonies.' In fact, however, seeing the break-up of the colonial system, the authorities hastened to amend the Constitution in 1950, converting the colonies into 'overseas provinces.' Portugal, the fascists claim, is no longer a colonial empire, no longer the world's third-ranking colonial power, for it has developed into a 'multi-racial nation,' a 'unitarian state,' scattered across the world. This is fascism's political philosophy as regards the colonial question.

The recent reform granting 'autonomy' to the Portuguese colonies, which it describes as 'states,' has altered nothing in the substance of the government's colonial policy. Exploitation, foreign domination, oppression and forced labor—all this remains. And nothing anyone can say or do will change the facts. Following five centuries of colonial rule, 99.7 per cent of the African population of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique are classed in official Portuguese statistics as 'uncivilized': and only 0.3 per cent as 'assimilated.'

While the creation of Soviet Socialist Republics has raised oppressed and backward nations to the status of sovereign, equal nations with the common ideal of socialism, ending their national oppression, Portuguese fascism continues its colonialist policy and its colonial war against the African peoples fighting for freedom.

Our Party has long since defined its stand on Portuguese colonial-

ism. Inspired by the imposing example of the Soviet state, by its rich experience in solving the national question on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the Portuguese CP is fighting selflessly for the liberation of the colonial territories. Its Fifth Congress in 1957 adopted a Statement on Portuguese Colonies, expressing its solidarity with the oppressed peoples and recognizing their right to immediate and complete independence. The Program adopted at the Sixth Party Congress in 1965 stresses, among other things, that only a democratic regime is truly viable in Portugal and that the country's real independence can be secured only if the peoples of the Portuguese colonies are assured the right to self-determination, to immediate and complete independence. 'Self-determination and independence of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, which can be won even before the overthrow of fascism,' the Program says, 'are one of the central aims of the national-democratic revolution.' The Program lists the most urgent measures for this end:

'1) Negotiations and agreement with representatives of the national liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea and Cape Verde concerning the immediate independence of these countries and the transfer of power to their governments;

'2) Negotiations and agreement with the People's Republic of China concerning the incorporation in the PRC of Macao;

'3) Effectuation of the right to self-determination of the peoples of Timor and Sao Tome e Principe;

'4) Relations of friendship and economic, technical and cultural cooperation between the Portuguese people and the peoples of the former Portuguese colonies on the basis of free will, complete equality, non-interference in internal affairs, and respect for mutual interests.'

Action against the colonial war, for the immediate independence of the African peoples oppressed by Portuguese colonialism, is one of the main fronts of the struggle fought by the people and the Communists of Portugal against the fascist dictatorship.

THE FUNDAMENTAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SOVIET EXPERIENCE

Ib Norlund

Central Committee Executive and Secretariat Member,
Communist Party of Denmark

The formation of the USSR ushered in a period of consolidating and developing socialism in its first country. This had a transforming influence on world events.

With the formation of the USSR, the first socialist revolution found a cardinal solution for the national question. The course then set, and consistently followed in the ensuing decades, was truly of epochal importance. For till then the national problem was con-

sidered unsolvable, a 'natural' source of enmity and conflict between nationalities. Socialism could not, it was argued, create the conditions necessary to assure a nation's future. The record of socialism shows how far this was from the truth.

But today we not only salute the USSR and express our high appreciation of its achievements and its decisive role in creating new conditions for the worldwide struggle of the working class and people. The Soviet jubilee is, above all, an occasion for examining the *conclusions* the workers' movement must draw from the vast fund of Soviet experience.

Solution of the national question in the USSR was by no means easy, for it involved relations between nations at various stages of development, with varying histories and the different traditions and customs following therefrom. Solution of nationality problems required exceedingly purposive efforts based on a clear understanding of social relationships, which, in turn, requires profound knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. The history of the CPSU testifies that it has mastered the science of revolution, both in its theoretical and practical aspects. The October Revolution triumphed only because of the long and comprehensive work carried out by the Party of Lenin. And its experience on the national question, too, is multiformly rich, for in the past 50 years it has had to cope with problems in situations of economic backwardness and of high development levels.

It is but natural that this rich experience, accumulated in 50 years of effort to solve complex, and in many instances new, problems of relations between the nationalities, should have produced an understanding of cardinal *regularities* in the development of socialism and the revolutionary process. And the working class has to understand these regularities in its struggle in new and changing conditions. For *laws of development* and *fundamental conclusions* serve as guidelines in differing situations and at differing stages. The Communists everywhere should work out such fundamental guidelines on the basis of international experience, for their international cooperation rests not only on common action, but also on a common ideology.

Here I can enumerate only some of the fundamental propositions that follow from the 50 years' experience of the USSR.

1. It has fully corroborated the theoretical analysis of the national question given by Marx and developed by Lenin in conditions of imperialism. And Soviet experience has been the basis for the further elaboration of the Marxist-Leninist national question theory.

2. It emphasizes that genuine concern for the destinies of nations is inseparably linked with the international unity of the working class and the peoples of the various countries. No national problem can be solved in disregard of internationalism, and no international problem can be solved in disregard of national interests.

