

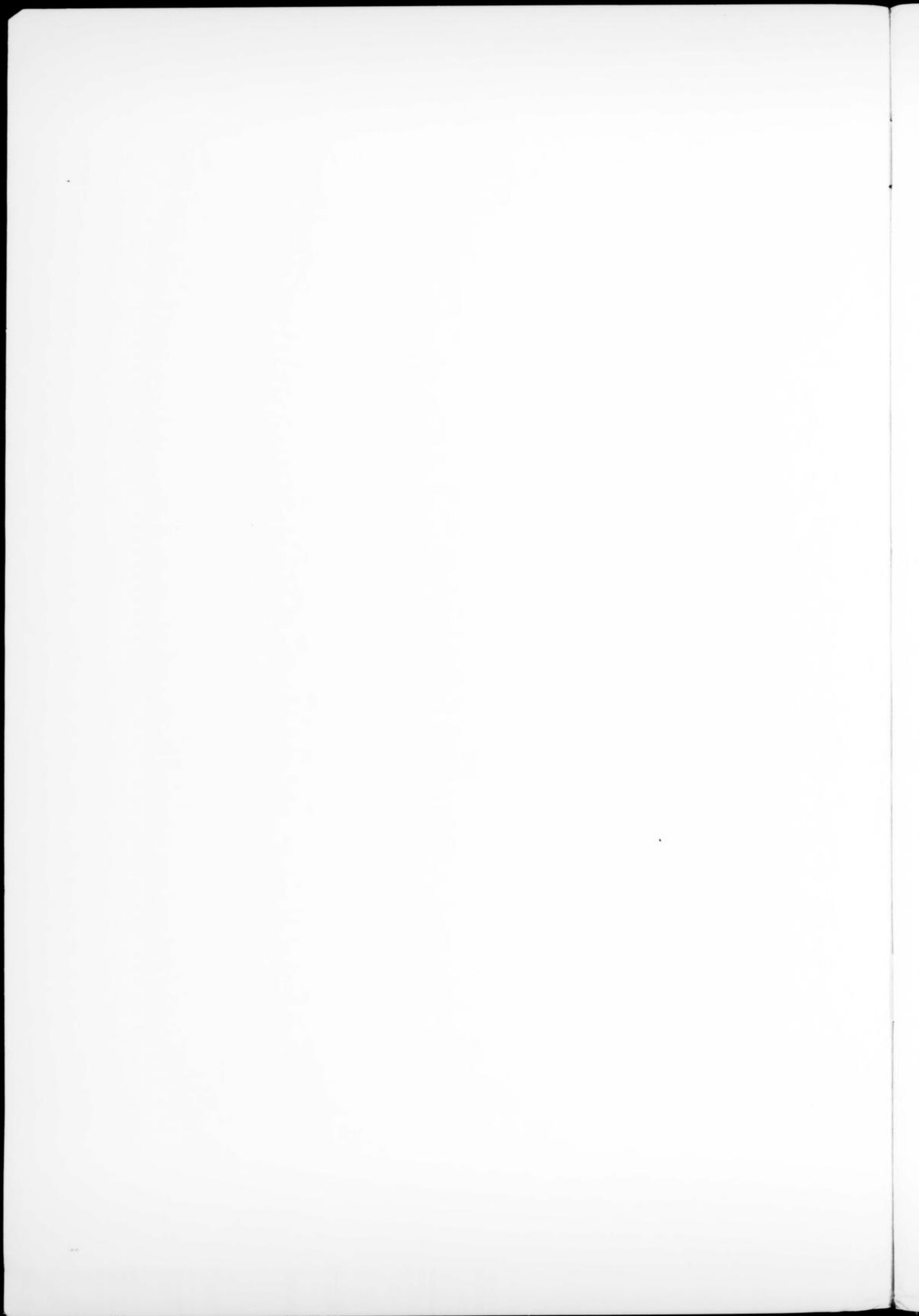
WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

1864 - 1964

**THIS ISSUE IS DEDICATED TO
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FOUNDED BY MARK AND ENGELS ON SEPTEMBER 28, 1864**



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism

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The Communists — Heirs to Great Traditions

THE centenary of the founding of the First International by Marx and Engels is commemorated by the Communists as the heirs and continuers of its revolutionary traditions. Utilizing and enriching the experience of this international organization, they draw on the heritage of the past not only to advance the revolutionary struggle today but also the better to chart man's path to the future. For history examined in the light of science reveals the ascending trend in social progress and, temporary defeats and setbacks notwithstanding, a steady advance towards communism.

The origins of this onward movement can be traced to the First International, whose proletarian revolutionary traditions are cherished by the Communist and working-class movement of today.

The First International awakened the international proletariat to its *historical mission* in modern society — the role of the gravedigger of capitalism and the architect of socialism; it showed the significance of revolutionary working-class struggle for the destiny of man.

The First International laid the foundations of *proletarian organization* on both the international and the national scale. It paved the way for revolutionary mass parties, elaborated the basic principles of their tactics, and afforded examples of flexible application of these tactics which retain their value to this day. As proletarian organization develops and strikes deeper roots, it acquires new features and new forms at every stage in the class struggle.

The First International brought the *revolutionary theory of the working class onto the world arena and initiated the fusion of scientific socialism with the working-class movement on an international scale*. And this theory, which acquired a world-historical character, became a powerful driving force of social progress. Drawing fresh strength from the lessons and achievements of the working-class movement in all countries, it has now entered the era of its triumph.

The First International ensured constant

intercourse between the national sections of the working class, united them through ideas and aims common to all, and showed the vital need for mutual aid. It taught them to examine, compare and assimilate the experience of revolutionary struggles, mutually to enrich one another theoretically and politically.

The First International disclosed the *essence and meaning of proletarian internationalism*; it showed that the working class can achieve victory over capital only by its combined efforts. In the International, the national vanguards of the working class arrived at a profound understanding of their duty to the working people of their respective countries, of their responsibility to the international working-class movement. Marx and Engels showed them how harmful it was to counterpose the national interests of the working class to its international interests, to set the national against the international. In the "workers' movement," Engels stressed, "the truly national ideas are at once truly *international*." The idea of historical responsibility, which Lenin developed further, contains the concept of conscious international proletarian discipline.

The First International gave rise to a *new type of democracy—proletarian democracy*—on which all its activities were based. While upholding centralism as something historically conditioned, it rejected the *diktat* of both particular organizations and individuals, rejected the leader-principle, the exaggeration of the role of leaders or their deification. It regarded one-man leadership in any shape or form as a source of mistakes and blunders.

The revolutionary traditions of the First International were carried on by its successor—the Second International. Resting on a Marxist foundation, the Second International in its heyday did much to activate the working-class movement and performed a historically necessary service in organizing the proletarians. Its leading parties did much to build trade unions, cooperatives and other workers' organizations, developed a working-class press, utilized the bourgeois-democratic

institutions in the workers' interests, and spread Marxist ideas.

After the death of Engels, however, the leaders of the Second International began to gravitate towards opportunism. "The Second International (1889-1914) was an international organization of the proletarian movement whose growth was in *breadth*, at the cost of a temporary fall in the revolutionary level, a temporary increase in the strength of opportunism, which in the end led to the disgraceful collapse of this International," Lenin said (*The Third International and Its Place in History*).

The Right-wing leaders of the Second International failed in their revolutionary duty. This led to the division of the working-class movement, the tragedy of one section of the working class opposing another, which weakened the proletariat and retarded the revolutionary process.

The banner of revolution was picked up and held aloft by the Bolsheviks in Russia, supported by the staunch Marxists in other countries who remained loyal to internationalism and resolutely opposed imperialist war.

After the October Revolution in Russia, in a situation marked by the growth and consolidation of Marxist forces, the Communist International was founded on Lenin's initiative. The Manifesto of the new body said: "whereas the First International anticipated the future and outlined its development, and whereas the Second International brought together and organized millions of proletarians, the Third International is an International of open mass action, an International of the realization of revolution, an International of deeds."

The Communist International played a big role in building consistently revolutionary working-class parties, in training and educating a whole generation of Marxist-Leninists. Its service to history consists in the part it played in rallying millions of working people all over the world to the struggle against imperialism and colonial oppression, against fascism and war, and for socialism. In the course of a quarter century the Comintern prepared the ground for the triumph of socialist revolutions in Europe and Asia, for the powerful camp of socialism. Its long and uncompromising fight against opportunism, revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism, and against nationalism laid the foundations for the world-wide ideological unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

Generations to come will pay homage to the founders of scientific communism—Marx, Engels and Lenin. And never will the people

forget August Bebel and Jean Jaures, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, Ernst Thaelmann and Antonio Gramsci, Georgi Dimitrov and Maurice Thorez, Klement Gottwald and Sen Katayama, William Z. Foster, Ajoy Ghosh and the many other outstanding revolutionaries who dedicated their lives to the struggle for socialism and communism.

No other political movement or social theory has ever won such victories as those won by the Communist movement and the theory of scientific socialism.

The Communist movement of today is a powerful and truly worldwide force for social regeneration. It unites more than 90 revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties with a membership of over 42 million and is supported by hundreds of millions of working people. Marching in the forefront of progress, it is leading the peoples towards the complete triumph of the most humane and the only just social system—communism.

Heading and uniting the various currents of revolutionary struggle, it is successfully carrying out the tasks which the First International posed.

In the mid-nineteenth century when the proletariat emerged onto the world arena and proclaimed that it was taking the destiny of mankind into its own hands, it ushered in the *grand world-historic struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism*.

It is still too early to make a final summing-up of this struggle. Many battles still remain to be fought with the bourgeoisie. The monopoly capitalists still dream of revenge. But one thing is clear: the ideas of the First International are triumphing and the working class has already become the decisive factor of social progress, leading humanity forward along the road to socialism. Capitalism is now hard pressed by socialism in all spheres of life.

The decisive gain of the international working class, the chief creation of the working people, is the socialist world system where man's cherished dream — the abolition of political, economic, social, national, race and all other oppression — has become a reality.

Thanks to the Communists, the working class and all other working people, mankind has entered the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The sum-total of social relationships in the world is now determined by the struggle waged by the growing forces of socialism against the enfeebled but still strong capitalism, which is offering desperate resistance. The impress of this struggle is felt directly or indirectly

in the entire historical situation, in the socio-economic processes now under way in all countries, imperialist, socialist, newly-independent, colonial and dependent alike. It influences the actions of all classes.

Thanks to the Communists, the working class and all other working people, mankind has entered the epoch of the extirpation of the colonial system. Hundreds of millions of people are seeing their dreams of liberation from the foreign yoke come true and are fighting for social, economic and cultural progress. Soon there will not be a single country left where political power is wielded by alien overlords. This is indeed one of the greatest achievements of our time.

Thanks to the Communists, to the working class and all other working people, to all peace-loving forces, the epoch when world wars will be excluded from the life of society is setting in.

At the time of the First International the working class, for the first time in history, actively intervened in relations between nations. It declared that it did not wish to be used as cannon fodder in the military adventures of the capitalists. But for a long time the progressive forces were too weak and disunited to be able to prevent war, and in the past fifty years mankind has experienced two world wars.

But now the situation has radically changed. There now exists a powerful socialist camp, the peoples are waging a mounting struggle for peace, and this makes prevention of world war a tangible possibility.

The growing influence of socialism in the world arena, the rapid growth of the scale and effectiveness of the class struggle waged by the working people of the capitalist countries, the aggravation of the internal contradictions of capitalism, the technological revolution and intensified concentration of capital have brought the peoples still living in the orbit of capitalism closer to socialism. *Humanity has reached a point in its development when socialism is knocking literally on every door, when its impact is felt in every progressive popular movement and every act of class struggle.* Each step in the development of production in the capitalist world brings society nearer to the threshold of socialism. The huge productive forces, the new scientific and technological discoveries which cry out for the abolition of private-property relations, the enhanced role played by the working class in the life of society, the rise in its cultural level, class consciousness, organization and political activity—all testify to the growth of both the objective material

and the subjective political prerequisites of the transfer of the reins of society to the working class. This, then, is the chief result of the great battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Now the struggle between world socialism and world capitalism has entered a new stage. It is being fought on many fronts, and it takes different forms in different countries. But no nation, no class and no social stratum remains outside it. And the initiative in this struggle is held by the working people.

The success achieved by the popular masses under the leadership of the Communists, and the approximation and interweaving of progressive democratic gains and the struggle against capital have substantially changed the conditions in which the revolutionary struggle is being waged. Above all, the scope of the world revolutionary process is extended and the methods of revolutionary action, the forms of transition to socialism, are multiplied and enriched.

The worldwide emancipation process now consists of the three main revolutionary movements of our time—building communism in the USSR and building socialism in the other countries that have broken with capitalism, the struggle waged by the proletariat and all other working people in the developed capitalist countries for democracy and socialism, and the national-liberation movement which is breaking the chains of foreign oppression of every kind. These aspects of the revolutionary process attain the highest degree of effectiveness and produce the maximum results in the conditions of peaceful coexistence of the two social systems.

* * *

The world revolutionary process is steadily gaining in breadth and depth primarily because of the growing strength of the socialist system, whose sphere of direct and indirect influence is widening and which is building up productive forces of the most modern type and going over to higher forms of socialist and communist organization of social production. In this way the workers, peasants and intellectuals of the socialist countries are performing a great revolutionary service.

The socialist world system takes part in the revolutionary process in diverse ways.

First, the achievements of the socialist countries are changing the world balance step by step in favor of progress, hastening the victory of socialism over capitalism on the world-historical plane in the decisive sphere of society's life—the sphere of material production.

Second, these achievements are revolution-

izing the masses in the capitalist countries.

Third, the strengthening of the socialist camp is the chief means of preventing war.

Fourth, the strength of socialism hinders open export of counter-revolution.

Fifth, the achievements of the socialist countries make it possible to extend more aid to countries liberated from colonialism, to promote their development.

Looking back with gratification on the success of their struggle and deriving from this success experience and renewed strength, the Communists focus their attention primarily on the unsolved tasks, on the difficulties still to be overcome.

The Communist Parties and all the working people of the socialist countries, most of which were economically backward at the time of the revolution, are well aware that their victory in the economic competition with developed capitalism will not come of itself. The competition of the two systems is taking place on a background of rapid scientific and technological progress in both socialist and capitalist countries.

The socialist countries are working to accelerate their economic development and to build up a modern scientific system of economic management fully corresponding to the economic laws of socialism and making effective use of the achievements of science and technology.

Developing the democratic traditions of the First International, the Communists have already brought into being a democracy superior to any other democracy known in history — socialist democracy. Deepening and extending this democracy is the law, the indispensable condition for the steady growth of the new society. The Communists seek to ensure that at each stage in the advance of socialist society democracy should permeate every aspect of its life and thereby ensure the enlistment of the masses of the working people in administering all areas of production, political and cultural endeavor.

The steps taken to overcome the consequences of the Stalin cult since the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU have helped to rid socialist democracy of alien accretions and have opened up new vistas.

The Communist parties devote particular attention to strengthening cooperation between the socialist countries in order to draw on the advantages of international socialist division of labor, specialization and coordination of production.

The economic and military might of the USSR and the other socialist countries is a tangible force of progress with which im-

perialism has to reckon. This force has been built up in the conditions of peaceful co-existence. By their peaceful labor, the socialist peoples are striking heavy blows at imperialism. *The sum-total of the experience of class struggle highlights the fact that the general task of the Communists and all other working people in the socialist countries is to build up the economic strength and superiority of socialism over capitalism in all spheres.*

It is along this Leninist road of peaceful coexistence and accumulation of economic strength that the Communists are leading the socialist countries. They are convinced that this is the quickest way to solve the national tasks of building socialism and communism and to carry out their internationalist duty to weaken the position of imperialism without the annihilation of hundreds of millions of people.

* * *

In the past hundred years the working-class movement, including the Communist movement, in the developed capitalist countries has advanced a long way. The Communist parties have grown in numbers and their influence among the masses has increased. In many countries they have become a major political force exerting increasing influence on the life of society and heading the successful struggle of the working class for its immediate political and economic aims, and for socialism. In other countries the parties are only taking the first steps towards becoming mass parties, but they too are an active social factor which the ruling classes cannot ignore.

The Communists are resolved to lead the masses steadily forward, from victory to victory, to wage a systematic offensive against the reactionary classes, to strike at the weakest links of the monopoly capitalist set-up, and press forward with utmost speed towards the grand goals of peace, democracy and socialism.

In its long and arduous struggle the working class has won many social and political rights for itself and all other working people. They are becoming better organized. Trade unions are a powerful social force in the developed capitalist countries, and growing numbers of farmers, handicraftsmen, small shopkeepers and other sections of the population oppressed by the monopolies are rallying around the working class.

The late fifties and early sixties were marked by a new upswing in the working-class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries. The big strikes in France,

USA, Italy, Japan and Belgium, and the mounting working-class struggle in Britain, Federal Germany, Norway, Holland and other countries are some of the highlights of recent years testifying to the greater political role played by the working class and the strengthening of its influence on public life; they reflect the new conditions and the new opportunities of the class struggle.

Highly indicative in this respect is the range of immediate tasks which the proletariat, rallying the masses around it in *militant anti-monopoly alliances*, is working to solve.

These tasks include:

—banishing world war from the life of society;

—preventing aggressive local wars;

—abolishing militarism and harnessing the economy exclusively to peaceful purposes;

—control over the monopolies, increasing restriction of their power, consistent nationalization, etc.;

—extending the rights of the trade unions to give them a say in all aspects of worker-management relations at the enterprises;

—reorganizing in the interests of the people the health and education systems, and extending social security;

—democratic control over the state propaganda machine;

—use of scientific and technological achievements for the benefit of the whole of society.

One hundred years ago the working class lacked the strength to tackle tasks of this order. Today they are the slogans of practical struggle.

Needless to say, we must not lose sight of the complexity of the problems confronting the working-class movement in the Western countries. Although this movement has become a major factor of social development and has won big gains, capitalism in these countries is still entrenched in its basic positions. The working class here is faced with a strong, experienced and flexible enemy — the monopoly bourgeoisie which, possessing a powerful economic, political and propaganda machine and enjoying considerable opportunities for maneuver, is still able to ensure for itself the support of the majority of the middle strata. Moreover, a considerable part of the working class, especially in countries like the USA, Canada, Federal Germany and the Scandinavian countries, is still under the influence of non-Marxist, and in some cases, even of anti-communist ideology.

Nevertheless, despite the difficulties, genuine Marxist-Leninists do not succumb to opportunist passivity, Left sectarian reckless-

ness or pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering, all of which represent opportunism in practice. With the revolutionary resolve and scientific clarity of thinking characteristic of Marxist-Leninists, the Communists seek to make a deeper assessment of reality, accurately to ascertain the new opportunities opening for the struggle for democracy and socialism in the capitalist countries. On this basis they are extending their work among the masses, intensifying their efforts to ensure the unity of the working-class and democratic movements which is the cardinal prerequisite of revolution. Of all the urgent problems, the most important is that of overcoming the division in the working-class movement, ensuring unity of action between the Communist, Social-Democratic and other sections of the working class. Initial successes in this respect have been achieved in France, Italy, Chile and other countries.

The steps taken by the CPSU in this sphere have been fruitful. Its achievements in building socialism and pursuing a policy of peaceful coexistence, as well as other measures, have offered a practical solution for many controversial issues in a Marxist spirit, while its numerous meetings with Social Democrats create a better climate for building international working-class solidarity even though the ideological differences with Social Democracy continue to exist.

The Communist parties take into account the changing conditions in which the working-class and democratic movement is developing. They elaborate their strategy and tactics in accordance with the situation in each country, striving to master all forms of struggle, peaceful and non-peaceful, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary alike, noting, however, that the possibilities for the revolution taking a peaceful form are increasing. But, unlike the reformists, the Communists view every partial gain through the prism of the ultimate aim of the struggle to abolish capitalist rule and to establish the power of the working people. At the same time, taking into account the complexity and diversity of the forms of struggle, the Communists give a resolute rebuff to the dogmatists who would fit the objective revolutionary processes into a single stereotyped pattern.

* * *

The struggle waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America merges in a mighty stream with the world revolutionary movement as a whole. Whereas the time of the First International was also the time of predatory colonial conquest and enslavement of peoples, a time when gunboats symbolized

imperialist "civilization," in our day imperialism has already experienced the shattering impact of the awakening of peoples who have formed their own national states and are now fighting for economic and social liberation, for progress. This confronts Marxists and all other revolutionaries of the developing countries with complex tasks requiring a quick solution.

Marxist-Leninists take cognizance of the sum-total of conditions and factors (favorable and unfavorable) influencing the course of revolutionary reconstruction and engendering a vast diversity of conditions, forms and methods of national-liberation struggle. Lenin was indeed right when he said that the awakening of the oppressed peoples would give rise to a diversity of forms of revolution.

Depending on the specific features of the various countries, the building of the state sector in the economy is proceeding in a variety of ways. Nor are the functions of this sector identical everywhere. Its management is organized along specific lines in each country. The cooperative movement, too, takes various forms. The machinery of state is being shaped along different lines in the different countries. The common features notwithstanding, class structures of society and alignments of social forces differ from country to country. This makes it incumbent on revolutionaries to search boldly for ways of revolutionary development, to make skilful use of the new openings for broad class alliances with a view to winning democracy, peace and socialism.

To find the most viable forms of *anti-imperialist national-democratic alliance* is of the utmost importance because more social forces are being enlisted in the revolutionary process — peasants, handicraftsmen, intellectuals, part of the officer corps and other sections capable of working for radical changes in the course of the fight for national freedom.

Experience shows that solutions fully in keeping with the fundamental interests of the working people can be found only through scientific examination of the total of specific conditions — national historical, economic, social, religious, etc.—in each country.

The revolutionary forces in the newly-free countries are also searching for effective ways to strengthen contacts, friendship and alliance with the socialist world system, for they realize that this signifies for them the prospect of further limiting and weakening the imperialist economic *diktat*; of extending economic relations with the socialist world, relations based on equality which help them to overcome their age-old backwardness; of

promoting non-capitalist development and thus overcoming all forms of backwardness and oppression in the countries which have broken their colonial fetters.

* * *

The Communists see their historical mission in ending exploitation the world over in order thereby to put an end for all time to the causes of war. At the same time they are working to realize the possibility of ridding humanity of the incubus of nuclear war already in our time, before capitalism has been completely abolished. This possibility is now being translated into reality. The combined efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and of the millions of peace supporters all over the world have on more than one occasion foiled the aggressive plans of the imperialists in recent years. This was the case, for instance, during the Caribbean crisis of 1962.

But regardless of these successes it should not be forgotten that the imperialists are continuing their arms build-up and that many still underrate the danger of a new world war. The USA, the leading imperialist power, is increasing its nuclear strength. Nuclear bombs are being exploded in underground tunnels. The West German revenge-seekers are reaching out for nuclear weapons. France is getting ready for new tests in the atmosphere. The U.S. aggressors are fanning the flames of war in South Vietnam, bent on spreading them to other countries of Southeast Asia. The ultras in the USA are out to revive brinkmanship. They are more and more openly threatening revolutionary Cuba with aggression.

In these circumstances all peace-loving peoples, all progressive movements and organizations, all men of good will must display the greatest vigilance, wage a selfless struggle to isolate the aggressors, to expose the imperialist plans for unleashing new local wars, and to compel the imperialists to agree to general controlled disarmament.

* * *

The successes of the international Communist movement are unquestionable. But Marxist-Leninists, being realists, do not close their eyes to the difficulties confronting them, in particular to the serious differences which have arisen recently as a result of the disruptive activity of the leaders of the Communist Party of China. This disruption is causing grave harm to the international Communist movement generally and to some of the parties in particular.

This is not the first time that the working-class movement has had to deal with petty-

bourgeois and opportunist deviations. Already in the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels wrote that in "countries . . . where the peasants constitute far more than half of the population, it was natural that writers who sided with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, should use, in their criticism of the bourgeois regime, the standard of the peasant and petty bourgeois, and from the standpoint of these intermediate classes should take up the cudgels for the working classes."

Today the process of the world socialist revolution has been joined by hundreds of millions of non-proletarians in all countries. These sections will no doubt eventually accept scientific socialism as the aim of their struggle, but they do not do so at once; they often vacillate and their ideologists are still in the grip of non-proletarian views.

In his article "Differences in the European Labor Movement" Lenin wrote: "Economic relations which are backward, or which lag in their development, constantly lead to the appearance of supporters of the labor movement who assimilate only certain aspects of Marxism, only certain parts of the new world outlook, or individual slogans and demands, being unable to make a determined break with all the traditions of the bourgeois world outlook in general and the bourgeois-democratic world outlook in particular."

These non-proletarian traditions often result in all kinds of petty-bourgeois illusions being confused with militant revolutionary-democratic demands. The Communist parties define their attitude towards socialist theories of this type as Lenin taught them: they give every support to the revolutionary-democratic ideas in these doctrines and to the practical steps leading the newly-free countries along the non-capitalist, socialist road. At the same time Marxists, by criticizing petty-bourgeois illusions, facilitate and hasten the transition of the non-proletarian sections of the population to the positions of scientific socialism.

However, the leaders of some parties belonging to the Communist movement have themselves fallen captive to petty-bourgeois concepts, in particular to nationalist ideology. These are, above all, the leaders of the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labor. Thus, in addition to the danger from the Right represented by reformism and revisionism, a no less serious Leftist danger has emerged.

The differences in the world Communist movement run deep. And the harm caused by the disruptive activities of the CPC leaders is great. Yet this phenomenon may be regarded, from the world-historical standpoint,

as a severe form of growing pains. It is a by-product of the entry into the revolutionary process of millions of non-proletarian working people. Despite the attempts of splitters to weaken the Communist movement, that movement is now incomparably stronger than it was, for example, before the Second World War. It is powerful enough to forge ahead, leaving behind all the murky froth and foam, all the extraneous accretions, all that would impede progress. The entry into the process of the socialist world revolution of hundreds of millions of people in once backward countries carries a positive significance which far outweighs the negative fact that it has introduced a petty-bourgeois current into the Communist movement of some countries.

There is no doubt that the differences in the Communist movement will be overcome and that, as always, it will emerge from the struggle stronger than before.

The history of the world revolutionary movement over the past century shows that victory over the opportunists is a pre-condition for the solution of urgent tasks. The successes of the mass working-class movement in Europe and America at the end of last century were preceded by the decisive struggle waged by the Marxists against the Proudhonists and the Bakuninists. The triumph of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the subsequent growth of Communist influence in other countries was preceded by the uncompromising struggle waged by Lenin and his followers against the opportunists of the Second International. The success of the revolution confirmed the correctness of the Leninist revolutionary way and revealed the fallacy of opportunism. And the building of socialism in the USSR was preceded by the ideological and political defeat of the Right and Left opportunists.

These facts are not fortuitous. They indicate that in the elaboration of the strategy and tactics for each new stage in the struggle the conservative forces always sought to prevent the steadily growing revolutionary movement from moving away from the old, obsolete positions. This resistance to progress had to be overcome.

History also shows that the line of creative Marxism-Leninism has always triumphed in the revolutionary movement, that theoretical controversies are finally solved in practical revolutionary struggle.

The enemies of communism count on the Communists expending themselves in internal struggle and relaxing their pressure against their main enemy — capitalism. The Communists cannot and never will allow this to

happen! Despite the differences and contradictions, the efforts of the Communists in solving revolutionary anti-capitalist tasks have not slackened but, on the contrary, are steadily mounting. True Communists hold that under all circumstances each section of the movement is duty bound to carry out its national and international duty to the best of its ability. In this they see the most effective way to overcome the differences. The best judge of all theoretical concepts is life, practical struggle. This struggle cements co-

operation between all sections of the world Communist movement. The Communists are earnestly searching for ways to overcome the differences.

In our time unity of the international Communist movement is all the more important for it is a fact that never have the Communists borne so great a responsibility as they bear today for the fate of peace, socialism and progress, for the very destiny of man.

Among Our Contributors

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A Great Loss

THE international Communist and working-class movement joins with the people of France in mourning the sudden death of Maurice Thorez, Chairman of the French Communist Party.

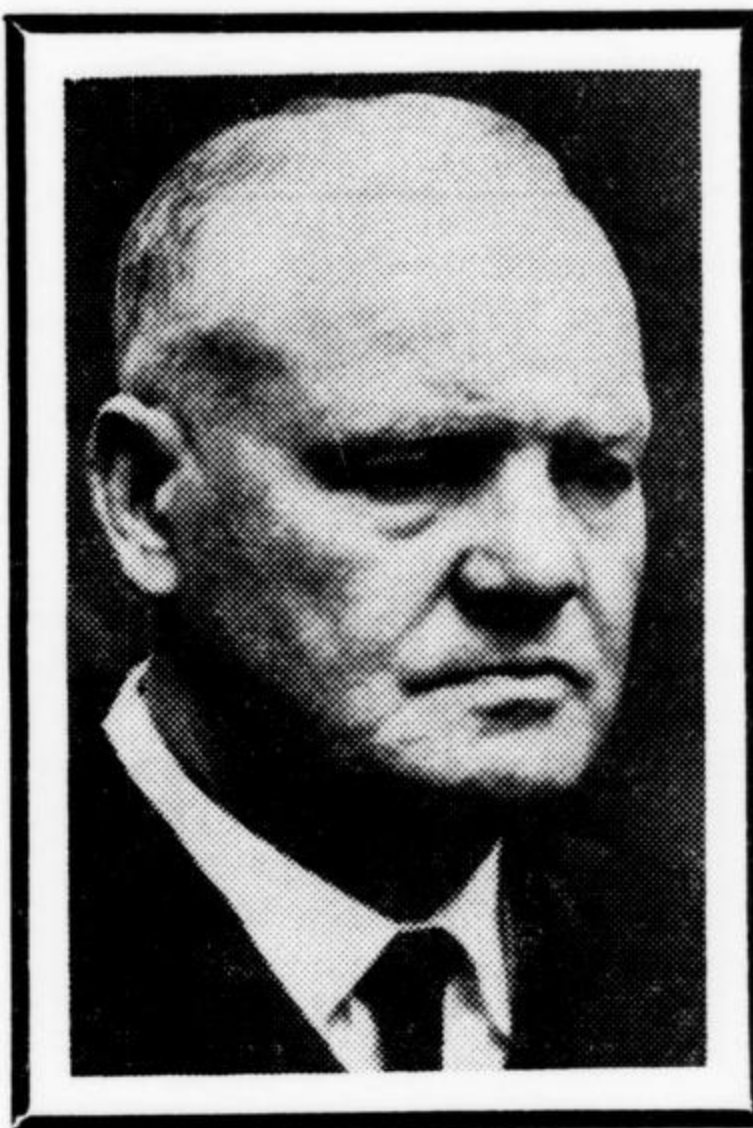
Thorez's life was bound up with the life and struggle of the French working class. He was born on April 28, 1900, into a miner's family, and at the age of 13 he went to work in the mines. From early youth he took part in the workers' struggles, and when the French Communist Party was founded in 1920 he joined its ranks. He was elected to the Party's Central Committee in 1924, and became a member of its Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC the following year.

Thorez played the main role in turning the Party into a workers' party of a new type, firmly adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and oriented on winning the support of the masses.

He was imprisoned for his opposition to the colonial war in Morocco and for some time after his release, in 1927-28, he had to carry on the struggle underground. In 1930 he became General Secretary of the Party, which post he retained until the Seventeenth Congress, in May this year, when he became Chairman of the Party. In 1928 he was elected to the Executive Committee of the Communist International and in 1939 he became a member of its Presidium.

Thorez was a man who steadily grew in stature as the leader of the French working class, as an outstanding figure in the international Communist movement, and a Marxist-Leninist theorist. Thanks to his efforts the harmful effects of sectarianism in the Party were overcome and the impetus given to the struggle for working-class unity, against fascism and war, a struggle which ensured the victory of the Popular Front in 1934-36.

Thorez combined the struggle for the interests of the working class with the struggle



for the independence and grandeur of his country. He was one of the organizers of international aid to Republican Spain. He denounced the Munich policy which betrayed Czechoslovakia to Hitler and precipitated the Second World War.

In 1940, when the rulers of France ignominiously surrendered to Hitler, Maurice Thorez and Jacques Duclos on behalf of the Party issued a call which proudly declared: "France, now shedding her heart's blood, wants to be free and independent. A great nation like ours will never be a nation of slaves." This call occupies a place of honor in the annals of the French

people.

In 1945 Thorez became a member of the government and together with other Communist ministers secured the enactment of a number of laws which benefited the workers.

When, in 1947, the reactionaries succeeded in ousting the Communists from the government, Maurice Thorez redoubled his efforts for peace. His words, "The people of France will never fight against the Soviet Union," had a lasting impact on the masses. Under his leadership the Communist Party fought to stop the dirty war in Vietnam and, later, against the war in Algeria and for the independence of that country.

When civil liberties were imperilled and one-man rule buttressed the stranglehold of the monopolies, Thorez charted the way to genuine democracy, to disarmament, and to socialism. Again he sounded the call to unity: "Working-class unity above all; above all unity between the working class and the middle sections."

With 40 years of unceasing struggle behind him, Maurice Thorez, as he addressed the 17th Party Congress in what was his last major speech, could well experience the gratification the sower might feel upon seeing his seed yield powerful young shoots. "Today the call for unity between the Communist and

Socialist parties comes from factory and office, from field and university," he said. "We shall spare no effort to realize this great hope, deriving new energy from the knowledge that unity is forging ahead."

Thorez worked tirelessly for the unity of the world Communist and working-class move-

ment, combating the revisionists, sectarians, disruptors and those whom he characterized as advocates of "distorted theories of a purely adventuristic nature."

Maurice Thorez will live forever in the memory of Communists and working people everywhere.

Socialism: Its Role in the World Revolutionary Process

Todor Zhivkov

TODAY when all revolutionaries and progressives everywhere are celebrating the centenary of the First International it is natural to look back at what the international working-class movement has achieved in the past hundred years.

The First International proclaimed the idea of the emancipation of the working people from all exploitation and oppression. On behalf of millions of proletarians it declared that the task of destroying the old, capitalist system and building a new, Communist system had become an urgent task of world history, and that this would be accomplished through the winning of state power by the toiling people led by the working class. "To conquer political power has . . . become the great duty of the working classes," Karl Marx wrote in the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association.

Our generation has witnessed the realization of this historical task in the countries of the socialist world system, on one-fourth of the globe. Having taken power into their hands, hundreds of millions of working people, headed by the working class, are building Communist society.

In brief, the question posed above can be answered thus: *the rise of the socialist world system is the main result of the century-old struggle of the international working class; it is its chief gain.*

I

For Marxists the question of the results of historical development is not of a purely academic interest. History is the prologue to the future, the foundation on which the future is built, and when Communists look back over the path traversed they do so first and foremost in order to get a clearer view of the perspective, and work out and improve their strategy and tactics.

The fact that the struggle of the international working class in the past hundred years has had as its main result the rise of the socialist world system leads to the question of the role of the socialist community in the struggle for man's future, of its place in the world revolutionary process. This is one of the cardinal questions of the times.

A tradition of the world Communist movement, initiated by Marx and Engels and continued by Lenin, is to allow no compromise on basic questions of principle. Loyal to this tradition, we cannot tolerate the Chinese leaders' misinterpretation of the role and place of the socialist world system, which, in effect, is a revision of the 1960 Statement's conclusion that the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society are determined today by the socialist world system, by the forces fighting against imperialism, for the socialist reorganization of society.

The CPC leaders contend that today Asia, Africa and Latin America are "the storm-center of the world revolution," "the focus of all the contradictions in the world," that the national-liberation revolution in that zone "appears today as the most important force delivering a direct blow at imperialism" and that "in a sense, therefore, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggle of the people of those areas, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population."

In so doing the Chinese leaders belittle the basic contradiction of the times, that between socialism and capitalism, substituting for it the contradiction between imperialism and the national-liberation movement. Thus the leading role in the world revolutionary process is, in effect, attributed to the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie—the mass base of the national-liberation revolutions—while the role of the international working class is minimized and its chief gain, the socialist world system, is assigned a secondary, strictly auxiliary place and regarded merely as a "base of support" for the national-liberation revolutions. All this is indicative of the petty-bourgeois nature of the Chinese leaders' views and their blindness with regard to the objective laws governing the world revolutionary process.

The world Communist movement gives the national-liberation movement the utmost support, and Communists in the colonies and dependencies are active members of it. The battles fought by the Asian, African and Latin American freedom-fighters, and the disintegration of the colonial system play an important part in undermining and destroying imperialist rule. But no Marxist-Leninist will deny that the success of the national-liberation movement is intrinsically bound up with the rise and growth of the socialist world system, that this success accrued only when the balance of forces between socialism and capitalism had changed radically in favor of socialism, when the socialist world system began to play a decisive role in international affairs and gave direct support to the national-liberation movement.

The growing influence of world socialism is felt literally in everything. Not a single more or less important question not only of an international character but even pertaining to the internal life of the capitalist countries can be decided by their ruling circles without taking world socialism into consideration.

Take world politics, for instance. Nobody can deny the prestige gained by the foreign

policy of the socialist countries, the USSR in the first place. Thanks to this policy of peaceful coexistence, world peace has been preserved and strengthened and favorable conditions created for effective socialist and Communist construction in the countries that have broken with capitalism.

The socialist states, however, not only strive to maintain world peace and uphold the gains of the socialist revolutions, they also support the lawful demands and rights of all peoples, above all their right to self-determination. The political and diplomatic support given by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community to the embattled peoples has resulted in a much more favorable situation for the emancipation movement. The Geneva agreements on Indo-China, concluded in 1954 with the participation of socialist states, signified, in fact, universal recognition of the lawful nature of wars of national liberation. The U.N. Declaration on granting independence to the colonial countries and peoples, adopted by the General Assembly in 1960 on the Soviet Government's initiative, underlined the complete moral and political defeat of colonialism and stressed the need for its complete abolition in the near future.

Our foreign policy is an instrument for preventing the imperialist export of counter-revolution. As experience has shown, socialism stands in the way of the reactionaries' attempts to strangle the revolutionary, emancipation movement of the peoples. (Let us recall the support given to Egypt in 1956, to Cuba in 1962, etc.) The military strength of the socialist camp and the nuclear power of the Soviet Union which directly oppose the counter-revolutionary plans of aggressive monopoly capital have had a sobering effect on imperialist politicians and strategists. The armed forces of the socialist countries are essentially not only a guard of the interests of the socialist states, but also a bulwark of all revolutionary movements. This helps the peoples to combine the struggle for national liberation with the struggle for social liberation.

A realistic analysis of the balance of forces and of the trends of world development has enabled Communists to draw the fundamental conclusion that the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society. But it should be clear to every Marxist-Leninist that this process develops on the basis of the socio-economic successes of the socialist countries in production, science and technology — in the socio-economic sphere in general.

Capitalism cannot be destroyed with guns alone, to say nothing of ultra-revolutionary phrases, even the "loudest," of the Chinese theoreticians. The new system replaces the old one because it embodies historical progress. And this progress is gauged primarily by success in achieving a higher productivity of labor, a superior mode of production.

In the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association Marx predicted the victory of the "political economy of labor," over the "political economy of property," and he saw this in the creation of a superior, communist mode of production. This task is being carried out today in the countries of the socialist world system, which are developing the highest, communist mode of production, along with the most progressive, most democratic power and a scientific, Marxist-Leninist ideology. *No other component part of the world revolutionary movement can fulfil the historic mission of the socialist world system—to build a socio-economic formation, superior to capitalism in all respects and, by virtue of this, superseding it.*

Carrying out the behests of their teachers, the founders of the First International, the Marxist-Leninists of the socialist countries regard economics as their main field of endeavor, and achieving victory in the peaceful economic competition with capitalism, as their prime internationalist duty. The revolutionary force of socialism's economic success is recognized even by bourgeois ideologists, who admit that the "economic challenge" of socialism is the biggest threat to the capitalist system.

The Chinese theoreticians refuse to understand this basic point which even our adversaries now see. They contend that economic competition means that "there is no need for the oppressed peoples and nations whatsoever to wage a struggle, to rise in revolution . . ." that "the only thing they have to do is to wait quietly for the Soviet Union to outstrip the most developed capitalist country in output and in material well-being . . ."

No Marxist-Leninist has ever considered that the peaceful competition of socialism and capitalism supplants the revolutionary struggle of the peoples.

In the first place, *the building of socialism and communism is not something that influences the world revolutionary process from without, but an organic part, a decisive factor and mainstay of this process.* Factories, fields and research laboratories in the socialist countries have become a vital sector of the revolutionary struggle.

Along with this, the achievements of the

socialist countries in material production—the decisive field of human activity—their success in the competition with capitalism are, increasingly, changing the correlation of world economic and political forces and creating new opportunities for the growth of the world revolutionary process. This is true both for the revolutionary working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries and for the national-liberation movement.

The building of a new life has a tremendous ideological impact on mankind; it promotes the growth of revolutionary consciousness among the working people. Socialism's power of attraction and the influence it exerts on the masses are increased many-fold. If scientific socialism is correctly applied in practice, if the economy and culture advance, if the well-being of the people rises, if socialist democracy develops, all these greatly contribute to and stimulate the struggle for the transition to socialism in the capitalist and newly liberated countries.

At the same time the powerful advance of world socialism enables it to give greater economic and political support to the revolutionary movements, those for national liberation included, to help the young national states to take the non-capitalist road of development.

The socialist community is, then, the most important force of the developing world revolutionary movement, a force delivering decisive blows against the old system. Failure to realize this leads to complete departure from the basic principles of Marxist theory and can only do grave injury to the world revolutionary process and retard the national and social emancipation of the peoples.

The Chinese theoreticians equate social revolution with war. Capitalism, they hold, can be defeated "with the rifle," and not by a higher organization of social life, by superiority in the decisive sphere of human activity, above all, in the sphere of material production. But a nuclear world war is not needed to make the socialist revolution in other countries possible. The victory of labor over capital is won through the class struggle of the proletariat, which, depending on the concrete conditions, may take violent or peaceful forms but always leads to a society greatly superior to capitalism. Only then does it become possible to say that the new social system has once and for all defeated the old, exploiting system.

II

Victory of the new social and economic

system—communism—presupposes first and foremost a new and more advanced mode of production. Contrary to what the modern dogmatists say, this mode of production cannot be created overnight. Building socialism, a complex and difficult task, calls for the mobilization of all the forces of the people over a long period of time, for a creative approach to the problems.

Winning power and even implementing socio-economic reforms leading to victory of the socialist relations of production do not in themselves produce a more advanced mode of production. It can be built up only by consolidating the socialist relations of production, greatly expanding the productive forces of the country and sharply raising labor productivity. Marxist-Leninists are guided by Marx's thesis that the relations of production are a form of development of the productive forces. Consequently, the purpose of the socio-economic changes effected by the people after taking power is to create the conditions essential for ensuring an all-round rise in production for the benefit of society. Dovetailing the two aspects of social production—productive forces and relations of production—is indispensable for success in socialist construction. This is borne out by the experience of the socialist world and of Bulgaria in particular.

At the time of the September revolution of 1944, the 20th anniversary of which our people will celebrate this year, Bulgaria was one of the most backward countries of Europe. We could not have built a new system had we not from the very outset, while strengthening the people's power, concentrated the nation's efforts on two main tasks: socio-economic reforms and expansion of the productive forces.

But in the period of the personality cult with its disregard for the objective laws of social development, the counsel of the Fifth Party Congress (1948) and of Georgi Dimitrov personally concerning the need rapidly to develop the productive forces was ignored. In 1953-56 the rate of industrial growth was little more than half the rate in the first five-year plan period. At its April 1956 meeting the Central Committee of our Party condemned this slackening of pace and returned to the policy of rapid development of the productive forces. Now our country is marking the 20th anniversary of people's government with truly outstanding successes to its credit. Bulgaria is a modern industrial-agrarian socialist state. Its industry turns out as much every 18 days as capitalist Bulgaria produced in a whole year.

Overcoming the personality cult and its effects in the economic sphere has accelerated progress in other socialist countries as well. In China, however, things are different. The Chinese leaders proclaimed the slogan of "the three red banners—the general line, the big leap and the people's communes" in what was essentially a subjectivist attempt to create advanced communist relations of production and accomplish a leap in production in a country lacking the objective prerequisites for this. The results are common knowledge: an abrupt drop in production and dislocation of the national economy.

Experience has shown the harm that can be caused by attempts to skip stages of economic development, to create more advanced forms of social relations when the economic conditions are not ripe. Social relations depend, in the final count, on the level of the productive forces. Although objective conditions for the transition to socialism exist in the world as a whole, the prerequisites for this transition, created by capitalism on a national scale, differ from country to country. It is understandable, therefore, that the forms and the rate of the socialist reconstruction should be different as well. The more backward a country was prior to revolution, the poorer the legacy it inherited from capitalism, the more formidable the problems facing the people as they start out on building a new life, and the more effort and time needed to raise the country to a level worthy of socialism. It was disregard for these elementary truths that led to the failure of the Chinese "big leap" policy.

In the recent past we, too, had to deal with sectarian mistakes stemming from a lack of understanding of the relationship between the productive forces and forms of property. In Bulgaria, as in the other socialist countries, there are two forms of socialist property—public property (the decisive means of production), and cooperative property—both objectively conditioned by the level of the productive forces. They make it possible, in conditions of rapid growth of production and development of social relations, to go over gradually to a single, publicly-owned property. But at the time of the personality cult these two forms of property were counterposed to each other, and the cooperative form was depreciated and scorned. The Eighth Congress of the Party stressed that it was "... incorrect and harmful to counterpose the cooperative form to the public form, agricultural cooperatives to state forms or vice versa."

The cooperative form has by far not ex-

hausted its possibilities. It can and should ensure a rapid advance in agriculture. But in order to do so no by-passing of essential stages can be allowed. In this connection a few words should be said about the personal households of the peasant cooperators. The view is sometimes expressed that rigid restrictions should be imposed on these households, or that they should be abolished, on the grounds that they detract from the common effort.

There is no denying that if a cooperative is poorly run, if it is inefficient (the responsibility for this rests primarily with the management) and if the members are not sufficiently rewarded for their work, a "contradiction" is bound to rise between personal endeavor and the common undertaking. Both theory and our own experience show that personal plots and livestock, when correctly combined with effective collective farming are highly useful. Personal households will not, of course, exist forever. The cooperative members will give them up of their own free will when the economic conditions change, when joint labor becomes so productive that the peasants find it unprofitable to invest part of their labor in the family plot.

This applies also to the garden plots of urban working people who work land unprofitable to till by machine and augment the food supply in towns. Moreover, we believe that in conditions of complete domination of socialist relations of production individual enterprise can play a socially useful role where large-scale socialist production is either impossible or inexpedient at the given stage (for instance, cultivation of the arable land found in mountain areas, or organization of some services to the population). We believe that progress in social relations in a socialist country should be accompanied by growth of the national wealth. Our Party bears this in mind in building the new society.

While stressing that the social relations depend in the final analysis on the development of the productive forces, we fully recognize the effect the relations of production and the forms of economic management determined by them have on the growth of the production base of society, and seek to make full use of this influence. The Communist and Workers' parties and governments in the socialist countries strive to ensure the most efficient forms of economic management at every stage of development. In May 1963 our Central Committee outlined measures for better guidance of the national economy. Above all we seek to eliminate arm-chair methods of administration, and to work out

a system of permanently operating economic levers with a view to improving efficiency and quality of production. Similar decisions taken by other fraternal parties are common knowledge.

The over-all experience of socialist construction has shown that the key to working out a correct program of action and carrying it out is not the voluntarist approach of the sectarians and dogmatists but thorough study and strict observance of the laws of social development. Such scientifically-grounded programs have been worked out by the Communist and Workers' parties that adhere firmly to Marxist-Leninist positions. These programs provide for consolidating the socio-economic and political foundations of the new system through all-round promotion of socialist democracy, and give expression to the "social foresight" which, as Marx wrote in the Inaugural Address, is to govern communist social production.

Economic upbuilding becomes the main aspect of the policy of the Communist and Workers' parties after power has been won and the victory of socialist relations of production ensured. The task is to build the material and technological basis of communist society, to place production on a scientific and technological footing capable of ensuring the world's highest productivity of labor. This, indeed, is basic for the triumph of the new system.

There is no doubt that it will take much time and effort to achieve this level of production. In 1962 the Eighth Congress of the BCP adopted economic directives for the period up to 1980, envisaging two qualitatively different stages of development of our society. At the first stage, in so far as we do not yet possess the productive forces needed for the direct construction of the material and technological base of communism, the building of the material and technical basis of socialism is continued. At the second stage we shall gradually go over to the construction of the material and technical basis of communist society. By 1980 Bulgaria will be a highly industrialized country with a specialized and highly productive agriculture. Gross industrial production is scheduled to increase 6.5 to 7 times compared with 1960, gross agricultural output by 150 per cent, and the national income 4.5-5 times. After that, some time will still be needed to raise our production to a truly communist level.

The building of the material and technological foundations of communism, then, requires a definite succession of stages of development. We are already working on

this task. How are we going about it?

In keeping with the decisions of our Eighth Congress, we are concentrating on a number of key problems, such as developing the power industry; expanding the iron and steel industry; accelerating expansion in engineering; developing the chemical industry to ensure all-round "chemicalization" of the economy; expanding capacity and modernizing technology in light industry and in food-processing industries; making agriculture a highly productive and profitable branch; rapid development and technical reconstruction of transport; training sufficient numbers of specialists, and promoting research and technological progress to help solve these problems.

The approach of the other Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries that adhere to Marxist-Leninist positions is basically the same as ours. Needless to say, they take into account the specific conditions of the given country. But irrespective of the conditions, all the socialist countries are confronted with a common task of exceptional importance: to raise production to the highest possible level. This is all the more important (and difficult) since the socialist world system does not consist of highly developed countries alone. Their task is to overtake and outstrip the most advanced capitalist states.

In this age of scientific and technological revolution science is increasingly becoming a productive force. Production is becoming more and more a matter of applying scientific achievements. And *the decisive task of our economic policy today is to ensure all-round scientific and technological progress*, for communism cannot be built by primitive, backward methods, by manual labor.

Of decisive importance within this framework are advanced, progressive branches, such as power, engineering (especially production of means of automation and control) and, of course, chemistry, which lays the groundwork for truly revolutionary changes in production and everyday life. Systematic improvement of the structure of production in conformity with the dominant trends of technical progress is one of the main means of rapidly advancing the socialist economy, of raising the productivity of social labor.

The foregoing applies not only to industry but also to the other branches of the economy, and in particular agriculture, all the more so since farming has always lagged behind the other branches. To eliminate this lag and intensify farming by using industrial methods (mechanization, chemicals, land improvement, etc.) is a prime task for the peoples of the socialist countries.

Promoting science and technology is very important also in view of the recent advances in this field in the capitalist countries. Progress in this area is a major criterion in the competition between the two systems.

The programs of socialist and communist construction are realistic programs primarily because they have been undertaken by the working people themselves. Herein lies the strength of our system. Thanks to the work done by the Marxist parties, the people have come to appreciate the meaning of the slogan proclaimed by Marx in the Provisional Rules of the First International: ". . . The emancipation of the working classes must be won by the working classes themselves. . . ." It is this knowledge that inspires the working people to heroic efforts and gives rise to new moral factors unthinkable in societies founded on exploitation. The role of these factors grows continuously in the process of development of communist society, and therefore the Communist and Workers' parties pay special attention to them.

In socialist society, the working man is not a mere "cog" in the machine; he is an active builder of the new society. The Communists carry high the banner of labor raised by the First International and acclaim outstanding achievements in labor. As in the other socialist countries, all our people who distinguish themselves in work are awarded decorations or titles, the highest of which is the title of "Hero of Socialist Labor."

The strengthening of moral stimuli is connected with the struggle against the corrupting influence of bourgeois ideology. Therefore our Party constantly deals with problems of ideological work, fighting against the survivals of the bourgeois world outlook, for the communist education of the people.

At the same time we would be philistines and idle dreamers and not Marxists if we lost sight of the other side of the matter—the exceptional importance for socialist construction of material incentives. In a voluntarist attempt to defy objective necessity the Chinese leaders who counterposed moral to material stimuli declared material incentives to be a bourgeois survival, and tried to introduce equalitarian principles in line with the petty-bourgeois understanding of socialism. As was to be expected, the Chinese policymakers failed to achieve positive results and were compelled quietly to give up wage-leveling and restore incentives to some extent.

Our Party holds that provision of incentives is one of the most important economic principles of socialism and a powerful means of harnessing all reserves and stimulating

the activity and enthusiasm of the working people. We consider it a prime task consistently to apply this principle. At present we are working out a number of new measures in this field. The idea is to make earnings and bonuses *directly* dependent on performance in the given enterprise.

The issue is one of working out a system ensuring harmony between the interests of every working man and the interests of the enterprise, between the enterprises and the whole of society. What is good for society should be good for the working man. It would be premature to speak of the details now, but initial experiments show that the contemplated changes are fully justified.

The principle of incentives, although differently applied in the different socialist countries, is organic to the very essence of socialism, which is to provide the material and spiritual values essential for the harmonious development of the individual. Rising production ensures a high standard of living to all members of our society. The Chinese theoreticians, however, declare the use of incentives and improvement in the well-being of the working people to be "bourgeoisification," and the policy of the fraternal parties aimed at ensuring prosperity to be a policy of "restoring capitalism"!

The exponents of this "crude communism" which ignores the requirements of the individual were ridiculed by Marx who exposed its absurdity and harmfulness. "Barracks-room communism" was the term he used in castigating the envisaged social system where all personal relations between people would be strictly regimented. It seems at times that the Chinese leaders have substituted this concept of "barracks-room communism" for the scientific, Marxist-Leninist idea of communist society and seek to convince us of its advantages. They reject the tried and tested methods of building the new society and distort the theory of scientific communism to a point where it ceases to have anything in common with the Marxist-Leninist theory of the two phases of communism. Subjectivist and voluntarist in theory and in practice, the Chinese Party leadership until recently propounded the slogan of the transition to communism prior to the complete victory of socialism in China. As a result, the economy was disorganized and the interests of the working man were sacrificed "in the name of communism."

The Chinese leaders' disdain of man and his needs is also evident in their attitude towards socialist democracy. They categorically object to the eradication of the person-

ality cult and its consequences and vehemently attack all the measures the CPSU and other fraternal parties of socialist countries are taking further to democratize socio-economic and cultural life, to draw the masses more and more into managing production and all the affairs of society and to turn the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the state of the whole people. On the other hand, in China the personality cult thrives, a fetish is made of violence, and all aspects of social life are being militarized.

We would not be Marxists if we rejected class force and refused to use it in one or another form as long as exploiters and oppressors exist. This is a humane act, for it helps emancipate the vast majority of the people from the rule of a handful of oppressors. But in the conditions of victorious socialism, when the exploiters have been abolished as a class and society consists of working people with common interests and ideals, class violence ceases to be necessary and the state of the proletarian dictatorship develops into a state of the whole people. The Chinese leaders disagree with this Marxist-Leninist proposition, which has already been translated into reality. In their view, the dictatorship of the proletariat is needed up to the highest phase of communism. But against whom, against what class, should class violence be used in a mature socialist society? Obviously the Chinese leaders found very accommodating Stalin's anti-Marxist thesis on the aggravation of class struggle in the conditions of victorious socialism—a thesis they present as a universal truth and apply in restricting socialist democracy.

Genuine Marxist-Leninists fully realize that, as Lenin said, *socialism is unthinkable without democracy*. Socialism means constructive work by the masses in their own interests. Therefore it is necessary constantly to improve socialist democracy, to enlist the broad participation of the working people in managing economic, political and cultural affairs, and respect and extend the rights and freedoms of the individual. There can be no other approach.

As has been said above, the building of communism, of a society without oppression and exploitation in the name of which the peoples rise in revolution, is in itself the most important component of the world revolutionary process. Moreover, this process, the central task of which is to raise material production to the highest level in the world and which at the same time represents a herculean battle with imperialism in the field of production of material values, has a pro-

found *political content*. The victory of socialism in this battle will signify an epoch-making moral and political defeat for imperialism, a complete negation of the capitalist system also in the consciousness of people living in bourgeois society.

III

Proletarian internationalism was the rock-bottom principle of the First International the rules of which emphasized the need for a "fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries," for "the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries . . ." The slogan, "Workers of all lands, unite!", applies not only to the period of struggle for power, but also—and to a still greater degree—to the period of building a new society. After the victory of the revolution the political and ideological solidarity of the working classes of different countries is supplemented by the economic solidarity of the young socialist states. The concept of proletarian internationalism thus acquires a new and richer content.

The establishment of fraternal contacts between the countries of the socialist community is of epoch-making significance: for the first time in history relations among nations are founded on principles of equality, mutual assistance, and proletarian internationalism. Even the Stalin personality cult could not distort the essence of this new type of relations, although it did them grave harm. Having eliminated the consequences of the cult, Marxist-Leninists are doing everything in their power to strengthen and improve relations between the socialist states.

A different stand has been adopted by the leaders of the Chinese Party, who are bent on severing the ties between the socialist countries. They try to justify this erroneous policy by alleging that the equality of the socialist states has been violated, by falsely accusing the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of seeking hegemony. And this, despite the fact that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union resolutely condemned the violations of the equality of fraternal countries that occurred in the period of the personality cult, despite the fact that it has denounced the very idea of hegemony in the socialist camp and in the world Communist movement, and is consistently carrying out this line in practice.

As for the Soviet Union's position in the socialist world system it is determined not by subjective considerations but by objective

factors, above all, by its great revolutionary experience, its leading role in promoting social progress—building communist society and assisting the revolutionary forces of the world. The Soviet Union, the most powerful of the socialist states, a country with the most advanced economy, science and technology, with its truly Marxist-Leninist, consistently internationalist approach to relations with other countries, is not only a splendid example, but also the most important factor ensuring the successful and rapid solution of the problems facing the socialist community.

The Soviet Union and the CPSU are blazing the trail to communism for all. They verify the correctness of this road by their own experience, point up the difficulties and the ways of overcoming them, creatively develop the theory and practice of communist construction, and thus facilitate and accelerate the advance to communism of the whole socialist world system. We Bulgarian Communists hold that the Soviet Union is the hope and bulwark of all forward-looking people, of all men of labor; that it is the standard-bearer of the struggle of the peoples for freedom, democracy and communism. As Georgi Dimitrov stressed at our Fifth Party Congress, "*the attitude to the Soviet Union assumes decisive importance as a watershed between the camp of democracy and the camp of reaction in the world arena, between the warmongers and the advocates of a lasting democratic peace.*" These words are fully applicable to the present.

The Soviet Union has always rendered and continues to render aid to all the socialist states in literally every field. In China, for instance, enterprises built with Soviet help account for most of the steel, tin, synthetic rubber, automobiles, tractors and other industrial goods produced in that country. Tens of thousands of Chinese specialists have been trained in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union's assistance to Bulgaria was of tremendous importance for her all-round advancement. The peoples of the socialist countries are deeply grateful to the Soviet Union for its fraternal help.

The importance of Soviet aid was at one time admitted by the Chinese leaders themselves. But now, having taken the road of curtailing political and economic contacts with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the road of isolated development, they shamelessly declare that there was no aid, nothing, indeed, beyond "ordinary commercial operations." Who, after this, can believe in the sincerity of their assurances,

of their calls to fight for the lofty ideals of proletarian internationalism?

In an attempt to substantiate their present policy of creating economic disunity among the socialist countries, the Chinese leaders have advanced the concept of "reliance on one's own forces."

Marxist-Leninists unquestionably stand for the maximum utilization by every country of its internal resources. The gains of every people, their success in building the new society are primarily the fruit of their own genius, their own talent and inspired labor. No nation can make another "happy" by solving its problems for it. All self-respecting working men will resent such "beneficence" as impertinence. At the same time, for the maximum utilization of the possibilities of every country and for the solution of the problems of increasing national production, active cooperation between socialist countries is essential and in some cases, indeed, indispensable. This cooperation represents a new productive force. It accelerates the pace of development of the entire socialist community and helps to even up the economic levels of our countries by facilitating the more rapid advance of formerly backward states.

The Peking formula of "reliance on one's own forces" has an entirely different purport. Both in theory and in practice, the Chinese leaders openly *counterpose* the development of each country separately to cooperation among all the socialist states. The concept of "reliance on one's own forces" has led, as a logical development, to the thesis that "... in defending its security every socialist country relies mainly on its own defensive capacity." It is true that every socialist country should concern itself with its defense and allocate the means for it. And our countries are safeguarding their national security, appropriating substantial sums for this purpose. Nevertheless every socialist country relies on the *collective might* of the socialist world system, of which the Soviet armed forces constitute the backbone. This collective might is the best defense and base of support of every individual socialist country. The Chinese formula of "relying mainly on one's own defensive capacity," on the other hand, weakens and undermines this collective might. It is preposterous that theories of this kind should be propounded in the epoch of nuclear weapons. In our time to deny the need for combining one's own national defense capacity with the might of the entire socialist community, and above all of the Soviet Union, whose armed forces are the most reliable

shield for the socialist countries, is sheer folly, to say the least.

It may be asked: if economic ties with the other socialist countries are obviously beneficial to China, why do the CPC leaders deny this and seek to sever fraternal bonds? This policy is closely linked with the general nationalistic, great-power strategic line of the Chinese leaders, who hope that by breaking the equal and mutually advantageous ties between the socialist countries, they will eventually secure a position of dominance in the socialist world system and in the world Communist movement. This is nothing more nor less than an attempt to revive personality-cult practices.

The striving to broaden and extend in every way intercourse between the socialist countries in the interests of every country and of the system as a whole is not somebody's whim, nor the result of the subjective, hegemonist aspirations of any one nation or party. It is the scientific answer to the objective needs of the productive forces at the given stage of the development of production in society. Even the imperialists, despite the antagonistic contradictions inevitably engendered by capitalistic property relations, are searching for ways (capitalist, of course, for instance, integration in the Common Market, the association of the "Seven", etc.) of overcoming the contradictions between the productive forces, which have outgrown national boundaries and the national character of the capitalist economy. Social ownership by its very nature makes it objectively possible and necessary to unite the socialist countries in a single community in the common interest, on the basis of a common, Marxist-Leninist ideology and the principles of equality and proletarian internationalism. Utilization of these possibilities depends on knowledge of the laws of social development and of the ways of building the socialist community, and on consistent implementation of the policy of the Communist parties, shaped accordingly.

The Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries, those of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid in the first place, have in recent years done much to extend the cooperation. An outstanding role in this respect was played by the conferences of the first secretaries of Party central committees and the heads of government of the CMEA countries in 1962 and 1963, which assessed the work done and outlined ways of extending the cooperation.

The cooperation is advancing from simple to increasingly complex forms, and its sphere

is constantly expanding. Initially, it was limited chiefly to commercial operations. Today the member-countries coordinate plans and undertake joint actions both in the sphere of circulation (finance included) and, increasingly, in transport and directly in production (for instance, joint construction of projects such as the Friendship oil pipeline of the Peace power grid).

International specialization and cooperation is for the majority of the socialist countries the only way of organizing large-scale, economically effective production. International socialist division of labor is the highroad of development for the socialist system, leading eventually to the establishment of a "single cooperative of nations" (Lenin). Progress along this road is by no means easy; owing to different levels of development not all countries equally feel, or to be more precise, realize the need for cooperation.

Establishment of a worldwide economy regulated by a common plan is of course not an immediate prospect. But does this mean that today we advance separately and then at some later date, we get together suddenly overnight? We would not be Marxist-Leninists were we unable to visualize the future, to realize the need for development, and act accordingly now. In our opinion, we should plan our activities now with an eye to the future and prepare the ground for that future. Skipping stages is out of the question, of course, but every available possibility for advance should be utilized.

It stands to reason that every country has the sovereign right to determine what international commitments it can undertake at every given stage of its development. The forms and extent of international economic cooperation depend on recognition of the need for bilateral or multilateral steps to extend the cooperation, and this implies taking concrete measures in this direction. It was in this way, on the basis of mutual agreement, that the CMEA was founded as an organization for the economic cooperation of a number of socialist states. It can be anticipated that in the future, too, one or another project will be undertaken both within the framework of the CMEA as a whole and between individual countries or groups of countries.

A serious problem is posed in this connection by questions pertaining to national sovereignty. Our attitude on this is clear. Sovereignty generally is understood as the complete independence of states to determine their foreign and domestic policy. Consideration of problems of sovereignty should by no means be limited to the legal, formal

aspect of the matter, for the content of sovereignty is different in different socio-economic systems. What matters, in the final count, is not the form, but the purpose served by the form. *Under socialism, the settlement of all questions pertaining to sovereignty should be, and is, subordinated to the interests of the working people, the interests of developing and strengthening each country and the community as a whole.* As we have said, all-round cooperation fully accords with these interests. Precisely because of this, closer cooperation is indispensable for the sovereignty of our countries. Attempts to weaken cooperation only tend to weaken and undermine this sovereignty.

Proceeding from this, our Party considers that Bulgaria's national development and the strengthening of her sovereignty are inconceivable without the closest intercourse with the other socialist countries. Development of our cooperation will pose, and poses now, a number of new problems such as coordination of the entire economic, scientific and technical policy, joint planning, and the setting up of joint enterprises.

We have already taken the initial steps in this direction. In March 1964 the Party and government delegations of Bulgaria and Hungary agreed to set up a number of joint engineering and light-industry enterprises, research institutes and other establishments, to be commonly owned by our two states. The delegations also agreed that joint construction of commonly-owned enterprises would eventually become one of the main forms of cooperation between the socialist countries.

Our Party attaches special importance to Bulgaria's relations with the Soviet Union. The concrete conditions of our country, its interests and the interests of the entire socialist system demand that, while participating in international multilateral socialist division of labor, the Bulgarian economy should draw closer to the economy of the Soviet Union. In February 1964 the Party and government delegations of our two countries agreed to undertake joint actions in this direction which will raise our cooperation to a new and higher level. This fully conforms with the national interests of our country and with the aspirations of our people.

* * *

"The First International laid the foundation of the proletarian, international struggle for socialism," Lenin wrote. In the hundred years since the First International the revolutionary movement of the working class has grown tremendously and has won outstanding suc-

cess. On the foundation laid by Marx has risen the edifice of the socialist world system. It is our duty, the duty of the heirs to the First International, to strengthen this edifice in every way, creating the prototype of relations in the world of the future.

Today, as a result of the Chinese leaders' splitting activities, the ideological and political unity of world socialism has been impaired; the economic contacts between the majority of the socialist countries and China have been weakened. There is no doubt, however, that, despite the difficulties, the socialist world system will go on fulfilling its historical mission and exerting an ever greater influence on world developments. For this is the command of the times, an inexorable historical law which will continue to operate, notwithstanding the difficulties created by the Chinese leaders.

The interests of the peoples of the socialist countries, of the entire world Communist movement demand that these difficulties be overcome and the unity of the socialist world system restored and consolidated. Progress in this direction, we believe, has the *best basis* in full-scale socialist and communist construction, in consistent democratization of socialist society.

In celebrating the centenary of the First International we Bulgarian Communists can proudly say that our Party has always been and will always be loyal to the banner of creative Marxism, to the banner of proletarian internationalism.

The socialist ideas of the First International and the Paris Commune began to penetrate in one way or other into certain sections of the Bulgarian public, began to exert their beneficial influence in the second half of the last century. Representatives of the Bulgarian revolutionary movement took part in founding the Second International. Loyal to the class interests of the proletariat, to proletarian

internationalism and socialism, the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (Socialists) headed by Dimitr Blagoyev fought against revisionism and petty-bourgeois sectarian views, for proletarian ideology, for the unity of all truly revolutionary forces.

The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (Socialists) was among the founders of the Third International and joined it without an internal struggle and split. At its Twenty-Second Congress in 1919 (which became the First Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party) the name was changed to Communist Party. The Congress adopted a program and took an important step along the road of Leninism. Guided by the ideas of Lenin, the Bulgarian Communists, under the leadership of D. Blagoyev and later of G. Dimitrov, fought for the creative development of Marxist theory, for militant revolutionary tactics and strategy of the working-class movement. Our Party matured and became steeled in this struggle and became a Party of a new type.

The Bulgarian Communist Party has always been a loyal ally of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Our Party and the CPSU have common aims, common ideals and a common road — the aims of ideals of the international Communist movement worked out at the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960 and set forth in the Declaration and the Statement, the road leading our countries, the international working class and all working people to the triumph of communism.

The building of the new, communist socioeconomic system is *the most important sector of the present-day revolutionary struggle, the decisive link of the world revolutionary process*. This, simultaneously is the high road along which the socialist world system will exert ever greater revolutionizing influence on the peoples of the world and render all-round aid and support to the emancipation movements all over the world.

The First International and Problems of Communist-Socialist Unity

Waldeck Rochet

THE International Working Men's Association (First International) was founded 100 years ago. Established under the leadership of Marx and Engels, it was the creation of the international proletariat, the first practical step towards working-class unity in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. It laid the groundwork for the founding and growth of independent workers' parties in Europe and America.

* * *

The history of the First International is a record of struggle for the triumph of scientific communism in the working-class movement, to isolate the sectarians and opportunists and, later, the petty-bourgeois anarchists. The struggle led, as Lenin put it, to the "demise of pre-Marxian socialism". "By uniting the labor movement of various countries, by striving to direct into the channel of joint activity the various forms of non-proletarian, pre-Marxian socialism (Mazzini, Proudhon, Bakunin, liberal trade unionism in England, Lassalleian vacillations to the Right in Germany, etc.), and by combating the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx hammered out a uniform tactic for the proletarian struggle of the working class in the various countries."*

This "uniform tactic for the proletarian struggle," set forth in numerous documents of great historical significance, in particular the *Inaugural Address* and the *Provisional Rules of the Association* and the *Address of the General Council of the International* on the Paris Commune, is part of the treasure-store of the world working-class and revolutionary movement.

In the *Inaugural Address* Marx showed that it was necessary to lead the workers onward from the fight for *immediate demands* arising from the deterioration of their conditions, to *general conclusions* which would mould a class consciousness irreconcilably opposed to the bourgeoisie, awakening them to their fundamental tasks all the way to the struggle to win power.

*V. I. Lenin, *Karl Marx*.

The *Inaugural Address* offers an example of how to initiate and conduct a discussion of the erroneous viewpoints engendered by the diverse trends and sects of pre-Marxian socialism, a dialogue profoundly elucidating the issues of principle involved and conducted with a restraint enabling all workers to take part in the common struggle even if they adhere to different ideologies.

For example, referring to the successes registered in the struggle for the legal restriction of working hours (for the British trade unions this was practically the only argument in favor of workers' participation in political struggle) and, in particular, the success of the cooperative movement (which the Proudhonists advocated as a means of emancipating the workers without mass political action), the *Inaugural Address* declared that "the value of these great social experiments cannot be over-rated." Marx sought to bring home to the workers that "however excellent in principle, and however useful in practice, cooperative labor, if kept within the narrow circle of the casual efforts of private workmen, will never be able to arrest the growth in geometrical progression of monopoly, to free the masses, nor even to perceptibly lighten the burden of their miseries. . . To save the industrious masses, cooperative labor ought to be developed to national dimensions, and, consequently, to be fostered by national means. . . To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes."

In the *Inaugural Address* and in the documents of the Geneva Congress of 1866 Marx showed how to unite the broad working masses on a platform of class struggle "formulated with firm inner conviction but in moderate form;" he showed how to enlist the British trade unions, the French Proudhonists, etc., in joint action.

The Memorandum of the English delegation, written by Marx, which formed the basis of the decisions of the Geneva Congress on the trade unions, the cooperative movement, the eight-hour day and female labor, was delibera-

tely limited to "points allowing of immediate alliance and agreed actions on the part of the working people, and directly meeting the needs of the class struggle by providing a stimulus to organization for the workers."

Marx and Engels, then, held that the principal condition for the victory of the working class is its unity based on scientific socialism, the union of the workers of various countries under the banner of proletarian internationalism. Later Lenin time and again returned to the importance of working-class unity, pointing out that "unity is infinitely precious and infinitely important to the working class. Disunited, the workers are nothing. United, they are everything."* Lenin, like Marx and Engels, saw working-class unity above all as a matter of the joint struggle of the Marxist vanguard of the proletariat and the working people still under the influence of various trends of non-scientific socialism. Speaking of workers still prejudiced against Communist ideology, he said: "Nothing is easier than the method of immediately breaking with such otherwise-minded workers or of simply keeping aloof from them; nor is there anything more stupid than such a method."**

Lenin repeatedly stressed that the struggle for unity is an aspect of the class struggle. It is essential, he said, because of the "splitting, disuniting, and dulling conditions of capitalism . . ." Hence unity is achieved at the cost of "persistent effort and tremendous patience."***

Sowing disunity among the workers is a device traditionally employed by the enemies of democracy. The history of our country offers no few examples of this. I shall cite only one such instance: at the time of the Dreyfus affair in 1894 disunity prevented the French working class from playing the political role its place in the nation warranted.

The facts are common knowledge. Captain Dreyfus, a Jew from Alsace, was sentenced to penal servitude on faked charges of espionage. Public opinion was sharply divided. The anti-Dreyfus camp took in all the enemies of democracy. The movement in his defense, on the other hand, assumed truly mass proportions, giving expression to the democratic sentiment in the country. The intellectuals, reviving the traditions of the 18th century, sided with the people. Emile Zola wrote his *J'Accuse*, and Anatole France launched out on the road which brought him in his de-

clining years into the ranks of the French Communist Party.

The Dreyfus affair afforded the working class a splendid opportunity to take its place at the head of a great democratic movement. But the working class was not united.

On the pretext of preserving the independence of the working class, Guesde and the French Workers' Party advised against involvement in the struggle which brought the reaction into collision with all the popular forces. Jaures, on the contrary, took an active part in it, but, being isolated, owing to the disunity of the working class, from its most militant elements, sought to reduce the workers' role to that of an auxiliary of bourgeois liberalism, losing sight of the proletariat's own aims. Needless to say, the workers contributed their share to the defeat of the reactionaries, but were denied the opportunity to impart to the mass movement the impetus to progress and democracy which they otherwise could have given.

It is clear, then, that unity and the search for ways of achieving it have always been the prime concern of the French working people. They have learned by their own experience that struggle with diffused forces is ineffectual. They have seen that the division in the workers' ranks damages their own interests and they know that this is something they will eventually have to remedy.

The striving towards unity among the working people led in 1905 to the unification of the French socialist movement and the foundation of the United Socialist Party of Guesde and Jaures. That was unquestionably a step forward in the development of the French working-class movement, even if the unity achieved rested on none too solid a foundation.

* * *

Faithful to the precepts of Marx, Engels and Lenin and the traditions of the French working class, the Communist Party has worked patiently and persistently to build a united front of the democratic and national forces. It never reconciled itself to the split precipitated in 1920 at the Eighteenth Socialist Congress in Tours by the minority when the latter refused to submit to the majority decision to affiliate with the Communist International. On the contrary, it has always considered it essential to achieve unity of action among the working people, to unite all the victims of the monopolies.

Throughout the entire period since the split in Tours, the Communist Party has time and again proposed united action to the Socialist

*V. I. Lenin, *Working-Class Unity*.

**V. I. Lenin, *A New Revolutionary Workers' Association*.

***V. I. Lenin, *A New Revolutionary Workers' Association*.

Party (SFIO).^{*} At the same time it has waged a struggle against the opponents of unity within its own ranks, against those who had not freed themselves from bourgeois influences and, fearing the mass movement, were reluctant to organize it.

The struggle was long and difficult. How little the question was understood in the beginning of 1922 can be seen from the fact that the "leading committee of the Party declared unanimously except for one vote that no united front was possible in France. In October the same year the Paris Congress of the Party rejected the united front tactic by a majority vote. Only in subsequent years was this tactic adopted."^{**}

The policy of unity was again rejected in 1927, when a group of sectarians, taking advantage of the fact that many Communists had been arrested and others forced to go into hiding, succeeded in seizing the leadership of the Party. They managed to impose on the Party and to carry out for some time a policy of ignoring the masses and their day-to-day needs and of whipping up bitter animosity against the socialist workers. However, under the influence of Maurice Thorez, whom the Central Committee elected General Secretary in July 1930, this group was soon exposed and the Party as a whole entered a fruitful phase of regeneration and continued to forge ahead. A few years later France experienced one of the most momentous periods in her history thanks to the unity achieved between the Communists, Socialists and other republicans.

It will be remembered that after Hitler came to power in Germany (January 1933) and after the fascist sallies of February 1934 in France, the first major victory in building working-class unity was achieved in our country. This victory was made possible by the awakening of the working class to the peril of fascism and by the resolute initiative of the Communist Party in promoting united action. The events of February 9 and 12 were outstanding landmarks in this respect.

On February 9 the Party issued a call to the workers, both Communists and Socialists, in the Paris area to come out in a joint demonstration against fascism. For the first time in 13 years members of the two parties joined forces to march side by side. This demonstration paved the way to the great mass political strike of February 12 when workers all over the country, irrespective of

political views, took action like one man. The initial spur had been given and unity of action became the watchword in every department of the country as every fascist sally was met by a powerful popular counter-demonstration.

Basing itself on this experience, the Communist Party at its National Conference held in June 1934 in Ivry, elaborated, in accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles, a united front policy for France, calling for the *independent organization of the masses for action*. At the same time the Party worked out the theory and tactics of the Popular Front in which the theory and tactics of national unity were already delineated.

The united action agreement between the Communist and Socialist parties signed on July 27, 1934, was one of the principal results of this bold policy. The agreement found a response among the middle strata. By demonstrating its will and strength, the working class drew its natural allies into a broad democratic alliance against fascism.

The agreement helped to re-establish trade union unity in 1936 and served as the groundwork of the Popular Front and its electoral success that year as well as the consequent gains for the working class and the masses generally.

The Popular Front—an alliance of the working class and the middle strata uniting manual and mental workers in a militant union—was an important step forward in the search for new ways of implementing the policy of unity and alliance. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International assessed it as follows: "By this act, meeting the vital interests of all working people, the French workers, Communists and Socialists, are once again advancing the working-class movement to the forefront in capitalist Europe."

The Seventh Congress, in keeping with the spirit of the founders of scientific Communism, who attached the greatest importance to the practical experience of the workers, gave a new stimulus to the struggle against the opponents of unity guilty of sectarian mistakes in the international Communist movement. It declared that the achievement of unity among the workers was the "principal immediate task of the international working-class movement," and stressed that in the face of the capitalist offensive, in order to combat the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and fascism more effectively, it was essential to organize united action among *all* sections and *all* organizations of the working class, without waiting until all the distinctions and differences which might set one organization

^{*}Between November 1922 and July 1934, 27 such proposals were made and all of them were rejected.

^{**}Maurice Thorez, "Fortieth Anniversary of the French Communist Party," *Cahiers du Communisme*, No. 10, October 1960.

against another in the fight for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism are overcome.

This orientation confirmed the correctness of the policy of unity and the Popular Front pursued by the French Communist Party.

With the struggle against the fascist danger providing a point of contact between the Communists and Socialists, united action not only saved France from fascism but also made it possible to achieve other democratic aims in the interests of the working class and the middle sections.

If the strength of the Popular Front subsequently began to ebb and if it broke up in 1938, this was not because it was faulty in theory but because the leaders of the Radicals and the Socialists abandoned the program of the Popular Front for the so-called policy of "non-intervention" in Spain, (which led to the defeat of Republican Spain) and gave their blessing to the Munich agreements.

* * *

The disunity of the working class and the French people, then, facilitated the realization of Hitler's military plans and the invasion of France. Later on, however, the battles fought by the Resistance movement, as well as the courageous struggle of the French Communists to unite all the patriotic forces in the name of liberation and the independence of France ushered in a new stage of the united front. Notwithstanding the dramatic circumstances, the friction and even the hatred fostered by certain elements at the beginning of the war, the Communists and the Socialists found themselves in the end fighting shoulder to shoulder in the anti-fascist patriotic struggle. Side by side and together with other patriots, they worked to set up the National Resistance Council in the spring of 1943, and also the local and departmental Liberation Committee throughout the country.

The cooperation between the Communists, Socialists and other patriots continued for some time after Liberation. Communists and Socialists worked together in the government, and the first elections, held in 1945, not only showed that the Communists and Socialists were the majority in the country, but gave them the majority in Parliament as well. In June 1945 the French Communist Party held its Tenth Congress under the triple slogan of "Regeneration, Democracy and Unity." The two main planks of the agreed program of the National Resistance Council were national revival and broader democracy. That program could be carried into life only through unity. This was the keynote of the main re-

port delivered by Maurice Thorez, the General Secretary of the Party.

Speaking of the relations between the Communists and Socialists, he said: "What Communist, what Socialist, could agree that we should abandon unity and begin, as before the war, to find fault with one another, to quarrel, and to squabble among ourselves to the delight of the reaction?"

Following the principles laid down by the great leaders of the proletariat, the French Communist Party did not propose to establish and impose on the working-class movement some special principles with a view to remoulding it in its own image. It did not face the Socialist organizations with the need to make an immediate choice between their own program and the Communist program.

The united front and the restoration of trade union unity once again helped to cement the democratic forces at that time and made it possible not only to restore the big social gains of the Popular Front but to win new ones. It was in this period that the big industrial monopolies and banks were nationalized. The grip of the finance oligarchy on the state machine was in some measure loosened. Under these circumstances and also in the light of the new balance of class forces that had taken shape in the world with the defeat of the fascist powers, Maurice Thorez was able to state:

"The progress of democracy throughout the world opens the prospect of paths other than those followed by the Russian Communists. In any case that path is bound to be different in each country. We have always believed and have always declared that the people of France, with their glorious traditions, will find their own road to democracy, to progress and social justice. However, history shows that there can be no progress without struggle, that there is no beaten track that can be traversed without effort. The people will always have to surmount many an obstacle. But that is what gives meaning to life."*

The French big bourgeoisie, however, did not relish the prospect of such a future for our country. Defense of their privileges prompted them to agree to subordinate France to the United States in the sphere of foreign policy and to launch a new offensive against the socialist camp; in domestic policy the same considerations prompted them to regroup the reactionary forces, including traitors, and to divide the people in order the better to rule them.

This purpose was achieved with the help

*Maurice Thorez, in a statement for the London Times, 1946.

of General de Gaulle and the concurrence of some Socialist Party leaders. Bringing their favourite weapon, anti-communism, into play, they succeeded in poisoning the working-class and democratic movement with this virus, disorienting, dividing and weakening it.

And although the maneuvers aimed at isolating the Communist Party did not achieve the desired results, they nevertheless had some repercussions and dealt considerable damage to the working class and to France. The capitalists took advantage of the split to step up exploitation, to involve the country in the arms race and in the perilous alliance with the revenge-seeking German militarists.

After the parliamentary elections of 1956, which in spite of everything were a victory for democracy, the prosecution of the war in Algeria by a government headed by Socialists deepened the division in the working-class and democratic forces.

When the conspirators staged their insurrection in Algeria in 1958, the republicans were unable to muster sufficient forces in time to bar the way to one-man rule.

At that time our Party redoubled its efforts to reach agreement with all the democratic parties, and primarily with the Socialists, in order to foil the reactionary conspiracy.

Unfortunately, the leaders of the Socialist Party and other Left groups did not accept the Communist proposals and this facilitated the establishment of the one-man regime in France.

Analyzing the class character of the new regime and the causes of the defeat of the working class and democracy, the Communist Party appealed to the French people, including those who had been deceived, to unite for joint action. In the light of the initial headway made in this respect, the Party, at its Fifteenth Congress in June 1959, stressed the need for the coordination of all actions, for unity and solidarity in all the battles waged by the working class and the people generally, and for social and political actions based on the deep confidence in the masses.

In order to promote this unity and to place it on a concrete footing, the Fifteenth Congress submitted to all democratic organization the now well-known draft program for the renewal of republican institutions and of national life as a whole.

* * *

All this happened five years ago. Developments since then have confirmed the correctness of the assessment and the slogans advanced by the Fifteenth Congress.

Today the situation in France is marked by mounting working-class and popular strug-

gle, increasing opposition to the policy of one-man rule, and a growing unity.

The Seventeenth Congress of our Party, therefore, issued an impassioned appeal for working-class unity, union among the democratic forces and all social strata victimized by the policy of the monopolies, for struggle against the authoritarian rule, for genuine democracy, and, ultimately, for socialism.

Unity between the Communist and Socialist parties is becoming an imperative need. Some progress has already been made in this respect. But, as the Seventeenth Congress stressed, this unity must go further today than in the peak years of 1936 and 1945.