3. It demonstrates that the working-class party must be vigilant

and combat all opportunist deviations, for in the national question the temptation to shift to national nihilism or national seclusion is especially great.

4. It shows the absolute inadmissibility of the Communist party breaking up into national groups, and of national differences weakening its common class position.

These are all fundamental propositions and they are valid not only in the Soviet Union. Their universal validity has been tested and confirmed in coping with the new problems confronting mankind.

One such task was organization of the socialist community after World War II. And though it differed from that of forging a union of Soviet nations, it could be accomplished only by applying the fundamental proposition following from Soviet experience. Whenever these propositions were ignored, the result has always been a negative one. The attitude of the Chinese leaders is cogent proof of that.

Similarly, the rise of new national states following disintegration of the imperialist colonial system posed a new task differing from that of developing the former colonial regions of the tsarist empire into Soviet socialist republics. The anti-imperialist national-liberation movement, however, could not have successfully solved this complex problem without drawing on Soviet experience.

Soviet experience is relevant also to charting the course of socialist revolution in highly developed capitalist countries. And the Communist parties have always taken it into account – after Lenin's death, in the Comintern years, and in the present-day conditions. Though their struggle has not yet reached a decisive turning point, they have made impressive progress in applying Marxism-Leninism. That was confirmed by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Nor is it a matter of copying, or mechanically applying, what the Soviet Union accomplished in a different setting. However, socialism's consolidation in the Soviet Union created more favorable opportunities for the working class and its allies in the capitalist countries. And not only due to its growing *might*, but also due to the *content*, the *lessons* of its development.

That is why successful struggle against monopoly capital requires, in the present new conditions to no lesser degree than in the past, an understanding of the *general laws* of social development. And though these laws never operate in pure form, they do operate and have a universal applicability. To ignore or discard them in the conditions of today's struggle to turn democratic and national demands into a weapon against imperialism and monopoly, is to follow the reformist line of shunning essential tasks. This finds expression in the constant references to national peculiarities, but specific, historical circumstances do not cancel out the basic social regularities.

The Danish bourgeoisie has accumulated much experience in ef-

fectuating capitalist rule through bourgeois democracy, a relatively progressive bourgeois-democratic constitution, etc. The group of splitters who left our Party some time ago, rejected our common Marxist-Leninist experience, notably that of the CPSU, and promised an 'entirely new socialism.' They only succeeded in helping state-monopoly capitalism strengthen its own position with the aid of reformist methods. One of the general Marxist-Leninist principles they denounced was mobilization of the masses in the fight for reforms as the decisive factor in making reforms the basis for far-reaching changes and preventing state-monopoly capitalism from exploiting them for its own ends.

In Denmark there is a mounting democratic national and anti-monopoly mass struggle against attempts to dragoon the country into the Common Market. Crisis developments in Danish monopoly capitalism have induced the monopoly bourgeoisie to abandon state regulation in favor of supra-national Common Market agencies and methods, bringing more pressure to bear on labor. The Common Market politicians have scant respect for national sovereignty. Their plans are opposed by a democratic mass movement to defeat Common Market membership in the October national referendum. The movement, in which the working class is the propelling force, has also energized the popular demand for an anti-monopoly policy.

The important role of the Communists in this movement is generally acknowledged. And the role became possible because we are guided by the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the national question. To build a broad militant unity we have to combat national nihilism, both Right and 'Left,' and all attempts to vindicate capitalist exploitation in the name of national self-assertion.

As an alternative to the Common Market, we propose a new order in Europe based on equal cooperation of its states. This is not only indicative of the socialist countries' growing influence, but also that the socialist solution of the national question generates confidence in the possibility of establishing new international relations.

If the revolutionary movement in the West has not yet achieved its basic aims, this is not due to the working class devoting too much attention to analyzing Soviet experience. On the contrary, inadequate knowledge of this experience, its distorted understanding, are seriously hampering the revolutionary movement. Lenin was the first to emphasize the importance of Soviet experience in the struggle for socialism, and we must do much more to popularize it.

THE GENERAL AND SPECIFIC IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Tadeusz Jaroszewski

Central Committee Member, Polish United Workers' Party

The Great October Revolution and the 50 years of the Soviet Union have enriched the working class of the world with an immense and invaluable fund of knowledge and experience. One of the specific aspects of proletarian revolution is that it creates new, socialist production relations from the 'top,' as it were. For having taken power, the proletariat does not inherit a ready-made, albeit spontaneously evolved, pattern of production relations requiring only political measures to develop it further, as is the case in bourgeois revolutions. Quite the opposite: the victorious working class employs its political power to build a new, socialist economy and to find original, hitherto unknown, solutions in developing the productive forces.

That being so, the work of the Soviet Communists in building socialism was virtually the work of trail-blazers, and for that reason their experience is of great value to parties which launched out on building socialism later. From the October Revolution through the battle against foreign intervention and counter-revolution to the building of socialism, the USSR has accumulated rich experience. Its generalization provides scientific substantiation for the general regularities in building socialism.

What are these general regularities?