In the recent struggles for the workers' demands, in defense of the schools and civil liberties, for rejection of a nuclear "strike force," for peace and disarmament, Communists and Socialists have already fought side by side. One example was the joint demonstration of Communists, Socialists and other democrats for peace and disarmament held near Paris on April 26, 1964, with 120,000 taking part. In Parliament the representatives of the two parties usually vote together.

In the light of all these actions, the idea and the contours of an agreed platform and a common joint program are again beginning to emerge.

And indeed the programs of action of the two parties and of the democratic organizations coincide on a good number of points. It might therefore be possible on this basis to elaborate a definite concept on which all could agree. If the democratic parties and groups could present to the nation a clear-cut joint program of democracy and peace which they undertake jointly to carry into effect, this would undoubtedly contribute to a great upsurge of popular activity.

Incidentally, the Socialist leaders do not deny the need and the possibility of agreement on a joint program. However, they maintain that they are opposing this move at the moment because our parties are divided on ideological issues. Our reply is that united action must not be made contingent upon the disappearance of theoretical differences. This would mean weakening the struggle of the working class and the popular masses. On the contrary, only by multiplying joint action for definite objectives and elaborating a common democratic program is it possible to create a more favorable climate for overcoming ideological differences. Moreover, it has now become possible to conduct a dialogue on the ideological plane as well. From this standpoint the discussion initiated by the Socialist Party last December in the pages

of its central organ *Populaire*, and also our own Party's contribution to the debate in the form of its replies published in *Humanité*, are of major importance. The discussion was conducted in a serious, responsible manner, each side setting forth its views frankly without vituperation or mutual recrimination.

The Seventeenth Congress of our Party advanced the debate a step further. It stressed the major issues on which a considerable approximation of views is to be observed. For example, Guy Mollet says that "to be real, political democracy must be combined with economic democracy." The view on democracy, not as a "thing in itself," as it is seen by bourgeois liberalism, but from the standpoint—the Marxist standpoint—of its class content, has always been our own view, and we note with interest the step which the Secretary of the Socialist Party has taken in this direction. Similarly important and new too is the recognition by the Socialist Party of the fact that the Soviet Union is a democracy, although not in the form "we would wish," as one of the members of the Socialist Party delegation that recently visited Moscow, put it. Equally significant is the recognition of the need for a "temporary dictatorship of the proletariat" in the transitional period, although the concept held by Guy Mollet is somewhat vague and differs in some aspects from the Marxist.

This possibility of rapprochement between the two parties on basic issues once seemingly irreconcilable has become realistic because, as a result of the far-reaching changes that have taken place in the world, many major problems exercising both Communists and Socialists are today posed in a new way.

Take the question of war and peace. There is no doubt that the thesis concerning the possibility of ruling out war between states in our time has been a tremendous factor in bringing the Communists and Socialists closer together.

This, of course, does not mean, as some Socialist leaders assert, that formerly the Communists regarded war as an opportunity and a means for defeating capitalism. Even at the time when imperialism held undivided sway, when wars were inevitable, Lenin and the Communists condemned imperialist wars, fought to abolish them and preserve peace.

Since that time two new developments of decisive significance for the future of humanity have occurred.

The first, and one to which the Chinese Communist leaders make the mistake of attaching too little importance, is that as a result of the radical change in the balance

of forces between capitalism and socialism, the peace forces throughout the world are now strong enough to compel war to retreat and to impose peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems.

The second development, which is dangerously underestimated by the Chinese leaders, is that the advent of nuclear weapons has faced the world with the crucial choice between two alternatives—peaceful coexistence or the annihilation of entire peoples. The fact that the Communists and Socialists both stand for coexistence is naturally, notwithstanding their differences, bringing them closer to finding a common basis for agreement in the struggle against the threat of nuclear war and for peace and democracy.

* * *

Another fundamental issue is that of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The Communist thesis concerning the variety of ways to socialism and the possibility of a peaceful transition, given certain conditions, is another factor which considerably facilitates rapprochement between Communists and Socialists. This thesis gives the lie to the old saw about the Communists being in principle "supporters of an active minority and instigators of violence." It offers the Socialist workers a clearer prospect of advancing to socialism together with the Communists.

Of course, when we defend the thesis concerning the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism, we by no means depart from the Marxist thesis that the bourgeoisie will never voluntarily relinquish power.

We do not forget what Lenin said about the working class being obliged to master all means and forms of revolutionary struggle without exception. We know that under all circumstances, even when there exists a genuinely democratic parliament, the socialist revolution is first and foremost the result of the struggle of the masses.

But having said this we, French Communists, believe that in our country the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism will increase as the Communist and Socialist parties strengthen their cooperation for democracy, and later on, for socialism.

It was precisely to facilitate the peaceful advance to socialism through close cooperation between the two parties and all democratic and anti-monopoly forces that the Seventeenth Congress of our Party categorically rejected the idea of a one-party system being essential for the realization of socialism in France.

This by no means detracts from the essen-

tial role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the struggle for the building of socialism; what is in question is the union and effective cooperation of the democratic parties, and primarily of the Communist and Socialist parties, and of all social forces striving towards socialism.

Of course we want the working class to achieve full political unity. But this presupposes, above all, accord between the Socialists and Communists, and until that is achieved, we stand for close and enduring cooperation between our two parties. The significance for France of the thesis adopted by our Seventeenth Congress lies in the fact that it removed one of the chief obstacles to unity.

Henceforth the "single party" argument can no longer be advanced seriously as an obstacle to cooperation and unity of the two parties. And this is the main thing. It is the answer to the call for an alliance between the Communist and Socialist parties that is issuing today from the factories and offices, fields and universities. Our Party is sparing no effort, as our Congress demanded, to overcome the resistance still encountered to the idea of unity, spurred on by the knowledge that unity is growing.

Here too we feel that the Chinese leaders are making a mistake when, turning their backs on the 1960 Meeting, they reject all possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism and stand for armed uprising under all circumstances, without taking the sentiments of the masses into account, without knowing whether they are ready for revolution and without taking into account the domestic and foreign situation.

In reality their Leftist phraseology bespeaks a total lack of faith in the working class. They do not believe that the struggle of the popular masses can lead to the socialist revolution.

Only by organizing a united front of the parties which consider themselves the parties of the working class, and by uniting all republicans, is it really possible to build up a movement in France powerful enough to put an end to the one-man regime and establish genuine democracy. This unity, this alliance for the achievement of a common immediate goal, will provide a firm and enduring basis for the necessary union of the working class with the toiling peasantry, intellectuals and the urban middle sections, facilitate victory over the capitalist oligarchy, and ensure a more rapid advance to a fuller, more radical reorganization of society in the interests of the people.

Fidelity to Marxist-Leninist principles, which preclude sectarian sophistry of any kind; patient explanatory and organizational work among the masses; words that appeal to the hearts and minds of the millions of working people and rally them to the struggle; slogans and forms of action free from schematism and any tendency to trail in the wake of events — this is the guarantee of success in realizing the united front policy, in uniting all democratic forces.

This principled attitude and the need to display initiative and boldness in working with the masses is what Marx and Engels, drawing on the experience of the First International, taught the revolutionary vanguard. And this is what the great Lenin taught the revolutionary party of the new type in preparing for the October Socialist Revolution.

* * *

The Chinese Communist leaders exclude any possibility of agreement and cooperation between the Communist and Socialist parties, and in one of their articles they accuse our Party of forming a bloc with the Social Democrats because we are working for Communist-Socialist united action. But here too they are at variance with the 1960 Statement. Pointing out that Communists must criticize the ideological positions and Right-opportunist practices of the Social Democrats, the Statement stresses the need for a united front between the Communists and Socialists in these words: "In the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of working people, the extension and preservation of their democratic rights, the achievement and defense of national independence, for peace among nations, and also in the struggle to win power and build socialism, the Communist parties advocate cooperation with the Socialist parties."

Clearly, the Chinese leaders in rejecting this thesis of the 1960 Meeting are not taking into account the conditions of our time. They refuse to see that in proportion as socialism affirms its superiority as a social system, the possibilities will increase for the working people and the militants and leaders of the Socialist parties to abandon the policy of class collaboration in favor of the policy of effective struggle for socialism.

This means that if the Communist parties of the capitalist countries were to adopt the sectarian and adventurist line of the Chinese leaders they would soon find themselves isolated from the masses and would turn into small, uninfluential sects, to the great

joy of the capitalist monopolies and the reactionaries of their respective countries.

* * *

One hundred years ago when the First International was founded Marx and Engels launched their immortal slogan: "Workers of all lands, unite!"

What progress has the world working-class movement made since then?

Socialism has triumphed on more than one-third of the globe, and the ideals of socialism are winning over ever broader masses in all parts of the world.

We are living in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale.

Hence, whatever the difficulties that lie ahead, we are convinced that we are moving towards a radiant Communist future.

In the meantime it is necessary to wage a struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the world Communist movement.

Our Party has upheld and will continue resolutely to uphold the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, waging the battle on two fronts: against opportunism and revisionism and against dogmatism and sectarian shortsightedness, which have become the principal dangers to the international working-class movement. The resolution adopted by the Seventeenth Congress of our Party stresses:

"The Seventeenth Congress considers that the line elaborated by the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party is a dangerous line opposed to the general line of the International Communist movement."

An analysis of the development of the policy adopted by the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party indicates that they have revised all the basic theses of the Meeting of the Communist parties: concerning the character of our epoch; the possibility of ruling out world war; the possibility, under certain conditions, of peaceful transition to socialism; the possibility of building unity with the Socialists; on the necessity to combat the personality cult.

At the same time the Chinese leaders are systematically violating jointly adopted de-

cisions, conducting disruptive and splitting activities aimed, on the one hand, at dividing the countries of the socialist community, and, on the other, at destroying the unity of the international Communist movement, all of which only plays into the hands of imperialism.

The French Communist Party holds that the unity of the international Communist movement is the most effective and the most essential weapon in the fight for peace, for democracy, for the national and social emancipation of all nations.

Hence it exerted every effort to preserve unity with the comrades in the Chinese Communist Party. From the very beginning we tried to conduct the discussion in such a way as to keep the differences within the movement.

We joined in the numerous proposals to end the public polemic with a view to creating a more favorable climate for overcoming the differences.

However, the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party rejected all these proposals and continued to add to the differences, intensifying their attacks on other parties and carrying their impermissible splitting activities still further.

In view of this the Seventeenth Congress of our Party came out in favor of convening an international conference in order that all the Marxist-Leninist parties should once again solemnly reaffirm the Communist theses concerning peaceful coexistence, the possibility, under certain conditions, of peaceful transition to socialism, the need to build up a united front with the Socialist parties, and also in order to examine the vital problems of our time and to take all the necessary measures to preserve the unity of the international Communist movement.

The French Communist Party will spare no effort to promote the unity of the world Communist movement, for this is an earnest of victory in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, for social progress and for socialism.

In this way it will remain true to the great slogan of Marx and Engels, "Workers of all lands, unite!"

The Ideology of the Future

Gus Hall

THE one single most decisive factor that is propelling millions into action, stirring the minds of men, igniting and initiating movements of multitudes is the fast-growing consciousness that for the first time in the history of civilization we have reached a point where we now could have a life without want or fear of want. A realization that the level of science and technology not only can be the basis for the elimination of want, but also the foundation of a society that is eliminating wars, oppression, bigotry and inequality between nations and peoples.

Like a solar battery, this consciousness feeds energy and fighting militancy and awakens political strength in the ranks of the ever-growing millions who are fighting for the realization of that which they now sense is a practical possibility.

As this consciousness grows, increasing multitudes are turning for leadership to the one class in society that is of necessity destined to lead civilization in the struggles through which it will reach this high plateau that it now seeks—to the working class.

The working class rightly traces its class family tree and its glorious pages of struggle to the very first moment of the formation of capitalism as a system of economic relationships between men. The rise of its class consciousness, the development of its ideological and political personality has been moulded by the blood, sweat and tears of cruel and inhuman exploitation and oppression. In this crucible of struggle it has been prepared to carry out the responsibilities history has assigned to it.

The central thread of the history of our times is the great numerical and political, organizational and ideological growth of the working class. With each passing day with an evermore confident and sure-footed stride, the working class is honorably carrying out its task. From isolated groups without unity or outlook, this class has developed into a world force that now more and more determines the course in the affairs of mankind. The working class is now the most decisive force for progress in the world. As Marx and Engels said over a hundred years ago: "Among all the classes that confront the bourgeoisie

today, the proletariat alone is really revolutionary." This observation, if anything, is even more valid for today than it was in the time of Marx and Engels.

There are many notable milestones that mark the history of the working-class movement. This year marks the 100th anniversary of one of these political landmarks. It is an event that marks a qualitative forward thrust of the working-class movement — for 100 years ago the process of working-class ideological growth and rise of its class consciousness and the accumulation of experience in organization and struggle had reached a level which gave birth to the first international working-class political association — the First International.

This was qualitatively a big step indeed. It was the result of the growing understanding on the part of the working class of the role it was called upon to play as history unfolded itself. It was in step and in keeping with its rising consciousness that it would have to lead the struggle to wrest power from the bloody hands of capitalism. It reflected the fact that the working-class movement was developing the guidelines for a new system of society. The ideas of socialism were taking deep root.

These ideas and the inhumanity of capitalism had given rise to Socialist and Communist societies and organizations in all of the advanced industrial countries. The First International was the creation, was the child, of these organizations and the aspirations and the ideas that were fermenting in the ranks of the advanced sections of the working class.

This first working-class international organization lasted only some 10 years, but it was a historic success. Engels said of Marx's role: "Had Marx done nothing but found the International, that was an achievement of which he might well have been proud." This First International set into motion the forces that are now fulfilling its promise. It developed a set of guidelines that will serve the working class for this whole historic period. The accumulated experiences up to the time of its existence were incorporated into the basic theories of Marxism. Marx and Engels, who were both active in the leadership of the In-

ternational, developed the science of Marxism as well as the strategy and tactical framework that has served as a guide for the working class ever since.

Marx and Engels took the best that human thought had produced, added their own genius, and then studied every possible side of society, science, philosophy, economics, history, political developments. As a result of a lifetime of study and struggle they gave the working class a science, a theory, a world outlook. This made it possible for the working class not only to understand its own role but to understand the society around it. This gave it a perspective and a line of march. This placed the spontaneous working-class spirit and ideological trend within and as an integral part of, a social science. The First International was a testing ground for this new theoretical body of thought — scientific socialism.

After the International decided to end its organized existence, Engels summarized its place as follows: "The International dominated ten years of one side of European history . . . the side on which the future lies . . . and can look upon its work with pride."

The International was the offspring of the class that was emerging on to the center stage of life. Engels' confident prediction of how the International was "on the side of history where the future lies" was not abstract speculation. Engels' confidence was based on his understanding of the laws of development of capitalist society, on a scientific and an objective analysis of the class character of capitalism. This led him to have confidence in the class that gave rise to an International that was "on the right side of history," confidence in the working class.

Struggle for Working Class Ideology

In a very real sense the struggle for the First International was a historic fight for the development and for the dominance of the ideology and outlook of the working class. The challenge to this outlook was ferocious and many-sided. The challenge to these class concepts was rooted in the middle classes of Europe and England. These attacks came from the Left as well as from the Right, but they both sprang from the same non-working class petty-bourgeois source. The attacks from the Right tried to water down the revolutionary content of the International—to make of it a mutual benefit society. The attacks from the Left came in the form of petty-bourgeois factionalist conspiracies of Left phrasemongers within most of the parties affiliated to the International.

These non-working class trends attracted and gave encouragement to all kinds of irresponsible adventurers and petty-bourgeois radicals who played with the revolutionary movement as if it were a hobby. Of these petty-bourgeois sects and their anarchistic doctrines, Engels wrote: "This children's primer found favor . . . where the real conditions for the workers' movement had as yet little developed and amongst a few vain, ambitious and empty doctrinaires . . ."

As today, the struggle in the First International on two fronts—against the Right and the Left—was in essence a struggle for the development and the dominance of working-class ideology. This deep concern by Marx and Engels for the dominance of working-class ideology was expressed in the following amendment which they personally wrote to the general rules adopted by the First International:

"Everybody who acknowledges and defends the principles of the International Workingmen's Association is eligible to become a member. However, in order to guarantee the proletarian character of the Association, not less than two-thirds of the membership of each branch must consist of wage workers."

In the councils of the First International the ideology that reflected the working class and was so brilliantly developed and defended by Marx and Engels, won the day. It is this victory that gives this International, in spite of its short span of existence, such a remarkable and glorious place in the annals of the working-class movement.

But that was only the beginning of the encounters. An important battle had been won but the war of the class ideologies was not over. In the field of ideology the battle has to be won over and over again. The struggle is never-ending and constant. There can be no let-up. There can be no days off. The moment you relax your guard, you have lost ground. In the battle of ideology, the task is to uproot and replace the ideology of the capitalist class with the ideology of the working class.

Through the years since the First International, the assaults on Marxism have come under many different covers, but their basic content is always the same. There are variations of the theme, but they all contain one central feature. It is an attack and a denial of the class character of Marxism. They are all attacks on the working class, its ideology, its concepts and its historic role. They are all attempts to separate Marxism from the working class and the working-class movement. Once separated from its natural base,

then the effort is to make of it either a set of bible-like dogmas or a supposedly respectable set of philosophical idealistic thoughts to be a subject of nice abstract parlor discussions.

For the advocates of capitalism to be able to insidiously promote and inject non-working class ideas in the minds of the masses, it is necessary for them to try to remove the working class from its distinct historic role. So no matter what the variation of the attack, it always includes an attempt to downgrade, or even to eliminate, the working class as a factor in the struggle for progress. The attack may be a frontal attack by a monopoly spokesman or an attack by those influenced by bourgeois nationalism, as well as by those who cover their attacks by "Left" and even socialist phrases, but its aim is always to downgrade or eliminate the working class and to water down the basic class nature of capitalism.

In the United States the very latest variation of this theme goes as follows: Automation has replaced workers. White collar people are taking over, and therefore the working class is slowly disappearing. And they ask—how can one speak about the leading role of a class that is in fact disappearing? The direct inference being, therefore, that it is now the white collar technicians and professionals that have become the advanced sector of society. It is clear that once the working class is supposedly removed from the scene, then all of the petty-bourgeois non-working class concepts and ideas have an open door and a free hand.

Then there are the variations that say the following—that because of some special historical circumstances of one's own country, the peasants and the middle-class elements are "different" than the peasants and the middle-class elements have been and are in the rest of the world. And they say, therefore, it is these elements that are the most progressive. In part, this variation has become the attempted explanation by the leadership of the Communist Party of China for its erroneous thought that the peasants would lead the big leap to communism through communes.

And then there is the variation that says—maybe it is true for the rest of the world that the working class is the revolutionary class, but it is not true for the working class in my country. Again, because of some so-called "special" historic development, this working class is completely "corrupt and degenerate" and is in no condition to fulfill its historic mission.

Even the cliché "don't idolize the working class" has been turned into a license to downgrade the role of the working class. It is one thing to idolize the working class, it is another thing to downgrade its role and place in society. It is one thing to understand the nature of capitalist class ideological influences on the working class. It is quite another thing to use this fact to read the working class out of the ranks of progressive mankind.

The logical end of all of the variations is in fact a denial of the class character of capitalist society. Once the nature and role of the working class is denied—a class that is a product of capitalism—then the basic Marxist point that capitalist society is divided between the two main opposing classes is denied.

"It has simplified class antagonisms—more and more society is split into two hostile camps—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat." Such is the reality of capitalist society. It is this class nature of capitalism that gives rise to the central contradiction of our times—the contradiction between these two classes. To deny the existence of a central contradiction, as the leaders of the Communist Party of China do, is to deny the basic class nature of capitalism.

All development, including all other contradictions, takes place within and in relationship to this overall basic class nature of capitalism and the central contradiction arising therefrom. When one rejects this basic nature of capitalism, it is also a way of downgrading the role of the working class and raising into dominance the role of non-working class elements. The theory of an endless mixture of rising and falling contradictions, is a theory for an endless mixture of classes to replace the Marxist concept of the two main classes creating the central contradiction of our time.

Once the basic nature of capitalism is denied, then the contradiction between the working class and the capitalist class is not a central contradiction but only one of many contradictions which rise and fall in importance without rhyme or reason. Such is the basic erroneous outlook of the leaders of the Communist Party of China about these matters.

One can draw such erroneous conclusions only by conjuring up a vision and rejecting the realities of capitalism.

During the years of the existence of the First International, petty-bourgeois anarchist factionalists led by Bakunin covered their attacks and their basic lack of confidence in

the working class by radical-sounding left phrases. There are variations, but this theme also has persisted through the years. I suppose it makes petty-bourgeois sense if you have no confidence in being able to lead or influence workers, then why not retreat into parlors and there complain about the "backwardness" of the working class and even compete with each other as to who can sound the most shocking, the most "revolutionary." And if you sound shocking enough you may even make the pages of the bourgeois newspapers who use this in their propaganda showing how wild and irresponsible working class parties are.

Of course, if this was done only in the parlors it would not be harmful, but when it is given as advice to people who do not have the benefit of long experience and therefore take it seriously, then it becomes a serious matter. When this advice becomes a guide for struggle of working class organizations, then it turns into its very opposite; it becomes an instrument of the enemy, it becomes a means by which the capitalist class can separate the leadership from its mass base. The pages of history are full of examples where petty-bourgeois radicals have played into the hands of the enemy by irresponsible actions and advice, just as there are endless examples where the Right-wing revisionists have watered down the militancy and fighting capacity of working class organizations which have also led to setbacks and defeats.

Proletarian Internationalism

One of the key ingredients in the ideology of the working class is the concept of proletarian internationalism. It flows from the mutual self-interest of the working people of all lands. It reflects the deep natural aspirations of a class that is not corroded and warped by narrow profit-motivated nationalism. It embodies the foundation for the ideology of man in a world where there will be no wars and classes, racial bigotry or national antagonisms. Proletarian internationalism is a pivotal pillar in the ideology of a Communist man.

It is all this, but it is even more. It is an important weapon in the class struggle. It is an expression of working-class unity on the highest plane. In practice it is the acid test of one's class consciousness as well as of one's social consciousness. Of this Engels said: "The main point, however, is to safeguard the true international spirit, which allows no national chauvinism to arise, and which joyfully welcomes each new advance of the proletarian movement no matter from which nation it

comes."

"The main point is to safeguard the true international spirit"—there is a crucial compulsive need for the world Marxist movement to take a new, a good, long, hard, fresh look into the full meaning of these words.

This true spirit of internationalism has indeed become a valiant warrior. It has not won all encounters, but it has an historic record. Since the days of the First International, it has matured into a formidable ideological current that is successfully meeting the assaults of trends of great power chauvinism and "narrow nationalism" flowing from the capitalist swamps and sewers.

This "true spirit" as reflected by the First International and in the works of Marx and Engels left a very deep impression on the course of United States history. About this manifestation, in connection with our Civil War, Marx wrote: "From the commencement of the Titanic-American strife the working men of Europe felt instinctively that the star-spangled banner carried the destiny of their class. It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working class of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery." "It ought never to be forgotten in the U.S. that at least the working classes of England from the commencement to the termination of the difficulties have never forgotten them."

For these acts of the true spirit of internationalism, the American working class will be forever grateful. It can now be only a matter of speculation as to what would have been the course of our history had the main powers of Europe been able to throw their arms on the side of slavemasters.

The working-class soil was prepared and fertile when the First International planted and nursed the young tree of proletarian internationalism.

The pages of history are witness to its influence and growth. Lenin addressed himself to it in his appeals for support of the first workers Socialist Republic. Large sections of the working class responded. The "true spirit of internationalism" wrote heroic pages during the first world war. The militant Socialists and Communists, including such world-famous leaders as Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxembourg as well as thousands of others, successfully fought against the attempts to engulf the working class of the world in the flood waters of Jimcrowism, chauvinism and national hatreds that accompanied this imperialist war. There was a magnificent movement and par-

ticipation of the workers of many lands in the struggle of the Spanish people against Franco fascism. There are pages of examples where workers of imperialist countries have demonstrated their support to the struggles of the peoples in the colonial countries for independence. The countless actions for peace, the thousands of cases of strike solidarity movements, the worldwide movement against fascism, actions for the release of political prisoners—all this stands as irrefutable proof of how deep and basically healthy are the roots of the ideological tree of proletarian internationalism.

Since coming to power the working class and the people of the Soviet Union have set new standards of proletarian internationalism. Their unselfish assistance to the newer arrivals into the world system of Socialist states and the assistance of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries to the newly independent nations will always stand as monuments to proletarian internationalism. The readiness of the socialist countries to defend the new nations who are just emerging from the prisons of imperialism, even those who have not yet made the basic decision as to which economic system they will build, is opening the doors to a new standard of conduct in the relationship between nations and peoples.

But the "true spirit of internationalism" has not and does not develop without temporary setbacks. It is not always sunshine and showers for the tree of proletarian internationalism. The storms of narrow bourgeois nationalism, of great power chauvinism, rage around its lofty branches. The worms of racism, jingoism, chauvinism, all try to bore through its proletarian bark.

The working class itself will adopt ideological concepts that its class has given rise to only through experiences in the struggle for its self-interests. The task of a Marxist organization is to win the workers to these class concepts. This cannot be done by mouthing abstract radical-sounding phrases. Workers go into struggle for their self-interests as they see them. A Marxist leadership must be able to clearly express the proper relationship between the self-interests as the workers see them and their deeper class and political meaning. The art of leadership requires the ability to show the self-interests of workers in all of the broader political issues. This cannot be done with general slogans and abstract radical phrases. It cannot be done by proclamations and exhortations. The working class must be shown how their self-interests are served by policies that flow from the

"true spirit of internationalism."

Right in the midst of conducting a war against counter-revolution and imperialist foreign intervention, which included the forces of United States imperialism, Lenin addressed a letter to American workers. It was a plea for acts of proletarian internationalism in defense of the socialist revolution, but it was based on pointing out the self-interests of American workers in that revolution. It is based on a deep understanding of the level of development of the class struggle in the U.S.A. It remains an example of Lenin's ability to speak with candor and to remain realistic during critical moments, and the ability to place difficult questions in the context of an analysis of objective reality with precision and depth. It is an example of the ability to understand the specific level, the weaknesses as well as the strong points of the workers he was talking to. In the appeal there is the following very interesting paragraph:

"We know that help from you, comrade American workers, will, perhaps, not come very soon, for the development of the revolution in the various countries proceeds in different forms and with different degrees of rapidity (nor can it be otherwise). We know that the European proletarian revolution may not flare up within the next few weeks, however quickly it may have been maturing lately. We place our stakes on the inevitability of the international revolution; but that does not mean that we are fools enough to place our stakes on the inevitability of the revolution coming on some definite and early date. We have witnessed two great revolutions in our country, in 1905 and in 1917, and we know that revolutions are not made to order, nor by agreement. We know that circumstances have advanced our Russian detachment of the socialist proletariat to the forefront not because of our merits, but because of the exceptional backwardness of Russia, and that individual revolutions may suffer a series of defeats before the international revolution breaks out."

As we know, all basic ideological trends have a class base. The relationship of a class to the economic structure of society is what gives rise to an ideological trend. This creates the base for such a trend. But its development and its acceptance by the masses is not intuitive or automatic. Its development is not inevitable. It must be fought for. Marx and Engels gave this working class ideology the scientific framework. They developed its content into a rounded-out world outlook. But as long as there are classes anywhere in the world, there will be a struggle between these

two class ideological trends everywhere in the world.

Only a part of the results of repeated experiences settles down to become the inherited ideological pool. Because of this, development of ideological trends trails behind other developments. So even after the economic base for capitalist ideology has disappeared, for some time after there will have to be a struggle for the dominance of the working class ideology.

This has nothing to do with the erroneous idea that after the working class takes power, the class struggle will continue to get sharper. What it does mean is that the process of the growth of the new Communist man will take place through the struggle against capitalist ideas. Now, it takes place against capitalist ideas that remain within the socialist countries and ideas that have their origin in the remaining capitalist world. For some time Marxists must view the struggle against opposing ideologies as the astronomist views the light particles from celestial bodies that have disappeared but the particles continue to move in outer space.

The Marxist working-class parties of the world now need to raise to new heights as a crucial and paramount question the struggle for the dominance of working-class ideology and for the rejection of non-working class influences in its ranks. In this struggle, the concepts of proletarian internationalism must get top priority. This is imperative not because one can find quotations from Marx and Engels and Lenin that support this view, but rather because it is an absolutely necessary ingredient within the strategy and tactics of victory for the working class. The weakening of working-class concepts, the inroads of narrow nationalism against the "true spirit of internationalism" have already done inestimable harm to the cause of our class.

The majority of the members of the Marxist parties of the world are not workers, but even if they were this in itself would not guarantee anything. Also it does not follow that Marxists should now discourage the winning over of non-working class sections to the cause of progress and socialism. What it does mean is that the leaders of the Marxist movements in the world must become alerted and more concerned with the problems of ideological influences coming from non-working class sections of society. Only with a correct understanding of the role of the working class and the concepts it gives rise to is it possible to win over non-working class sections of the population into struggles against the evils of capitalism. Any attempt to see

other, non-working class elements as a replacement for the role the working class is destined to play is like placing round pegs in square holes. Coalitions and alliances in struggle fit into a framework when the working class is seen in its correct place,

The mistaken views of the leaders of the the Communist Party of China can fundamentally be explained only as resulting from the weakening of the working-class concepts, of working-class ideology and the increase of non-working class influences. These policies have found some support within the leading bodies of a small number of parties only because the same class weaknesses exist. Great power chauvinism, narrow nationalism, are ideological products of a capitalist system. They have no place in the ideology of the working class. There can and should be a healthy pride in the achievements of one's people, but this must not be permitted to degenerate into bourgeois nationalism. There is and there must be a concern about the self-interests of one's nation, but this must not be permitted to become bourgeois nationalism.

The attitude of the leaders of the Communist Party of China on such questions as settling of border disputes, fraternal and cooperative relations between socialist states, the need for developing a system of mutually beneficial division of production between the socialist countries, the attitude to the Caribbean crisis of 1962—all have within them the absence of a working-class approach. They are discussed and approached from a narrow bourgeois-nationalist premise. It is also evident that they do not see the rise of socialism as an extension of the class struggle and resulting from the main contradiction of our time. From their viewpoint the class struggle becomes replaced by the struggle between nations, races and world areas. These concepts are in fact a petty-bourgeois denial of the class character of capitalism and a rejection of the class struggle and a denial of the historic role of the working class.

The very nature of the main class contradiction arising from capitalism dictates a set of policies. For victory in the struggle between the two classes, between the two systems, the socialist sector must overtake and surpass the production level of the capitalist sector. For the socialist sector, the science, technology and industrial capacity of the Soviet Union is the main base. It is in the self-interest of every socialist country, in the self-interest of all workers everywhere that this main economic base for world socialism should continue to grow as fast

as possible. But the influence of narrow nationalism has not permitted our Chinese comrades to see this reality. Instead they say it is a mistake for one country to build a communist society with its great industrial capacity before all of the socialist countries can do so, and in effect they say: hold back and spread the resources to raise the capacity of all countries on an equal level. Because of this erroneous concept they minimize and misinterpret the tremendous help that the Soviet Union has given to all of the socialist countries, including China.

If the Soviet Union had not given top priority to the building of this industrial base, including nuclear capacity after the Second World War, the balance of world forces would not have tipped against imperialism. Of course, if one does not view the danger of a world war as a negative factor in human affairs, it does not really matter. It is in the most crucial interests of world peace, anti-imperialism and of world socialism that the Soviet Union, while giving as much aid as possible to the other socialist countries, continues to give top priority to the speediest possible building of its industrial base. The people of the USA in a small way are already getting some of the benefits from the competition between the two systems. We have always had poverty. But this competition has forced a campaign of war on poverty. This competition and the victories of the peoples in the colonial countries have been an important factor in the victories of the civil rights struggles for equality for Negro Americans.

The policies of peaceful coexistence are also fully in accord with the concepts of the class struggle. They are policies that became mandatory as soon as the working class became the leading force of state power in a single country. In fact, they are policies of class struggle at a turning point in history when the working class is a leading force of state power in some countries and capitalism is in power in other countries. It is not accidental that the most reactionary ultra-Right forces in the USA have as their slogan "Peaceful coexistence with socialism means death to U.S. capitalism."

The policies of the right of all nations to determine their own destinies has its origin and its roots in the working-class world outlook. It is an integral part of the outlook of proletarian internationalism.

A rejection of these policies is especially detrimental to the cause of the anti-imperialist struggle. What gives the present-day struggles for independence from imperialism a special significant new quality is precisely

because they have a relationship to the class that is emerging as the dominant factor in life—the working class and its socialist state power. In fact one can fully understand and appreciate the significance of the present historic rise of the colonial peoples for independence and freedom only if one sees the relationship of this development to an epoch when the world system of capitalism is being replaced by the world system of socialism; that it has a relationship to a class that is victorious over the old class of capitalism. It would seem ABC—how is it possible for anyone not to see the significance of the unity between the peoples who are fighting for liberation from imperialism and the working class that is fighting to destroy both imperialism and capitalism.

The leaders of the Communist Party of China say that the difference between themselves and the world Marxist movement regarding this question is "the recognition or the non-recognition of the right of the oppressed nations to liberate themselves" or "support or non-support to the wars of liberation." This way of placing the question, of course, is irresponsible slander and has no relationship to what the real problem is. What kind of support would these oppressed nations have if they were to follow Peking's advice, that is, their advice to reject the help of the socialist countries, to refuse to have anything to do with the Soviet Union because only a part of it is on the Asian sector of the universe; their advice to "rely on your own resources;" their concept to separate the anti-imperialist struggles from the working class movement of the world? Such advice, if accepted, would be tantamount to throwing away their trump card. Yes, the question is "support or non-support." But it is the CPC that is arguing for non-support and even saying to the newly liberated countries: "If the socialist countries and the workers offer support, don't accept it."

The attempt to split the anti-imperialist movement and the newly independent nations and peoples from the working class and the socialist states is to create contradictions and antagonisms between the two most natural allies of this epoch. It is an attempt to split an alliance that spells an end to capitalism as well as to imperialism.

To understand the relationship between the different movements, struggles and currents as being within the context of class struggle between the working class and the capitalist class is to give all of the movements new strength and foresight. It is this understanding that gives the liberation movements

a new sense of confidence in the working class.

Without this correct basic understanding of the role of classes, there cannot be a correct understanding or approach to such questions as political alliances, or temporary combinations and allies in struggle, or a correct understanding of the relationship between a struggle for reforms and the struggle for socialism, or how to utilize the differences within the camp of the enemy, or the role and meaning of the struggle against monopoly power, and a host of other such questions. Without the class understanding they all become a part of an undefined conglomeration of contradictions without a framework and without perspective.

All tactical and strategic questions have a close relationship with basic estimates. If one does not have confidence in the working class or the understanding of the laws of capitalist development and their relationship to the class struggle, then many erroneous tactical and strategic concepts take root. If you have no confidence in the working class, then you have no confidence in mass struggles or the role of masses in influencing the course of history. When there is no confidence in the working class, then ideas of importing and exporting revolutions take root because if you have no confidence in the internal forces, then you look for external forces as a solution to the problems. If one understands that social revolutions cannot be "made to order," then the policies of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social and political systems becomes understandable. All of these policies become related and fall into proper place if there is this deeper Marxist understanding of the basis of the class struggle.

The "true spirit of internationalism" must be continuously reaffirmed and fought for. This spirit is certainly missing in the attempts of the leaders of the CPC to create splits in the Marxist working-class parties. "This spirit" is non-existent to their open support for political degenerates, renegades and adventurers, including irresponsible elements that have been expelled from the Communist parties. "This spirit" is absent in the vitriolic and unprincipled attacks against the leaders of the Communist parties of the world. It is especially irresponsible to repeat the age-old slander spread since the First International by the most reactionary spokesmen of capitalism that Communist parties are agents of some foreign power. Early American fighters were called agents of France. The present charge is that Communists are agents of

Moscow. The First International had a clause in its Rules that said: "They declare that this international association and all societies and individuals adhering to it will acknowledge truth, justice and morality as the basis of their conduct toward each other and towards all men without regard to color, creed or nationality." It would not be time wasted for some Marxists of today to brush the dust off such a motto.

The working class of each country gives rise to a vanguard party of its own. There are no dominant parties in the world Communist movement. The application of the science of Marxism is successful only when it is in the hands of people who are themselves native by-products of the struggles, experiences and history of their own people. Whether the specific experiences of workers in other lands are in any way applicable to one's own land can best be decided only by the Marxists of each country. But all this cannot be the basis for developing concepts that reject the universality and the correctness of the science, the theories of Marxism-Leninism. It must not become the smoke-screen behind which parties take on the characteristics of non-working class parties of bourgeois nationalism. It must not become the cover for substituting the basic Marxist concept of the class nature of capitalism by non-class concepts. It must not become the excuse for letting the tree of the "true spirit of internationalism" become withered and choked with the weeds and moss of narrow nationalism.

We Marxists reject any concept that we are not loyal and patriotic to our people. It is our deep concern for our people that makes Communists of us.

The capitalist class uses the false charge of "foreign agent" and the Hitlerite charge that all Communist parties are part of a worldwide conspiracy. We reject this slander, but while rejecting it, we also must not let this slanderous campaign drive us each into our own narrow national corner. Lenin said: "We are opposed to national enmity, to national discord, to national exclusiveness—we are internationalists." The *Peking Review* attempts to replace this working-class concept with nationalist ideas. There are times when a national spirit does serve the purpose of unity in a just struggle. This has especially been true in the struggle against imperialism. But this cannot mean that nationalism can become an accepted replacement for the working-class ideology of proletarian internationalism.

Because U.S. imperialism is an aggressive

reactionary force with its greedy tentacles reaching out to every part of the world, the working class of the USA has a very special responsibility. Until our class is fully ready to accept such responsibilities, the advanced detachments of our class must accept them for it. The spirit of class solidarity based on its own self-interests must especially move the American working class to become the backbone of a movement for an end to the policies of aggression against the Republic of Cuba and for the removal of U.S. armed forces from Southeast Asia and from the Chinese territory of Taiwan.

For a working class of an imperialist nation the influence of capitalist ideology is a constant and an especially acute problem. The influence of great power chauvinism and the ideology of white chauvinism are the real roadblocks to the development of class consciousness and socialist consciousness. White chauvinism is the obstacle to working class unity because a large section of our working class are Negro workers. In the USA, before the ideology of the working class can become dominant, it must win over these main pillars of bourgeois ideology.

After the First International, Engels hopefully said: "The simple feeling of solidarity based on the understanding of identity of class position suffices to create and to hold together one and the same great parties of the proletariat amongst the workers of all countries and tongues." The founders of Marxism, who never believed in spontaneity, did not infer that this would happen without effort and struggle. The world Marxist movement must be willing to take any steps,

ideological or organizational, that will raise to new heights the campaign of struggle for the dominance of working class ideology in general and to give new and fresh meaning to the concepts of proletarian internationalism.

The struggle for the dominance of a working class ideology and for a united world Marxist movement are not matters that can be put on a shelf for years to come. All ideas that splits are welcome and a means toward progress and unity for the working class of the world must be rejected as having no foundation in experience or in science.

We are therefore in favor of a world meeting of the Communist parties for we do not share the fears of those who believe that such a meeting can only lead to a split. There can be only one purpose for a world meeting. It is to set into motion the means through which the world Marxist movement can reunite its ranks.

The First International in its day was a reflection of the level of the working-class struggles of that period. The Communist International reflected developments and problems for its period. Now the working class of the world has arrived at a new level where it is the center of the force that more and more determines the course of history. This places new and qualitatively different responsibilities on the working class parties of Marxism. All good sense and life itself, and especially the class struggle element of life, dictates that these parties find the path to unity, that they find the forms of relations that will fully measure up to these new tasks that the working class faces.

The Ideas of Marxism-Leninism in Latin America

Victorio Codovilla

ON THE occasion of the centenary of the First International the working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist parties, are reviewing the role of the International in organizing and developing the working-class movement in their respective countries and on the international plane.

As regards Latin America, the ideas of the International took root here only at the turn of the century, although word of them had reached the continent much earlier, at about the same time as in the developed capitalist countries of Europe and the United States.

The establishment of revolutionary parties of the Marxist-Leninist type in Latin America was not an easy matter; before this could be done a hard struggle had to be waged against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends in the working-class movement, which tried to influence the proletariat ideologically and divert it from the path of the class struggle, the path leading to its national and social emancipation.

The century since the founding of the International has seen the triumphal march first of revolutionary Marxism and afterwards of its creative development, Leninism. Marxism-Leninism triumphed because it was the only doctrine that voiced the needs and aspirations of the working people.

With the publication in 1848 of the *Communist Manifesto*, the ideas of which were succinctly outlined in the *Inaugural Address* of the International, refuters of Marxism began to appear on the scene. But so futile were their efforts that they have left hardly any traces in history, whereas Marxism-Leninism, passing all tests, has emerged victorious.

And just as in their times Marx and Engels and the other leaders of the First International had to devote special attention to ideological problems and to defending the participants in the working-class and socialist movements against the terror of reaction, so today the leaders of the working-class movement must intensify the ideological struggle against penetration into its ranks of

ideas alien to Marxism-Leninism, the struggle in defense of its members.

The documents of the First International, such as the *Inaugural Address*, written by Marx, the decisions of its congresses, the correspondence, statements and appeals made by Marx and Engels, show the wide range of questions handled in the efforts to unite the workers in all countries, to develop their class consciousness and understanding of their historical role.

"One element of success they possess — numbers," Marx wrote in the *Inaugural Address*, "but numbers weigh only in the balance, if united by combination and led by knowledge." This truth is valid today for the working-class movement of Latin America.

Generalizing the experience accumulated by the working class up to that time Marx and Engels elucidated the role of the trade unions in the struggle for the everyday needs of the workers and for their rights. At the same time they taught the working people to link up the everyday struggle with the general struggle for their emancipation, and brought home to them the necessity of winning political power in order to build a socialist society. They particularly stressed the importance of creating an independent political party of the working class.

Marx and Engels analyzed the revolutionary, political and social events of their day (witness the Address of the International on the Paris Commune), and thus enriched scientific socialism. The Address called on the working people of the world to express their solidarity with the Communards, for an end to the bloody reprisals against them. It also contained Marx's conclusion, based on his analysis of the significance of the Commune, that the victorious revolution must destroy the old machinery of state and replace it with a new kind of state, that is, to establish during the transitional period from capitalism to socialism the dictatorship of the proletariat. This point was highly instrumental in enabling the Latin American

working people to grasp the class character of political power.

Also instructive for our people were the documents relating to the polemic with Bakunin, with his ultra "revolutionism" and his sectarian and adventurist tactics; this polemic laid bare the class roots of Bakuninism which reflected the frustration felt by the small producers and artisans as a consequence of their being ruined by capitalism. This "revolutionism" was oriented on the past rather than on the future.

The ideas of the First International, developed by Lenin, were embodied in the victory of the revolution in Russia, in the establishment of Communist parties in the capitalist countries, the emergence of the socialist world system, in the disintegration of the colonial system, in the changed balance of forces between the socialist and the imperialist camp in favor of the former and in the building of communism now underway in the USSR. All this speaks of the spread of the ideas of communism and the proletariat since that day in 1864 when the First International was founded in St. Martin's Hall in London.

The ideas of Marx and Engels, developed and enriched by Lenin and his followers in the imperialist phase of capitalism, inspired the documents of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties, documents which are the ideological basis of the unity of the world Communist movement of today. These ideas inspired the Program adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, which has rightly been called the Communist Manifesto of our time.

I.

The ideas of the First International did not gain currency in all the Latin American countries at the same time, owing to the different levels of their economic and social development. This does not mean, however, that these ideas did not meet with a wide response.

At the time of the founding of the International the Latin-American countries were, economically, still far behind Europe and the United States. Handicrafts predominated on the entire continent — from Mexico in the north to Argentina and Chile in the south. There was no organized working-class or socialist movement.

The wars fought against Spanish rule in the first quarter of the 19th century brought the Latin American countries political independence. Economically, however, they found

themselves dependent first on Britain and then on the United States; the ruling classes, feudal and semi-feudal landowners and the incipient merchant bourgeoisie threw in their lot with these two Powers, who also sought to preserve the feudal and semi-feudal exploitation of the peasants. Thus the growth of national economies was checked.

Utopian socialists (Lerroux, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Cabet) influenced the thinking of many of the continent's intellectuals, among them Esteban Echeverria, who turned to socialism after the 1848 revolution in France and Domingo F. Sarmiento of Argentina, and Francisco Bilbao, a Chilean emigre in Argentina who influenced some of our country's intellectuals. Bilbao fought on the barricades of Paris in 1848 and upon his return to the continent headed popular actions against the Chilean feudal aristocracy.

At the beginning of the 1840s the first socialist newspaper appeared in Montevideo, published by the Frenchman, Tandonnet, a follower of Fourier. This paper greatly influenced the thinking of intellectuals in Argentina and Uruguay. Some years later republican and democratic ideas of solidarity, universal fraternity and social justice were propagated in Argentina by Alejo Peyret who came to the country after the Bonapartist coup d'état of 1851.

In Argentina a small group of intellectuals became acquainted with the ideas of the International through a book containing statements and resolutions of the International Working Men's Association, published in Spain. Gradually sections of the Association were formed in Argentina, Mexico, Chile, Uruguay, and Cuba, mostly by emigres from Europe. In Cuba the ideas of the International were advocated by the patriot and socialist Carlos Balino, a friend of Jose Marti, and who later became one of the founders of the Cuban Communist Party.

After the fall of the Rosas dictatorship in Argentina (1852), the beginnings of capitalism appeared in the country. Light industry, railways and ports were built, and a working class made up mostly of emigres from Europe gradually took shape.

In 1872 some of the Paris Communards founded a French section of the International in Buenos Aires; this branch published the first socialist newspaper in our country, *El Trabajador*. The following year Spanish and Italian sections were formed. In 1874 a section was formed in Cordova and in 1875, in Montevideo. These sections coordinated their activity through a Federal Council.

In 1875, in connection with the conflict be-

tween the State and the Church, and as a result of provocations by the Curia, a crowd set fire to the Jesuit church of El Salvador in Buenos Aires. This was used as a pretext for reprisals against the Argentine members of the First International and persons sympathizing with them. As a result the Buenos Aires section was compelled to close down.

In 1878 an important event took place in the history of our working class. Influenced by the supporters of the First International more than a thousand printers went on strike in protest against wage cuts. The press urged the Government and the employers not to make any concessions to the workers. "Socialism," wrote the semi-official organ *El Nacional*, "uses strikes as an instrument to organize disorders, but socialism has no place in America."

This reactionary view has remained with the ruling classes. For them socialism has always been an "alien phenomenon," which has no place on the American continent where, they claimed, no classes existed. But with the development of capitalism the different classes began to make their appearance; a modern working class began to form its trade unions and to mould its socialist consciousness.

In the eighties a group of German socialist emigrants arrived in Argentina. They founded their club "Vorwaerts," the first Marxist propaganda center in our country, which later merged with the working-class movement. "Vorwaerts" requested Wilhelm Liebknecht to act as its representative at the International Socialist Congress held in Paris in 1889, which he did. Alejo Peyret attended this Congress as an observer on behalf of the Argentine socialist groups.

"Vorwaerts" called on all socialist organizations and trade unions in the country jointly to celebrate May 1, 1890 — the first May Day in the history of our working-class movement. It was a big success. Among the organizers were the German Marxists August Kuhn and Wilhelm Schultze and the Italian Carlos Mauli who later became members of the Communist Party of Argentina.

That same year a group of working men began to publish *El Obrero*, the first Marxist paper in the Spanish language. The aim of the paper, which was edited by Ave Lallemand, was to popularize Marxist ideas and combat the pernicious influence of anarchism in the working-class movement, which began to spread with the arrival in the country of leading Spanish and Italian anarchists (among them Enrique Malatesta), who launched an offensive against revolutionary Marxism.

However, despite difficulties and obstacles, socialist ideas continued to gain ground among the working class, thanks in large measure to the circulation of the *Communist Manifesto* and other Marxist works.

The year 1896 saw the founding of the Argentina Socialist Party. Two years later Volume I of Marx's *Capital* appeared in a Spanish translation. The translation was the joint work of August Kuhn and Juan B. Justo, who later became the leader of the reformist wing of the Argentine socialist movement.

During the years 1890-1910 Marxists and Bakuninites engaged in a polemic that had repercussions in other parts of the continent. This was a reflection of the polemic that had taken place in the First International. Our Marxists had to carry on the struggle on two fronts: against the verbal extremism of the anarchists and against reformism and opportunism.

The first decade of the present century witnessed the rise of the socialist movement also in Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Mexico, Cuba, Colombia and other countries of the continent.

During the first world war, in view of the differences that arose in assessing the character of the war, a sharp struggle set in between the revolutionary Marxists and the reformist opportunist wing in the socialist parties. In a number of cases matters ended in a split and the formation of genuinely revolutionary parties.

To counteract the chauvinism of the leaders of the Socialist Party the International Socialist Party was founded in January 1918; since 1920 it has been known as the Communist Party of Argentina.

II.

During the first world war, Latin America began to expand its light and processing industries. The number of industrial workers grew, as did their role in the political life of the continent.

When the war ended the basic contradiction of Latin America came to the surface: the contradiction between the expanding productive forces and the backward socio-economic structure based on latifundism and the domination of foreign monopolies — British and North American — in the key branches of the economy and finance. As a consequence the postwar years witnessed profound social and political upheavals, big strikes, peasant actions and mass movements for democracy some of which, like

the movement for university reform, swept most of the continent.

During those years the national bourgeoisie in Mexico headed a democratic revolution; in other countries, like Argentina, Uruguay and Ecuador, it came to power with the support of the masses through elections.

The October Revolution had a tremendous impact on the people of our countries who enthusiastically welcomed and supported it. It was an inspiration to them in their struggle. Books by Lenin were widely read and contributed greatly to the political education of the advanced forces of the working class and the people. Between 1919 and 1921 the following of Lenin's works were published in Argentina: *Socialism and War*; *The State and the Proletarian Revolution*; "Left-Wing" *Communism, An Infantile Disorder*; *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*; *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, and others.

In 1918-22 Communist parties were formed in Argentina, Mexico, Uruguay, Chile and Brazil. In 1925 the Communist Party of Cuba was formed. During the world economic crisis and big mass actions on the continent Communist parties appeared in Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Costa Rica, Salvador and Paraguay. In the remainder of the countries Communist parties were formed just before the Second World War or immediately after it.

In all the countries of Latin America the Communists fought for trade union and political unity of the working class, to develop its class consciousness. To do this they had to wage an intense struggle against the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology that had penetrated into the ranks of the proletariat, and in many instances also into the Communist parties. Marxism-Leninism had to clear a way for itself in the working-class movement in Latin America in a hard struggle against anarchism and its extreme forms, against reformism, and bourgeois nationalism, most glaringly manifested in Aprism which is still trying to subordinate the mass movement to the interests of the landowning oligarchy and imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, using "Leftist" phraseology to this end. In the twenties the Communist parties had to combat Trotskyite pseudo-revolutionary phrase-mongering and opportunist attempts to adapt the organization, program and tactics of the Party to bourgeois nationalism.

Thus, in the course of the everyday struggle the Communist parties became tempered

as revolutionary Leninist parties, upholding their class independence against the attacks of their adversaries.

III.

A major role in the formation of Marxist-Leninist parties on the continent was played by the Buenos Aires Conference of Communist Parties, held in July 1929. The Conference, which was attended by the representatives of 15 Communist and Workers' parties* and by a delegation from the Communist Party of the United States, analyzed the experience accumulated by the parties in the first ten years of their existence, and, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, defined for the first time the character of the Latin-American revolution and its driving force.

The Conference noted the intensified offensive launched by the United States to entrench itself in the economy of the Latin American countries and to oust British imperialism.

The Conference noted that although the United States was parading as a champion of democracy and national independence it was, in reality, pursuing an aggressive and reactionary policy, relying mainly on dictatorial regimes like that of Ibanez in Chile, Leguia in Peru, Gomez in Venezuela, Machado in Cuba and Uriburu in Argentina who used nationalism as a cover for their fascist methods and suppression of the people, for their support of U.S. imperialism. These governments were responsible for Latin America's oil and other mineral resources passing into the hands of U.S. monopolies.

The Conference stressed that U.S. imperialism, the most powerful and predatory imperialism, was the No. 1 enemy of the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Latin America and that the main blow therefore should be directed against this enemy. This was all the more imperative because in the camp of bourgeois national reformism voices were being raised in favor of a policy of conciliation with imperialism; imperialism, it was claimed, was bringing with it a process of gradual decolonization in Latin America. APRA, in fact, advanced the theory that imperialism in general, and U.S. imperialism in particular, was playing a progressive role. The Conference showed that the reverse was the case, that U.S. imperialist penetration brought with it inten-

*Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela (the Communist Party of Chile was unable to send a representative owing to repressions).

sified colonization, preservation of the feudal and semi-feudal forms of property and exploitation. As regards industrialization, this was carried out only in enterprises owned by the imperialist monopolies or dependent on them; moreover it was accompanied by intensified exploitation of the working class.

Its assessment of North American and British imperialism and the land-owning oligarchy as the No. 1 enemy of the people, enabled the Conference correctly to define the character of the revolution in Latin America as an anti-imperialist, agrarian and bourgeois-democratic revolution. This meant that the main blow had to be struck against the landlords through realization of a comprehensive agrarian reform, and against imperialist domination through expropriation and nationalization of the monopoly enterprises.

As for the classes and strata interested in the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the Conference noted that although it was important not to underestimate the role played by the small and national bourgeoisie in the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle, it was doubly important to remember that at a definite stage in the development of the revolution these forces tended to compromise with the landlords and foreign monopolies and, in the event of coming to power, to capitulate to them. Hence the workers and peasants, acting in close alliance with the proletariat, and under its leadership, should be the driving force of the revolution.

The Conference denounced the position of APRA, and exposed the dangerous idea advocated by it to form anti-imperialist parties of three classes: the petty-bourgeoisie, peasantry and proletariat under the leadership of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. Although the Conference favored an alliance of all forces ready to fight the big landlords and imperialist monopolies, it recommended that where parties of the proletariat already existed, they should be strengthened organizationally and ideologically as the vanguard of the working class, and that such parties should be formed where they did not exist. The Conference stressed that only given the hegemony of the proletariat and leadership by its vanguard, the Communist Party, could the democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution be carried through with a view to ensuring its development into a socialist revolution.

The Conference discussed the different kinds of wars likely in Latin America and called on Communists, the working class and

the people generally to express their solidarity with national liberation wars like the war Sandino had fought in Nicaragua.

The Conference called on the peoples to fight against the danger of a new world war and resolutely come out in defense of the Soviet Union which at that time was threatened with aggression by imperialism, in particular British imperialism.

Thus the Buenos Aires Conference of 1929 charted the principles which, developed and enriched in subsequent years, served as the basis for the ideological and organizational consolidation of the Communist parties of Latin America, as the cornerstone of their programs.

IV.

At the beginning of the thirties when the danger of war increased after Hitler's seizure of power in Germany, a broad anti-fascist and anti-war movement got under way headed by the Communist parties of the respective countries. This movement acquired particular scope in connection with the solidarity campaign in support of Republican Spain.

When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union the Communist parties centered their activities on organizing solidarity actions in support of the Soviet Union and the anti-Hitler coalition.

The war years and immediate postwar period saw further industrial expansion (chiefly in light industry) in many of our countries; in some of them — Brazil, Mexico, Argentina and Chile — the beginnings of heavy industry were made. And with this development came a numerical growth of the working class.

The landed oligarchy and the foreign monopolies, however, continued to retain power. This fact, coupled with the intensified penetration of U.S. imperialism which virtually controlled the economy of our countries, explains the socio-economic backwardness of the continent compared with the leading capitalist countries, explains the sharpening of the contradictions that were natural to the economy of Latin America.

The feature of the postwar Latin American scene has been the intensified penetration of U.S. imperialism at the expense of Britain, France and West Germany.

The North American monopolies, earlier the mainstay of the latifundists, have themselves become latifundists; United Fruit, Coney, King's Ranch and others are cases in point. Through a network of political alliances, military pacts and economic "aid"

agreements the United States has secured preferential conditions for its capital. It is out to win one position after another on the continent and, subsequently, to turn it into its preserve, into a supplier of raw materials, a market for its manufactured goods and, if need be, into a supplier of cannon fodder for predatory wars.

While the forms of U.S. penetration have changed with the times, its predatory nature has remained the same. At first it was the "policy of the big stick" and "dollar diplomacy." Afterwards, faced with the growing resistance of the Latin American peoples the North Americans invented "Pan-Americanism," aid of "the older brother to the younger," the "good-neighbor" and "new frontier" policy and, lastly, the Alliance for Progress. Without entirely abandoning their earlier policy of obtaining economic concessions, the U.S. monopolies simply switched to a policy of mixed enterprises and making investments in the shape of industrial plant, retaining all the time their commanding positions in the national economy of the countries concerned.

U.S. policy euphemistically described as a policy of "democratization" was, in reality, one of supporting reactionary dictatorships, such as those of Batista, Trujillo, Somoza, Perez Jimenez, Rojas Panilla, Odria, Stroessner and the alternating dictatorships in Argentina. The North American imperialists had hoped that through these dictatorships they would be able to hold back the working-class and popular movements. However, the intense hatred for these dictatorships and the mounting struggle against them impelled the State Department to rely for a time on the national bourgeoisie who had come to power with democratic programs but who afterwards became the henchmen of imperialism (Gonzales Videla in Chile, Frondizi in Argentina, Betancourt in Venezuela, and others). But since these "democratic" methods, too, failed to halt the upsurge of the mass movement, Washington has again resorted to direct interference with the object of setting up military-fascist dictatorships like that of Castello Branco in Brazil or the one it proposes to instal in Argentina.

To justify this "new" method, the Johnson-Mann Doctrine has been advanced according to which the U.S. Government will in future make no distinction between "representative democracies and military dictatorships," and will assess a coup d'état "according to the national interests of the United States." The example of Latin America shows that the USA, as noted in the 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers'

parties, is "*the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme.*"

With the defeat of fascism in the Second World War — thanks chiefly to the all-out effort of the Soviet people and its army—and consequently of their main forces in Latin America, bourgeois nationalist and petty-bourgeois trends emerged on the continent which indulge in demagoguery about social justice and national independence, hoping in this way to prevent the advance of communism and to bring the working class and the masses under their control. Typical in this respect was the Peronist trend in Argentina. Coming to power in 1943 as a result of a coup d'état Peron was able with the help of the machinery of state to win mass support in elections and to influence other countries of the continent.

Peronism derived originally from the workers who had come for the most part from the rural areas and who had merged with the working class at the time of the industrial expansion during the war and postwar years. These workers were eager to fight for social justice but they lacked the necessary social and political experience. Peronism appealed to them not only because it advanced demagogic slogans, but also because it was able to satisfy some of their immediate demands by capitalizing on the favorable situation in Argentina during the war and in the immediate postwar years thanks to its sales at high prices of food and raw materials to the belligerents.

The Peronists, however, had no intention of using the favorable situation to carry out the promised reforms. Although they spoke of an agrarian reform they interpreted it as buying up land, but not at the cost of the latifundists, whose property remained intact and in some cases was even enlarged. Although they spoke of nationalizing the foreign enterprises this was to be affected through compensation (as in the case of the railways) so as not to hurt the interests of the imperialists.

In the sphere of foreign affairs Peronism proclaimed the policy of the so-called "Third Position" which, it should be noted, has nothing in common with the position adopted by the non-aligned countries, for theirs essentially promotes the cause of peace. Even though he proclaimed his "Third Position," Peron declared that in the event of a war between the Soviet Union and the United States (which he regarded as inevitable), Argentina would side with the United States, for it represented "Western and Christian civilization." He accordingly pursued a policy

of repressions against the Communists and other progressive forces instead of seeking an alliance with them to carry out the promised program.

The Communist Party of Argentina, like the Communist parties of the other Latin American countries, spared no effort to help the working class to rid itself of bourgeois-nationalist ideas and to assimilate Marxism-Leninism. This was essential if the working class was to head the democratic and popular forces in the struggle to carry through a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution which would ultimately develop into a socialist revolution.

In the early postwar years the Communist parties in Latin America also had to fight the Browder deviation which, in the guise of anti-fascist struggle and unity of the democratic and progressive forces to abolish the remnants of fascism and establish democratic regimes, advocated liquidation of the Communist parties and the formation of national democratic fronts, which would have diffused the communist forces. Browder maintained at the time that there was every possibility for the imperialist United States and the socialist Soviet Union to reach agreements that would ensure the economic development of the colonial and dependent countries without crises or conflicts. He thus revived the dangerous theory regarding the progressive role of imperialism. A vigorous struggle was launched against this "theory" which had influenced also the leadership of some of our parties, a struggle which ended in the ideological defeat of the Browder deviation.

Some of the parties also had to fight against sectarian trends which denied the need for a policy of broad alliances in the struggle to develop a mass movement for immediate economic, social and political demands and to achieve the ultimate goal — a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution.

This struggle tempered the Communist parties ideologically; they were able, as a result, successfully to combat the Trotskyite deviation which draws on bourgeois nationalist and chauvinist ideas, a line which the leaders of the Communist Party of China are now assiduously following, resorting to methods inadmissible in the relations between fraternal Communist parties. They are doing this with the objective of foisting their anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist concepts on our parties, and failing this, of splitting the parties as they have done in some countries. They have arrogantly disregarded the inter-

national documents adopted by the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties, which they themselves signed at the time.

The Communist parties of our continent realize that if the unity of their parties and of the world Communist movement is to be preserved an uncompromising struggle must be waged against the line which the Chinese leaders are trying to impose on our movement. The fact that not a single one of the Latin American parties has supported the position of the Chinese leaders speaks of their ideological and political maturity. All of them have repudiated the disruptive policy of the CPC leaders and have united still more closely with the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and recognition of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the vanguard party.

V.

The Communist parties of Latin America became tempered as Leninists under the most diverse conditions of the struggle against the internal and external enemy, including the grim conditions of political illegality. The different stages of their struggle produced its heroes and martyrs. At present the Communists of Venezuela, Haiti, the Dominican Republic and other countries of the Caribbean, of Ecuador, Colombia and Paraguay are savagely persecuted. An orgy of repressions has been unleashed against the Communists of Brazil.

Yet, the parties are steadily growing, are raising their ideological and political levels, and are playing an ever more significant role in the life of their countries. In Cuba the United Party of Socialist Revolution, inspired in its activities by Marxism-Leninism, is in power. In Chile the Communist Party is the leading force in the Popular Action Front (FRAP) which unites all the democratic and progressive forces working for victory in the forthcoming general election. In other countries the parties are becoming a force to be reckoned with. The prestige enjoyed by our parties is the result of the struggle they have waged in the most diverse forms, such as partial and general strikes, actions by the peasantry and Indian population, popular actions against reactionary dictatorships, spontaneous insurrections, self-defense actions, people's revolutions, etc. The glorious Cuban revolution is the crowning point of this long struggle at its present stage.

The peoples of Latin America closely followed the development of the Mexican revo-

lution and particularly the struggle waged by the people during the presidency of Cardenas for land and the recovery of the country's power resources. The struggle ended with the nationalization of Mexico's oil resources (1938). The reactionary elements, taking advantage of the fact that the working class failed to become the leading force in the liberation process, were able to check its development. The experience of Mexico once again confirmed the truth of Lenin's precept that the hegemony of the working class is imperative in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, otherwise it will mark time in its development and be prevented from growing into a socialist revolution.

The peoples of Latin America followed with profound emotion the struggle of the Prestes Column in Brazil (1924-27), representing the Left-wing of the petty-bourgeoisie, which voiced the interests of the peasant masses and middle sections who were fighting feudal oppression and imperialist domination. The Prestes Column did not achieve victory and part of its participants were obliged to seek asylum in Bolivia. But its revolutionary traditions are enshrined in the hearts of the people.

Being a consistent revolutionary Prestes drew the correct conclusions from this defeat. He realized that the working class would play the leading role in the democratic revolution. Today Prestes is the beloved leader of the fraternal Brazilian Communist Party.

At the end of 1926, during the presidency of Coolidge, U.S. marines landed in Nicaragua. This act was directed not only against the people of Nicaragua who were battling for the independence of their country and for a democratic regime, but also against the Mexican government of the day which wanted to recover the country's oil resources.

In April 1927 Augusto Cesar Sandino, national hero of Nicaragua and of Latin America, began his epic struggle "For Land and Liberty!" which he waged up to July 1929. Sandino was murdered in 1934 by the U.S. hireling Somoza. This heroic struggle evoked the solidarity of the Latin American people and, first and foremost, of all Communists who were the initiators of the anti-imperialist leagues formed on the American continent in 1925-30. Sandino's merit was that he proved that the U.S. invasion forces were not omnipotent, that the people of even a small country could successfully repulse the invader. Sandino's behests have not been forgotten by the Latin American peoples. In

one of his letters he wrote: "We shall advance towards the sun of freedom or die; but even if we die our cause will live on. Others will take our place." No truer words have been spoken: others are continuing his immortal cause which has triumphed in Cuba under the leadership of Fidel Castro.

On October 20, 1944 an insurrection overthrew the Ubico dictatorship and ushered in the democratic revolution in Guatemala which lasted up to 1954. In an intense struggle against reactionary circles and U.S. imperialism the democratic governments that followed, and especially the Arbenz government, steered a course toward independent development of the national economy and agrarian reform. The Arbenz government was overthrown in 1954 as a result of U.S. armed intervention.

A momentous event on the Latin American continent was the spontaneous insurrection in Bogota in April 1948, started in answer to the assassination of Jorge Eleicer Gaitan during the Pan-American Conference. The assassination had been engineered by the CIA, in league with the reactionary government of Ospina Perez, as an anti-Communist provocation directed against the popular forces of the Liberal Party. The Communist Party of Colombia explained to the masses the anti-democratic and colonialist aims pursued by U.S. imperialism at the conference. Outraged by the assassination, the people replied to the provocation by declaring a general strike. The strike developed into an insurrection which was drowned in blood by the home reactionaries with the help of U.S. imperialism. But the popular struggle has not subsided. On the contrary, it has intensified and in many instances has developed into guerrilla warfare. The Communist Party is more and more giving leadership to the revolutionary forces, peaceful and non-peaceful forms of struggle, depending on the circumstances.

In April 1952 the Bolivian miners started an armed insurrection which overthrew the government of the feudal lords and mine-owners who were closely connected with British and North American interests. The insurrection, which was led alternately by the national bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie and revolutionary elements of working-class origin, satisfied some of the demands of the workers and peasants. But it failed to solve two basic issues, namely, the agrarian question and the complete elimination of the imperialist monopolies. The Bolivian Government has, on the contrary, made big concessions to them in recent years.

The Bolivian revolution is now passing through a crisis. On the one hand, Paz Estenssoro and his followers are acting as agents of the big landowners and the foreign monopolies, particularly the U.S. monopolies, thus retarding the progress of the revolution. On the other, Lechin and his supporters and a large part of the working class and popular movement, inspired by the Communist Party, are waging a struggle to advance the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution.

The Party's policy of unity, its program, adopted at its recent congress, which includes the demands of the working class, the peasantry and all the other sections of the working people, have still further enhanced its prestige; it has become the guiding and directing force of the people. All this strengthens our conviction that in the struggle against the Right the Left forces will, provided they are able to unite, ultimately emerge victorious and establish a people's democratic government.

The peoples of the Latin American countries, particularly Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, Brazil, the Dominion Republic, Guatemala and Paraguay, have accumulated rich experiences in their struggle against the various reactionary and fascist-like dictatorships.

In January 1958 the dictatorial regime of Perez Jimenez in Venezuela was overthrown as a result of the actions organized and led by the Patriotic Junta in which the Communist Party participated. The bourgeoisie was able, however, with the help of Betancourt to check the development of revolution which has been knocking at the door of Venezuela since 1944. But the struggle continues. The patriotic, democratic and anti-imperialist front, led by the Communist Party, is carrying on the fight, through mass actions and armed struggle, for liberation from American domination.

The Cuban revolution made a tremendous impact on the working-class and popular movement of Latin America. For the first time in the history of the continent the old state machinery has been destroyed and a republic of a new type created. By their example the Cuban revolutionaries, headed by Fidel Castro, showed the working class of Latin America that if it does not establish its hegemony in the revolution in alliance with the peasantry and other patriotic and anti-imperialist forces there is the danger of the revolution stopping mid-way and turning back. In Cuba the hegemony of the proletariat secured the stability and realization of fundamental democratic reforms; in a short

space of time the revolution developed into a socialist revolution. With the active support of the socialist countries, and first and foremost of the USSR, and of the peoples of the Americas and the rest of the world, the Cuban revolution has repelled the attacks of the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys, and is steadily proceeding with the job of building socialism.

The experience of the Cuban revolution has also shown that although a broad alliance of different forces in the struggle for national independence against imperialism is essential, the party of the working class must not relinquish leadership to the bourgeoisie. Caught between the pressure brought to bear by the latifundists and imperialist forces, on the one hand, and its fear of the growing revolutionary actions of the working class and the masses, on the other, the bourgeoisie is in a perpetual state of vacillation and, as a result, invariably capitulates to the feudal lords and latifundists. The experience of some of the Latin American countries bears this out.

Take the case of Argentina under the Peron government. Before and after the conquest of power Peron was lavish with revolutionary phrases; subsequently, however, he introduced only a few superficial reforms which did not in the least affect the unsound socio-economic structure. At a crucial moment he capitulated to imperialism and the landowning oligarchy. Even when the reactionary forces started an armed struggle against his government he refused to give the working class and the people arms to suppress the revolt of the "gorillas." He preferred to be overthrown rather than arm the people, fearing that they would carry out the revolution he had promised to accomplish.

For his part, Frondizi who was also the man of the national bourgeoisie, alarmed by the mass actions of the people and perturbed by the growing influence of the Communist Party, betrayed his own program, took reprisals against the people, especially against the Communists, and became imperialism's agent in recolonizing the country.

VI.

The idea that it is necessary and possible to establish a government of a new type has taken root in the minds of the masses who are determined to win it in one way or another, by peaceful or non-peaceful means, depending on the degree of resistance offered by the reactionaries to the revolutionary changes.

The reprisals taken by the governments of the Latin American countries who have betrayed the national interest and become henchmen of the imperialists have not been able to check the upsurge of the working-class movement and its further consolidation, the numerical growth of the Communist parties and their growing influence among the working people.

Many of the Parties have carried out membership drives in recent years. In Argentina, for example, over 45,000 joined the Party in one year alone (following the Twelfth Congress). The majority of the new members were workers; up to 30 per cent were women. Also thousands of new members joined the Communist youth organization. The influx of new members is particularly significant considering that it usually takes place during economic and political strikes, and other mass actions.

The masses in Latin America are becoming more and more radical. In Argentina their steady turn to the left is manifested in the strikes, demonstrations and seizure of factories in support of the people's economic, social and political demands and for basic reforms aimed at reconstructing the backward economy and at establishing a democratic and popular regime.

Realizing that the policy of war unites the imperialist powers and makes it easier for them to bring pressure to bear on the governments of Latin America, that the policy of peaceful coexistence, on the contrary, creates better conditions for winning democratic gains and for developing mass movements, the Communist parties of Latin America are waging a consistent fight for peace which they closely link with the struggle for the immediate demands of the working people, for national and social emancipation. The Communist parties rightly regard the struggle for peace as one of the basic tasks of the Communist and working-class movement of Latin America.

"A front of active struggle against imperialism has opened in Latin America," says the Statement of the 1960 Meeting. The facts bear this out, the contradictory development of events notwithstanding. Latin America which U.S. imperialism regarded as its principal reserve is more and more becoming an active component of the world camp of peoples who are fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

Comrade Khrushchov rightly noted in his

report on the results of the 1960 Meeting that "the peoples of Latin America are showing that the American continent is not a manorial estate of the USA. Latin America is reminiscent of an active volcano."

VII.

On the centenary of the founding of the First International we are witnesses not only of the triumph of socialism and communism on territory whose population constitutes one-third of humanity, but also of the development of the communist and working-class movement in the main capitalist countries and the national-liberation movements in the colonial and dependent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which, as pointed out in the 1960 Statement, are merging into a single stream.

Not only the working class of Latin America has grown stronger in numbers but also the Communist parties. As a result of its actions — from the most elementary in defense of its immediate demands, to mass actions (not excluding armed struggle) for the conquest of political power — the working class has become more militant. It has passed through a good school, and the national bourgeoisie of the continent can no longer subordinate it to its will as easily as it did in the past. Thanks to the existence of Marxist-Leninist parties the working class is coming to play an independent and leading role in the coalition of the various democratic and progressive forces — including also the progressive circles of the national bourgeoisie — in the fight for democracy, independence and peace, a fight which is clearing the way to socialism.

The ideas of Marx and Engels which permeated the activities of the International Working Men's Association, and which were developed and enriched by Lenin are yielding their fruit also in Latin America.

"The grand army of Communists, of Marxist-Leninists, is the vanguard of the peoples in the struggle for peace and social progress, for the bright future, communism," said Comrade Khrushchov, addressing the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU. "Millions more people will rally around the banner of communism. The cause of progress, the cause of communism, shall triumph!"

There is no doubt that so it will be also in Latin America.

Some Problems of the National-Liberation Movement

Khaled Bagdash

NEVER before in the history of the working-class movement have problems of the national-liberation movement been so heatedly debated as today. In the past, the battle of opinion centered chiefly on its character.

Now that the national-liberation movement has become a movement of the millions, a potent force, the debate centers on the new content, the outlook and the place of the movement in current history.

As in all other matters, it is life itself that will settle the issue. But this does not mean that Marxist-Leninists need not apply collective efforts to elucidate the basic problems facing the national-liberation movement.

I.

The emergence of the national-liberation movement onto the international arena and its powerful growth represent a victory for Marxism-Leninism. Already at the time of the First International, Marx and Engels, proceeding from a scientific analysis of capitalism, predicted the inevitability of the rise of the national-liberation movement and defined the general laws of its development. In the new historical conditions Lenin deepened the theoretical principles underlying the national-liberation movement, demonstrated the immense significance of the joint struggle of the oppressed peoples and the working class of the capitalist countries against imperialism, and showed the role of the national-liberation movement in abolishing imperialism and ensuring victory for the world socialist revolution.

Experience has demonstrated that the decisive successes of the national-liberation movement were linked organically with the victory of the socialist revolution first in one country — Russia — and then in a number of other countries. This is true despite the fact that, having grown into a strong international force, the national-liberation movement, in turn, objectively contributes to the consolidation of the socialist world system.

It is important for the Communist movement to define the place of the national-liberation movement in the world revolutionary process. But no accurate definition will ever materialize if the question is approached from the standpoint of transient tactical tasks and used as a screen to camouflage some ulterior political aims. For one thing, it is wrong to base the definition on who helps the other more, the socialist camp or the national-liberation movement, or on who plays the more important role in destroying world imperialism, the national-liberation or the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries. Far from clarifying the issue, this construction is bound to smother it in fruitless debate.

The main thing is that the three principal revolutionary forces of our time — the countries of the socialist camp, the national-liberation movement and the revolutionary working-class struggle in the developed capitalist countries — objectively comprise an alliance of anti-imperialist forces. United action and mutual support by these three forces are a reality. That is the main thing the Communists must remember when determining their position and framing their strategy and tactics.

As far as the role of each of these three forces is concerned, despite the importance of this question it should not be allowed to become a means of impairing the alliance, of weakening or undermining it, because the only ones to benefit from this would be the imperialists.

Although everybody (save the dogmatists, who deliberately distort the purport of Soviet policy) recognizes that the socialist camp is the basic and principal force in the world revolutionary process, attempts are being made to conduct an endless discussion of the role and place of the national-liberation movement and of the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries. In the past, when the national-liberation movement was still in its infancy and had not yet accomplished anything palpable, there was a

point of view among Communists that the proletarian movement in the imperialist countries was the basic and decisive force in the struggle against imperialism, while the national-liberation movement was no more than a reserve of the proletarian revolution, and that the victory of the proletariat in one or more of the imperialist countries would automatically liberate the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Postwar developments disproved this point of view.

However, at present, with the national-liberation movement making tremendous headway, the new notion has appeared that the national-liberation movement has become the basic and decisive force in the struggle against imperialism, and that the proletarian movement in the developed capitalist countries is no longer exercising any substantial influence on the world revolutionary process.

Naturally these and similar views are unacceptable to the peoples of the socialist countries. Nor are they shared by working people in the developed capitalist countries. However, their exponents expect to find an appropriative audience in the Asian and African countries, where, they hope, their conjectures will gratify the nationalist sentiments of the formerly oppressed peoples, nourish chauvinist aspirations among them and turn their hatred of imperialism, handed down from generation to generation, into hatred of the European working class. But such concepts have no future because they go against the objective laws of social development.

The proletariat in the developed capitalist countries is a powerful revolutionary force playing a big role in destroying imperialism. The victories of the socialist world system paved the way for the national-liberation movement, stimulating its rapid development, and fresh socialist accomplishments will pave the way for the revolutionary proletarian movement in the imperialist countries, too, stimulating a powerful upswing, whose scale and results are as yet hard to visualize.

The dogmatists are blind to the far-reaching changes in the world. They keep repeating what used to be said about the national-liberation movement thirty or forty years ago. They quote the classics of Marxism copiously. They seem to think that if Lenin were alive today he would have kept silent on these issues or repeated what he had said more than forty years ago; that he would have said nothing new with respect to the processes and changes in the contemporary world.

Lenin treated Marxist dialectical materialism as a guide to action, never as a dogma. He followed all changes in society very closely, and always found new solutions for the new problems as they arose. He did not confine himself to repeating what Marx and Engels had already said; he enriched the Marxist doctrine with new postulates to suit new historical conditions.

If Marxist-Leninists want to be faithful to the Marxist-Leninist teaching, they must study the changes in society over the last few years. That is the only way they will find solutions for the new problems these changes have given rise to. The Communists have taken some successful collective steps in this direction the most recent being the 1960 Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow. The facts have confirmed the conclusions arrived at by the Communists in their collective effort. The definition of the main, distinctive feature of our time — that the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society and that the socialist world system, in concert with the other forces fighting against imperialism and for the socialist reconstruction of society, determines the main content, the direction and the features of social development — is the most important of these conclusions.

Consequently, a third world war is not inevitable — although the war peril continues to exist, inasmuch as imperialism continues to exist — because imperialism no longer holds undivided sway over the world. The forces of peace, whose superiority over the forces of war is steadily growing, are now able to safeguard and strengthen the peace. The idea of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is, therefore, not a propaganda stunt and not merely a tactical slogan. It is a realistic policy, and all the conditions necessary for its implementation are at hand. The idea of coexistence has grown today into a great strategic slogan, the cornerstone of the foreign policy of the socialist countries. The whole world Communist movement is working for its realization.

Having analyzed the general world situation, the Communist and Workers' parties have arrived at the conclusion that many of the current problems have to be resolved in a new way, in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism, this applying equally to the problems of the national-liberation movement.

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Problems related to the prospects, the

stages and the substance of the national-liberation movement should not be examined in isolation from the character of our time, whose basic content is the transition from capitalism to socialism, nor in isolation from the battle for peace and peaceful coexistence. They will never be correctly solved if we ignore the fact that the socialist world system is exerting a continuously mounting influence on the course of events in the world and in each separate country.

Since history is the laboratory of sociology, we must objectively analyze how the national-liberation movement developed in the different countries over the last ten or twenty years, how its content changed, how it passed from one stage of revolution to the next, and what social forces participated in it and which of them furnished the leadership.

Due to reasons distinctly local for each of these countries, the national-liberation movement in China, North Korea and North Vietnam was led to victory by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party. The alliance of workers and peasants, with the working class in the lead, was the principal motive force of the revolution. This was why the national democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism did not stop half-way in those countries, but grew rapidly into socialist revolution, materializing in proletarian dictatorship, which began the transition to socialism.

It was different in countries like India. These countries flung off colonial domination and won political independence, but then the progress of the revolution slowed down. The Indian national bourgeoisie, which had headed the struggle against colonial rule, was able to impose its control over the machinery of state, the army included, established itself at the helm of the country and prevented the democratic revolution from making headway. The Sino-Indian border conflict helped the Indian reactionaries to incite nationalism and chauvinism, which, they hoped, would deal a blow at the people's movement, reinforce their own positions and exert added pressure on the government with the object of halting revolutionary development and expanding the positions of India's capitalist monopolies. If this state of affairs continues, it is likely to strengthen the position of neo-colonialism and, consequently, imperil India's political independence. This does not mean, of course, that the Indian national bourgeoisie has, as the Chinese dogmatists contend, exhausted its positive role and fallen in with imperialism.

In other Asian and African countries the national-liberation movement did not develop as in India, but not as in China, Korea and Vietnam, either.

In Algeria, for one, the national-liberation revolution developed and won not under the leadership of the proletariat. The Algerian revolution fused many sections of the population — the workers, peasants, intellectuals, petty-bourgeois and other non-proletarian sections in town and country — into a united national front. National production, and particularly national capital, had not yet developed in the country to any marked extent. Industry was almost entirely controlled by French monopoly capital, while vast tracts of the finest land belonged to wealthy French settlers.

In Algeria the revolution triumphed after seven and a half years of sanguinary war. The Algerian losses in this war added up to 1,500,000. This made an impact on the further development of the Algerian revolution and on the character of its state power.

When, after a heroic struggle, the people of Algeria won their political independence and turned to economic and social problems, they realized that they were in substance confronted by the same old enemy, French imperialism, which had almost complete control of the country's economy. As a result of a high level of mass activity, the anti-imperialist revolution, although still pursuing the goals of national liberation, developed rapidly into a social revolution. A considerable part of the country's wealth passed into the possession of the people and Algeria embarked on non-capitalist development, which, thanks to the initiative of the masses and active part played by workers and peasants in realizing important socio-economic reforms, can advance the country swiftly to the path of socialist construction.

The national-liberation movement in Egypt, too, followed a somewhat unconventional course from the point of view of successive stages and changes in content. The 1952 movement was essentially a national-bourgeois revolution headed by petty bourgeois officers and intellectuals. At first, these established what amounted to an alliance with Egyptian national capitalism represented, among others, by the Misr Bank. It delivered painful blows to the feudals (the 1952 agrarian reform) and imperialists (nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956, etc.), but struck out also at the working class, at its vanguard, and at the rest of the democratic movement. Some time later, however, especially after 1961, an offensive was mounted

against big national capital. The content of the national-liberation movement in Egypt began to change. Progressive economic and social reforms were carried through.

This occurred due to the growing impact and influence of the socialist world system and the acute need for rapid economic development. The big bourgeoisie had refused to take part in economic development, because, owing to its class nature, it prefers to develop branches yielding the greatest profit in the shortest time. Furthermore, the popular movement, the Arab Communist movement included, put its weight on the scales as well.

Egypt's subsequent socio-economic development was a complex and contradictory process. Remnants of feudalism have not yet been completely rooted out in the countryside. The big landowners still constitute a substantial force. Lesser landowners, too, wield considerable influence. Hundreds of thousands of peasants are landless, and unemployment widespread. On the whole, capitalist relations are asserting themselves in the countryside.

As far as industry is concerned, the state sector has expanded considerably and become the leading sector. The private sector may still be dominant in domestic trade, but foreign trade is largely controlled by the state. The country has a number of mixed enterprises, in which foreign capital (U.S. and West German included) is a partner of the state.

In foreign affairs the United Arab Republic pursues a policy of peace, struggle against colonialism, positive neutrality, friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, rejection of foreign bases, non-participation in imperialist military blocs, etc. In relation to other Arab countries, UAR policy rests on the idea of Arab unity which is widely supported by the masses. It is essential, however, to implement this policy of Arab unity in accordance with the specific features and the objective conditions of the different countries and the free choice and will of the people, on the basis of democracy, struggle against imperialism, and friendship with the socialist countries.

As far as UAR domestic policy is concerned, positive steps have been taken of late (inauguration of the constitution, lifting martial law, release of a large number of political prisoners, many of them Communists and other democrats, elections to the National Assembly, etc.). But methods of personal power still obtain in the coun-

try, and this is retarding the development of democracy.