Irrespective of differences in the alignment of social forces, historical and cultural traditions, economic development and degree of industrialization, the following can be taken as basic features of socialist construction in any country:

1) The capture of political power by the working class and its use to eliminate economic domination of the exploiter classes and introduce socialist relations of production;

2) Introduction of institutional forms of popular rule enabling the masses indirectly (through representative bodies) and directly (through various forms of self-management) to share in the direction of public affairs;

3) Assuring the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party in every area of public life;

4) Socialization of the main means of production and their management in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism and socialist planning;

5) Creation of a new social structure based on abolition of antagonistic classes and gradual obliteration of essential differences between physical and mental labor and between town and country;

6) Evolving of a new, democratic system of education, and mass participation in creating cultural values;

7) Elimination of every form of religious, racial and national

discrimination; cultivation of relations based on socialist patriotism and internationalism;

8) Promoting cooperation and friendship of all socialist countries, strengthening the ideological, economic and political unity of the socialist camp, its defense capacity and military might, also cooperation with all progressive, anti-imperialist and national-liberation forces throughout the world.

National specifics are the form in which these general features manifest themselves in the concrete conditions of each socialist country. And these specific features are shaped by national traditions, level of economic development, alignment of class forces, and degree of mass social consciousness. However, to exaggerate, let alone contrast, them to the general Marxist-Leninist regularities of building socialism, would be contrary to all the principles of socialism and a concession to the class enemy. This is exactly what happens when the leading role of the Communist Party, the proletarian dictatorship and cooperation with other socialist countries are put in question on the plea that they run counter to 'national specifics.'

Our Party pays special attention to the dialectics of the general and specific in socialist construction, and they were taken into account in designing the political structure of the Polish People's Republic.

A correct solution of the problem required, dissociation from the dogmatists, who advocate standardizing all the political patterns and socio-economic policy, and the revisionists and nationalists, who reject the basic socialist principles of political structure, and economic and cultural policy. It was in the struggle with these views that our original concepts of state institutions and forms of socialist democracy arose and developed. And like in every socialist country, they fulfil the tasks of proletarian dictatorship, guarantee the leading role of the Party and, at the same time, accord with Polish conditions and political traditions.

The following should be mentioned among the main institutional forms of socialist democracy in Poland: 1) the Sejm as the supreme organ of representative democracy; 2) the National Councils as forms of local representative democracy; 3) self-government in residential areas; 4) workers' and peasants' self-management as a form of direct democracy in economic life; 5) 'professional' self-management as a form enabling trade unions, scientific, technical and artistic societies to share in resolving key problems in their particular field; 6) expanding participation of public, trade-union, cultural and other organizations in directing various aspects of political life, with certain government functions passing to them.

Through these institutions of socialist democracy, the Polish working people have an effective part in the affairs of state and in economic and cultural development.

Through these institutions of representative and direct democracy, our Party exercises its leading role in the country's social, political and economic life. It does so with the support of the fraternal United Peasant and Democratic parties and Popular Unity

Front organizations, and brings in wide sections of the working people to share in decision-making and management. This is part of socialist government by the people, born of the October Revolution and scientifically substantiated in Lenin's works. It is democracy of a new type, socialist democracy.

NATIONAL PROBLEMS IN BRITISH WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

John Foster

Member Editorial Board British CP journal *Marxism Today*

The Leninist theory of proletarian internationalism and national self-determination concretely applied in the Soviet Union has been of the greatest significance for the development of the world proletarian movement and is today of urgent relevance to the problems that will have to be faced in the years ahead.

For the working-class movement in Britain two aspects are particularly relevant.

The first concerns the actual emergence in Britain of a working-class movement that was genuinely international. Britain was the first capitalist country. It was also the first exponent of capitalist imperialism. This placed grave limitations on the development in Britain of a truly internationalist working-class movement. By the later 19th century the organized labor movement was so deeply penetrated by imperialist attitudes that Lenin himself selected this phenomenon, the 'labor aristocracy,' for special analysis. Even the country's original Marxist party, the Social Democratic Federation, was for much of its history dominated by a faction committed to chauvinist ideas.

In this situation the creation of a union of equal Soviet republics in December 1922 provided a veritable ideological battering ram by which internationalists in Britain could hit imperialist attitudes. The founding of the USSR (and the previous grant of full independence to the former Czarist colonies of Finland and Poland) was a living demonstration of Marx's dictum that no nation can be free that oppresses another. The significance of this cannot be overestimated.

In Britain the struggle for genuine internationalism was an essential precondition for mobilizing the labor movement in support of the liberation movements in colonial lands, and so realizing the Leninist strategy of alliance between the working peoples of the capitalist lands, the colonial liberation movements and the might of socialism.

This development of a genuine internationalism was the first great contribution of the experience of the Soviet Union to the working-class movement in Britain.

The second concerns a more immediate challenge facing the

working-class movement today: that posed by the problem of relations between the country's constituent nations, the Welsh, Scots and English. These relations raise a number of intricate questions.

It may well be asked why the last ten years have seen such a sharp resurgence of national feeling and whether these movements bear any specifically new class characteristics not present in their predecessors. It may also be asked how much they have in common with national movements in other advanced capitalist countries, in France, Belgium, Canada, Spain, and whether they form part of an overall tendency that can be expected to develop still further in the future.

In his penetrating opening statement, Comrade Ponomaryov provided answers for Britain as much as for the other developed capitalist countries in pointing to the growing economic and social crisis of state monopoly capitalism.

In contrast to socialism, state monopoly capitalism is quite incapable of providing balanced economic development region by region. In almost all advanced capitalist countries differentials between regions have increased over the past decade and with any enlargement of the Common Market this tendency in Western Europe may be expected to intensify. Already in Britain the unemployment rates in Scotland and Wales usually stand at double the national average. The situation presents both opportunities and dangers for the working-class movement.

This underlines the dangers of a nihilist attitude to the national aspirations, and the need for Communists to redouble their efforts to link the national movements to the overall struggle of the working class: to give those movements, while national in form, a socialist content.

As Comrade Ponomaryov argued, the national movements in the developed capitalist countries have today a quite new class potential. They are no longer predominantly petty-bourgeois in character but rooted in the anti-capitalist aspirations of the working people and full of possibilities for the development of the democratic alliance against monopoly capital and the strengthening of the mass base of the Communist parties.

The correctness of this assessment has been vividly demonstrated over the past year by the industrial struggles in Scotland. In July 1971 an attempt to close down a major portion of the Scottish shipbuilding industry was answered by the successful takeover and operation of the shipyards by the workers. This 'work-in,' lasting over a year, eventually forced the Tory government to reverse its policy. It represented a massive blow against the overall strategy of finance capital in Britain.

This experience had a double significance. It introduced to the British working class a completely new tactic of struggle. But it also revealed the full socialist potential implicit in the national movement today. Far from being a struggle about just one industry, it represented the determination of the entire Scottish working

class to preserve the region's industrial infrastructure and only succeeded because it was able to draw on that wider support. It demonstrated that working-class leadership can give national movements in the developed capitalist countries a socialist content, and in the process significantly erode the mass base of monopoly capital and strengthen the anti-monopoly struggle in the whole country. The culmination of the recent campaign saw the calling of a Scottish Convention by the Scottish Trade Union Congress at which were represented not just trade unions but local authorities, churches and the political organizations of small business.

Here again, therefore, the Leninist teaching on proletarian internationalism and the experience of the USSR is of urgent relevance. The British working-class movement is faced with the problem of harnessing the national movements to the collective struggle against monopoly capital; of preventing these movements being diverted, as they have been in the past, into a divisive petty-bourgeois nationalism. The living experience of the USSR shows how this can be achieved. Only by combining the use of national forms with the strenuous practical development of a socialist content can the full potential of the present situation be realized – can the national movements in Britain be fused into the larger struggle of the British people as a whole against new multi-national forms of capitalist exploitation.

Turning to the tragic conflict in Ireland one finds both similarities and differences. The situation is different in that the relationship between Ireland and Britain has always been in origin colonial. And it is also different in that the roots of the present conflict stem from the attempt by the British ruling class to perpetuate their economic control over both North and South in a typical neo-colonial fashion by partition and the encouragement of sectional religious conflict between different sections of the working population.

But it is similar in that the resurgence of the struggle over the past decade is directly related to the economic and social crisis of state-monopoly capitalism and the aggravation of regional differentials in Northern Ireland. And it is also similar in the applicability of the Leninist teaching on proletarian internationalism.

It is the policy of the Communist Party of Ireland, with the support of the Communist Party of Great Britain, to wage a resolute struggle against narrow petty-bourgeois distortions of national feeling and not flinch from the very difficult but essential Leninist task of uniting all sections of the working population around a national identity that is truly socialist in content: a unity that will be the essential precondition for the ultimate unification of Ireland and its final liberation from all forms of neo-colonial oppression.

Hence, in the same way that the founding of the USSR provided the necessary stimulus for the development of a fully internationalist working-class movement in Britain, so today the historic initiatives of Lenin – both in demanding full independence for the former Czarist colonies of Poland and Finland and forming the USSR

itself – show the way forward to a Britain living in harmony with peoples formerly oppressed and giving its own constituent nations full expression within a collective socialist development.

CREATIVE APPROACH TO CPSU EXPERIENCE

Rudolf Dix

Assistant Head of Chair, SUPG Higher Party School

Our Party has from its very inception considered a study of CPSU history, policies and experience an organic part of its own policy and a firm and reliable foundation for its strategy and tactics. In fact, this was a major factor in transforming the SUPG into a party of a new type capable of leading the working class and people in building a developed socialist society.

This method has fully justified itself and we are intensifying its application.

The study of CPSU experience holds a prominent place in our Party education system, which caters to 1.6 million members and candidate members. CPSU experience is especially studied in seminars attended by 226 thousand Party members.

This accent on in-depth study of CPSU history and policy follows from these objective factors:

- the Soviet Union's achievements in building communism. The 24th CPSU Congress decisions on continued communist construction in the USSR have universal validity and, in our own effort to build a developed socialist society, give us a clear prospect of advancing to communism;

- the objective process of socialist economic integration requires a thorough command of Soviet achievements in politics, the economy, science, culture, an understanding of the advantages of close cooperation with the Soviet Union and creative implementation of its experience in the ideological, political and economic fields;

- the development of the world revolutionary process, which has confirmed the correctness of CPSU policy and the universal relevance of Soviet experience;

- the intensifying ideological struggle, which requires all Communists to relentlessly oppose all forms of anti-Communist slander, convincingly substantiate the leading role of the CPSU and the Soviet Union in the world revolutionary process and the unity of the revolutionary forces around the CPSU and Soviet Union.