In Egypt the 1952 revolution was sparked off by an officers' coup d'état. The masses welcomed the various measures taken after the revolution (the deposition of King Farouk, evacuation of British troops, agrarian reform, nationalization of the Suez Canal, resistance to the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression, nationalization of foreign interests, etc.), but were not given an opportunity of participating in political affairs and in carrying out the socio-economic reforms. The time has now come to put an end to all remnants of the one-man regime and to extend the democratic rights of the broad masses.

There is no denying, however, that a number of progressive steps were made in the economic and social spheres after July 1961. Today, the conditions are ripe for Egypt to take the non-capitalist path. To do so, Egypt must extend democracy, giving the masses all the essential freedoms and promoting their creative initiative. That is the way to consolidate the already existing gains and protect them from the reactionaries, who are supported by the imperialists, and to make further advances. "Capitalism cannot be defeated," Lenin wrote, "without *seizing the banks*, and abolishing *private ownership* of the means of production; but these revolutionary measures cannot be carried out without organizing democratic management by the whole people of the means of production seized from the bourgeoisie, without encouraging the working people, both the proletarians, semi-proletarians and the small peasant, to organize themselves democratically, to organize their forces, and their participation in running the state."*

Syria was the first Arab country to win political independence after the Second World War. After having come to power, the Syrian national bourgeoisie, which had headed the national-liberation movement, tried to put the brakes on all further popular struggle and to fend off all measures likely to put the country on the path of social progress. The Syrian national bourgeoisie wanted (and still wants) to build a bourgeois democratic state modelled along West European lines. But, firstly, it did not have the economic strength to impose its leadership on the whole state apparatus, especially the army — the chief instrument of this apparatus. Secondly, Syria's national liberation was won

*Lenin, Reply to Kievsky (Y. Pyatakov).

not through a coup by the upper strata. It was the result of a long struggle, and the bulk of the people took part in it. Furthermore, the relatively democratic freedoms won by the people at different stages of their anti-colonial struggle gave the masses and the progressive forces an opportunity to control whatever the government did in spite of resistance by the feudals and the big bourgeoisie. This, in turn, stimulated the spread of democracy. In other words, in Syria the struggle for national independence combined with the struggle for democracy. Thirdly, the progressive forces — the Communists and the other democratic groups — had for many years taken part in the fight against the colonialists and had helped to win and establish national independence, combating the intrigues of imperialism and of Israel and fighting for the restoration of the legitimate Arab rights in Palestine.

The workers and peasants were active on the political scene as an independent social force with its own platform, which it fought to realize. The national bourgeoisie was not strong enough to impose its rule on the popular movement and to keep it within the narrow bounds of its class interests. The struggle for economic and social reforms gained increasing prominence in the country's political life, and no efforts the reactionaries made could stifle it. However, from the standpoint of its weight in the country, its political consciousness and organization, and its ability to marshal its allies, especially the peasants, Syria's working class was not yet up to the task of heading the national-liberation movement and leading it forward to the next, higher stage.

In the circumstances, it was the intellectuals, officers and the petty bourgeoisie, who came to the forefront. Unstable by nature, these sections swung continuously from one side to the other, from right to left, causing a state of instability in the country. Indeed, in the last fifteen years the situation in Syria has, in the main, been extremely uncertain, save for some brief periods, such as, say 1946-49, when the national bourgeoisie had just come to power, and 1954-57, when the progressive democratic forces succeeded in building a broad national front.

Of the middle strata, the officers in control of the army are the only organized and armed force. It is not surprising, therefore, that they played the principal and most active role. The Syrian army is very sensitive to the popular movement and the general situation in the country. It reacted to all the sudden shifts in public opinion, which

brought it into agitation and ferment. As a result, Syria has had a record number of armed coups d'état; as many as eight between 1949 and 1964.

Not all of these coups were sparked off by patriotic and progressive factors. Often the elements who seized control of the army played a reactionary role. Every time a group of officers took power and fenced itself off from the people, refusing to cooperate with the progressive democratic forces, the role of the army was negative. Stability turned into instability, anarchy reigned, and the army leaders became a junta which throttled democracy and undermined the economy. But all in all the influence which the army exercised during this period has been patriotic and progressive.

To sum up, every time the Syrian army and the people of Syria were united and the army cooperated with the democratic and progressive forces, the national-liberation movement registered tangible successes in consolidating the country's independence and leading the country to social progress.

It is symptomatic of our time that despite the shocks Syria had experienced from time to time, the national-liberation movement in the country did not stop at the first stage and has made palpable, though very gradual, economic and social advances. All major enterprises controlled by foreign interests, such as the railways, power stations, tobacco factories, ports, the emission bank, etc., have been nationalized. So have all the other banks and some of the industrial companies. A number of projects have been built with the help of the socialist countries, such as an oil refinery and a few dams, and the Soviet Union is helping to build railways, chemical fertilizer plants, etc. Briefly, the state sector in the country's economy has expanded.

The agrarian reform did a lot to wipe out the survivals of feudalism. If implemented in good faith, with an eye to the interests of the peasants and the various amendments made to it at different times under public pressure, it will go a long way toward settling the agrarian issue. The working class, too, has achieved some gains (it is a beneficiary in the profit-sharing scheme, arbitrary dismissals have been banned by law, and there is a minimum wage scale, etc.). All these progressive measures were undertaken despite the strong resistance put up by the reactionaries and the Rightist section of the national bourgeoisie. Today it is an incontrovertible fact that the choice between the capitalist and non-capitalist roads is the focal issue of an acute political battle.

The current situation in Syria is the best possible answer one can make to the Chinese dogmatists, who deny the Marxist-Leninist proposition that socio-economic changes have at present become the main content of the national-liberation movement.

The non-capitalist path of development is advocated chiefly by the working class, most of the peasants and a considerable section of the intelligentsia and the officers, and, of course, the mass of servicemen. What complicates the situation is that the big bourgeoisie has taken advantage of the mistakes made during the time of Syria's integration with Egypt and, later, the anarchy and devastation that gripped the country when the Baathists seized power to generate an atmosphere of fear and apprehension with respect to the non-capitalist path among broad sections of the petty bourgeoisie, especially in the towns, who carry considerable weight on the Syrian scene.

The other disturbing fact is that elements who style themselves Nasserites and whom one would expect to back progressive tendencies, are pursuing an irresponsible and unprincipled policy. They cooperate with the feudals and reactionaries (Muslim Brethren, Right-wing of the People's Party, etc.), and are aiming to rob Syria of its independence.

But the Syrian bourgeoisie is no longer strong enough to stand in the way of non-capitalist development. The old and new colonialists cannot apply force from outside to safeguard capitalist relations. They cannot do it because of the socialist camp, in the vanguard of which stands the Soviet Union. Its might is a barrier to imperialist aggression and protects the right of every nation to choose its own path of development. This was strikingly proved by the Caribbean crisis.

Syria has all the conditions it needs to develop along the non-capitalist path. The Syrian Communist Party considers the disunity of the progressive forces to be the main obstacle to this. There is as yet no united national democratic front. The Syrian Communist Party is trying to create such a front, embracing workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, the progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie, the soldiers and the patriotically-minded officers. The ultimate goal is to establish a power that would thwart imperialist plots, paralyze the resistance of the reactionaries and their collaborators, and lead Syria along the non-capitalist road. The Syrian Communists, though forced underground, are fighting tirelessly to uphold the demands of the working people,

to disseminate the ideas of scientific socialism and to secure the cooperation of all patriots, democrats and progressives and all peoples who side with socialism in the building of a national democratic front and the establishment of such a power.

Lately, a discussion has proceeded in our Party of a large number of issues related to the development of Syria and other Arab countries in the direction of socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the role of the working class and its Communist Party, the attitude towards different trends which style themselves socialist, the attitude towards different sections of the national bourgeoisie, etc. The discussion has revealed that there is a distinct tendency to belittle the role of the working class both at the present stage of the national-liberation movement and in the future, and to exaggerate the role of the intelligentsia, the officers and other members of the petty-bourgeoisie who profess to be for socialism. But at the present stage of the national-liberation movement there is also the converse tendency to belittle the significance of other trends calling themselves socialists, to deny that the national bourgeoisie, its progressive sections included, plays any role and consequently, to underrate the struggle for a broad national front that would complete the national-democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution and put the country on the non-capitalist road.

Our Party has been able to overcome these two tendencies and has arrived at conclusions which may be summed up as follows.

The impact of the victories scored by the socialist world system on the international scene and that of numerous domestic factors has added greatly to the force of attraction of socialist ideas among the masses in Syria and in the Arab world. Not only Communists want socialism. Other sections, too, are advocating socialist construction. There may be some among the latter who only pretend to favor socialism of the so-called national type in order to mislead the masses and combat scientific socialism. But most of them are sincere, although their doctrines of socialism are not yet very clear-cut and contain religious and nationalist notions and utopian petty-bourgeois illusions alongside ideas drawn from scientific socialism. All the same, there are nationalist elements who sincerely wish to promote social and economic progress, and who realize that this is not feasible on the capitalist road of development.

Capitalist relations, if continued, will only

perpetuate backwardness and facilitate a return to colonial domination in a new form. So the very nationalism of these elements makes them gravitate towards accepting socialism. No matter how paradoxical this fact may seem, for it contradicts all our previous criteria, it is a fact wrought by the dialectical development of our time, the time of transition from capitalism to socialism.

In the circumstances, we may approach the question of the development of the national democratic revolution into a socialist revolution in a new way. The experience of some countries, such as Algeria, Egypt, Burma, etc., shows that many socio-economic reconstructions, usually performed during the development of the national-democratic revolution into a proletarian revolution (e.g., measures related to the nationalization of foreign and domestic capital, consolidation and extension of the state sector, etc.), are now being carried through before the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Developments in Algeria indicate that it is possible to begin the transition to the non-capitalist road leading to socialism not by way of establishing a power that is essentially a proletarian dictatorship, a power of the working class allied with the peasants and other working people, but by way of establishing a popular national power based on a broad front that may even take the form of *one party* consisting of members of different sections of the population favoring socialism.

It is very likely that Syria, like any other Asian or African country, will have its own distinctive experience of transition to the non-capitalist path of development, with the subsequent aim of building socialism on the basis of a broad front embracing workers, peasants, soldiers, officers, and the revolutionary intelligentsia, that is, all those who favor the reconstruction of society along socialist lines, including the progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie who do not oppose socialism. No matter what form this front may assume, in Syria the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard have an important role to play in the country's transition to the non-capitalist path of development, leading ultimately to socialist construction.

The possibility of embarking on the transitional stage to socialism before the working class builds up a popular front under its own leadership does not mean that the weight of the working class in the country's affairs will diminish. On the contrary, it will increase steadily. As industry develops, as

the state sector takes firm root in the economy, causing the weight of the bourgeoisie to diminish, and as cooperatives gain prominence in the field of small-scale production in town and country, the working class will grow into the main social and political force. Furthermore, the incorrect ideas some people have about socialism are sure to disappear as the development proceeds and the socialist world system adds to its might and influence. This will pave the way for the victory of scientific socialism, that is, Marxism-Leninism. It will become the dominant ideology.

The Communists must pursue flexible tactics to thwart the various plots hatched by neo-colonialists and reactionaries at home to remove them from the political scene and prevent the emergence of a broad national democratic front. Although the neo-colonialists and reactionaries know they will not succeed in preventing the countries from taking the non-capitalist path of development, they cling to the hope of reversing this trend in the future and turning back the clock of history. This is why they are so eager to keep their economic and political contacts in the countries concerned and step up their interference in their domestic affairs, on the one hand, and why they strive to prevent the establishment of a national front that would include Communists, on the other. They employ various methods of pressure and intimidation to this end, because they know that Communist participation in a national front will add to the political, ideological and international force of the national-liberation movement and will help it checkmate all imperialist attempts of diverting the newly-independent peoples from their chosen road.

3

It is only natural that different points of view should arise in the Communist movement on various questions and that there should be comradely discussion based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism in order to establish the truth. At the beginning of the discussion many comrades in various Communist and Workers' parties thought the differences did not transcend the framework of an ideological debate and that they would not be difficult to iron out, since all Communists are of one mind about the present epoch—being an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and since the great aims of peace and struggle against imperialism, for national liberation and socialist victory, unite the Communists of the whole

world and strengthen their ranks. The Syrian Communists made their modest contribution to the discussion. We refuted the views of the Chinese leaders in calm, considered and comradely replies.

But soon it became evident that the Chinese leaders could not care less for the unity of the world Communist movement and for the truth. In launching the polemics they pursued other, far-reaching aims. Countless facts show that the Chinese leaders are drifting farther and farther away from the fundamental position and the general line of the world Communist movement worked out in common by the fraternal parties at the 1960 Moscow meeting. In Syria, the Lebanon and in other Arab countries, the Chinese leaders are trying to build up splinter groups of shady elements expelled from the respective Communist parties ten to fifteen years ago for disruptive activities and collaboration with the police. They pay bourgeois pro-imperialist publications large sums of money to publish their propaganda against the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement. All this is done on the pretext of safeguarding the "purity" of Marxism-Leninism. They had their seventh *Jenminjihpao* article published in the Lebanon newspaper *Al-Jarida*, a mouthpiece of the big bankers and neo-colonialists.

The adventurist policy of the CPC leadership, pursuing aims alien to Marxism-Leninism, is not finding support among the Arab Communists. It has been denounced by all the Communist parties of the Arab East. This is why the Chinese leaders now contend that the Arab Communist movement is nothing but a mess of mistakes. They are trying to create the impression that the anti-communism rampant in some Arab countries as an official policy was not induced by imperialist pressure and bourgeois nationalist ideology, but by the mistakes of the Communist parties in the Arab countries.

Thoughtful and all-round examination of the position of the Chinese leaders, as set out in published materials, will reveal that whenever it suits their political designs they blithely depart even from the ideological concepts and fundamental attitudes which they profess to adhere to. They are quite willing to overlook the fact that the views of certain Communist leaders on the peaceful development of the revolution and the possibility of cooperating with members of the national bourgeoisie are distinct from their own, so long as these leaders accept their leadership, do their bidding, and smear the CPSU and other fraternal parties. They im-

pute to leaders of the world Communist movement things which they never said. They write, for example, that anyone who disagrees with their line considers that the national-liberation movement owes all its victories at the present stage to the policy of peaceful coexistence. But no one has ever put the matter in this way. The point is that the victories in question were the result of the *struggle of the peoples* in an environment of peaceful coexistence. And this is an irrefutable fact. The Chinese leaders claim that whenever a Marxist-Leninist says that economic tasks are today the pivot of the national liberation movement this means that he is thereby rejecting political struggle and calling for abandonment of the struggle against imperialism, and, even more, rejecting the national-liberation movement as such. No Marxist-Leninist party has ever put such a construction on things. When we say that economic and social tasks have become the main content of the national-liberation movement in the present stage we mean that it is necessary to wage a far-flung and persevering political struggle for the establishment in the newly-free countries of a progressive national power based on the people and on an alliance of patriotic democratic forces in order to block the road to neo-colonialism, to paralyze the resistance of the reactionaries and the Right wing of the national bourgeoisie and carry through deep-going reforms (agrarian reforms, extension and consolidation of the state sector, nationalization of foreign capital, extension of working-class gains, etc.) which would secure economic independence and set the stage for non-capitalist development.

The unprincipled methods employed by the Chinese leaders in their political and ideological activities are obviously alien to proletarian morals and far removed from the forthright and honest attitude befitting the Communist vanguard. Their methods and their ideological and political position are neither proletarian nor internationalist, and stem from the nationalism of the embittered petty bourgeois.

Petty-bourgeois nationalism does not recognize dedication to any principles or any ideology. From the standpoint of petty-bourgeois nationalism the end justifies the means, and since it is the basic and possibly the sole purpose of the Chinese leaders to impose their leadership on the Asian, African and Latin American countries, and on the whole world Communist movement, they are quite prepared to employ any means.

How did the Chinese leaders get bogged

down in petty-bourgeois nationalism? Is there any historical explanation for it?

In his "Critical Remarks on the National Question," Lenin noted that the "principle of nationality is historically inevitable in bourgeois society, and so, because he has to reckon with that society, the Marxist recognizes that national movements are historically legitimate. But to prevent this recognition from becoming an apology of nationalism, it must confine itself strictly to recognizing only the progressive elements of these movements in order to avoid contaminating the proletarian mind with bourgeois ideology.

Like the other Asian countries which have experienced foreign oppression, the Chinese engaged in a long and hard struggle against imperialism. That is where the positive progressive and emancipatory side of nationalism came into play. That a country's liberation from foreign yoke should lead to the negative, or reactionary aspects of nationalism coming to the surface is understandable. In a small country these negative aspects usually mean mistrust of all things foreign and gravitation towards isolation. In a large country they are likely to be manifested in expansion, dominance and an itch for hegemony expressed in professions of historical "tasks" or "mission" of the nation, of a return to "former grandeur," revival of the "glorious past," etc.

The negative aspects of nationalism are stronger after liberation from imperialist rule than before it, especially among the petty-bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia, and also partly among backward workers who, due to local conditions, had had no chance to receive an internationalist grounding. If this is true, then it should also be recognized that this applies not only to countries where the national bourgeoisie holds power, but also to countries where the national-liberation movement was led by the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist Party, although, to be sure, in that case the negative aspects of

nationalism are not as perverse and as strong. In China the Communist Party, which led the revolution, had every chance of suppressing nationalism and of educating the workers and the rest of the people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism from the very outset. All the more so since there were the necessary conditions for it. A contributing factor here was the existence of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which not only supported the Chinese revolution but also facilitated its victory by their own great victory over fascism in the Second World War, by giving China a fraternal helping hand and supplying what she needed to build her economy and to advance to socialism.

However, the Chinese leaders, far from preventing the spread of the negative aspects of nationalism among the petty-bourgeoisie and the backward section of workers, themselves fell prey to it. In justifying their chauvinistic standpoint, the Chinese leaders seem to want to prove that nationalism, which had not exhausted itself under capitalism, needed a certain amount of time after the overthrow of capitalism to exhaust all its possibilities.

Whether the Chinese leaders realize the true purport of what they are doing or not, the line they are objectively pursuing today will be shown by history to have been unworthy of men who profess to be Marxist-Leninists. History will have the final say. Like any historical phenomenon, petty-bourgeois nationalism has a beginning and an end. Every revolutionary, every progressive hopes that in China that end will come soon, before it does great harm to humanity.

There are many grounds for this hope, and the main ground is that the contemporary epoch is not an epoch of chauvinism and blind nationalism, but an epoch of transition from the capitalism to socialism, of class-conscious patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Proletarian Internationalism — a Powerful Force in the Revolutionary Transformation of the World

B. Ponomaryov

THE centenary of the First International is being commemorated by the international working class in a situation marked by the triumph of the noble ideals of Marxism-Leninism. The Communist movement, founded by Marx and Engels, has become the most influential political force of our time.

The socialist revolution has triumphed in fourteen countries. The Soviet Union has advanced to the building of communist society. The socialist world system, the creation of the international working class, has become the decisive force for the revolutionary reconstruction of the world, the reliable bulwark of the liberation struggle against imperialism and reaction.

With the victory of the socialist revolution in a number of countries the *objective* conditions were created for closer relations between their peoples than had ever been witnessed before in the history of international relations. Internationalism as an ideology now has a solid foundation in the identity of socio-economic and political structures of the socialist countries. Provided their Communist parties pursue correct policies, nothing can prevent complete solidarity between the socialist nations in working to achieve their common ideals — socialism and communism. All the greater then is the responsibility devolving on the ruling Communist parties for the consistent implementation of the principles of socialist internationalism.

Proletarian internationalism was the forerunner and essential prerequisite of the growth of internationalism in the relations between peoples cut off from one another for thousands of years by countless social and national barriers. Today the Marxist-Leninist parties, the vanguard of the working class and the socialist countries, are in a position to implement the ideas of internationalism

on a worldwide scale, to influence social development so as to prevent the old contradictions between nations and states inherited from the past from leading to military conflicts, and to hasten the coming of the happy future Marx foresaw.

I. Internationalism — A Powerful Weapon for the Working Class

Proletarian internationalism is a powerful weapon in the hands of the working class against capitalist exploitation and bourgeois nationalism.

The workers' conditions of life impel them to rally together on an international scale to combat all forms of social and national oppression. Hence internationalism was born of the working-class movement and constitutes an inseparable element of the world-historic mission of the working class.

Internationalism crystallized on the basis of the identity of the fundamental interests of the workers of different countries, as an expression of class solidarity against the cosmopolitan attempts of the capitalists jointly to suppress the workers' struggle against exploitation.

Internationalism came into being as the joint protest of the workers against the support given by the bourgeoisie of the various countries to the reactionary regimes and forces enslaving other peoples. The prevention of armed intervention by the British Government of the day on behalf of the slaveowners in the Civil War in America, support of the struggle waged by the people of Poland against Russian tsarism, and defense of the Irish waging a liberation struggle against British rule were the first memorable instances of proletarian internationalism.

Internationalism stemmed, finally, from the need for the workers of different countries to unite on a common class basis to combat bourgeois nationalism which, as the main

principle of the foreign policy of the capitalist states, was used to plunge the peoples into wars.

Internationalism struck root in the working-class movement and became a characteristic of the proletariat with the growth of its political consciousness and experience in struggle, as revolutionary theory gained ground in the working-class movement and it awakened to its political tasks.

The basic aspects of proletarian internationalism today can be summed up as follows:

—Solidarity of all the revolutionary detachments in the common struggle against imperialism and reaction, for democracy, national independence and socialism.

—Defense of peace and struggle against the threat of a war, to affirm in international life the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

—Maximum effort on the part of each socialist country, each national contingent of the working class and other revolutionary forces to promote the worldwide liberation struggle. The prime internationalist duty of the working people who have won power is to build socialism and communism.

—Home and foreign policies which contribute to the strengthening of the socialist world system is the main factor of contemporary revolutionary development.

—Support by the peoples of the socialist countries and the working people of the capitalist countries of the anti-imperialist, national-liberation movement.

—All-round mutual support among all sections of the revolutionary movement (the socialist world system, the international working-class movement and the national-liberation movement) in the struggle for common aims.

—Active participation in the democratic movements of our time, and all-round effort to unite in these movements the progressive forces of all countries and continents, irrespective of race or nationality.

—Strengthening the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of the equality and independence of the fraternal parties and their joint resolute struggle against factional and disruptive activities in the movement.

—Defense of Marxist-Leninist ideology as the basis of the international Communist movement, creative collective effort to develop it with a view to making maximum use of the new and greater opportunities for revolutionary struggle by the peoples, for their advance towards socialism and communism

along roads which best accord with the conditions of each country and the traditions and experience of each people.

—Struggle against reactionary nationalism and to prevent it from penetrating into the Communist and working-class movement.

The *organizational* unity of the proletariat of the various countries derived from internationalism. From the very outset internationalism was an important means for overcoming the basic weakness of the working class in the struggle against capital — its disunity. It is indicative that large-scale political unification of the workers' movement on a genuine class basis was initiated by an international proletarian organization — the First International. Indeed, the growth of the proletarians into a politically independent class proceeded through their awakening to the fact that they were an international force.

The First International combined the organized strength and internationalism of the working class; it gave us a classical example of how the unity of these two pillars of the working-class movement should be upheld. In the First International the fundamental principle of the revolutionary activity of the proletariat and its vanguard — unity on a class basis, directed against the exploiters — crystallized.

And so internationalism, entering into the very fabric of the working-class movement, became its distinctive feature and inseparable component, the source of its strength and of its epoch-making victories.

Marx and Engels helped to awaken the workers to the fact that the way to unity of the international proletariat lies through the consolidation in the workers' movement of a proletarian ideology as the prime condition for organizing the working class into a force independent of the bourgeoisie.

At the same time, however, Marx and Engels did not close the doors of the International to those who were not yet prepared to accept its program in full. "Had we from 1864 to 1873 insisted on working together only with those who openly adopted our platform, where should we be today?" Engels wrote in 1887. "I think all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class at every one of its stages without giving up or hiding our own distinct position and even organization . . ." (Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Selected Correspondence*.)

It was this line that enabled Marx, in working to unite the diverse sections and trends of the working-class movement of the

time, to shape, as Lenin said, the common tactics of proletarian struggle for the working class of the different countries.

At the same time, Marx and Engels did not rule out diversity of positions within the framework of the International. They held that the international working-class movement should have a "plan which can be freely adapted to the differing conditions of each nation and each locality, while retaining everywhere its basic features, thereby ensuring unity of aim and a general harmony of the means used to achieve the common aim — emancipation of the working class by the working class itself." (Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 132.)

Marx and Engels, however, stood firmly by their positions whenever the differences went beyond the bounds of the Program and Rules of the International and presented a threat to the unity of the working-class movement. A case in point is their struggle against Bakunin and the Anarchists.

Bakunin and his followers caused grievous harm to the cause of unity. As Engels said, they set out to destroy "not the existing system of exploitation, but the Association which is waging the most energetic struggle against this system." (Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 114.)

The international working-class movement was then faced for the first time with the problem of a split. And the split actually took place. But does this give grounds for saying, as the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party aver to justify their factional activities, that Marx and Engels regarded splits as the only way to overcome differences? Certainly not. Marx, Engels and Lenin approached the problem of splits, as all other political questions, from a concrete historical standpoint; their criterion was, first, how a split would affect the vitality of the movement (or a party), and, second, whether or not it would help to solve the main revolutionary task.

At that time the working-class movement was just beginning to crystallize politically. Fruitful development of this process along correct lines depended on continued effort to combine the movement with scientific socialism. But Bakuninism threatened to sidetrack this process at the very outset. Hence there was no other way than to eliminate this danger by resolutely expelling the Bakuninists from the organization which was the embodiment of genuine revolution and of the historical perspective of the working class.

The main task then facing the International was, in the words of Lenin, to lay the

"foundation of proletarian international struggle for socialism." (Vol. 29, p. 281.) Its mission was also to sow in the working class the seeds of internationalism which (when the movement spread on a national scale, on the basis of workers' mass parties in the various countries, as it was destined to do) would prevent the revival of particularism and exceptionalism and thereby safeguard the working-class movement against falling easy prey to bourgeois nationalism.

Marx, Engels and Lenin, the great standard-bearers of proletarian unity, dedicated their whole lives to the theoretical substantiation and practical realization of this unity. It would be a grave mistake indeed to assume, as the Chinese press does, that division is a law of development of the working-class movement. The general tendency of this movement, a tendency deriving from its very nature and determined by its objective goal, is towards ever closer and more effective unity and the rallying of the broad masses of working people, of all democratic forces, around the working class. Moreover, this tendency is accentuated and unity becomes increasingly imperative with the growth of the working-class movement, its responsibility for man's destiny. In proclaiming division to be a law of development of the working-class movement, the CPC leaders are pursuing nationalistic and hegemonistic aims diametrically opposed to the fundamental interests of the revolutionary movement.

The importance of proletarian internationalism was further enhanced in the epoch of the Second International when the working-class movement grew greatly in numbers and came to play a bigger role in the political life of the leading countries of the time.

At the same time, however, the forces opposed to internationalism were also growing. The working class was subjected to increasing pressures from the petty-bourgeois sections of society corroded by nationalism. Colonial exploitation which gave birth to the aristocracy of labor, and inter-imperialist rivalry in the drive for profits, rivalry which reactionary propaganda translated into the language of jingoism, were also conducive to the spread of bourgeois nationalism.

Lenin highly appreciated the work done by the Second International to strengthen working-class unity. He approved of the decisions of the Amsterdam Congress of 1904 which recommended that the two parties of the working class in France (the followers of Jaures and Guesde) unite, and supported the proposal for cooperation with the Labor Party

even though the latter did not accept Marxism.

The analogy which the Chinese leaders are trying to draw between their disruptive policy and the stand taken by Lenin during the years of the First World War is built on obvious falsification. In effect, they rehash the old shibboleths of the bourgeois "critics" of Leninism who depicted Lenin and the Bolsheviks as being in favor of division over differences, as advocating split for the sake of split. It is common knowledge, however, that Lenin advocated an organizational break with the opportunists in the Second International and its parties only after the Social Democratic leaders had betrayed internationalism, betrayed the cause of the working class and split the international working-class movement by siding with the capitalist governments, adopting national-chauvinist positions and vilifying the Leninist Party. Under these circumstances, the split on which Lenin insisted during the First World War signified in fact the mustering of forces capable of raising aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism which the leaders of the Second International had trampled underfoot.

The Communist International became the vehicle of proletarian internationalism in the first stage of the general crisis of capitalism; it embodied the positive internationalist heritage of the period of the First and Second Internationals. Internationalism became in the Comintern period the practical instrument of struggle in the epoch of proletarian revolutions and the beginning of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. Thanks to the Comintern, a truly worldwide revolutionary movement was created for the first time in history.

The principal element in the new situation was the evolution of socialism from theory to practice. Historically it so happened that socialism first became a practical reality in a country at an average level of socio-economic development, yet from the outset the new system had to shoulder the maximum of internationalist commitments. The land of Soviets was the first to make socialism a reality, and since then the "force of example" has been an integral part of proletarian, socialist internationalism.

It has given Marxism-Leninism new possibilities of influencing the peoples:

—During the civil war imposed by the class enemy and the foreign intervention, the force of example consisted in demonstrating the invincibility and grandeur of the socialist revolution.

—In the period of rehabilitation the force of example was determined by the ability of the working class and working people generally to manage things without the capitalists in the spheres of state life, the economy and culture.

—at the time of building socialist, and later communist, society the force of example is exerted through ever fuller demonstration of the true content of the ideals of the new society.

In our time the main proof that a national detachment of the revolutionary movement is aware of its internationalist obligations is maximum effort in its own country to ensure the success of the common cause of the revolution and socialism throughout the world.

Besides the example it is setting, the Soviet Union's vast contribution to proletarian internationalism consists in the fact that it has become the material base of the entire international revolutionary movement.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to which history assigned in the early period of revolutionary reconstruction of the world the role of vanguard of the international organization of a new type, has done its utmost to enable the working-class movement of other countries to make the most effective use of its historical gain — the successful development of the first proletarian state.

In their turn, other Marxist parties, working to steer the working-class movement in their respective countries along a revolutionary course, considered it their prime duty to defend the Soviet republic. To preserve socialism in the Soviet Union was to safeguard the cause of socialism generally. This was the focal point of proletarian internationalism in the first stage of the epoch ushered in by the October Revolution. It was this approach that secured the grand victories scored in implementing the ideals bequeathed by Marx and Lenin.

The experience of nearly half a century has demonstrated the correctness of the path which Lenin and the Communists took. They called upon the entire working-class movement to take this path, the path of proletarian internationalism. But the Social Democrats took the reformist road which inevitably alienated them from socialism which was now a tangible reality, and, consequently deepened the split in the international working-class movement.

Refusal to reckon with the experience of Soviet Russia, and what is more, the reviling of this experience, was not only a gross violation of the traditions of proletarian

solidarity, it led also to direct degradation of Social Democracy, rendering it increasingly incapable of upholding the interests of the workers even within the bounds of capitalism. By aligning itself with the forces irreconcilably hostile to the socialist Soviet Union, Right-wing Social Democracy deprived itself of the opportunity to fight for the overthrow of capitalism even in those instances when the desire still lingered on in the rank and file of one or another Social Democratic party. The facts of the past decades are proof of this. During this time the Social Democrats have been in power on more than one occasion in several countries, sometimes for many years. But in none of these countries have the foundations of capitalism been so much as shaken.

The international proletariat and the peoples of the world are now in a position to compare the two paths of development of the working-class movement since its division — the path of proletarian revolution and proletarian internationalism, on the one hand, and the path of reformism, on the other. The comparison makes clear the significance of revolutionary theory and proletarian internationalism for the struggle of the working class for its fundamental aims.

The comparison also supplies the answer to another question: it shows that the victories of Marxism-Leninism in realizing the aims of the proletariat and the changes these victories have brought about in the conditions of the class struggle offer new, extensive opportunities for united action by all sections of the working-class movement. Indeed, many fundamental problems have already been solved in the process of the development of the international working-class movement, and solved in favor of Leninism.

In 1917 and after, the main issue was disagreement on whether socialism could triumph in Russia and whether the dictatorship of the proletariat was necessary for the transition from capitalism to socialism. The Right-wing Social Democrats launched a violent struggle against the Leninist theory and practice of building Socialism in Russia on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and lauded a "democracy" that was actually bourgeois democracy — the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In the more than 40 years since then, the Social Democratic leaders have not given a single example of the socialist ideal being realized in keeping with their own recipes. On the other hand, the Soviet people have built socialism in these years, and are confidently marching towards

communism, fulfilling with honor the internationalist duty entrusted to them by history. The situation in which socialism was built in the Soviet Union was an exceptional one. The savage fury of world imperialism and internal reaction made the class struggle in Russia unprecedentedly bitter and led to a violent civil war and foreign intervention. But this by no means cancelled the principle formulated by Marx: the Communists are always against violence for the sake of violence, the degree of violence depending solely on the actions of the class enemy.

Joining in the chorus of bourgeois propaganda, the Social Democratic leaders depicted the Communists as champions of naked violence, making "Bolshevik violence" a bogey with which they tried to scare the workers away from Leninism and, in fact, from socialism generally. Actually, the dictatorship of the proletariat was from the very beginning, as Lenin said, a thousand times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois rule, since it meant genuine democracy for the working masses, for the people generally. The Social Democratic leaders, however, emphasized only that aspect of the proletarian dictatorship which is associated with violence. "There is no doubt that without this aspect — without revolutionary violence — the proletariat could not have won," Lenin said, "but neither is there doubt that the use of revolutionary violence was necessary and legitimate only at certain moments in the development of the revolution, only in certain extraordinary conditions, whereas organization of the proletarian masses, of the working people, was, and still is, a far more deep-seated and permanent feature of this revolution and the condition of its victories. It is the organization of the millions of working people that best advances the revolution and is the underlying source of its victories." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 70.)

Time, however, has shattered the fabrications of the Social Democratic leaders. The world has come to see that the dictatorship of the proletariat represents genuine, effective democracy for the masses, that it signifies a steady extension of democracy. The experience accumulated to date, and especially the experience of the Soviet Union, has both confirmed the inevitability of the dictatorship of the proletariat and shown that its duration depends on the specific conditions of the particular country.

True, the personality cult distorted certain aspects of the proletarian dictatorship and retarded its evolution into a system of de-

mocracy for the whole people. But it was unable to arrest the development of democracy on socialist soil. The Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, on the initiative of N. S. Khrushchov, resolutely discarded the cult and gave free rein to the development of socialist democracy. The whole world can now see the proud achievements of socialism freed from impediments caused by the bitter class struggle which the bourgeoisie forced on the proletariat and by the negative consequences of the Stalin personality cult.

Having triumphed finally and completely in the USSR and other countries, socialism has created favorable external conditions for further revolutions and socialist construction. As Marx and Lenin predicted, the peoples can now advance to socialism along less difficult and more varied roads, including the peaceful road. This is clear proof of the great emancipatory role played today by the powerful socialist camp with regard to the rest of mankind. The break-through into the future first made by the Soviet people and then by the peoples of other countries has made it possible to mount an offensive of the revolutionary forces against the system of exploitation along the entire world front. In the course of this offensive boundless opportunities are opening up for the display of initiative, revolutionary fervor and creative endeavor by each people.

It is perfectly understandable that the Leninist party, which from its very inception fought persistently and uncompromisingly for the idea of proletarian dictatorship in the socialist movement and which did so much for its theoretical substantiation and practical implementation, has today, when the conditions for this have matured, posed on its own initiative the question of the historical limits of the dictatorship and is translating this concept into life by building a socialist state of the whole people.

But perhaps the most eloquent expression of the Communists' attitude to violence is the fact that the socialist world system led by them has posed on the practical plane the problem of banishing world war from the life of society, i.e., the problem of abolishing the worst form of violence known to man.

Another stumbling-block that divided Socialists and Communists was the question of what force represents the working class in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution and in socialist construction. It should be said that the attitude of the Communists on this question was usually dis-

torted and is still not always correctly understood by some Social Democrats. They ascribe to the Communists a desire to "debar" all other parties from taking part in building the new society. This, of course, is not so. The first Soviet government, we may recall, included Left Socialist Revolutionaries, besides the Bolsheviks. But the Left Socialist Revolutionaries failed to measure up to the historical responsibility placed on them by the revolution. Having become entangled in intrigues with the class enemy, they deserted to the counter-revolutionary camp; and when they started to organize plots and assassinations of leaders of the revolution, cooperation with them was no longer possible.

The experience of the People's Democracies where multi-party systems exist likewise shows that the Communists do not advocate the one-party system as a matter of principle.

Clearly, the strengthening of the positions of socialism in the world, the change in the balance of forces in favor of the working class and against imperialism and the reactionaries, opens the way to new and more effective forms of cooperation between parties in the working-class movement. Of course, it should not be forgotten that the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders betrayed the cause of the working class, breaking with Marxism and the ideals of socialism. There still are people in the Social Democratic parties whom Marx and Lenin rightly called the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class," people who stubbornly persist in supporting the policy of the rulers of their countries and are above all concerned with struggle against communism, against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Hence the Communists criticize the ideological positions and the Right opportunist practice of Social Democracy, stressing that there can be no compromise in the sphere of ideology, and that defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism is, as it has always been, a prime concern of the Communist parties. But there are many people in the Social Democratic movement who wish to cooperate with the Communists. This entitles us to speak of the possibility of achieving proletarian unity in the struggle for common aims not only on a national but also on an international scale. The realization of this possibility would be a triumph for the ideas of proletarian internationalism.

Due unquestionably to the impact made by the successes of world socialism, the lead-

ing role of the proletariat is once again gaining recognition among the Social Democrats. There is growing unity of action between Socialists and Communists on a wide range of issues in a number of capitalist countries. These issues include struggle against the arms build-up, for peaceful coexistence, against reactionary, racist and fascist regimes, in support of the national-liberation struggle, and against the monopoly onslaught on the rights of the working people.

The experience of the class struggle has confirmed the correctness of the policy of united action pursued by the Communist parties. In the course of the anti-monopoly movement ever broader sections of the nationally around the working class, and in this way the political army headed by the working class and capable of overthrowing monopoly rule and moving on towards socialism takes shape.

Proletarian internationalism has acquired truly worldwide scope with the entry of numerous mass contingents of the African, Latin American and Asian revolutionary forces into the struggle against the main enemy of the working class — capitalism, imperialism. The growing impact of socialism on world development, on the conditions in which the revolutionary struggle is waged, and the level attained by the national-liberation movement create an objective basis for broader unity than ever seen before among diverse political forces and organizations. Hence the possibility of joint action for common aims not only between the Marxist-Leninist parties and parties which are traditionally connected with the working-class movement and which have long proclaimed their support of socialist ideas, but also between Marxist-Leninist parties and young revolutionary-democratic parties which have led their peoples in the anti-imperialist struggle and have taken the path of radical reform.

This process of the international rallying of political forces on an extended basis is already under way, offering from year to year increasingly impressive examples of fraternal mutual support, fruitful cooperation, useful exchange of views and pooling of experience, which makes for a better understanding of the socio-economic and political changes taking place in our time and enriches the theory and practice of the entire world revolutionary movement. The CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties have for many years been making a substantial practical contribution towards building this new international unity, displaying initiative and freshness of approach in tackling the prob-

lems posed by life and consistently rendering firm support to all forces combating imperialism and reaction.

Clearly, then, it is possible and necessary to build a common front of political alliances embracing all three basic groups of countries and the greatest mass movements of our time, and ensuring unity of action among the Marxist-Leninist parties, other workers' parties, the revolutionary-democratic parties of the newly-independent countries and the various other democratic organizations fighting against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The extension and consolidation of ties with other progressive social forces presupposes the continued strengthening of the Communist parties ideologically, politically and organizationally. The stronger the Marxist-Leninist parties, the greater the influence of the ideas of scientific communism among the broad sections of the people and the greater the success in building unity among all anti-imperialist forces.

II. Internationalism, Nationalism and the Development of Nations

The ideological opponents of Marxism-Leninism try to counterpose proletarian internationalism to the interests of separate nations, especially oppressed nations fighting for freedom and national regeneration. This is an utterly fallacious premise.

Marxism takes cognizance of two objective trends in the nationalities question: the awakening of national life and national movements already under capitalism and struggle against national oppression, for the establishment of national states, on the one hand, and the simultaneous rapid growth, especially in the epoch of imperialism, of economic and other contacts between the nations and the crumbling of national barriers, on the other.

Therefore Marxists, while championing the international unity of the working class, simultaneously support the striving of all nations for independence, holding that the way to the drawing together of nations lies through their liberation and prosperity. In this can be seen one of the manifestations of the general democratic content of proletarian internationalism.

Support for national-liberation movements was one of the main policy lines of the First International. The founders of Marxism held that national liberation was indispensable for social emancipation.

The line of genuine internationalism was continued and elevated to a higher plane by Lenin. The experience of the USSR shows

that the cooperation of all nations is essential for the full development of each nation, which, in turn, leads to stronger unity of all nations and peoples.

Lenin, who elaborated the principles of Communist policy also as regards the national-liberation struggle on a world scale, urged that the most resolute and most consistent democracy be upheld in all aspects of the nationalities question, bearing in mind, however, that at a certain juncture the bourgeoisie will use nationalism to strengthen its positions. Experience shows that the role played by nationalism in the national-liberation movement varies from country to country, depending on the class alignments. In most countries, especially in those where the liberation movement is headed by the revolutionary-democratic forces, nationalism is an effective instrument of anti-imperialist struggle and revolutionary-democratic change. But there are cases when the reactionary top-crust of exploiters uses nationalism to promote its own selfish ends and to block social progress.

It should be borne in mind that the struggle of the newly-free peoples against colonialism is not yet over. Having gained political independence, they nevertheless remain in the system of the world capitalist economy and are oppressed by the imperialist powers economically. Therefore the fight of the peoples of most of the former colonies and semi-colonies is still a fight for national liberation demanding exertion of much effort.

In some countries the national-liberation movement is headed by revolutionary democrats, who associate the struggle for national independence with radical socio-economic reforms. It should also be borne in mind that the new situation cannot but affect the development of the newly-free peoples. This situation facilitates the national regeneration of the emergent states along non-capitalist lines with the fraternal support of the socialist states. The peoples are learning from experience that the sure road to the complete abolition of colonialism and to national revival lies through changes of a socialist nature, through the development of contacts with the socialist countries. Moreover, they can see that proletarian internationalism by which the Marxist-Leninists are guided offers them a platform of friendly relations with the socialist countries ensuring these peoples the most favorable opportunities for advance along the path of peace and social progress.