The following objective criteria are indicative of the role and place of the CPSU and the Soviet Union in the world revolutionary process: the Soviet working class is well to the fore in discharging its historic mission; the CPSU is the most experienced and battle-seasoned detachment and the vanguard of the world Communist movement; the USSR is making the greatest contribution to solution of the basic contradiction of our age and, consequently, to the socialist renewal of society; the three revolutionary streams of our

time receive their main support and encouragement from the Soviet Union.

The 24th CPSU Congress pointed out that the USSR has built a mature and constantly developing and improving socialist society, thereby enhancing the attractive power of socialism.

In building a mature socialist society our Party draws on the experience of the CPSU. This helps us better to understand the factors necessitating a greater role for the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party in building a mature socialist society and the tasks following therefrom.

In formulating the main task of the 1971-75 five-year plan, the Eighth SUPG Congress was guided by a deep understanding of the essence of socialism, and the policy it outlined is in harmony with the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. Its realization, notably its social measures, has already produced tangible results.

The leading role of the CPSU and the Soviet Union in the world revolutionary process follows from the USSR's championship of peace and peaceful coexistence. Soviet policy and action clearly show that socialism and peace are inseparable. The effective peace policy of the CPSU and USSR combines strong opposition to imperialism with consistent effort for peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

Working for peace and peaceful coexistence means working for favorable external conditions in building socialism and communism in the USSR and the other fraternal countries, in organizing the struggle of the working class and its allies in the capitalist countries, strengthening the forces of progress in the zone of the national-liberation movement.

Like the CPSU, the SUPG is following the Leninist course of upholding and strengthening peace. 'Creating the most favorable external conditions for building socialism in the GDR,' Erich Honecker told our Eighth Trade Union Congress, 'helping free mankind from the scourge of war, and brotherly solidarity with the world anti-imperialist struggle—these are central to the foreign policy approved at the Eighth Party Congress. And that policy is in complete harmony with the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress. Yes, alliance with the CPSU and the Soviet Union is the alpha and omega of our foreign policy.'

For 25 years the ruling faction in Bonn followed a 'roll back' policy vis-à-vis the GDR. Now they have had to accept detente, negotiate and seek agreements based on international law and de facto recognition of the GDR. This is the result of socialism's growing strength and influence in the world, the result of our coordinated foreign policy with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

We have no illusions about imperialism, including its FRG variety. A Social-Democratic government in Bonn does not mean imperialism in the FRG has stopped being imperialism. We cannot, therefore, afford to lower our guard and must do everything necessary to safeguard socialism.

A clear understanding of the vanguard role of the CPSU and the Soviet Union in the world revolutionary process is a powerful source of strength for us. And in firm alliance with the CPSU and the Soviet Union, the GDR, an integral part of the socialist community, will contribute to accelerating the world revolutionary process.

INTERNATIONALISM, AN INALIENABLE PART OF COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY AND POLICY

Concluding remarks

by

P. N. Fedoseyev

Director,

CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism

It is generally acknowledged that in this revolutionary age of transition from capitalism to socialism, abolition of neo-colonialism, national oppression and inequality – the chief sources of national enmity and conflict – is a cardinal aspect of mankind's social progress.

The magnitude and implications of the national question can be judged from the following data:

There are about 2,000 ethnic groups, from small tribes to large nations, in the world; about 150 states; more than 90 per cent of ethnic groups live in multi-national or multi-tribal states.

By intensifying all-round reaction, imperialism aggravates the national question both within the multi-national bourgeois states and in relations between imperialist powers and politically and economically dependent peoples.

We can say with a feeling of satisfaction that in the Soviet Union the national question has been solved. In other socialist countries it is at various stages of solution. The process is bound to encounter difficulties, but on the whole socialism assures immense progress in promoting genuinely humane and just relations between nationalities.

And it is only natural that the 50th anniversary of the first multi-national socialist state should attract such wide attention throughout the world. The foundation and successful development of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a logical result of the Great October Socialist Revolution and an important milestone on the road of human progress. The existence and impressive growth of the USSR is a common asset of the revolutionary-liberation forces in this 20th century.

The multi-national Soviet state has demonstrated to the world socialism's ability to solve – and within a short time – the complex national question by extirpating the socio-political and economic

roots of class and national antagonisms inherited from the exploitive society, and promoting friendship and the coming-together of nations and nationalities.

Faced with a mounting revolutionary movement, the ruling class of tsarist Russia tried to divide the working people by inciting national distrust and enmity. National oppression was aggravated by the disparity between the capitalist-developed central and western parts of the country and the economically and culturally backward peripheral areas, still living in tribal or feudal society.

The momentous task that faced the Soviet government in the very first days was to bring together peoples at various stages of development, unite them in a friendly family and assure them not merely formal, but actual equality and opportunities for free growth.

The task was a formidable one. Now all our republics have a highly developed industry and mechanized agriculture and have attained high cultural standards. But we had to start in a country ravaged by war and lacking – especially in the non-Russian regions – machinery, skilled personnel, even the elementary knowledge.

Soviet power marshalled all the forces of the people in a tremendous construction effort into which it brought backward tribes and peoples, inculcating the spirit of collective labor and teaching them to use machines and apply the achievements of science.

Solution of these problems is of special importance in this age of the scientific and technological revolution. For with the help of the new technology the imperialist powers are stepping up exploitation in their own countries and endeavoring to subjugate the newly liberated countries, with their rudimentary industry and technology. We know how difficult this makes things for Third World countries.

The Soviet Communist Party and state have from the early years of socialist construction devoted special attention to promoting science and training research personnel in the Union Republics and other nationality regions. And it is a fact of great, I should say fundamental, importance that all the Union Republics now have Academies of Science staffed by national research personnel working in cooperation with people of other nationalities.

Indeed, development of the scientific potential of all the republics was essential to abolishing the unjust division of labor inherited from the exploitive society, when colonial and semi-colonial peoples were condemned to manual labor. The flourishing state of science and culture in these areas contributes to the economic, social and cultural unity of the socialist nations and thereby opens wide vistas for their still closer relations in the process of building communism.

Many of the delegates at this conference have visited various Soviet republics and could see that the Soviet state has not only proclaimed national equality, but in a short time assured rapid and impressive economic and cultural development of once-backward re-

gions. In this way it has assured factual equality of all the Soviet peoples in all fields of endeavor.

It is no exaggeration to say that, along with the epochal victory of the working class, abolition of exploitation, this is the most vivid, indeed the greatest, achievement of socialist democracy and socialist humanism.

Of course, one should not mechanically copy Soviet experience. But as many of the speakers here have rightly emphasized, that experience should not be ignored, for it reflects not only specific features, but also general regularities in solving the national question. The Leninist principles of national policy, first applied in the USSR, are not the possession of the CPSU alone — they are open to the world Communist and revolutionary-liberation movement.

A socialist solution of the national question, on the one hand, and exacerbation of national strife under imperialism, on the other, have convincingly proved the dependence of the nations' development and of their relations to each other on economic, socio-political and ideological factors.

Several speakers have drawn attention to the growing role of the national question in the capitalist world. Also revealed were the depth and urgency of socio-political problems that have a direct bearing on the vital interests and destinies of all peoples. I refer above all to monopoly oppression, exploitation and social inequality, the danger of devastating wars, continued pollution of the human environment. Hence, separating the national question from the general social tasks of the liberation movement and the workers' class struggle against capitalism, from the fight to win socialism, is unjustified and dangerous.

In our age, the fight for national liberation is associated with the new historic prospects of eliminating capitalist and establishing socialist relations.

Our experience has proved that the socialist revolution accomplishes the dual task of eliminating the exploiter classes and class antagonisms and, by virtue of its inner logic, eliminating also national oppression.

This duality finds expression in proletarian internationalism. Within the Soviet Union it is consistently exercised in relations of friendship and cooperation between all the constituent nations and peoples. In foreign policy it promotes cooperation of the socialist countries, solidarity with peoples battling for freedom and independence, support of the national-liberation struggle, and closer links with the working people of the world. We are firmly convinced that friendship of the peoples is a precondition for peace. The peace program of the 24th CPSU Congress has met with wide and active support among progressives and its realization has become a key factor in promoting international security.

The main conclusion drawn from Soviet experience at this conference is that socialist revolution and the building of the new

society are the prerequisite and basis for consistent solution of the national question.

And in this context, speakers have emphasized that the working class is the decisive social force of national liberation and socialist unity of the nations.

The industrial working class is not only the most revolutionary class, the one that overthrows capitalism, but also the most active, leading force of society in fashioning the new relations of production which determine the entire system of socialist relations, in particular friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance of the nationalities.

And fashioning of this new type of relations is one of the principal tasks of the proletariat in fulfilling its historic mission. The proletariat is the class support of national liberation and unity of the nations, and the revolutionary proletarian party, Lenin's Communist Party, is the leading political force of the international union of Soviet peoples. And not only its program and tactical principles, but also its internationalist organizational structure are designed to bring nations and nationalities closer together.

In its everyday effort to attain the immediate and ultimate aims of the working class, the Party brings together people of different race and nationality and instils in the working people the ideas of proletarian internationalism and friendship.

The CPSU fulfils its historic role not only by ideologically uniting people of all nations, but also by organizing and coordinating their constructive effort in economic, cultural and political development.

This is not to say that non-Communist parties cannot contribute to the solution of the national question. In many countries the revolutionary democrats have an active part in the national liberation movement. And unlike the bourgeois nationalist parties, which work in alliance with the feudal element and foreign capital, they see solution of the national problem in struggle against reactionary regimes, feudal and tribal relations, and for social progress. And we know that some national-democratic parties have done much for the national liberation and independence of their peoples. The Communists appreciate and support this activity of revolutionary and national-democratic parties. But there is no disregarding the fact that some anti-imperialist parties are slipping into anti-communism and taking repressive measures against Communists, the most consistent champions of national liberation.