Marxist-Leninists are well aware of the danger of bourgeois nationalism to the peoples of the young states. Hence they resolutely reject the racist slogans of the Chinese

splitters which are designed to isolate the peoples who have won national liberation, or are fighting for it, from the international working-class movement and from the socialist world system. When such slogans are put forward nationalism becomes a thoroughly reactionary force capable of causing grave harm to the people's liberation struggle.

Every stage of historical development confronts proletarian internationalism with its own difficulties and contradictions. At times nationalism and sectarianism reappear on a new basis and in new forms.

Socialism brings with it an unprecedented consolidation of the nations. The crystallization of the socio-political unity of a nation is accompanied by a powerful surge of patriotism. It can be said that only under socialism does a nation truly feel it is a single whole and acquire a oneness of will and action. This firm unity of society, of the nation, is an achievement of socialism, striking proof of its superiority over capitalism, which disunites people.

However, one should not ignore the danger of a resurgence of nationalist sentiment under certain circumstances as a by-product of socialist patriotism. Nationalism is deeply rooted in the consciousness and psychology of definite social strata. It adapts itself to the new conditions, parasitizing on the lofty feeling of patriotism.

Traces of the abnormal, ugly relations between nations born of capitalism remain for some time after the socialist revolution. They cannot be effaced immediately after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, just as it is impossible to abolish overnight the economic and cultural inequality of nations which is likewise inherited from the past. The unity of the socialist community of states is forged and cemented through struggle against bourgeois-nationalist prejudices and their reappearance on a new basis and in a new guise.

Marxism-Leninism reckons with the danger presented by survivals of nationalism and emphasizes the need to neutralize their influence, to combat them. Recent experience shows, however, that not all the Communist parties in power have proved capable of resisting nationalistic pressures and pursuing a consistent internationalist policy. The petty-bourgeois wave that has engulfed the CPC leadership has brought to the surface the froth and foam of nationalism and great-power egoism.

The errors of the CPC leadership have now developed into a system of nationalistic views. This is evident from all their recent

actions which essentially amount to departure from proletarian internationalism revealing a desire to subordinate the other socialist countries to China. Evidence of this is furnished also by the lauding of everything Chinese, the cultivation of chauvinism.

The anti-Leninist position of the Chinese leaders is manifested particularly clearly in their utterly shameless claim to hegemony in the Communist movement. "The ideological position headed by Mao Tse-tung," *Jenmin-jihpao* proclaims, "must . . . assume leadership of the international Communist movement."

The torrent of slander which the Chinese press has poured upon the CPSU and the Soviet Union as well as upon other socialist countries and Marxist-Leninist parties — slander which no Communist or any other sincere participant in the liberation movement can countenance — can also be traced to aggressive nationalism.

The line of the Chinese leaders presents a grave danger to the unity of the world Communist movement and to the socialist world system. In effect, the CPC leaders are giving aid and comfort to the class enemy of the world proletariat in pursuit of his objective — to destroy the unity of the world Communist movement. Hence it is imperative that all true internationalists, supporters of the great cause of Marx and Lenin, fighters for peace and socialism, give a resolute rebuff to the Chinese leaders' nationalism.

All the socialist countries have common internationalist tasks, above all, defense of the socialist system against encroachments by world imperialism. The main burden of the efforts and sacrifice involved in realizing these tasks has been borne by the Soviet Union. And now, too, the Soviet people are spending much to increase the defense potential of the socialist world system, to render economic aid to other, less developed countries of this system. It is generally known, for instance, that the missile-nuclear strength built up and maintained by the Soviet Union stands guard over the peaceful labor of all the socialist countries.

The other countries of the socialist community are also making their contribution to the common tasks. However, as the actions of the Chinese leaders show, nationalism gives rise to the striving, alien to proletarian internationalism, to counterpose one's own country to the socialist community. This endangers the unity of the socialist world system, leads to a weakening of contacts between the socialist countries, undermines their friendship, weakens the influence of so-

cialism on the trend of world development and, ultimately, does grave harm to the national interests themselves, in the given instance to those of China.

There is only one way to overcome survivals of nationalism in socialist society: genuine fulfilment by each country of the common internationalist duty, loyalty to Marxism-Leninism.

III. Internationalism and the Struggle for Peace

Down the centuries the exploiting classes have sought to justify predatory attacks on other peoples by invoking the "sins" of other nations, of people of other beliefs, heretics, etc. The fanaticism of religion, of the tribe, the race, or the nation—all are links in a chain extending through the centuries, monuments to man's spiritual enslavement, to the striving to make him the docile tool of self-seeking oppressors. Proletarian internationalism laid bare the motives behind aggressive wars of plunder. In this way, proletarian internationalism, which emerged as a class ideology, is the continuation of the humanistic traditions born of the aspirations of the people, and is destined to carry these traditions to their logical conclusion—man's final victory over war.

Internationalism is the ideology and practice of peace and friendship among the peoples. It is not fortuitous that in instigating fratricidal wars the bourgeoisie has above all sought to combat proletarian internationalism, to poison the minds of the working class and working people generally with the venom of nationalism.

At the time of the First International, when the working class was just emerging, Marx urged it never to forget the lofty duty it had now to perform. "The glorious duty devolves on you," he wrote to the American workers. "to show the world that the working class is at last entering the arena of history not as an obedient tool but as an independent force conscious of its own responsibility and able to dictate peace where the so-called masters clamor for war."

Marx knew full well that at that time the working class still lacked the strength to exclude war from the life of society or even to prevent its outbreak. Yet the leaders of the working-class movement never considered this to be grounds for abandoning the struggle against militarism and war. The resolution of the Brussels Congress of the First International stressed that "the peoples can henceforward lessen the frequency of war by opposing those who make or declare war."

These traditions have always been alive in the working-class movement. They have developed and gained ground from year to year. As we know, they found reflection in the Stuttgart and Basel congresses which solemnly proclaimed their resolve to combat war. When the opportunist leaders of the Second International betrayed these anti-militarist decisions of the congresses, the banner of the anti-war struggle was raised by Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

The attention of the Communist International was always focussed on the struggle for peace. Its Seventh Congress, it will be recalled, made a signal contribution to this struggle. The congress declared: "The peace policy of the USSR, which counterposes proletarian internationalism to national and racial strife, is directed not only at the defense of the Soviet Union, not only at safeguarding socialist construction, but at protecting the lives of the workers of all countries, the lives of all the oppressed and exploited; it is aimed at the defense of the national independence of the small nations, it serves the vital interests of all humanity, and it protects culture against the barbarism of war."

In our time these internationalist traditions of struggle against imperialist war preparations acquire particular significance owing to the radical changes which have taken place both in the world arena as a whole and in the means of warfare. There now are forces in the world capable of giving a rebuff to the aggressive plans of imperialism. It was the Communists who were the initiators of the struggle against the danger of nuclear war that emanates from the imperialists. The Communist movement undertook the historical mission of spearheading the effort to solve this task of vital importance to all humanity. Guided by its scientific theory, it revealed to the world the full magnitude of the danger hanging over the nations, indicated the source of this danger, and, at its conferences in 1957 and 1960, put forward a concrete plan of action. The annals of history have recorded for all time the fact that it was the Communists who proclaimed the Peace Manifesto of the nuclear age. The danger of a thermonuclear disaster makes it incumbent on the proletariat to use all its strength, the entire might of the socialist system, to uphold the cause of peace. This is the international duty of the proletariat. "The international working class," the 1960 Statement declares, "must close its ranks to save mankind from the disaster of a new world war."

The leaders of the CPC have revised this

injunction of the international Communist forum. While pursuing a course hostile to the USSR and the socialist community, they at the same time declare that in the event of war, China and the Chinese Party will stand together with the USSR and the CPSU. In other words, united in war but divided in peace — such is the "new thesis" of "Sinified Marxism" as regards proletarian internationalism. According to the Peking theoreticians, the workers of all lands and all the socialist states should unite only when disaster strikes, but while the imperialists are preparing war it is permissible to engage in disruptive activities in the ranks of the international Communist and working-class movement.

This concept which associates the victory of communism with nuclear war, with the destiny of nations too large to be in danger of total extermination, has nothing in common with proletarian internationalism, with Marxism-Leninism. Like other theories advanced by the CPC leaders, it stems from nationalism. Moreover, it perhaps better than anything else highlights the fact that nationalism in our time turns against efforts for peace. In the given instance it is a case of nationalism openly opposing the joint lines of the Communist parties which have undertaken the great historical mission of preventing a new world war.

Those who sincerely want to see the principles of proletarian internationalism triumph and to hasten the victory of socialism the world over cannot toy with the idea of nuclear war; on the contrary, they must strengthen the socialist world system and exert every effort to curb the aggressors and avert war. As the decision of the world Communist forums of 1957 and 1960 point out, peace between countries with differing social systems affords every possibility for struggle for the victory of socialist revolutions.

IV. Proletarian Internationalism As a Principle of Mutual Relations Between Fraternal Parties

With the founding of the First International, proletarian internationalism acquired an organizational form which was improved and perfected as the international working-class movement developed. It was thanks to the First International that the movement succeeded in a short period of time in forming its own political parties independent of the bourgeoisie.

Its successor, the Second International, was an association of independent national proletarian parties. Intercourse between them was

more complex and was enriched by new forms of contacts. However, the Second International failed to safeguard international proletarian solidarity against bourgeois nationalism to which reformism and opportunism threw the gates wide open in most of the workers' parties of the day.

The revolutionary epoch which replaced the period of relatively peaceful development of capitalism required a new international political organization capable of combating social-chauvinism and consolidating the proletarian movement through conscious revolutionary discipline. That is why Lenin considered it vitally necessary to have a centralized organization in which democracy would be developed to the utmost. This was fully justified by the conditions of the time. Numerous examples could be cited to show how centralism greatly helped to defend the Communist International, especially in its early years, from sectarian and Right opportunist tendencies which found favorable ground among the young Communist parties.

Lenin constantly stressed the need to study the experience of the Bolsheviks. But he also took into consideration the complexity of this process in such a centralized organization as the Communist International. When Lenin noticed in good time a tendency in the young international Communist movement mechanically to copy the tactics of the Bolsheviks, he came out against the Leftist underestimation of the importance of the national peculiarities in the activities of the Communist parties. Stressing in his work *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder* the need for a centralized international organization, Lenin pointed out: "We must clearly realize that such a leading center cannot under any circumstances be built up on stereotyped, mechanically equalized and identical tactical rules of struggle." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, page 72.)

In the subsequent period, after Lenin's death, as the Communist movement developed and spread, the Comintern found it increasingly difficult to go into the specific conditions in the various countries and to guide the parties. The Seventh Congress of the Comintern to a certain extent solved the contradiction between the centralized form of guiding the Communist parties and the need for greater independence of the parties in the new conditions.

During the Second World War when the scope and diversity of the tasks of the Communist parties grew unprecedentedly, the Comintern as a form of uniting the world Communist movement no longer answered

the needs of the times and was therefore dissolved.

In the post-war period the Communist movement reached a qualitatively new level. The socialist world system emerged. The Communist parties in most capitalist countries developed, the conditions in which they worked become more and more varied, and their tasks more complicated. Most of the parties had accumulated considerable political and organizational experience. It was obvious that the multiform content of the movement could no longer be fitted within the framework of a single centralized organization. This was confirmed by the experience of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties. New and more flexible forms of contact between the parties were needed. The Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, which ended the negative influence of the Stalin personality cult on the international Communist movement, was a turning point in the shaping of the norms of inter-Party relations at the present time.

The 1957 and 1960 Moscow Meetings elaborated new forms of international contacts between Communists. These forms are a concrete instance of the development and implementation of proletarian internationalism in the conditions of today. They are aimed above all at strengthening the international unity of the Communist movement, which in itself is an embodiment of proletarian internationalism. Basic here are the relations between Communists, and the standards governing these relations underline the general principles of socialist internationalism.

The 1957 and 1960 meetings offered a splendid example of proletarian internationalism in our time. At these meetings the representatives of the Communists in all parts of the world worked jointly to solve the tasks confronting humanity today. The documents of these meetings bear testimony to the concern of the Communists for the defense of the interests of the working class and the peoples of all countries and continents irrespective of race or nationality; to their awareness of their responsibility for the preservation of peace, the worldwide victory of socialism, the destiny of mankind. With these documents as their agreed program, the Communists have won new victories in the fight for peace and socialism, and have provided abundant evidence that Marxist-Leninist policy is proletarian internationalism in action.

At present the parties of the world Communist movement are acting much more inde-

pendently than ever before. Each party, naturally, aims at the utmost success in the struggle in its own country, and itself determines the most effective ways of achieving this goal.

All this is evidence of the strength and maturity of the Communist movement. The independence of the parties will continue to grow. But just as the growing branches of a giant oak have common roots and form a single crown, so the world Communist movement, while developing in breadth and depth, preserves its international unity. The increasing independence of parties makes inter-party relations more complex, but in no way does it weaken the unity of the Communist movement. The independence of Marxist-Leninist parties makes it all the more incumbent on them to take due note of the common tasks of the Communist movement when elaborating their own strategy and tactics. Such is the dialectical interaction of the national and the international in the development of the world Communist movement.

Any attempt to interpret the independence of a Party as evasion of the solution of common international tasks, as a kind of positive "neutrality" in the solution of common problems, cannot be regarded as a sign of independence or maturity. To do so would be a concession to nationalism and, therefore, a concession to bourgeois ideology which has always regarded "independence" as an antipode of proletarian internationalism. Any attempt to withdraw into the shell of circumscribed national tasks, to fence oneself off from the life-giving source — the worldwide Communist movement — is bound to weaken the position of the Marxist-Leninist party in its own country.

The responsibility of all fraternal parties for the unity of the world Communist movement is particularly great at present when the CPC leaders are deliberately pursuing the line of splitting the Communist ranks. Having defied the principles of internationalism laid down in the Statement of 1960 which they themselves signed, the Chinese leaders are clearly bent on destroying the international brotherhood of Communists and reviving the methods of the personality cult, of *diktat* in the relations between the parties.

A solid front of Communist parties, their active struggle against the petty-bourgeois nationalist positions of the CPC leaders, will deprive these leaders of opportunities to sow dissension among Communists and will ensure unity on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

Marx, who founded and nourished the First International, urged the proletariat to cherish international solidarity as the apple of its eye, to remain true to proletarian internationalism. Today this means upholding the unity of the socialist community on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and strengthening the socialist world system; exerting every effort to carry out the prime internationalist duty of the Communists, namely, to safeguard peace and prevent nuclear war; promoting fraternal friendship among the workers of all countries and continents, and between the working class and the people waging a liberation struggle against imperialism; strengthening the militant solidarity of all the revolutionary forces of our time — the socialist world system, the international working class and the national-liberation movement—and cementing the unity of the international Communist movement against all attempts to undermine it.

"We hold sacred," N. S. Khrushchov said, "the behest of the great Lenin: to march forward shoulder to shoulder. The unity of our ranks multiplies tenfold the strength of Communism. Unity, unity and once again unity — such is the law of the international Communist movement."

A new international meeting of Communists providing an opportunity for a collective exchange of views would greatly help to overcome the present difficulties in the Communist movement. The basic purpose of such a meeting would be jointly to find ways and means for preserving and strengthening the unity of the movement as a whole by concentrating on that which the Communist parties have in common. Bearing in mind that their main task is to carry on an unflagging struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and national independence, and to forge ahead along the road of socialism and communism, the Communist parties could, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, assess the changes that have taken place in the world in recent years and draw the necessary general conclusions.

It is a matter of honor for the Communists to uphold the international unity of their ranks, to cement them on the basis of the teaching of Marx and Lenin, and to fulfill their internationalist duty in the fight for peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism. This will be the best way to commemorate the centenary of the First International.

The First International and the Fight for Peace

R. Palme Dutt

THE era of the First International was an era of successive wars. During the first year of its existence the American Civil War was still raging. The troops of Napoleon III were engaged in Mexico. The victorious war of Prussia and Austria over Denmark had secured the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein just after the foundation of the International. There followed the war of Prussia on Austria in 1866, and the Franco-German war of 1870-71. This is to leave out of account the normal colonial wars of the British and other imperialists, such as the war against the Maoris in New Zealand, the suppression of the Jamaican rising in 1867, the suppression of the Fenian rising in Ireland in the same year, or the British invasion of Abyssinia also in that year.

From the outset the International concerned itself with questions of war and foreign policy. In a famous passage the Inaugural Address declared:

"If the emancipation of the working classes requires their fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfil that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices, and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure?"

Recent events, continued the Address, referring to the suppression of the Polish rising and the endeavors of the rulers of Western Europe to intervene on the side of slavery in America, endeavors only defeated by the resistance of the English working class,

"have taught the working classes the duty to master themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power; when unable to prevent, to combine in simultaneous denunciations, and to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations

of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations.

"The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes."

On the re-election of Abraham Lincoln as President, the General Council in November, 1864, unanimously adopted a congratulatory message to him as "the single-minded son of the working class" in the battle against the "counter-revolution" of the South, and affirming that "from the commencement of the Titanic-American strife the working men of Europe felt instinctively that the star-spangled banner carried the destiny of their class." Similarly after the assassination of Lincoln the General Council sent in May, 1865, a message to his successor, President Andrew Johnson, proclaiming the "universal outburst of popular feeling" against the "infamy" of the assassination, and looking forward to "the arduous work of political reconstruction and social regeneration" in the United States "to initiate the new era of the emancipation of labor."

The Geneva Congress in 1866, alongside the call for "the right of self-determination" in Europe, dealt with the question of the armed forces. The resolution called for the abolition of standing armies, and their replacement by a general arming of the people through people's militias, with a temporary transitional period of small standing armies for the purpose of training officers of the militia.

On the outbreak of the war between Prussia and Austria in 1866, the General Council published a resolution denouncing the war as a quarrel between two despots, with neither of whom the proletariat could have any sympathy. The working class must be permeated with one idea and with one will, to overthrow all the tyrants at a single blow, and to achieve its own complete emancipation.

The Lausanne Congress in 1867 adopted a resolution on the question of war and peace declaring:

"That the burden of war is borne mainly

*This article is based on a section of the author's forthcoming book *The Internationale*, which surveys the development of the international socialist and Communist movement from the Communist Manifesto to the present day, and which will be published later in the year.

by the working class, inasmuch as war does not only deprive the workers of the means of subsistence but compels them to shed one another's blood;

"That armed peace paralyzes the forces of production, asks of the workers nothing but useless labor, and disrupts production by the perpetual threat of war;

"That peace, since it is the first requisite of general well-being, must be consolidated by a new order of things which shall no longer recognize in society the existence of two classes, one of which is exploited by the other."

On this basis the Congress sent a delegation to the Peace Congress about to be held at Geneva and pledged support "in any activities to achieve the abolition of standing armies and the maintenance of peace, the aim of the Association being to bring about with the utmost dispatch the emancipation of the working class and its liberation from the power and influence of capital, and also to effect the formation of a confederation of free States throughout Europe."

On the question of bourgeois pacifism, represented by the League of Peace and Freedom, which organized the Geneva Congress, there was a difference at the outset. Marx had opposed the participation agreed at Lausanne, regarding the League as an *attempted bourgeois alternative to the International*, and source of confusion, and making clear that all individuals and organizations who wished to support the aims of internationalism and peace could join the International.

By the following year the General Council had become convinced of the correctness of Marx's viewpoint, and the Brussels Congress in 1868 rejected an invitation from the League and invited its members to join the International.

By the time of the Brussels Congress in 1868 the war question was the first item on the agenda. The shadows of the Franco-German War were already gathering. The Congress adopted a resolution calling for working-class action to prevent the outbreak of war. This resolution declared:

"That, although the chief and persistent cause of war is a lack of economic equilibrium, and that therefore nothing can put an end to war except social reorganization, nevertheless an auxiliary cause of war is the arbitrary use of force which results from centralization and from despotism;

"That therefore the peoples can henceforward lessen the frequency of war by

opposing those who make war or declare war;

"That this right belongs especially to the working classes, who are almost exclusively subject to military service, and that they alone can give it a sanction;

"That they have, to this end, a practical, legitimate and immediately realizable method;

"That in fact social life cannot be carried on if production be suspended for a certain time; that it will therefore suffice that the producers should cease producing for them to put a stop to the enterprises of the personal and despotic governments;

"The Congress of the International Working Men's Association, assembled at Brussels, records its most emphatic protest against war;

"It invites all the sections of the Association in their respective countries, and also all working class societies, and all workers' groups of whatever kind, to take the most vigorous action to prevent a war between the peoples, which today could not be considered anything else than a civil war, seeing that, since it would be waged between the producers, it would only be a struggle between brothers and citizens;

"The Congress urges the workers to cease work should war break out in their respective countries;

"The Congress has sufficient confidence in the spirit of solidarity animating the workers of all lands, to hope that their support will not be wanting to this war of peoples against war."

This most far-reaching and uncompromising resolution of the old First International breathes the spirit of the working-class fight against capitalist wars. The method proposed at that time was the then still untried formula of the general strike against war, which subsequent experience, as in the Franco-German war two years later, showed to be easier to proclaim in peacetime than to fulfil in the conditions of the outbreak of a major capitalist war. For this reason the later use of this formula in the debates of the Second International by would-be fire-eaters like Gustave Hervé (who became with the outbreak of the war of 1914 a fire-eating chauvinist) turned into the brandishing of an empty formula in place of a serious political approach to the problem. The formulation presented by Lenin and Luxemburg in the debates of the Second International on the fight against war, and adopted by the Congresses of the Second International in 1907, 1910 and 1912, provided a more profound

and realistic approach to the problem of the working-class fight against war, which proved its efficacy and success in the victory of the Russian revolution.

Marx, who was not present at the Brussels Congress, had no illusions about the formula of the general strike against war, and made clear his realistic view in a letter at the time to Eccarius, whom he regarded as the representative of his viewpoint at the Congress. He warned that the Congress would not be effectively representative, with dominantly French representation, and that therefore "decisions on general theoretical problems must be avoided."

"The public is of course mostly interested in the question of war. Lengthy declamations and high-flown phrases will not hurt here. The decision to be adopted on this question seems to be simply this: that the working-class is not yet sufficiently organized to throw any substantial weight into the scales; that the Congress, however, protests in the name of the working class and denounces the instigators of the war; that a war between France and Germany is a civil war, ruinous for both countries and ruinous for Europe in general." (Marx, Letter to J. G. Eccarius and F. Lessner, September 10, 1868.)

The correctness of this realistic approach of Marx, in contrast to the rhetoric of the Brussels resolution, was proved in the outcome. The last Congress of the First International before the Franco-German War was held at Basle in 1869, a year before the outbreak of war. As chance would have it, the last Congress of the Second International before the war of 1914 was also held at Basle, in 1912. The next Congress of the First International was due to have been held in Paris in September, 1870. The next Congress of the Second International was due to have been held in Vienna in August, 1914. In each case the outbreak of war swept aside the arrangements for the impending Congress. But unlike the Second International, the First International met the stern test of war with honor.

Already in 1867, as the shadows of the Franco-German War gathered, public messages were exchanged, from the Berlin workers to the Paris workers, and from the Paris workers to the Berlin workers, proclaiming solidarity against the threatening war.

On the very eve of the war within four days of its outbreak, the Paris section of the International sent an address, signed by all their leading members (including Tolain, one

of the co-founders of the International, Eugene Pottier, subsequently the author of *L'Internationale*. Camélinat and others), to the German workers proclaiming solidarity: "German Brothers! . . . war between us would be fratricidal." The Berlin section of the International sent their reply: "Inspired with fraternal sentiments, we join hands with you . . . We assure you that there is no trace of national hatred in our hearts." A Manifesto of the Paris Federation on July 12, 1870 denounced "the war cries of those who run no risks." The reply of the Berlin Federation proclaimed:

"With heart and with hand we endorse your proclamation. We solemnly declare that neither the beating of the drums, nor the thunder of the guns, nor victory, nor defeat, shall hinder our efforts to bring about a union of the proletarians of all lands."

Within four days of the outbreak of the war the General Council of the International issued on July 23 a Manifesto, drafted by Marx, which laid the blame for the war jointly on Napoleon and the Prussian Government, and, while recognizing that the war at the outset bore a defensive character for Germany (the facts of the forged Ems telegram designed to provoke the French declaration of war were not then known), warned the German workers against allowing it to become a war of conquest. In the midst of war the Manifesto proclaimed:

"At a time when official France and official Germany are engaged in a fratricidal war, the German and the French workers are exchanging peaceful and fraternal messages. This one great fact, unparalleled in history, justifies the hope of a brighter future."

All sections of the International responded in support of the anti-war Manifesto. In the North German Reichstag Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, the leaders of the German Social Democratic Party founded at Eisenach in the preceding year, and affiliated to the International, voted against the war credits, and were soon after prosecuted for high treason. On the other hand, the followers of Lassalle, organized in the Union of German Workers, which was not affiliated to the International, voted for the war credits. It is characteristic that the present-day extreme Right-wing and anti-Marxist "Social Democratic Party" in West Germany should have in 1963 celebrated its centenary thus claiming its descent from the organization of the Bismarckian associate, Lassalle, and the Prussian social-patriots rather than Bebel and Liebknecht.

After the defeat of the French Army at

Sedan and the capitulation of Napoleon III, and following the proclamation of the French Republic on September 4, the General Council on September 9 issued a further manifesto, drafted by Marx, which declared that "the Prussian war camarilla is determined to transform the war into a war of conquest," called on the German Workers to oppose the annexation of Alsace Lorraine, and warned that the forcible annexation of Alsace and Lorraine by Prussia would throw France into the arms of tsarism and thus prepare the way for a new European war between Germany and a Franco-Russian alliance. Against this menace the Manifesto called on the workers of all countries to rally:

"Let the branches of the International Working Men's Association in all lands summon the working class to action. If they fail to fulfill this duty, if they remain passive, the present disastrous war will be merely the prelude to yet more murderous international conflicts, and everywhere the lords of war, land and capital will triumph anew over the workers. Long live the Republic."

In Germany already on September 5, the day after the proclamation of the French Republic, the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Party issued a manifesto drafted by Marx, addressed to the German workers. This manifesto demanded an honorable peace with the French Republic, and called for working-class demonstrations throughout Germany to protest against the annexation of Alsace Lorraine from France. On September 9 the members of the committee were arrested, followed by arrests of social-democrats in other German towns; and Bebel and Wilhelm Leibknecht were tried for

high treason and sentenced to two years confinement in a fortress.

In France, following the fall of Napoleon and the proclamation of the Republic, the heroic role of the French working people, in contrast to the treachery of the upper-class, led to the establishment of the Paris Commune, the first example of victorious working-class power in history, and maintained for six weeks against the assaults of the enemy.

What a contrast this glorious role of the First International in the fight for peace and against war was to the ignominious role of many of the leaders of the subsequent Second International!

In the manifesto of the General Council at the opening of the Franco-German war Marx predicted the future role of the working class in achieving the victory of the cause of peace:

"A new society is springing up, whose International rule will be Peace, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—Labor. The pioneer of this new society is the International Working Men's Association."

Today we are proud to witness the advance achieved along this road predicted by Marxism. We are proud to recognize the role of the first victorious socialist State, the USSR, carrying forward the struggle for peace from its foundation on an ever-extending scale to the present-day now in its 47th year; and now fighting in the forefront alongside a mighty array of other socialist nations, newly independent countries and the international working class in the great struggle for peaceful coexistence and for the victory of peace throughout the world.

Lessons of the First International

Kurt Hager

KARL MARX was the moving spirit of that "epoch-making association in the working-class movement",* the First International. He drafted its program documents and nearly all its resolutions and decisions, and he was the actual leader of its General Council.

Thanks to the International Working Men's Association scientific communism struck root in the working-class movement and reached the most advanced sections of the working class in Europe and elsewhere. The First International thus contributed to the birth of many revolutionary workers' parties, including the Social Democratic Labor Party, the mass revolutionary party of the German proletariat.

The basic programmatic and tactical precepts elaborated by the International Working Men's Association under the guidance of Marx and Engels are fully valid for the present-day international working-class movement. Yet, as before, the world Communist movement alone recognizes and is guided by these precepts. True, the reformists too invoke these traditions, but they do so in their own way. For instance, the Socialist International has declared: "In vain do the Communists invoke these traditions of socialism."** The Social Democratic parties and the Socialist International today would like to usurp the heritage of both the First and the Second internationals and to depict the world Communist movement as an offshoot which no longer has anything in common with the parent trend.

The ideological conflict over the legacy of the International Working Men's Association and the question of who is the genuine executor of its will is, consequently, a live political issue. Let us examine a few basic questions to see what this legacy is and what political forces are its custodians today.

The Point of Departure: Identity of Interests

When Marx set about drafting the political platform of the newly-formed International Working Men's Association he was faced with an extremely difficult task. The program

had to be such as to enable ideologically and organizationally heterogeneous workers' organizations of different countries to join the International while orientating on scientific communism. In tackling this task Marx proceeded from the common experience and common aims of all workers' organizations, their striving towards organizational independence, and the sense of international working-class solidarity shared by all. Appealing to these common factors, he drafted the *Inaugural Address* which was endorsed by the British trade unionists, by the Lassalle supporters in Germany, by the supporters of Proudhon in France and Belgium and by the followers of Blanqui.

Marx did not share the sectarian fears of being swamped by a movement of such breadth, nor did he countenance any Right opportunist tendency to evade inevitable ideological collisions. The main thing for him was the unity of the working-class movement, not just any kind of unity irrespective of principles, but unity based on recognition of the historical mission of the working class. He relied on the practical experience of the masses and by doing so he was able in the subsequent years of the Association to awaken the workers to their historical tasks, to rally them to a common theoretical program, and in this way to link scientific communism with the international working class.

Bourgeois and Right-wing Social Democrat historians and writers (especially in Federal Germany) often claim that in the *Inaugural Address* Marx advocated a liberal policy of reform. They invoke Marx and Engels in substantiation of their theory of "democratic socialism," proclaiming them, indeed, its spiritual fathers. One can understand why the reformists try to read this meaning into the program documents of the First International, but this does not make it the correct interpretation.

Actually, the two initial program documents of the Association — the *Inaugural Address* and the *Provisional Rules* — contain these fundamental truths: The emancipation of the working class can be accomplished only by the working class itself; the emancipation of the working class means destroying all class rule; the economic subordination

*Frederick Engels, *Karl Marx*.

**The Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism. Statement of the Socialist International, July 2, 1951.

of the worker to the private owner of the means of production underlies social poverty, spiritual decline and political dependence; hence the economic emancipation of the working class is the ultimate aim of the proletarian struggle for emancipation; this struggle should be directed against the political authority with whose aid the exploiting classes ensure their economic privileges; this struggle should be waged consciously and organized on a national scale, and can succeed only if the workers of different countries, who share the same basic interests, stand firmly by each other.

These were truths that offered common grounds for all the workers' organizations united in the First International even though there were differences and even contradictions between the various trends. By underscoring them and formulating them in a way which, while still lacking the "old boldness of speech,"* did not retreat from a single principle of the proletarian struggle for emancipation, Marx gave a demonstration of that unity of the greatest flexibility and un-deviating devotion to principle which is the basic feature of revolutionary policy.

We would be only too glad if the Right-wing Social Democrat ideologists, who see in the author of the *Inaugural Address* of the First International a liberal reformist politician and hence a forerunner of their present policy, were to accept this Marxian platform. This would be a decisive step towards overcoming the division in the ranks of the international working class and achieving unity of action between Communists and Social Democrats.

The Paths of Socialist Revolution

The debate on the paths of the socialist revolution is as old as the organized working-class movement itself. It has been going on for decades on both the practical and theoretical planes.

The anti-Communists allege that Marxist-Leninists believe in "force and violence" under all circumstances. And if the undisguised anti-Communists abhor in equal measure both the aims and the methods of the Communists, the reformists, even when they recognize the goal—socialist society—reject the way chosen by the Marxist-Leninists to this goal—proletarian revolution.

This is an old story. What is new is that for some time past the Right-wing Social Democrat leaders, especially leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, have been making a massive effort to invoke Marx

in order to justify the Bernstein tradition of revisionism. To this end the dialectical interaction of revolution and reform, which Marx underscored time and again, and in particular in the *Inaugural Address*, is substituted by a schematic pattern absolutizing these two forms of the class struggle.*

By cleaving Marx's ideas in two, the ideologists of Right-wing Social Democracy declare invalid the doctrine that social development is a law-governed process and that the revolutionary transition to socialism is an objective necessity; they claim that in formulating his program Marx proceeded from the possibility of reaching socialism by the road of reformism. They deduce this from what Marx said about the necessity and possibility of waging a successful struggle for reforms within the framework of capitalism. It is this second "program principle" of Marx that they claim Social Democracy has always embraced.

Some of these latter-day "heirs" to the First International have gone so far as to advance the thesis that when the Communists tell the masses about the possibility and the necessity of extending the struggle for democratic reforms under capitalism, about the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism, about peaceful coexistence, they are admitting, half a century late, that Bernstein and Kautsky, the classical men of revisionism and reformism, were right. In their efforts to confuse the masses and divert them from revolutionary class struggle with the aid of slogans about "painless progress" and the "evolution of capitalism" into socialism, the reformists enjoy the support of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party in two respects. First, the CPC leaders, by flouting Marxism-Leninism and identifying revolution with armed struggle, civil war, are discrediting the idea of socialism and communism and making it difficult to win the masses over to our side. Second, contrary to the views they themselves propounded only yesterday, these leaders vilify the world Communist movement for waging a struggle for radical reforms under capitalism; they assail the jointly adopted general line of the Communist and Workers' parties and thus echo the professional anti-Communists.

The history of the class struggle during the last hundred years has shown one thing: socialism cannot be achieved without revolution, without militant revolutionary struggle on the part of the masses. All the opportuni-

*See Willi Eichler, *One Hundred Years of Social Democracy*, Bonn. Published by SDPG, 1962. This is one of the many publications and official statements in which this concept is vigorously propounded.

*Marx to Engels, November 4, 1864.

ties opening today stem primarily from the victory of the socialist revolution over one-third of the globe, from the rise and consolidation of the socialist world system.

The *form* of the revolution is another matter. The Communists, being humanists, have always advocated the peaceful solution of economic, social or political contradictions. The bourgeois anti-Communists and also many reformists aver that it is only recently that the Communists have begun to advocate the peaceful way as both possible and desirable. The fact is, that Marx and Engels advocated the peaceful path of revolution wherever possible.

In his *Principles of Communism* (1847) Engels, discussing the possibility of abolishing private ownership of the means of production by peaceful means, said: "one would like it to be so, and the Communists of course would be the last to object to this." Experience has shown, however, that the bourgeoisie invariably met the humane intentions of the Communists with fierce resistance, sanguinary terror and armed struggle. This taught the international working class movement that the proletariat must be prepared to counter the ruthless policy of violence pursued by the bourgeoisie and to master military knowledge and the art of armed insurrection. But never did Marx and Engels and the Communists led by them lose sight of the fact that the peaceful path of socialist revolution was both possible and necessary.

For example, in July 1871, a few weeks after the massacre of the Paris Communards by the counter-revolutionaries, Marx said to a correspondent of *The World*: "Workers' organizations cannot be absolutely identical in every respect in Newcastle and Barcelona, London and Berlin. In England, for example, the working class is in a position to demonstrate its political strength. Insurrection would be madness where peaceful agitation can provide a quicker and more certain way to the goal. In France the multitude of repressive laws and the deadly antagonism between classes evidently make a violent denouement of the social war unavoidable. But it is up to the working class of that country to choose how to bring about that denouement."

A few weeks later he said at the London conference of the International Working Men's Association: "We must declare to the governments: We know that you are an armed force directed against the proletariat; we shall act against you peacefully where we find it possible, by force of arms when

that becomes necessary." Marx and Engels adhered to this view in later years as well. Wherever possible, the Communists either took or tried to take the peaceful path of revolution. We know that the revolutionary seizure of power by the Paris Communards was effected peacefully, practically without bloodshed. And no bourgeois revolution involved so few human sacrifices as the conquest of power by the Bolsheviks in October 1917. The same applies to the beginning of the proletarian revolution in Hungary in 1919. But in all these instances the bourgeoisie replied with armed resistance and white terror. Only after this did the proletariat have recourse, and rightfully so, to every means of defending and safeguarding the revolution and carrying it forward. Some Communist parties advanced the idea of peaceful progress to socialism as early as the thirties and forties and recorded this in their program documents.

Today, the new world balance of forces has immeasurably increased the possibility of political and social contradictions being solved by peaceful means on both a national and international scale. This is evident if only from the peaceful development of the socialist revolution in a number of the European People's Democracies. In the German Democratic Republic, too, the working class under the leadership of its united Marxist-Leninist party waging the class struggle against the well-organized and experienced German bourgeoisie and persistently working to win over the mass of the population, was able — after the destruction of the fascist state machine by the Soviet Army and the suppression of the counter-revolutionary forces — to take power by peaceful means, without civil war, to establish a workers' and peasants' state and build socialism.

As distinct from Russia, where the proletarian revolution was opposed not only by the bourgeois and landlord parties but also by the parties of the petty-bourgeoisie, in the GDR, the Christian Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Party, the National Democratic Party and the Democratic Peasants' Party supported the building of socialism. This enabled us from the very beginning to extend effective political democracy to all citizens with the exception of war criminals and active Nazis. This was possible because, in elaborating its strategy and tactics, the Socialist Unity Party always proceeded from the character of our time, from a scientific analysis of the objective conditions, creatively applied Marxism-Leninism, reposed its faith in the working class and was firmly convinced

that the non-proletarian sections too could be won for socialism, the most humane of all social systems.

True, this required much political, ideological and organizational work, and countless difficulties had to be overcome. But civil war was not necessary.

Under these circumstances it became possible, with the aid of state bodies, trade unions and other mass organizations, especially the National Front of Democratic Germany which united all the parties and organizations, to enlist all sections of the population in building socialism, with the working class playing the leading role. State authority in the GDR, based on the multi-party system, thus successfully performs the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"That the SUPG was able in the conditions of an open frontier to lead the majority of the population onto the road to socialism without civil war or bloody clashes with other classes was a tremendous achievement," Walter Ulbricht said.* Our experience, like that of the fraternal parties in the other socialist countries, disproves the subjectivist claims of the dogmatists. It also gives the lie to the imperialist slander that Marxism-Leninism by its very nature presupposes the use of force, and that the building of socialism is necessarily associated with war and human sacrifice.

We have demonstrated that the main contradiction in Germany is not that between the Communists and all other social forces, as the anti-Communists would make it appear, but the contradiction between the imperialists driving towards revenge and nuclear war and the overwhelming majority of the population who want peace and whose interests are upheld by the Marxist-Leninists and by the German Democratic Republic, the first peace-loving state in German history. This fact is of the utmost importance for the ideological education of the working class in West Germany as well as in many other imperialist countries, and for dispelling anti-Communist prejudices fostered among the public in these countries.

Like all concrete experience, the peaceful forms of revolutionary development, multi-party systems, etc., in the People's Democracies, while contributing much that is new to the theory and practice of Marxism, are not necessarily universally applicable in their entirety. But for all that, every step in the development of the socialist revolution con-

tains something of general significance as regards both substance and form.

The Communist Party of Germany holds that peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism is possible in West Germany too, provided militarism is curbed, a democratic climate created and the power of the monopolies restricted.

But since it is not so much the subjective wishes of the Communists and the revolutionary masses in general as the objective conditions, and by no means least of all the actions of the bourgeoisie, that determine which way—peaceful or non-peaceful—their evolution will take, it is clear that, as the CPSU Program points out, "the success of the struggle which the working class is waging for the victory of the revolution will depend on how well the working class and its party master the use of *all forms* of struggle—peaceful and non-peaceful, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary—and how well they are prepared to replace one form of struggle by another as quickly and unexpectedly as possible." But while the Communists, fully aware of their responsibility, are working to prepare both themselves and the working class to take the non-peaceful path if they have no other choice, they are determined as never before to explore every possibility of carrying out the revolution by peaceful means since the conditions for this are now more favorable than ever before (especially in the developed capitalist countries).

The socialist revolution, irrespective of whether it is effected by peaceful or non-peaceful means, involves the use of social coercion against the monopoly capitalists. Hence the difference between the peaceful and non-peaceful ways, though important from the standpoint of the *form* of the revolution, is not a matter of the difference between evolution and revolution, as the reformists and revisionists understand them. Revolution (especially peaceful revolution) may include elements of evolution. Reforms can be used to lead the masses towards revolution, they can become a form of development of the revolution, provided they are radical enough and, what is most important, provided the masses take militant action against the monopolies.

Not the least of the aims pursued by Marx in the International Working Men's Association was to combat the diverse petty-bourgeois utopian concepts in order to awaken the working class to the fact that the economic emancipation of the workers was impossible without the conquest of political

*Neuer Weg, No. 1, 1960.

power. "To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes."* Marx and Engels always held that mobilization of the broad masses, a high level of political consciousness and organization, political leadership of the working class by a militant revolutionary party, firm discipline and strict devotion to principle would be the essential prerequisites of the revolution, whether peaceful or non-peaceful. Today too these are indispensable conditions for achieving working-class unity, rallying the majority of the people through broad social alliances and political cooperation between different parties and mass organizations, winning state power without civil war and effecting the transfer of the basic means of production into the hands of the people.

Under certain conditions parliament, too, can play an important role. Marx showed how parliament can be used by the working class to carry out the revolution by peaceful means.** In our time of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, a time when the socialist system is exerting a decisive influence on political life, the Communist and Workers' parties consider it possible, in certain conditions, to "defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch an extra-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realization of the socialist revolution."

The Chinese dogmatists now qualify the form of transition to socialist revolution outlined in the above passage from the statement of the 1960 Meeting as defection to reformist positions. This is evidence of a lack of understanding of elementary proletarian strategy and tactics. The reformists make a fetish of parliament and regard the ballot as a panacea for all ills. The CPC leaders cannot or do not wish to see the fundamental difference between the Marxist-Leninist and the reformist concepts. The theory of advancing to socialism solely through the ballot-box, advocated by Bernstein and still earlier by Lassalle, has never led any country to socialism and never will. So long as the struggle is limited to the electoral arena and parliamentary debate the balance of political and

economic forces will not change. This has been amply proved by the history of the class struggle in Germany and many other countries where the Social Democrats have been or still are in government.