Speakers at this conference have rightly stressed that national egoism and chauvinism have no place in the solution of social and national problems. In this respect, the policy of the Peking leaders, who are undermining the principles of international solidarity and the unity of the socialist countries, is especially dangerous to the entire liberation movement.

I would like to emphasize once more that internationalism is an inalienable and organic part of Communist ideology and

policy. Internationalism is the class position of the proletariat in national relations, the expression of its class solidarity with the working people of other nations in the battle against imperialism.

There is the experience of history that the success of the revolutionary forces depends on their unity and cohesion. The difficulties they now have to contend with are largely attributable to parties and individual leaders departing from consistent operation of the Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism.

In present-day conditions these principles require the utmost unity of the main revolutionary forces of our time—the socialist world system, the working class of the capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement. That conclusion drawn by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties, is for us a guide to action.

In conclusion, let me once more repeat that the Soviet people highly appreciate the internationalist support their efforts and achievements receive from their class brothers in other countries, from all the revolutionary forces upholding the principles of socialism and the socialist gains of our era.

SUBSCRIBE NOW!



Theoretical Journal of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

12 issues (one year) \$6.00 domestic \$7.00 foreign

Political Affairs is a monthly journal of Marxist thought and political analysis dealing with the U.S. and world affairs.

SEND to			
NAME _____			
STREET _____			
CITY _____	ZONE _____	STATE _____	
COUNTRY _____	ENC. \$ _____		

POLITICAL AFFAIRS PUBLISHERS, 23 W. 26 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10010, USA

new from the ussr . . .

(All books cloth unless otherwise stated)

ARTICLES FROM THE NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG 1848-49 by K. Marx and F. Engels / **\$2.75**

PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE edited by Institute of Philosophy, Academy of Sciences, USSR / **\$3.75**

AGAINST TROTSKYISM edited by Institute of Marxism-Leninism, USSR / **\$3.75**

SOCIALISM AND CULTURE ed. by Y. Surovtsev / **\$2.95**

SOCIOLOGY OF REVOLUTION: A MARXIST REVIEW by Y. Krasin. Paper / **\$1.75**

ECONOMIC GROWTH AND UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES by Maurice Dobb. Paper / **\$1.25**

LENIN ABOUT THE PRESS ed. by International Organization of Journalists / **\$8.50**

SOUTHEAST ASIA ed. Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Science / **\$2.50**

MAOISM UNMASKED ed. V. A. Krivtsov. Paper / **\$1.95**

THE SOVIET FORM OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT ed. V. M. Chkhikvadze / **\$3.25**

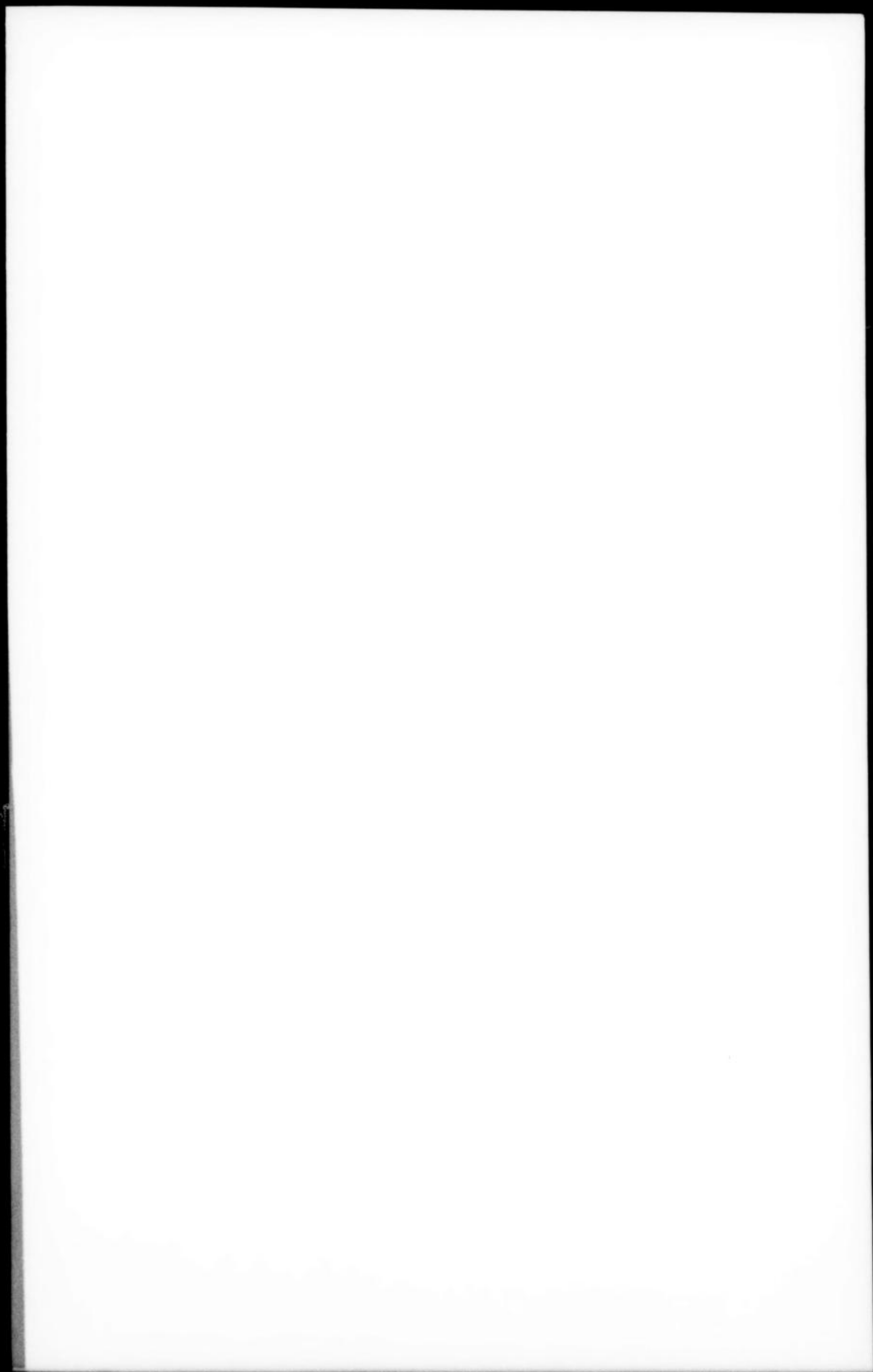
THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM AND ANTI-COMMUNISM by A. Bratov / **\$2.50**

order from

PROGRESS BOOKS

487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto 133, Ontario, Canada

Phone 416 - 368-5336



Editions of the journal
**'PROBLEMS OF PEACE
AND SOCIALISM'**
1972

EDITIONS IN ENGLISH

(World Marxist Review):

Central Books Ltd., 37 Grays Inn Road,
London, W.C. 1, England.

Progress Subscription Service, 487 Ade-
laide St. West, Toronto 2B, Ontario,
Canada.

Imported Publications, 1730 West Arcade
Place, Chicago, Ill. 60612, U.S.A.

FRENCH EDITIONS

(La Nouvelle Revue Internationale):

Société d'Édition et d'Information 9,
Boulevard des Italiens, Paris (2e) France.

Librairie du Monde Entier, 162 Rue du
Midi, Bruxelles (Belgique)

Librairie Rousseau, 36, rue J.-J. Rous-
seau, Genève.

RUSSIAN EDITION: Stredisko pro roz-
sirovani tisku, Praha 6, Thakurova 3,
Czechoslovakia.

BULGARIAN EDITION: 'Ruski' 6, 'Hem-
us', Sofia.

CYPRUS EDITION (in Greek): Laikon
Praktorion, Tricoupi Street, 53 r. Nicosia.

CZECH EDITION: Artia, Praha 2, Nove
Mesto, Ve smeckach 30.

DANISH EDITION: Förlaget Tiden, Dr.
Tvaergade 3, 1302 København K.

GERMAN EDITIONS:

Deutscher Buch-Export und Import
GmbH, Leipzig 701, Leninstrasse 16.

'Globus', Vertrieb ausländischer Zeit-
schriften, Wien XX, Höchstädtplatz 3,
Austria.

Genossenschaft Literaturbetrieb Zürich,
Zürich 4, Feldstrasse 46, Switzerland.

GREEK EDITION: Akadimias 57 (Siné
Opera) 1 etage Athènes 143.

HUNGARIAN EDITION: Kossuth Kiado,
Budapest, V, Steindl u. 6.

ITALIAN EDITION: Libreria Rinascita,
Via delle Botteghe, Oscure 4, Roma.

MONGOLIAN EDITION: Mongolgoskni-
gotorg, ul. Lenina 41, Ulan-Bator.

NORWEGIAN EDITION: Boks 3715, Oslo 1.

POLISH EDITION: P. K. W. Z. 'RUCH',
Warszawa, Wronia 23.

RUMANIAN EDITION: I.C.E. 'Libri', Ca-
lea Victoriei 126, Bucuresti.

EDITIONS IN SPANISH:

Ediciones Paz y Socialismo, Apt. Na-
cional 1253, Bogota, Colombia.

Ediciones Pueblos Unidos, Casilla Cor-
reo 589, Montevideo, Uruguay.

Fondo de Cultura Popular, Apdo. postal
2353, Mexico 1, D.F.

Empresa Editora Austral, Agustina 1101
—Local No. 6, Casilla 13201, Santiago,
Chile.

Editorial 'Anteo,' Entre Rios 1033,
Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Ideologia & Politica, Jr. Moquegua 718-
203 Lima, Peru.

Agencia de Distribucion de Prensa,
Praha 6, Thakurova 3.

SWEDISH EDITION: Förlagsaktiebolaget
Internationell Revy, Kungsgatan 84, 112
#27 Stockholm.

VIETNAMESE EDITION: So'o xuất nhập
khâu, sach bao 32, Hai Ba tru'ng,
Hà-noi.