The object is not to preserve the bourgeois parliament but to utilize the parliamentary form and invest parliament with a new, genuinely democratic and eventually a proletarian revolutionary content. This is possible only through the unceasing extra-parliamentary struggle of the workers, peasants and urban middle sections and all other anti-monopoly forces against the monopoly capitalists and the reactionaries, for radical reforms revolutionary in content, for peace and socialism. Only democratic mass struggle can make parliament truly democratic and enhance its progressive role in the life of society.

The experience of our Party in the transition from the anti-fascist democratic revolution to the socialist revolution also shows that having ensured itself a permanent parliamentary majority through extra-parliamentary mobilization of the masses, the working class can use parliament to facilitate progress along the road of peaceful revolution and win the majority of the nation over to this road. But without broad mass struggle outside of parliament a majority in parliament is powerless to effect any radical political or social reforms. This is borne out by the example of West Germany where after 1945 the Social Democrats had the majority from time to time in many of the Landtags but failed even to implement laws that had already been adopted. It is borne out also by the history of the British Labor Party and other Social Democratic parties. And, conversely, there is the example of France and Italy, where, primarily thanks to extra-parliamentary pressure from the masses, many local authorities with Communist or other Left majorities succeeded in putting through many democratic measures.

Although the use of parliament in carrying out the socialist revolution by peaceful means differs radically from the reformist concept of the parliamentary road to socialism, it nevertheless can serve to refute one of the few arguments (which still carry weight with the masses) the Social Democrats advance against alliance with the Communists—that the Communists, allegedly, seek forcibly to subordinate the majority to the minority. The opportunities are far greater today than ever before to build this alliance which in many countries could play the decisive role in organizing the militant mass struggle of the working people, and above

*Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association.

**See Marx's speeches at the London Conference of the International Working Men's Association, Sept. 20, 1871, and at the Hague Congress.

all in those countries where already today the majority of the working class follow the lead of the Communists and the Social Democrats, or would follow them if they worked together.

The Struggle for Democracy As Part of the Struggle for Socialism

One of the basic prerequisites for the victory of the socialist revolution, and especially as regards its peaceful forms, is to win the support of the majority for the revolution, to unite this majority in the struggle against the monopoly bourgeoisie and thus create a decisive preponderance of forces. This majority is formed in the course of the economic and political struggle of the masses, in the course of their fight for peace and peaceful coexistence and for the democratization of economic and political life. "Communists regard the struggle for democracy as a part of the struggle for socialism," we read in the 1960 Moscow Statement.

The fight of the Communists for democratic rights and freedoms has rich traditions, it is closely associated with the activity of the First International. Marx and Engels taught the international working-class movement to see the indissoluble connection between the struggle for bourgeois-democratic rights and the struggle for the social emancipation of the proletariat. They always oriented the International Working Men's Association on supporting democratic movements that worked for the economic emancipation of the proletariat. Marx spared no effort to draw the English working-class organizations into the movement for a democratic electoral reform, which was to a large extent inspired by the General Council. He worked to ensure the leadership of the proletariat in this democratic mass movement. He called upon the International Working Men's Association to support the democratic forces in the United States, and stressed at all the General Council meetings how important it was that the working class should make the proper use of bourgeois-democratic rights and thus facilitate the liberation struggle of the proletariat.

In the fight against Lassalle and his followers the founders of scientific communism called upon the German workers to uphold democratic freedoms — freedom of press, assembly and union — all the more so that the bourgeoisie was itself betraying these freedoms. "Without these freedoms the working-class party cannot by itself obtain freedom of movement; by fighting for them it is fighting for the conditions of its very exis-

tence, for the air without which it cannot breathe."*

These words ring particularly true today. Such are the dialectics of development that imperialism, which represents reaction all along the line, logically gives added urgency to general democratic tasks and rouses to the resistance more and more sections of the people. The struggle for peace is, relatively speaking, of an independent character. Objectively however it is the preliminary stage of the struggle for socialism. The more consistently the struggle for democratic rights and freedoms is conducted the closer it brings us to socialist tasks. The working people of town and country, all anti-monopoly forces are coming to realize more and more that the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party are the most consistent defenders of their interests, that bourgeois democracy is incapable of solving their problems, that imperialism is by its very nature anti-democratic, that socialism is the highest form of democracy. And they are coming to realize this all the more clearly because of the peaceful coexistence and competition of the two different systems. The flames of the struggle in defense of democracy and for its renovation are spreading to all countries of the capitalist world and with them also the stream of the democratic mass movement which will ultimately merge in one form or another with the general anti-imperialist struggle.

All these factors are making possible, however, and we stress this once again, the peaceful path of socialist revolution. The more vigorously the working class and other sections of the working people uphold and develop democratic freedoms under capitalism, the more effectively they turn these freedoms from an instrument used by the bourgeoisie to deceive the people into an instrument of their political emancipation, the more probable the chances of peaceful revolution.

The number of people who want to see not only the restoration and renovation of democracy but also the triumph of socialism is growing rapidly in this epoch of the transition to socialism, especially under the impact of the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism. The social basis of the socialist revolution is greatly expanding.

When Marx tried to persuade the working-class organizations of the need to wage a political struggle, to combine the struggle

*Engels. *The Military Question in Prussia and the German Workers' Party.*

for democracy with the struggle for socialism, he encountered the bitter resistance of the Right opportunist forces, and especially of the trade union leaders. Later, Marx and Engels had to contend with various sectarian and anarchist trends which exerted an influence on the working-class movement, chiefly in Italy, Spain, France and Switzerland, where petty-bourgeois influence was particularly strong. Bakunin and his followers opposed their views to the political line of the First International. They proclaimed that they reject "...all political action which has not got as its direct and immediate goal the triumph of the cause of the workers against capital."* This sounded very radical but these revolutionary phrases concealed their repudiation of all organized political struggle, of the need for revolutionary parties of the proletariat, for scientific strategy and tactics. For them the important thing was not a scientific analysis of the concrete conditions of class struggle but pure resolve; instead of organized struggle of the masses, they advocated reckless armed actions.

This concept and policy if adopted would have isolated the revolutionaries from the masses, would have incited the working class to senseless actions that would have taken a heavy toll of lives and would have disoriented the people. Marx and Engels therefore waged an implacable struggle against this sectarianism, exposed the petty-bourgeois character and reckless plans of the anarchist phrasemongers and showed that these adventurers, voluntarily or involuntarily, played into the hands of the reactionary governments. Lacking convincing arguments the Bakuninites attacked Marx and Engels in the most violent language. They slandered the First International, calling it an anti-revolutionary society. At the same time they tried to capture it from within. However, the ideas of scientific communism had taken root among the more progressive sections of the international working-class movement, and the vast majority of the General Council members and of the delegates to The Hague Congress of the International fully supported Marx and Engels. Bakunin and his followers were expelled from the International.

In their fight against Bakunin, Marx and Engels once again displayed their principled attitude: not to retreat a single step from the main task of proletarian revolutionary strategy and tactics, i.e., to win the mass of the working class and other sections of

the working people to the side of their revolutionary vanguard.

The Conclusion Is Clear

In a letter, dated February 13, 1865, to J. B. Schweitzer, a follower of Lassalle, Marx, who was the Secretary for Germany in the General Council, wrote the famous phrase: "The working class is either revolutionary or is nothing at all." In this single phrase Marx formulated the essence of scientific socialism, developed by him and Engels: in order to overthrow the domination of the bourgeoisie, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and create a socialist system, the working class must break away from the bourgeoisie ideologically and politically, must form its own revolutionary party and pursue an independent policy, based on the class interests of the proletariat and the national interests of the people.

One hundred years have passed since then, one hundred years in which the correctness of Marx's thesis has been proved in innumerable class battles. The building of socialism in fourteen socialist countries and the transition to communism in the Soviet Union is evidence of this.

In the homeland of Marx and Engels the working class in one part of Germany was also able to carry out its historical mission and realize the ideas of the International Working Men's Association. It has created the most stable party and state leadership ever known in the history of Germany, is developing and perfecting socialist relations of production, and a socialist national culture, and is shaping the moral outlook of the new socialist man who, free from want and fear, is building his life in conditions of peace and increasing well-being and in close friendship with the fraternal socialist peoples.

Blind to these achievements of the united working class of the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist states, the Right Social Democrat leaders of West Germany persist in class collaboration with the bourgeoisie; even more, they are openly beginning to side with the imperialist government of West Germany. The effect of this fatal course has been to reduce the political influence of the working class in West Germany. Such is the logical outcome of the capitulatory program adopted at Bad-Godesberg. The "theory" that the ballot was the panacea for all ills and that socialism would come about as a result of the technological revolution has proved untenable and utterly useless in upholding the interests of the working class and all working people.

*See Program of the International Alliance of Social Democracy.

Today it is absolutely clear from the experience of the socialist states that the *revolutionary* path to socialism indicated by Marx and Engels in addition to being the only possible one is also the least painful for the working class and the people. It is true that this path has never been an easy one—either for Soviet Russia after 1917, or for the German Democratic Republic after 1945. But despite all the difficulties it has cost the working class and the people generally incomparably less than the preservation of imperialism would have done. How easy it

will be for the working class of West Germany and of the other capitalist countries to advance to socialism along the revolutionary path will depend, first and foremost, on the working class itself. It has the great advantage of being able to benefit from the rich experience of the victorious working class of the socialist countries, including the working class of the German Democratic Republic, from the experience of the world revolutionary movement. And the quintessence of this experience is that “the working class is either revolutionary or is nothing at all.”

The Historical Mission of the Working Class and the Modern Revolutionary Movement

Valentino Gerratana

IN the General Rules of the International Working Men's Association written by Marx, we find the following: “The emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries.” These words ring as true today as they did a hundred years ago, although the form proletarian internationalism takes is not the same since the sphere of its operation has grown in scale and complexity.

Clearly, proletarian internationalism cannot be confined within the limits of the class struggle which labor waged against capital a century ago, or to the capitalist countries alone. Now that the world revolutionary movement is developing as a result of the interaction of three main sectors—the socialist world, the movement for the national and economic emancipation of the oppressed peoples, and the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries—the fate of the common movement cannot but hinge on the

“practical and theoretical concurrence” of these three major motive forces of the revolution. If this cooperation did not exist and if any weakening were to take place in the fraternal relations between the three, each of them would, sooner or later, feel the consequences. Hence the warning contained in the Inaugural Address of the First International acquires today an even broader meaning: “Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts.”

For present day Marxist-Leninists (and this was also true for Marx and Lenin) proletarian and revolutionary internationalism does not depend on whether or not there is an international organization. “The international activity of the working classes does not in any way depend on the existence of the *International Working Men's Association*,” Marx wrote in his “Critique of the Gotha Program.” “This was only the first attempt to create

a central organ for that activity; an attempt which was a lasting success on account of the impulse which it gave but which was no longer realizable in its *first historical form* after the fall of the Paris Commune." Today, consequently, the thing is to find a new historical form of *proletarian internationalism* best suited to the new conditions. And this poses, along with the need for a common program for the world Communist movement, some important questions of principle.

For these fraternal relations between the three sectors of the revolutionary movement to be possible and fruitful, they should absolutely rule out any idea of superiority of some of the partners and the subordination of others. Today, for instance, hardly anyone will support the concept, upheld by Stalin in his time, of the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples being a *reserve* of the proletarian revolution, a potential ally which should be supported only when its revolutionary energy can be used in the interests of the proletarian movement.

What is in question today is not the utilization by the proletarian movement and the socialist system of the revolutionary potential of the national-liberation movements for their purposes without taking into consideration the class content of these movements and, consequently, the possibilities for their independent development. It is a matter of recognizing the fundamental importance which the national-liberation movement assumes in the struggle against imperialism not only by virtue of its scale and militancy, but also because of its changed character. Since the national-liberation movement inevitably develops into a common struggle to remove the remnants of colonialism, extirpate the roots of imperialist rule, to ensure the economic independence of the new countries, to abolish their economic, social and cultural backwardness, develop their productive forces and new production relations, the objectives of this struggle are compatible neither with the capitalist way of development nor with the world rule of capitalism for which the continued existence of backward exploitable regions is a matter of life or death. Hence the struggle for the emancipation of the oppressed peoples, for the independence and equality of the backward countries is not a secondary and subordinate front, but one of the main fronts of the struggle against imperialism, for the revolutionary reconstruction of the world. As a matter of fact, the entire world Communist movement is aware of this new role of the national-liberation movement.

The Chinese leaders, on the contrary, have

displayed a tendency to distort this truth, to regard the movement for the liberation of the colonial and former colonial countries as the *most important* front of the struggle against imperialism, as the front where the decisive battle is being fought, as "the storm-center of world revolution." This concept assigns a secondary role to the other sectors of the revolutionary movement and gives rise to the demand to subordinate their tasks to the tactics of the front which is regarded as the most important. That would eliminate any possibility of effective cooperation in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and substitute factional activity for fraternal relations, mutual support and theoretical and practical cooperation.

In order to reject this utterly erroneous concept the Communists must make a deeper analysis of the real state of affairs in the world and realize more clearly the tasks and the role of the various motive forces of the world revolution.

* * *

The theory of the historical mission of the working class is the main aspect of the Marxist world outlook. Lenin put the matter thus: "The main thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of a socialist society." Rejecting this theory means destroying the very foundations of Marxism-Leninism and replacing it with a diametrically opposite world outlook.

As distinct from the socialist utopias that preceded and followed it, Marxism regards socialism as the necessary product of the economic development of society. The historical mission of the proletariat is to liberate all mankind by liberating itself—not as a result of moral choice by some people of good will, but by virtue of the very conditions of the existence and development of capitalist society, which inevitably produces its own grave-diggers.

This historical mission of the working class is performed gradually, through the carrying out of a series of complex tasks arising in the course of the struggle, and it should not be confused with any of these tasks. For this reason the working class never expected miracles from its successes in the struggle. "They," wrote Marx, "have no ready-made utopias to introduce *par décret du peuple*. They know that in order to work out their own emancipation, and along with it that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending by its own economic agencies, they will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historic pro-

cesses, transforming circumstances and men. They have no ideals to realize, but to set free the elements of the new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant. In the full consciousness of their historic mission, and with the heroic resolve to act up to it, the working class can afford to smile at the coarse invective of the gentlemen's gentlemen with the pen and ink-horn, and at the didactic patronage of well-wishing bourgeois-doctrinaires, pouring forth their ignorant platitudes and sectarian crotchets in the oracular tone of scientific infallibility."

When Marx wrote this the successes of the working class were insignificant and its organized forces very modest. The gains achieved since Marx's time make even more ridiculous the crude inventions of the hacks and the pseudo-scientific platitudes invoked by bourgeois ideologists to deny the historical mission of the working class. For instance, attempts are being made to capitalize on the fact that whereas the main revolutionary gains have been made not in the developed capitalist countries, the working class of these countries has won better conditions and other successes under capitalism. Thus we hear again the old talk about "class collaboration" being more beneficial to the working class than class struggle, with the theoreticians of neo-capitalism offering, "in the oracular tone of scientific infallibility," new wonder-working recipes designed gradually to turn capitalism into a welfare society in which social inequality will disappear and the division of society into classes will ultimately lose all sense in conditions of affluence for all.

However, other scholars show, on the basis of facts, the falsity of this rosy picture. For instance, the American economist Kolko easily refuted, after an analysis of the statistics on income distribution in the United States, the claims of the theoreticians of neo-capitalism. He said that U.S. society is based on a class structure, and that this permeates a considerable part of the main aspects of life. Inequality of income, according to Kolko, is reflected in inequality of consumption, so much so that the current theories of "democratization" of economic status hardly apply to the America of the last decade. On the one hand, he said, about half the population lives at a subsistence level and most of them—almost one-third of the nation—cannot even satisfy their barest needs. On the other hand, he continued, a small section of the population—one-tenth, at most—lives in comfort, often in the luxury which the "affluent" commen-

tators ascribe to the majority of the Americans. Inside this small group, the author concluded, is an economic elite, including the big stock-holders, the pillars of society with their own way of life and their own values.

This is said about the richest country in the capitalist world. Yet even there, according to Kolko, insecurity haunts the lives of the majority of the population. And should the working class sell its birthright, its historical mission of universal emancipation, for a mess of pottage flavored with insecurity? The working class is performing that mission today even beyond the confines of the capitalist world—witness the economic, political and cultural progress of the socialist countries and the struggle of the national-liberation movement. But the idea that modern capitalism is no longer producing its own grave-diggers is merely an illusion of those bourgeois theoreticians who engage in wishful thinking instead of scientifically analyzing objective reality. On the other hand, to regard the revolutionary movement of the working class in the developed capitalist countries as a secondary front of the world revolution, an additional reserve which can hardly be relied on in the final reckoning, also seems to refuse to make a scientific analysis of reality.

* * *

One of the obstacles which the revolutionary movement of the working class in the developed capitalist countries has to overcome is the spread of reformist tendencies among some sections of the working class. These tendencies differ from country to country and have specific features in each, but, for all that, as Lenin showed, they constitute a general phenomenon associated with the structure of capitalism at its imperialist stage. In these conditions to combat reformism, to neutralize its influence, must be a permanent task of the working class conscious of its historical role, a task which devolves primarily on its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist parties. But reformism cannot be defeated by bombastic speeches or dogmatic reiteration of principles divorced from the practical experience of the struggle of the workers. To take the sectarian attitude of disparaging the better conditions won by the working people in capitalist society, far from counteracting reformism, only facilitates its spread.

For Marxist-Leninists economic struggle is a necessary form of the class struggle of the proletariat. Only by heading this struggle can a Marxist-Leninist party lead the working class in other forms of class struggle—po-

litical and ideological. "The masses," Lenin wrote, "are drawn into the movement, take an active part in it, highly value it and develop heroism, selflessness, persistence and devotion to a great cause only when the economic position of the working man improves. It cannot be otherwise, for 'normally' the life of the workers is incredibly hard. As it wins better conditions of life the working class grows morally, intellectually and politically, becomes capable of attaining its great emancipation aims."

This connection between economic struggle and political and ideological struggle is not established in an abstract way, once and for all; it is a result of concrete experience and becomes evident to the masses as this experience is accumulated. More often than not, this occurs when reformist attempts to keep the workers' struggle from impinging in any way on the foundations of the capitalist system come up against the logic of this system, which in no circumstances can contemplate removing the basic contradiction between labor and capital. Because of this irreconcilable contradiction the improvements secured by the working people are never final, their conditions being constantly under attack by the capitalists, who either make up for the wage rise by increasing prices, which reduces the workers' purchasing capacity and thus nullifies a considerable part of the rise, or resort to an authoritarian policy in order to weaken or contain the militancy of the working class. This aggravates the class struggle and extends it to the sphere of political struggle, in which the reformists find themselves willy-nilly involved.

In this sphere of structural reforms, where economic struggle is interwoven with political and ideological struggle, the revolutionary movement of the working class can wrest the masses from the influence of reformism. While not rejecting reforms but supporting them as partial and transient aims fully realizable only through a revolutionary transformation of society, the working class frees itself from the influence of reformism, which is incapable of offering a real alternative to monopoly rule and its policy of making the working people and the middle strata shoulder the entire burden of capitalist disproportions and crises. Experience shows that in these conditions a crisis of reformism sets in, especially in an unfavorable economic situation, when the monopolies come out openly for a conservative policy or for a downright policy of authoritarian reaction; this confronts the reformists with the choice of either rejecting the logic of capitalism by challeng-

ing its basic principles and thus ceasing to be reformists, or trying to avoid a threat to this system by succumbing to the intimidation of the monopolies and relinquishing the demand for reforms and the struggle to improve the conditions of the working people.

The latter alternative includes the recent proposal to the trade unions in Western Europe to establish preliminary conditions for wage demands ("incomes policy"). This policy goes beyond the bounds of the economic difficulties presently experienced by some capitalist countries, Italy included. It is designed to subordinate the demands of the working class to the law of capitalist profit through the establishment of new forms of authoritarian rule. While recognizing the principle of economic programming, the monopolies demand in exchange that the trade unions forego their bargaining autonomy in the economic struggle and undertake to keep their demands within definite limits, so that profits should not suffer. But abolishing the bargaining power of the trade unions means, in the final count, annulling one of the historical gains of the working class and turning the trade unions into a bureaucratic agency of the capitalist state. This concept is supported in Britain by TUC General Secretary George Woodcock, who holds that the place for trade union activity is no longer Trafalgar Square but somewhere in the Ministry of Finance. The last Congress, however, rejected the General Secretary's "incomes policy." This policy is opposed today by most trade unions in capitalist Europe.

It is clear that in this situation the scope for reformist ideas is narrowed, and that conditions are favorable for resuming the offensive of the workers' revolutionary movement in the developed capitalist countries.

* * *

However, the favorable conditions furnished by the crisis of reformism are insufficient to raise the revolutionary movement to the level demanded by the complexity of the problems facing the capitalist West. The scale and the vigor of the strike movement, in which not only the working class but also other strata, the middle class included, are taking part, is very important, but there remains the cardinal problem of hegemony, which the working class should be able to exercise with respect to all its possible allies. A strategy in keeping with the specific conditions in each country is needed in order to break up the bourgeois bloc, isolate big capital and build a new ruling bloc capable of replacing the old ruling classes and paving the way to socialism. Hence the need for a

painstaking search for new methods of struggle that would enable the working class to extend its system of alliances and open up new avenues to winning power.

Noteworthy in this respect was the statement issued by the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party last October on the problems now being debated in the world Communist movement, which said: "The search for new ways of winning power and of giving effect to that power is now of vast importance for conducting a positive dialogue with those social and political forces whose participation is essential for the creation of a new ruling bloc in the developed capitalist countries. In Western Europe the socialist solution which would destroy the foundations of the economic and political power of the big capitalists must, besides providing the people with bread and work, guarantee a rapid growth of production, introduce economic planning providing an outlet for the initiative of each citizen and stimuli to this initiative, give direction to the life of society, ensuring broad autonomy and political freedoms, and promote free questing in the sphere of culture and a constant exchange of ideas. Only by working in this direction right now, and guided by this perspective, will it be possible fully to meet the demands of the masses and to win over and unite the majority of the working class and the nation. Sectarian positions which ignore these requirements have caused no little harm in the past. It is high time to learn from these lessons. It is time to give thought to the objective reasons and the subjective limitations which caused serious setbacks for the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries.

To study the weaknesses that have up till now retarded the revolutionary movement in the developed capitalist countries is a pressing task regardless of any polemic. The valor, staunchness and selflessness which the inter-

national working class has shown in its century-long struggle make such a study imperative. The positive result of this struggle, on which the working class of the capitalist countries can justly pride itself, far from being obscured, will stand out in even bolder relief as a result of profound self-criticism and impartial study of the causes that impeded greater advance.

It is indisputable that no party can lay claim to being a judge of another fraternal party. Equally indisputable, in our opinion, is the need for a joint study of the common problems now confronting the revolutionary movement in the developed capitalist countries. In the period when modern capitalism is more and more strengthening and broadening its international contacts and the capitalists of different countries, although unable to avoid clashes in competition, nevertheless support one another as members of a single capitalist class, it would be absurd for the working class to weaken its international contacts, in particular in countries where the workers have especially much in common as regards the immediate objectives of their struggle.

Marx once characterized the First International as "the international counter-organization of labor against the cosmopolitan conspiracy of capital." Irrespective of the historical forms, which are bound to change both for the working people and for the capitalists, this contra-position is even more necessary than before. Both cooperation without subordination and autonomy without isolation are needed in the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries, just as between the different sectors of the present-day revolutionary movement. Given this, it will be easier to deliver a blow at imperialism in its citadel, at the sources of its economic and political power, and carry out the universal historical mission of the working class.

“Workers of All Lands and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!”

A. Lerumo

SEPTEMBER 28, 1864, is a date that will always be remembered as the day when, at an international meeting in London called by British and French workers, it was decided to establish the International Working Men's Association and elect Karl Marx as one of the members of its General Council. It was a decision that was to have profound consequences for the working-class movement, and to modify the course of world history.

From its beginnings the movement of the workers of the industrialized capitalist countries concerned itself not only with strengthening their class solidarity in the day-to-day clashes with the employers, and not only with working out and clarifying their long-term objective of socialist revolution, but also with the practical realities of world events, the problems of war and peace and, in particular, the need to link the struggles of the working-class and the national-liberation movements.

Over the past hundred years the community of interests and action between the workers of the capitalist states and the oppressed peoples has become a central feature of the international working-class movement. For us African patriots and revolutionaries, this unity is not something abstract, it is a central factor, determining the past and present course of our bitter and continuing struggle against colonialism in all its forms.

It will help us to understand why this is so if we consider a few of the particular features of our great African Revolution in which all our peoples — in different ways and degrees in the various parts of our vast Continent—are engaged.

I.

No Africans participated in the foundation of the First International one hundred years ago. It is not difficult to understand why this was so. Sealed off deliberately from the technological advances which were transforming Europe, our continent was only of interest

to the commercial bourgeoisie of the maritime nations of Western Europe for the loot they could extract from it. Africa was turned, as Marx put it, into “a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins.”

The development of capitalism in Western Europe and North America into its final stage of imperialism, vastly intensified this process of looting and enslavement of Africa. At the end of the 19th century, practically the whole of our Continent, with the exception of Ethiopia, was captured and carved up among themselves by a handful of West European powers: Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Portugal and Spain.

Our fathers resisted bravely, in every corner of Africa. There is not a corner of the Continent that cannot tell of stirring revolts by African patriots, suppressed with the most savage massacres by the colonialists. For long, we could not succeed in expelling the invaders. We heard from afar of the glorious victories of the peoples of the former Russian empire in overthrowing tyranny and establishing a free socialist state of workers and peasants.

The name of Lenin became a symbol of freedom, and the wisest of our people foretold that the victory of the October Revolution spelt the downfall of imperialism in Africa and throughout the world. They were right; but a whole generation was to pass through struggle, anguish and setbacks before we could learn this from experience.

It was only after the Second World War and the collapse of the fascist Axis, in which the major sacrifices were made, and the decisive blows struck, by the Soviet Union, that the tide began to turn. Under the hammer blows of the national-liberation movements the colonialists were compelled to retreat from one Afro-Asian country after another. Nowhere did they retreat willingly.

It is true that in a number of countries, particularly in Africa, the imperialists have conceded a greater or lesser degree of independence without an actual armed clash at the time of concession. Great play is made

of this fact in current imperialist propaganda, which strives to present an image of the benevolent European metropolitan power.

The truth, however, is that the granting of independence in most cases was preceded by a long and stubborn struggle on the part of the broad masses, a struggle which often took the form of fierce armed conflicts between the national-liberation forces and imperialism. This was the case, for instance, in Algeria, where the people fought arms in hand for seven years before the French colonialists recognized their right to independence. The same happened in Kenya and other countries. But even in those countries where the national-liberation struggle was waged mostly by peaceful means, it was a hard-fought struggle and involved sharp clashes with the colonialists. In the final analysis it was this struggle that was the decisive factor which forced the imperialists to yield position after position and to grant the African peoples their independence.

We must say clearly that Africa owes its freedom, in the first place, to the courage and sacrifices of the African people themselves, to the countless heroes and martyrs who have fought and are fighting to free our native soil from the colonialist invaders. Without this determined struggle of the common people of Africa, whose aspirations are voiced by such far-sighted leaders as Nkrumah, Ben Bella, Kenyatta, Lutuli Kaita and many others, African freedom would still be only a dream. But we cannot forget either that our struggles and our suffering would have been much more prolonged, and our victories much postponed, were it not for the encouragement and assistance of our overseas allies against imperialism: the Communists, the advanced workers and democratic sections of the population of the imperialist countries themselves, and above all the socialist countries in whose vanguard stands such a powerful state as the Soviet Union.

Like all true alliances, this one works both ways. In the times of the greatest stress for the young Soviet Republic, subjected to invasion by the imperialist states, the revolutionary risings of the colonial peoples opened up a "second front" in the rear of the imperialists and gave the Red Army and the Soviet State a vital relief and breathing space. If the French people were saved from the horrors of fascism, it was due not only to the stout resistance of the French working class, but also to the dauntless heroes and martyrs of the Algerian FLN who laid down their lives in the fight against the OAS.

Our struggles are inextricably intertwined.

Our struggle for national freedom and unity in Africa, the struggle of the working people in the developed capitalist countries for democracy and the advance to socialism, the worldwide struggle headed by the countries of the socialist world for peaceful coexistence and disarmament—all are inter-related, all are aspects of the great onward movement crystallized by the First International for the liberation of man from oppression, exploitation and war. A victory in one field facilitates and raises to a higher level the advance of our allies in every other. Our African Revolution belongs to the new era of human history inaugurated by the October Revolution; the liberation of Africa immensely strengthens the forces of peace and progress in the world and greatly weakens the forces of imperialism and war.

II.

It is above all important that we should remember these basic truths now, and not be diverted from them by negative tendencies which seek to drive a wedge between our national-liberation movements and our natural allies: the international working-class movement and the people of the socialist countries. For our freedom struggle is far from completed: vital problems and tasks remain before us, in which we need our allies as much as, or more, than before.

The times have changed. Today the imperialists, ejected from the front door, make an immediate reappearance at the back door, in the guise of salesmen. In every African country these salesmen from the former dominating countries, as well as from the United States, West Germany and others, are hard at work. They offer loans, advice, aid—especially surplus and obsolete weapons—and even outright bribes to highly-placed individuals. In return they want military bases, entangling "alliances," and mineral, financial and commercial concessions and monopolies.

But yesterday our leaders were held in their jails and prison camps, and were treated with open hatred and contempt. This attitude has been hastily changed into a mask of insincere (and profoundly insulting) flattery — the sycophancy of the slick Yankee salesman ready to eat dirt for the sake of a quick dollar. We are not deceived by their change of face — we know these gentlemen too well. In their hearts they still cherish dreams of empire. They have not given up plotting and scheming to restore the "good old days."

We should by no means underestimate the

dangers and difficulties that still lie before us. These arise not only from the ceaseless intrigues of the colonialists and neo-colonialists, but also from certain weaknesses in our national liberation movements, arising from the conditions in which they have developed.

Most African countries showed an almost complete lack of industrial development in the period of colonialism. Even where the imperialists have, for their own benefit, developed some of our resources, they have usually done so on the basis of migratory, transient labor, of a type which provided the least favorable conditions for the growth of working-class consciousness and organization. Trade unions were vigorously suppressed, and when that did not succeed in destroying them a new tactic was tried. British, U.S. and other imperialists sent their agents to Africa to "assist" and "advise" African trade unions. Invariably, this "advice" was to the effect that the unions should concentrate on daily "bread-and-butter" questions and abstain from participation in the national struggle against colonialism, and the assistance was dependent on the acceptance of the advice. No one who is familiar with the outlook and attitude of the British Right-wing Labor leaders will be surprised that they consented to carry out such dirty jobs on behalf of the Colonial Office; just as American trade union representatives in Africa openly behave as agents of the CIA and the State Department.

African workers and their trade unions have, nevertheless, in a number of countries played an outstanding role in the national-liberation movement, as in Mali, Ghana, Kenya, Guinea and Algeria. It is notable that wherever they have done so the movement has been most determined and militant, and the post-independence governments most clear and decisive to counter the wiles of neo-colonialism.

The African workers are the most trustworthy supporters of the progressive policies of the Ghana government; and it was the mass actions of the workers led by their trade unions that brought about the downfall of the pro-imperialist regime of Abbe Yulou in the Congo (Brazzaville) last year.

But despite these outstanding examples, it is true also that due to its smallness of numbers the working class has not been so prominent in a number of other African countries, or has been divorced from the national-liberation struggle, as a result of interference by such bodies as the TUC and the ICFTU. This has had extremely unfortunate results. In Tanganyika recently, for example,

a law was passed dissolving the Federation of Trade Unions and replacing it with a single labor organization, membership of which is compulsory and whose leadership is appointed from above by the State. The workers are bitterly ascribing this retrograde measure to the reappearance of British troops in Tanganyika at the invitation of the government, following disturbances in the army. This law would never have been passed had the trade union leaders played a more active part in the struggle to win and maintain independence. Indeed, had they done so, they would almost certainly be taking an influential part in President Nyerere's administration.

African trade unionists elsewhere will do well to think over this effect of the ICFTU's advice to "keep out of politics." The effect can only be to weaken the part in the leadership of the young African states by those most fitted to give correct leadership — the working class.

Naturally, conditions vary from one African country to another, depending on local conditions, the varying experience in each particular territory, the stage of historical development, and so on.

In by far the greatest number of African countries the dead hand of colonialism has effectively, and for very many years, strangled any sort of development, social, economic or educational. They deliberately preserved and distorted obsolete tribal forms in order to make sure of the institution of chieftainship as a means of indirect rule. Under land-relationships organized on communal, feudal and other pre-capitalist forms, the overwhelming majority of Africans were and still are subsistence farmers, scratching the soil with primitive implements to win a bare livelihood for themselves and their families, overwhelmed by burdens of poverty, illiteracy and diseases.

In some countries such as Nigeria and those in the North, a considerable degree of commercial development has taken place, involving the growth of large cities and development of modern classes — workers and capitalists — among the indigenous population. In others, notably in the South, opportunities for acquiring wealth, and an agreeable climate, have attracted large white populations over a long period of time, who constituted themselves into a sort of alien aristocracy. They concentrate all the wealth, monopolize economic opportunities and political rights. The indigenous inhabitants are proletarianized, but the whites take care to

stifle the growth of an African capitalist class. This is the *colonialism of a special type* so sharply analyzed in *The Road to South African Freedom*, the Program of the South African Communist Party.

Every African country has produced a thin layer of intellectuals. Some are self-taught workers and peasants. Most, however, were trained by the colonialists themselves to act as clerks and interpreters, clergymen, policemen, foremen — or the minimum number of teachers and physicians they could be induced grudgingly to provide. Naturally, such personnel were selected with great care as to their "reliability," they were trained in Western academies with particular regard as to their "suitable" political and religious indoctrination and with special reference to instructing them in the horrors of communism and all other "heresies" questioning the divine right of the white man to rule Africa. Yet strangely enough, it is from this very layer of intellectuals, selected and indoctrinated with such care, that many of the foremost African patriots, revolutionaries and national-liberation leaders have arisen.

III.

In our time the ideas that were given organizational form at the founding of the First International have seized the minds of the African people, have become "a material force." Translated into terms of African reality, these ideas are expressed in the demands for freedom and independence, for African unity and for socialism. Even those elements among the African intelligentsia who have not accepted these ideas, who still harbor anti-Communist and anti-African prejudices, who are still secretly in awe of the supposedly "superior" colonialist master-races — even these are willy-nilly swept into the turbulent and ever more swiftly flowing river of African liberation.

When the African heads of State assembled last year at Addis Ababa there were some among their number who had in the past, perhaps not without some justification, been branded as stooges of imperialism. Yet there were none who could play the role of stooges at that meeting, even if they had intended to do so. The spirit of militant anti-colonialism, of African patriotism and African unity, was such that none could stand against it. The eyes and the hopes of all Africa were focussed upon our leaders at Addis Ababa, and they could not and did not disappoint us.

Africa Needs Freedom and Unity

Most of the African countries have gained

formal political independence, but none of us can deceive himself that this is only the first step (though the absolutely essential and vital first step) towards full and real independence. In nearly all the African states the colonialists and neo-colonialists still control the commanding heights of the economy. In many they retain troops and military bases, special "rights" and concessions. Nor can we forget that vital areas of Africa are not yet free, notably the Portuguese colonies, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

The Republic of South Africa is the richest and most developed territory in the whole continent. Freed from apartheid slavery her resources and skills could be of incalculable service and benefit to Africa as a whole, but today Verwoerd's huge military build-up and his unholy alliance with Salazar and the reactionary racist government of South Rhodesia are an ever-present menace to freedom and independence throughout the Continent.

The liberation of South Africa, and in particular of that citadel of racialism and aggression, the Republic of South Africa, is rightly seen by all African patriots as a key issue in our future. African countries have fought vigorously, at the United Nations and in innumerable other fields, for the international isolation and quarantining of the fascist Verwoerd regime; they have extended generous assistance to the African National Congress, the organizer of our freedom struggle. In South Africa itself, after half a century of heroic but fruitless non-violent struggles, the oppressed people have abandoned the path of exclusively non-violent actions. Soldiers of *Umkonto We Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation), the fighting organization which owes allegiance to the ANC, are preparing for an armed struggle to uphold the African's right to freedom and independence.

Yet, as soon as the African countries come seriously face to face with the problem of ending apartheid, they find that it is not merely a matter of defeating the Verwoerd government in the Republic of South Africa. The USA, Britain and other imperialist powers are behind apartheid. They arm and finance the Republic.

The South African variety of colonialism is not only immoral and repugnant — it is also terribly profitable for the imperialists. Its main end-product is cheap African labor, yielding enormous superprofits not only to the local white monopoly capitalists but also to the big foreign investors, in Britain, the United States and elsewhere. British investors have a stake of over £1,000 million in South African mines and other enterprises.

The United States, with \$822 million, is not far behind.

Dr. H. P. van Dusen, leading U.S. theologian, wrote to the *New York Times* that "one of the foremost statesmen of South Africa" had told him personally: "So long as United States banks and business back us, we can go ahead." Dr. van Dusen added: "Every American who is a stockholder or depositor in commercial firms doing business in South Africa is indirectly a participant in the cruel repression of the majority of the South African populace, in the aggravation of violence, blood-shed and brutality which daily increase . . ." (*New York Times*, October 2, 1963.)

African statesmen are more and more clearly realizing that the hidden roots of apartheid trail far back to the City of London and Wall Street. They are waging a serious international campaign to expose and break off these roots.

Very similar considerations apply also to Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea, where Salazar is enabled to continue the savage war against the African inhabitants only with the aid of NATO weapons and Western capital.

Thus, the moment we examine seriously the major all-African problem the African countries are faced with — that of completing the emancipation of all Africans from colonialist domination — we find that the problem is not confined to Africa at all. A popular slogan in Africa is that of "non-alignment." It is a healthy slogan insofar as it reflects the moving of these countries out of the sphere of influence of imperialism. But it can be, and sometimes is, interpreted in an "isolationist" sense. In practice we are finding that we cannot tackle seriously a single one of our burning problems without coming into direct conflict with the most powerful imperialist countries. We are fortunate, in this conflict, to have such powerful allies as the international working-class movement and, especially, the socialist countries. To cut ourselves off from such allies would mean, in fact, to abandon and betray our cause.

Even more pertinent is this need for our natural allies when we come to consider the urgent necessity rapidly to transform and modernize African societies and economies in the present phase of our African Revolution. We cannot truly realize and maintain our independence as long as our countries are poor and backward, as long as our people are suffering from the cursed heritages of colonialism — starvation, illiteracy, disease.

Africa needs industrialization. She needs sweeping changes in the countryside to modernize and diversify agriculture and to replace obsolete land relationships. She needs trained specialists in every field, adequate communication, hospitals, schools and universities. The main social force making possible this vast transformation is the limitless creative energy of the liberated African masses. But we need assistance from outside as well.

Imperialist aid is never "disinterested." They are mainly interested in African investment as a source of super profits. The United States also regards Africa as a "battlefield" in the cold war. That is why, faced with such a challenge as the magnificent and truly fraternal Soviet contribution to the building of the Aswan High Dam, which has become a symbol of hope for all Africa, U.S. and other imperialists have had to maneuver to lower their interest rates and waive some of their former intolerable demands for military "alliances" and other political concessions as the price of dollar aid. Nevertheless, as they regard Africa as "the last frontier of private enterprise," all their aid is in fact designed to impose a particular pattern of development — the pattern of private capitalism. But this is not only a completely unwarranted intrusion into African affairs. It is also an attempt to force upon us a way of life which runs directly counter to African aspirations and needs.

Africans have had ample opportunity of observing capitalism at work in their midst, and we want no part of it. We also know of the fabulous results achieved by socialist planning in transforming such once-backward areas as the Soviet Asian Republics. Moreover, Africans now have the example of the successes in planning and mobilizing internal resources to promote the economy achieved in Algeria, the United Arab Republic and other African countries which are striving to take the non-capitalist road. These are the reasons why, more and more, Africans are determined to choose the non-capitalist path of development towards socialism.

IV.

The South African Communist Party has dismissed as a dogmatic distortion of Marxism the conception that African countries are bound to pass through a phase of capitalism. It bases this opinion on the fact that African countries are winning their independence in an era in which the international working-

class movement and the socialist countries have become the decisive and determining force in the world.

It is true that certain African personalities have been spreading some strange and confused ideas in the name of an allegedly unique "African socialism." This is largely a reflection of widespread ignorance of scientific socialist ideology resulting from many years of colonialist censorship and lying propaganda. But this ignorance is rapidly being dispelled. Many Africans nowadays get the opportunity to visit the socialist countries and see for themselves what socialism is and how it works. Marxist books and journals such as *Problems of Peace and Socialism* and the *African Communist* are gaining widespread circulation. In addition to long established Communist parties, such as those of South Africa, Morocco and Tunisia, new Marxist-Leninist movements are developing, such as the Communist Party of Sudan, the African Independence Party of Senegal, the Communist Party of Lesotho, and the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria, as well as a number of study groups in various countries based on the *African Communist*.

These parties do not stand apart from the national-liberation struggle, but set themselves the task of acting as a unifying factor, as loyal and exemplary fighters in the united front of all classes and groups for the unfolding and completion of the anti-colonialist independence struggle. Of profound significance, too, is the increasingly prominent emergence of Marxism-Leninism as the accepted ideology of the ruling parties in such important West African states as Algeria, Ghana and Mali.

More and more, advanced African workers, peasants and intellectuals are demanding the implementation of the universal principles of scientific socialism, and refusing to be sidetracked by demagogic or confused substitutes. Even in those countries in which at one time the leaders proclaimed the goal of African Socialism or Arab Socialism without any apparent seriousness of intention, the pressure of events and the needs and demands of the masses have led to the implementation of such highly progressive reforms as genuine redistribution of the land and the nationalization of important sectors of industry.

Naturally, we are speaking here of broad general trends. African developments differ widely from one country to another; in the turbulent onrush of our revolution one can see the grand overall design and direction,

but it would be foolish to try to predict in detail the precise shape of events to come in each particular area. The comparatively weak class differentiation of the population in vast sectors of the continent has enabled us to unite all our forces in the common struggle against colonialism — hence the well-known tendency in many countries for the people to throw their full weight behind a single party. Of course, this is not a universal panacea: in some countries the united national-liberation front will find other forms, and in others the "one-party state" has been merely a screen for despotism which is aligned with neo-colonialism. But the passionate will of the masses for unity is a reality with which all African political movements and forces have to reckon.

In many African countries, these unifying factors open up bright prospects for the future advance to non-capitalist development and also to the building of socialism. And we can foresee the possibility also of such a swift and continuous advance taking place without major or violent clashes between groups or classes with conflicting interests. Of course, there are conservative, feudal, tribal or capitalist elements who may see their selfish interests threatened by the advance of the people. But, all over Africa, these elements are being left behind by history. It is not they, but the masses and their spokesmen, who have steered our countries to independence. The only chance for such elements seriously to impede, or violently to contest, Africa's advance would be for them to call for outside imperialist intervention. The imperialists would no doubt be only too eager to respond to such a call, but fortunately the issue does not depend only upon them.

The united efforts of the anti-imperialist forces — the national-liberation movements, the socialist countries and the workers' movement in the imperialist countries themselves — can prevent any such adventure and impose upon imperialism the people's policy of peaceful coexistence.

Tested in the fire of contemporary African experience, we find the propositions advanced at present by the Chinese Communist Party and its supporters to be wrong and unworkable. Although they claim to be defending the purity of Communist theory, they are departing from the essence of creative Marxism-Leninism, which is always firmly rooted in reality. They have announced an "absolute law of violent revolution." There is not any such "absolute law" — Marx explained this clearly in his arguments against

sectarians like Blanqui and Bakunin in the days of the First International.

The Chinese leaders undermine the demands for peaceful coexistence and general disarmament. These are not only part of the agreed policy of the entire Communist movement — they have also been made their own demands by all the leading African statesmen, who realize that they answer the pressing needs of our people.

No African or Asian would like to see a sort of apartheid on a world scale, with the non-white peoples voluntarily segregating themselves from the world-wide family of men. We have suffered enough from the enforced segregation, poverty, backwardness and humiliations we have been subjected to

by monopoly capitalism; now we wish to assert our rights, dignity and equality in every sphere, economic, political and cultural.

In the new historical conditions created after the Great October Revolution Lenin, the continuer of Marx' and Engels' cause, stressed the inseparable link between the socialist revolution and the national-liberation movement. He approved the slogan "Workers of All Lands and the Oppressed Peoples, Unite!," which emphasized the leading role of the proletariat and the growing significance of unity between the working-class and national-liberation movements.

Guided by this great slogan, we shall win a Free Africa, marching with all other peoples to socialism, in a world at peace.

The Traditions of the First International and Our Time

Claude Renard

THE manifesto of the inaugural congress of the Communist International in 1919 aptly characterized the role of the First International. The First International, it declared, "anticipated the future and outlined its development."

It is enough to recall the brief history of the International Working Men's Association to see the close relationship between the overall trend of the working-class movement during the past century and the Association's initial contribution. It will be seen too that, basically, the significance of this contribution lies in the success with which the efforts of Marx and his associates to unite scientific socialism and the organized working-class movement have been crowned.

The traditions of the First International are deeply rooted in the progress made in this respect both at the time of the Association and later, when Marx's successors carried the fusion of scientific socialism and the organized working-class movement to more advanced stages of political realization—to the founding of the big European workers' parties and the realization of the revolutionary transition

from capitalism to socialism on a world scale.

* * *

The Inaugural Address and the Rules of the International Working Men's Association, both written by Marx, contain the basic ideas that inspired the founder of scientific socialism in his efforts to organize the international working-class movement in order to reach the "great goal"—the economic emancipation of labor—through the conquest of political power, which he called the "great duty of the working classes."

The opening lines of the Rules of the International Working Men's Association proclaim that "the emancipation of the working classes must be won by the working classes themselves." Underlying this principle is the scientifically substantiated conviction that by giving rise to the industrial proletariat capitalism creates the main revolutionary force of our time, and that only this force, in alliance with other sections of the working people, can abolish capitalism and replace it with socialism. And from this conviction follow both the faith in the masses and the

striving to make mass actions the aim of the workers' organizations.

This was the guiding principle in the struggle Marx and his associates waged to rid the International Working Men's Association of ideological trends that hindered the spread of scientific socialism, which was destined to awaken the proletariat to its own strength and historical mission and to guide it towards independent political action.

The day-to-day struggles and the crucial test of the Paris Commune showed that, in effect, both the Right and "Left" opponents of Marxism sought to join forces to combat the fundamental principle set forth in the opening lines of the Rules except when circumstances forced them, as often happened, to subordinate their theories to the exigencies of the practical struggle.

Hence one of the principal lessons taught by the ideological struggle in the International Working Men's Association, and one that has lost none of its value with the passage of time, is that Right-wing opportunism and "Leftism" spring from the same petty-bourgeois social roots. Their common genesis is evident in the tendency evinced by both to shy away from independent working-class action.

This lesson proved extremely valuable in subsequent years when both Right and Left opportunism dogged the working-class movement as it forged on through the founding of big parties to revolutionary gains. Both varieties assumed different garbs, took more and more insidious and deceptive forms, which were exposed by the followers of Marx, and especially by Lenin in his polemic against revisionist and Trotskyite falsification of Marxism.

In our time of far-reaching revolutionary change it is easier to combat the petty-bourgeois reformism which still fetters working-class action in many countries. There still is, however, a predilection for "Left" phrasemongering, sectarianism and adventurist actions. Valuable light was thrown on this by Comrade Suslov's report to the February 1964 meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU which analyzed the Left deviations espoused by the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. This analysis, which disclosed the petty-bourgeois essence of the deviations, was fully in line with the traditions of the struggle waged by Marx against the anarchists and Blanquists, and by Lenin against the Trotskyites and the "Left Communists."

Let it be stressed again that the attitude of the international Communist movement towards deviations of every kind is based

on the old principle of the International Working Men's Association—"the emancipation of the working classes must be won by the working classes themselves."

* * *

Needless to say, this principle is being realized today above all in building socialism and in laying the foundations of communism wherever the working class is in power. The class enemy too has no illusions on this score. Besides futile attempts forcibly to halt the advance of socialism and communism, it is doing its utmost—witness the capitalist press—to belittle the achievements of socialism and in particular of the Soviet Union whenever they can no longer be completely ignored.

Small wonder then that the capitalist press gives such "objective" coverage to the anarcho-Trotskyite theory refurbished by the Chinese leaders that the realization of the tasks of the socialist revolution has passed from the proletariat, now allegedly "bourgeoisified" by its own successes, to the oppressed peoples and their national-liberation movements.

How little this theory has in common with the Marxist idea which the First International advanced in the opening lines of its Rules is self-evident.

The idea behind these lines stands out particularly clear in the light of the passages in the Inaugural Address concerning the Ten Hours Bill in Britain, the cooperative movement, and the emphasis on the conquest of political power as the prerequisite for the emancipation of the working masses.

For Marx the Ten Hours Bill was not only a "practical success" beneficial to the workers; it was the "victory of a principle," the principle of "social production controlled by social foresight." It was the first victory of the "political economy of the working class" over the "political economy of property," won through bitter and persistent struggle. As for the workers' cooperatives, they showed "by deed, instead of by argument" that it is possible to do without a "class of masters employing a class of hands," and in this sense they were a "still greater victory."

The same ideas are applied to the realities of our time in the thesis of the international Communist movement concerning the class content of the economic competition between the socialist and capitalist camps.

Economic competition is the pivotal point in the class struggle on a world scale inasmuch as the achievements of socialism and the consequent shift in the balance of forces have created the material conditions for the decisive defeat of the political economy of

capital. By demonstrating the superiority of socialism—of “social production controlled by social foresight”—the working people of the socialist countries are showing by deed and not by argument that they can very well do without capitalism, thereby making a decisive contribution to the revolutionary struggle of the international working class.

These ideas, as well as Marx's support of the struggle for political reforms, in particular universal suffrage, are of signal importance also from the standpoint of the overall trend of the working-class movement in those capitalist countries where in recent years the demand for structural reforms has been winning substantial support among the working people.

Revolutionaries champion the reforms needed by the workers, but they can educate the working class only to the extent they help channel the popular aspirations to effective political struggle, to the extent the solidarity of the working people grows.

Marx and his associates exposed both the anarchist Socialists who artificially counterposed revolution to reform and those spokesmen of trade unionism who substituted reform for revolution, showing that either trend tended to prevent independent working-class action and to weaken proletarian solidarity.

Needless to say, proletarian solidarity on both the national and international scale has always been a matter of dialectically understanding the link between revolutionary perspective and immediate aims which Marx had in mind when he said: “Every real step forward is worth more than a dozen programs” (Letter to W. Bracke, May 5, 1875).

The Marxist-Leninist parties of the countries where structural reforms are the order of the day are guided in their struggle for these reforms by the ideas of Marx. They apply these ideas creatively, i.e., bearing in mind that in a society where the development of state-monopoly capitalism has created the material prerequisites of socialism, class conflicts involving the principles of economic orientation and management have far-reaching political implications. Contradictions of this order cannot but give rise to an urgent need for profound political changes capable of giving the working people an opportunity to control and direct social production.

The question of structural reforms has a direct bearing on the question of power. In the past hundred years of intense struggle the working class of Western Europe has won many urgently needed reforms, but although each of these gains was achieved primarily thanks to united action, never was the

character of the state power affected. The economic structural reforms demanded by the working people today, however, cannot be won without united action more vigorous than ever before, without the political privileges of the monopolies being abolished through such action, i.e., without a radical deepening of democracy. And this can be achieved only under the leadership of the working class. “. . . The proletariat alone is capable of bringing about the *complete* democratization of the political and social system, since this would place the system in the hands of the workers,”* Lenin said.

It is precisely on this score that the Marxist-Leninist parties fundamentally differ from the reformist parties, which, denying the need for the revolutionary conquest of power, are doing their utmost to retard the working people's struggle for economic structural reforms, and when changes cannot be prevented, to reduce them to ineffectual readjustments or measures according with the interests of the monopolies.

The Chinese theoreticians and some other dogmatists fail to see this when they equate with reformism and revisionism the viewpoints of the Marxist-Leninist parties whose programs include the demand for structural reforms. Their main argument is that reforms *in general* can at best result only in slight improvements in the workers' conditions. They, too, counterpose revolution to reforms, thereby not only departing from the positions of the world Communist movement today, but, in effect, castigating Marx, who saw in the modest Ten Hours' Bill something more than a partial improvement in the workers' conditions. According to the criteria of these critics, this something more—the victory of a principle, of the political economy of the working class—is ruled out so long as the capitalist state exists.

* * *

The experience of the First International also provides the guidelines indispensable for realizing the principle of proletarian internationalism.

It is a fundamental premise that the emancipation of labor is a social, not a national or regional problem. Consequently, the working class must combine to fight the policy of the capitalist governments “by all means in its power,” especially when this policy is aimed at aggression, predatory wars and violation of the right of peoples and nations to decide their own destiny.

Marx and his associates worked tirelessly

*V. I. Lenin, *The Tasks of the Russian Social Democrats*.

to implement these guidelines. At the time of the American Civil War which highlighted the horrors of Negro slavery, the crimes committed by tsarism in Poland, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, and the Paris Commune, they urged the workers to display international solidarity in practice, if only in the form of joint protest. The work done by the First International to propagate the idea that the fight for a foreign policy according with the people's yearning for peace and freedom is part of the common struggle of the masses for their emancipation initiated one of the finest traditions of the international working-class movement.

This tradition, which gained ground in the time of the Second International, was born in the struggle against nationalism in the guise of formal internationalism which hindered the working class from coming out as an independent organized force on the world political arena, in struggle against both outright opposition and the view that all struggle was futile. When the Association declared for the political restoration of Poland, it did so against the opposition of the Proudhon followers who, their condemnation of "all kinds of despotism" notwithstanding, held that the Association should concern itself only with issues relating to the economic emancipation of labor. As for the anarchists, they believed it was futile to fight for peace and freedom before the "economic and social equality of classes and individuals" was achieved. Their seeming radicalism, however, did not rule out chauvinism, and Marx on repeated occasions had to combat Bakunin's pan-Slav delusions.

If proletarian internationalism prevailed so quickly over the opposition and became in the course of a century a deep-rooted tradition, this was because it corresponded, as Marx stressed, to the natural and irrepressible trends in modern society.

The impact of proletarian internationalism was felt at the time of the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune, the first attempt in history to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To the predatory war waged by Bismarck and Louis Bonaparte the First International counterposed its call to the German and French people to fraternize, called for peace without annexations, and made herculean efforts in support of the Paris Commune, which, in the words of Marx, was "international in the full sense of the word." These principles of the First International, developed further by Lenin in the conditions of imperialism, triumphed with the victory of

the October Revolution in Russia, which linked the cause of peace and freedom betrayed by the leaders of the Second International with the building of socialism. The new impetus the October Revolution gave to proletarian internationalism cannot be divorced from the new opportunities—opportunities of combating the capitalist governments' policy of war and oppression—which the example of the USSR pointed out to the working people and the oppressed nations throughout the world. The revolutionary parties, resolutely combating petty-bourgeois influence in the shape of reformism and Trotskyite "Leftism," learned to make proper use of these new opportunities under the leadership of the Third International.

In May 1936, a few months after the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, its General Secretary, Georgi Dimitrov, declared:

"Besides the openly reactionary leaders who are undermining united action by the international proletariat in defense of peace, there are also 'Left' phrasemongers who propound the fatalistic view that war is *inevitable* and peace *impossible* to preserve." These doctrinaires, Dimitrov added, "claim that the question of war and peace depends wholly on the capitalist governments." Stressing that the peace front would become invincible if it launched "practical mass actions" everywhere, he concluded: "Only the proletariat, by closing its ranks, can become the organizer of such a peace front. . . This is now the *central task* of the entire international proletariat."

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International was unquestionably one of the most striking manifestations between the two world wars of the vitality of the traditions of the First International. It not only propagated the ideas of the Popular Front; it also paved the way to the success of the Communists in uniting the anti-fascist forces both during the Second World War and after the defeat of fascism in the countries that chose the path of people's democracy.

The defeat of fascism and the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism as a result of the Second World War should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the unleashing of this war was a temporary victory for fascism, the political instrument of the most aggressive imperialist forces. To lose sight of this is tantamount to forgetting the principal lesson taught by the rich experience of the Communist International which stood the working class and its revolutionary parties in good stead—the lesson that the struggle

for peace will remain the central task of the entire international proletariat so long as imperialism exists.

In accordance with the recommendations of the First International, the working people use every means at their disposal to combat imperialism. The most important of these means today is the decisive power wielded by the socialist camp and in particular by the Soviet Union, which is now laying the foundations of communism. In this sense the Soviet Union objectively stands at the head of the world working-class movement, of all the democratic forces, of progressives everywhere. It is, as Marx said about the Paris Commune, "international in the full sense of the word," a fact that is clearly evident in the international significance of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU, which issued the call for peaceful coexistence addressed by Comrade Khrushchov to the world.

Only the proletariat is capable of organizing a worldwide struggle for peaceful coexistence since this is inseparably associated with the general victory of its own political economy. But to accomplish this its own ranks must be united, its Marxist-Leninist parties must stand shoulder to shoulder. In this respect, too, the traditions of the First International are of inestimable value.

The Rules of the International Working Men's Association pointed to the need to keep the workers of each country constantly informed of the "movements of their class in every other country," and that "when immediate practical steps should be needed . . . the action of the associated societies be simultaneous and uniform," in accordance with the possibilities of each.

The uneven development of capitalism in the countries where the Association had organizations, the diversity of political regimes and methods of government, and the fact that the workers were not equally experienced everywhere made it difficult indeed to coordinate actions on the international scale. For instance, the use by Louis Bonaparte of universal suffrage to further reactionary ends impelled the Proudhon and anarchist groups to oppose political action for a long time, and this greatly retarded the struggle for universal suffrage in countries like Belgium where the issue was of prime importance. This example shows, moreover, that the main trouble stemmed not so much from the different situations in the various countries and localities as from the fact that certain groups sought to impose their particular experience, including concepts and assessments alien to

scientific socialism, on the entire movement. The annals of the First International record many examples of such deviations—from the Proudhon attempts to remould the International into a kind of cooperative society to collaboration between trade unions and their "own" bourgeoisie against the Paris Commune, and from the refusal of the Lassalle followers to join the International to the factional activities of the anarchists who, unable to substitute anarchy for workers' organization, ended by setting up a separate organization together with the Blanquists.

Exchange of information is a prerequisite of united action, but it becomes pointless if one of the parties insists on the others accepting its particular experience as the sole tactical system. And whenever such a deviation leads to a tangible threat of a split, it is usually a matter of the underlying petty-bourgeois ideology abandoning debate for outright disruptive activities.

Splitting and factional trends disguised as a striving for unity in the working-class movement have always sprung up from petty-bourgeois soil. The experience of the First and Second Internationals afforded ample proof of this, as did the intrigues of the Trotskyites in the Communist International.

It might be useful for the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, who have evolved in the recent period a theory of splits according to which the "international working-class movement tends to divide," to ponder on this experience. The Chinese leaders' theory reveals their affinity not with Marx, but with the anarchistic sects which resorted to subversion and disruptive activities to counter the spread of scientific socialism in the working-class movement. Still less have they the right to invoke Lenin. The Third International was not the product of a split brought about by revolutionaries through abstract exposure of revisionist and opportunist subversion, as the Chinese theoreticians would have us believe. It was founded to replace a defunct International, which had collapsed as a result of the tragic division of the working class, with a living International born in revolutionary struggle against war.

The truth is that the working-class movement tends to come together in ever closer unity on the basis of creative Marxism-Leninism and to rally around itself all the progressive forces in the world. The truth is that the lessons of the struggle waged by Marx for unity in the First International, lessons which have been enriched and developed further by Leninism, have equipped the

international working-class movement to overcome with growing success the divisive phe-

nomena engendered in its ranks by petty-bourgeois ideological pressures.

The Algerian Revolution and the Algerian Revolutionary in 1964

Bachir Hadj Ali

BEFORE the Algerian revolutionary can define his attitude in 1964, especially since the Congress of the National Liberation Front (FLN), he must clarify for himself the following questions: at what stage of the revolution has the country arrived, and what kind of role is played today by the social classes and groups? What link in the new program should be grasped first in order to pull on the entire chain, in other words, what is the task of the day and how should it be tackled?

To answer these questions one should look back at the recent developments. First, the conflict between the two main trends in the Provisional Government and in the FLN—the conciliatory and the revolutionary—reflected the class struggle which in the past had been relegated to the background by the fight for national liberation.

Who would enjoy the fruits of the national independence and how secure would it be; what would be its economic and social content — this was the problem that had to be resolved.

The revolutionary trend headed by Ben Bella, while it triumphed over the opportunists and the conciliators, was not homogeneous from the standpoint of revolutionary outlook, since it also included bourgeois elements who hoped to restrain its revolutionary ardor. This victory resulted in the exodus of those European settlers who owned the wealth of the country. Their departure added to the differentiation among the social classes and more clearly defined the role of each class. The exodus which in many respects laid an imprint on the further course of the Algerian revolution, was largely caused by the considerable political pressure exerted by the peasantry and accelerated by the

OAS crimes, crimes which compromised the future of that part of the population on Algerian soil.

The decree dated October 23, 1962, which prohibited the purchase, sale or lease of property abandoned by the Europeans was a clear indication of the political outlook of the Ben Bella revolutionary trend. Fulfilment of this decree prevented the Algerian bourgeoisie from extending their economic base and from replacing the European bourgeoisie in economic and political life.

Another important decree adopted on March 18, 1963, made the property abandoned by settlers a national possession. And, lastly, mention should be made of the decrees on self-administration adopted on March 22 and 28, which placed the management of the vacant farms and estates as well as some of the abandoned industrial enterprises in the hands of the working people. These decrees legalized the initiative of the workers and peasants who began to run the sequestered property in the interests of the people. These measures—both national and class in character—were taken and implemented at the time of the upsurge of the mass movement.

Self-administration, which signified a new phase of the revolution, accelerated the process of class differentiation and profoundly changed the role of the social classes, especially of the big rural, trading and bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The decrees making foreign-owned property national property controlled by the working people, have reinforced our independence and enabled the people to play a still bigger role in the economic and political life of the country. Simultaneously they have restricted the economic and political role of the bourgeoisie. *In fact, they have opened the road to the socialist*

revolution. Moreover, they signified the end of the FLN as an association of all classes born during the liberation war for the single goal of independence, and the emergence of the FLN as a vanguard party.

The Algerian bourgeoisie, who were denied the opportunity of becoming heir to their European rivals and who sense a threat to the wealth they accumulated before or during the war, now have one enemy and one obstacle—the self-administered sector. Objectively, they have become the ally of the French neo-colonialist bourgeoisie and the big monopolies who also have a stake in defeating our socialist, self-administered sector. They are connected with the counter-revolution and with the attempts of aggression against the socialist revolution. Hence it is clear that the struggle to rid the country of the vestiges of colonialism and to advance the revolution are closely related.

The FLN Congress declared that imperialism was still the main danger for our country, and the facts confirm this. France is granting Algeria aid to the sum of 100,000 million francs, part of which—roughly one half—is known as “tied-up” aid. This means that from the designs for factories and projected investments, which the Algerians submit to the French for consideration, the latter will choose whatever suits their own interests. In addition to this aid, scheduled to end by June 1965, France also has footholds in Algeria’s natural resources, particularly oil and gas, which enabled her in 1963 to save \$480 million in foreign currency. The monopoly of commercial freightage, despite the expansion of our trade, brings France a net return of 400 million new francs. As a result of free capital remittances Algeria has lost 168,000 million old francs. In keeping with the agreement on technological aid, there are 19,000 French employees—6,000 administrators and 13,000 school-teachers—in Algeria. Moreover, despite the withdrawal of French troops, France still has military bases in Mers el-Kebir, a missile base in Regane, experimental bases in Colomb-Bechar and Hamaguir, and underground nuclear testing bases in Ain-Ikker.

This economic and military domination of our country is the main obstacle to consolidating our independence, the obstacle to our advance towards socialism.

Another obstacle in this respect is domestic capitalism. The theses of the FLN Congress said: “National capitalism is entrenched primarily in the two sectors of the economy—the big privately-owned agricultural estates and the big commercial enterprises.

The opportunities for political action by national capitalism are not too great provided it is not allowed to unite with the anti-socialist forces abroad, which is bound to be the case should the dynamics of socialist development slacken. . . .

“The effort to consolidate the independence and the struggle to take the socialist road are closely related. Any separating of one from the other would favor the growth and consolidation of the forces hostile to socialism, would dissipate the leading role of the workers and peasants in blocs not based on principle.” Here it is a question of not permitting an alliance between the forces devoted to the socialist revolution and the reactionary forces of the big bourgeoisie.

The same idea was stressed in the documents of the Congress. The theses on the Party say: “. . . the amalgamation of all trends which was indispensable in the armed struggle should be reconsidered in keeping with the aims and perspectives of the socialist revolution. The old amalgamation has served its purpose. Its preservation could cause confusion and lead to unsound compromise. The new problems have engendered irreconcilable inner contradictions.”

Thus, the Congress recognized the fact of class struggle and that this struggle was sharpening.

Nevertheless it should be pointed out that, by virtue of two reasons, the social classes and sections have not yet taken final shape:

1) for a long time the national struggle against the foreign occupation relegated the class struggle to the background;

2) there is no great tradition of conscious class struggle in Algeria. The various classes, the working class excluded, lack as yet a deep awareness of class. Both progressive and conservative features are found in the various classes. In these conditions the role of political leader is exceedingly great, at times even decisive. This is confirmed by the personality of President Ben Bella who heads the government and the FLN party and who enjoys considerable influence.

Why, however, in contrast to other newly-free Afro-Asian countries, has the class differentiation proceeded more rapidly in Algeria? Why did Algeria enter the phase of the socialist revolution so soon?

Primarily because of the political and social weight of the working people and their role in the liberation struggle. The French settler-type colonization destroyed the old state structure in Algeria, expropriated the peasant land and brought about large-scale proletarianization of the urban and rural popula-

tion. The competition of the European bourgeoisie and the influx of French manufactures retarded the rise of a national industry and, likewise, stunted the growth of the Algerian merchant bourgeoisie who had appeared on the scene before the French conquest.

Thus colonization, while it accelerated the growth of the proletariat, retarded the growth of the bourgeoisie. It led to a situation in which the dispossessed worker-peasant masses were able to exert a greater influence on the course of events.

The ideas of Arab regeneration, the democratic ideas of the French revolution of 1789, and, especially, the socialist ideas of the Great October Revolution of 1917 in Russia all have helped to deepen the social consciousness of our working people.

And lastly, the impact of the progress made in the socialist countries has shown the people that their aspirations can be realized.

In April 1962 during the liberation war we wrote: "To those who maintain that by virtue of its geographic position Algeria will fall completely under the sway of the West, i.e., the imperialist powers, we say that proximity to the United States did not prevent Cuba from becoming a socialist republic. The support of the socialist world will place us in a better position to withstand imperialist *diktat* and pressure."

The FLN Congress defined the role played by the classes in Algeria, stressing the leading role of the working people, especially the workers in town and countryside. We totally disagree with those who share the petty-bourgeois theory about the leading role of the peasantry and the view that the "privileged workers have nothing to gain" from the abolition of colonialism.

Every revolutionary recognizes the leading role of the working people in the towns who have as their allies the impoverished peasants whose demands will be met by the future agrarian reform. This reform envisages expropriation of the big landowners, keeping intact the small and medium-sized farms, and the transfer of the confiscated land to the agricultural laborers, land-hungry peasants and those tilling small plots.

These revolutionary forces are joined by the forward-looking intellectuals and the democratic section of the small bourgeoisie. All these sections should be wrested from the influence of the big bourgeoisie and won for the socialist revolution.

The FLN program gives pride of place to economic development. It defines self-administration as the form of socialist construction and sets forth the principal tasks of the tran-

sitional period, in the course of which the socialist sector possessing its own bank, trading and supply bodies should become the motive force of the economic and political life of the country. At the second stage the socialist sector will be extended to the whole country. The private sector, which will be given economic guarantees during the transitional period, should not hinder or retard the development of the self-administered sector. This is a realistic policy.

The Congress reaffirmed the ultimate goal—socialism which will abolish exploitation of man by man, effect the socialization of the means of production in industry and gradual cooperation in agriculture, and give each worker every opportunity for material and intellectual development. From the standpoint of the distribution of wealth the Congress defined socialism according to the formula: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

The state in Algeria, according to the FLN definition, is a new kind of state. Headed by the working people, it is based on the people's committees. The state is defined as an instrument of realizing the unity of the people, managing the country's affairs, and exercising coercion with regard to the reactionary part of the big bourgeoisie and other reactionaries. In fact, the working people have already posed the question of the nature of the state. In their contributions at the Congress devoted to self-administration in industry they exposed bureaucrats who are trying to retard the growth of the self-administered sector, and demanded that the workers should be represented in the machinery of state.

This state has a democratic character, which is manifested through self-administration, in the people's committees, in its justice and in the vanguard party being organized by it. President Ben Bella summed this up as follows: "A new economy, a new state, and a new party," and gave the following definition of socialism: "Equitable distribution of wealth, an equal share in the benefits of culture, and government by the working people."

This definition coincides, in its main aspects, with the characterization of socialism in other countries.

At the same time the Algerian experience has its own specific features, making its contribution to the common fund of the world socialist theory which presupposes a variety of ways of the transition to socialism.

Firstly, our self-administration, in contrast to what was the case, say, in Yugoslavia, appeared spontaneously. It appeared under

mass pressure as the main form of the transition to socialist construction.

Secondly, the socialist revolution in Algeria began when the country had not yet finally broken with French imperialism.

Thirdly, the building of the vanguard party of the socialist revolution did not precede the revolution, it is taking place in the course of its development and realization.

Fourthly, the choice in favor of socialism was made on the basis of socialist theory.

Our Constitution declares socialism as the goal and Islam as the official religion.

Are these contradictory concepts? We do not think so. Marxists never forget that class struggle is the motive force of social development, and that this development takes place in keeping with laws which do not depend on any idealistic definitions.

The bourgeois, feudal, reactionary circles fell back on religious sentiment in their efforts to retard the advance to socialism; but they failed because the Algerian worker's faith in Islam does not prevent him from fighting for socialism.

The history of our revolution has shown that the qualities of a revolutionary are not necessarily determined by whether or not he is a believer. One can be a revolutionary or a reactionary while being a believer or non-believer. The revolutionary is distinguished by the side he takes in the class struggle.

Marxists see the dual aspect of religion: an expression of man's bewilderment caused by his inability to comprehend the secrets of Nature and the oppression weighing down on him, and at the same time his protest against the bewilderment and oppression. Whereas in Algeria Islam dominates the minds of the people, the people themselves, always in motion, are susceptible to the revolutionary contribution of socialism. The revolutionary subjectivity of the masses of believers is neither isolated nor divorced from socialist actions; it is all the more effective because it is verified by experience and it aids the struggle against imperialism and capitalism. There is an antagonism of class between Sheikh Ibrahimi, the theologian opposed to the socialist revolution, and the agricultural laborer, despite the fact that both are believers. The same contradiction is also manifest in their understanding of Islam. In some cases the teacher who is an atheist may not have common interests with the bourgeois freemason, but such interests exist between the religious landless peasant and the non-religious teacher or factory worker.

In considering the role of Islam in Algeria the following should be borne in mind: what

is the class nature of the state in present-day Algeria and how is it likely to change in the future? Algeria is headed by a revolutionary government which is increasingly acting on behalf of the working people. This is the opposite of the situation in, say, Jordan, Saudi Arabia or in any other Arab country where the ruling classes use Islam to impede progress. In Algeria the supporters of socialism and the supporters of Islam should form an alliance as they did during the liberation war, an alliance standing above philosophical differences and showing respect for the philosophical concepts each of the other. It is not a question of reconciling idealism and materialism or of counterposing Islam and socialism.

To indulge in philosophical disputations would be a mistake, because this would divide the socialist revolutionary forces, much to the satisfaction of the reactionaries. Left extremism should be condemned since it too plays into the hands of the reactionaries and does not benefit the revolution. During the liberation war the imperialists, the reactionaries, banked on Islam as the force that would restrain the masses and stand in the way of progress. However, the correct policy of the Marxists and other revolutionaries on the question of Islam and socialism thwarted these designs.

The success of our socialist experience would have an impact on the entire Arab world. It would transfer the struggle for socialism to the proper arena—the arena of the class struggle.

Let us now examine the foreign policy charted by the FLN Congress.

Algeria's foreign policy was formulated in Ben Bella's report and in the General Political Resolution of the Congress. This policy is dictated by internal factors—the movement towards socialism. One of the foreign-policy points in the General Political Resolution reads: foreign aid in training personnel would enable the country quickly to free itself from dependence on imperialism.

In other words, it is a question of aid primarily from the socialist countries. A manifestation of this is the Algeria-Soviet agreement concluded during Ben Bella's visit to Moscow to establish an oil and gas institute in Algeria, despite the opposition of the French oil companies.

Algeria's foreign policy will develop in two directions: towards loosening the enforced ties with imperialism and extending her useful contacts with the socialist countries.

This does not mean that Algeria will not

maintain trade and cultural relations with France and other capitalist countries. The Congress documents noted that the break with foreign capital must be carried out along lines compatible with socialist policy.

The foreign policy of our country is a revolutionary policy. State relations between Algeria and the USSR are complemented with relations between the parties. The joint Soviet-Algeria communique states: "The CPSU and the FLN are united in their desire to devote all their strength, experience and revolutionary energy to the struggle to get rid of the shameful colonial system and liberate the oppressed peoples, to abolish exploitation of man by man and achieve the triumph of socialism."

This policy is revolutionary also in relation to Arab and Maghreb unity. The Congress theses on foreign policy state: "Unity between different countries is of great importance and should be effected in the framework of common ideological, political and economic views in keeping with the interests of the masses."

This realistic policy is based on friendly relations with all peoples, on positive neutrality, on peaceful coexistence and on the struggle against the nuclear danger and for disarmament.

Our country, which sponsored the July 1964 conference for an atom-free zone in the Mediterranean, is showing in practice that the fight for peace and the fight for liberation are two aspects of one and the same struggle.

As defined by the Congress, the instrument of Algeria's foreign and home policy is the party of the National Liberation Front.

The Congress rejected the concept of the Front as an association, as an elite, and adopted the concept of the party as the vanguard of the country's socialist forces.

As regards its social composition the party will be recruited mainly from workers, poor peasants and revolutionary intellectuals. The Congress decided to open the doors to the party to all socialist forces who have not yet joined it, and stressed in this respect the paramount role of the local branches. At its June meeting the Central Committee of the Front took steps to accelerate the process of drawing these forces into the party.

On the question of membership the Congress specified three points, namely, that persons exploiting the labor of others cannot be admitted into the party; property acquired by Front members since November 1, 1954, to be investigated and, finally, elections to be held at all levels with a view to renew-

ing the leadership along democratic lines.

The party will be based on democratic centralism and freedom of criticism.

Thus the concept of a single vanguard party carried the day at the Congress. This concept is dictated, first, by the necessity to crush the counter-revolution which has withdrawn from the political scene (incidentally this motley force has no program) to engage in sabotage and assassination of patriots. The counter-revolution must not be allowed to organize itself, the enemies of socialism must not be given a free hand. Secondly, faced with external and internal danger, coercion and the "dictatorship of the humble" are imperative.

In April 1962 the Communists expressed themselves against the idea of a single party based on a bourgeois-nationalist ideology; such a party would be a bourgeois party, an instrument with which to oppress the working masses and, consequently, could not build socialism. But they stated at the time that given the proper political and social conditions they would wholeheartedly support a single party based on the ideology of the working class, for the Communists seek the abolition of classes and an end to exploitation of man by man. A vanguard party would liberate the entire people and would use coercion only in relation to the agents of the counter-revolution and the exploiters.

The idea of a single party has taken firm root, for such a party corresponds to the present stage of the revolution.

The situation should be examined in the light of the political conditions, which are more favorable than was the case before the Congress. The Congress charted a clear political program, defined the social forces in the country and their role, and the ultimate goal and character of the transitional period. Despite the fact that prior to the Congress the revolutionary movement had no definite program, it had nevertheless made considerable headway.

Hence there is every reason to believe that now, with a clear program, the progress will be less difficult, even though a hard struggle lies ahead.

Our most important ideological gain since independence is the retreat of anti-communism. Ben Bella has declared that anti-communism is incompatible with building socialism. The relations between Communists and members of the Front are steadily improving.

This will lead to the unity of the socialist forces, which will be further welded by the actions of the masses and the Congress de-

cision to bring all the socialist forces into the party. Of course, patient work will have to be carried out to overcome the prejudices still current among our brothers in struggle.

It is in the fight to realize the Congress program that real unity will be achieved.

Unity is the paramount task in the present situation, unity based on the policy outlined by the Congress. Either we achieve this unity and then the triumph of the revolution is ensured, or we fail to achieve it and then the revolution will be in danger.

What are the obstacles in the way of unity? They are the survivals of anti-communism kept alive by the counter-revolution and the opposition to the socialist policy of the Congress and to President Ben Bella, the survivals of sectarianism of all hues and colors.

Outside the country they are the imperialists and their agents.

The factors making for unity are the successes achieved by the FLN and the Congress decision calling for this unification, the fact that *Algier Republicain* has become the organ of the Front, that the working class is playing an ever bigger role in town and countryside, which is the source of the ideological and political headway made of late.

Outside the country the factors making for unity are the friendly relations with the socialist countries and with the international working-class movement.

In a word, the logic of the anti-imperialist struggle outside the country and the struggle for socialism inside impels all true socialists to unite in the vanguard party and, together with the entire country, to work for further success.

The vanguard party is being formed to combat the bourgeoisie and its ideology. Its establishment is part of the development of the revolution itself.

Revolutionaries will also wage the battle in the economic and social spheres, remembering that the forces of reaction suffered their first big defeat in the battle for self-determination.

The struggle will center on ideological issues and on vital issues such as the future agrarian reform. It will show who are the friends of the poor peasant and who their enemies; the differentiation between the exploiters and the poor peasants will be deepened.

In the course of the economic and social development the reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries will be isolated and their

nihilist and anti-national nature exposed. Once the worker, peasant and unemployed man sees for himself that the reactionaries are opposed to any improvement in his standard of living the reactionaries will lose the battle.

The problems of the ideological re-education of the working people must be solved parallel with economic upbuilding. The FLN program, Ben Bella's report and the Congress theses—all stress the importance of ideological education, of organizing the study of the principles of socialism, if reactionary bourgeois ideology is to be eliminated.

The mass organizations should rally with the support of the party all the sound forces of the nation, for it is in organized action that the ideological and political levels of the masses are raised. In building the party two types of mistakes should be avoided: to wait until the party is formed before beginning to act, or to try to build it in a vacuum, divorced from action. It is only in action and through action that the party can be built.

The materials of the Congress show that the bulk of the revolutionary forces are for socialism. But this does not mean that bourgeois ideology is dead, that it no longer exerts any influence, that it will no longer be harmful. Still, good progress has been made in the two years since independence.

The revolutionary of 1964 is he who works steadfastly to realize the program of the Front, undaunted by the difficulties, by the prejudices and by the sectarianism;

—the revolutionary is he who makes every effort to overcome his own prejudices in relation to the other revolutionaries who are of a different school; who combats intolerance and who is able to learn from the mistakes of others;

—the revolutionary is he who strives to advance socialist thought, as the experience of Algeria shows us;

—who rejects the obsolescent even though it is still entrenched, who bases his activity on the new, even though it is just beginning to develop;

—who supports Ben Bella, General Secretary of the party of the National Liberation Front, in the positive and decisive role he is playing in the revolution;

—who subordinates his thoughts and actions to what is vitally important for the socialist revolution, namely, the creation of a vanguard party within the framework of the socialist revolution.

The World Revolutionary Process in the Past 100 Years

(Facts and Figures)

INITIATED by the First International, the world revolutionary movement has in an historically short space of time gained momentous victories in the struggle to free mankind from capitalist exploitation, from social and national oppression. This process is continuing to develop and deepen.

The basic trend of this process is the steady growth of the might and influence of the socialist system and its revolutionizing impact on mankind. Overcoming the resistance of enemies, socialism has taken firm root and is steadfastly marching ahead, winning position after position from capitalism.

While the socialist countries have not yet attained absolute superiority in all areas of human endeavor, and much remains to be done to win in the peaceful economic competition with capitalism, the objective difficulties notwithstanding, their success is mounting year by year, revolutionizing ever bigger sections of the peoples exploited by capitalism and inspiring them to militant struggle against the monopolies and for peace, national freedom, democracy and socialism. The revolutionary process is developing especially rapidly in our days, at the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism.

More than one-third of mankind has already freed itself from exploitation and social oppression.

Almost 2,000 million people have cast off the chains of colonial oppression and direct imperialist rule.

The legion of Communists numbers over 42 million.

Marxism-Leninism has become the banner of struggle for hundreds of millions of working people.

I. THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM

The conquest of political power — for the purpose of accomplishing the socialist revolution —

*Based on materials provided by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by trade unions, official statistics and press items.

tion and abolishing classes — has become the great duty of the proletariat, so reads the Inaugural Address of the First International. The powerful socialist camp is the embodiment and further development of these ideas. More and more it is becoming the decisive factor of social development, showing the peoples new ways and means of advancing to socialism. The family of the socialist countries has been joined by Cuba, Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Burma and a number of other newly-emergent countries come out in favor of the non-capitalist road.

Share of the Socialist Camp in the World
(in percentages)

	Territory	Population	Industrial production
1917	16	8	under 3
1937	17	8	10
1963	26	35.6	38

Percentage of the Socialist Sector in the Economy of the Socialist Countries (1961)

	Gross Industrial output	Farmland	National income
Albania (1960)	99.0	86.0	90.0
Bulgaria	99.2	98.2	90.4
China	100.0	99.1	99.0
Cuba (1963)	95.0	70.0	...
Czechoslovakia	100.0	88.6	99.0
GDR (1962)	88.7	93.2	82.7
Hungary (1960)	97.5	95.6	87.6
Korea (KPDR)	100.00	100.0	100.0
		(head of livestock)	
Mongolia	100.0	79.8	...
Poland	99.4	13.6	73.1
Rumania	99.0	84.5	87.4
USSR	100.0	99.9	99.99
Vietnam (DRV)	79.3	85.3	76.1
Yugoslavia (1962)	100.0	15.0	75.1

Rate of Industrial Growth

	Socialist countries	Capitalist countries
1937-63	almost 8-fold	2.9-fold
1950-62*	almost 4-fold	1.8-fold

*Comecon countries, 3.64 times; Common Market countries, 2.39 times.

Absolute Increase in Industrial Output (1956-62)

	Socialist countries	Capitalist countries
Coal (millions of tons, in terms of hard coal)	579	-18
Oil (millions of tons)	125	314
Electric power (1,000 million kwh)	307	859
Steel (millions of tons)	50	40
Pig iron (millions of tons)	42	25
Cement (millions of tons)	54	74
Raw sugar (millions of tons)	10	4.3

Growth of National Income (1962 in percentage to 1950)

Socialist countries	Non-socialist countries
Albania 300	USA 145
Bulgaria (1961) 290	Canada (1952-61) 149
China (1949-59) 423	Britain 128
Czechoslovakia (1961) 222	France 168
GDR 262	Italy (1952-61) 204.3
Hungary 209	FRG 251
Korea (1949=100) 433	Japan (1952-61) 272.7
Poland 230	India (1951-61) 141.6
Rumania 316	Pakistan (1952-61) 130
USSR 303	Mexico (1952-61) 242
Yugoslavia 240	Guatemala (1952-61) 151

Dynamics of Housing Construction

(increase in the number of flats built per 1,000 of population in 1962 compared with 1953)

Socialist countries	Capitalist countries
USSR +5	USA +0.1
GDR +3.3	FRG -0.5
Hungary +3.6	Britain -0.5
Poland +2	France +3.9
Czechoslovakia +3.1	Italy +3.4
Yugoslavia +3.2	Belgium +0.4

Some Data on Economic and Social Conditions of Workers in the USSR and Developed Capitalist Countries

	Average working week (1961)	Fully unemployed (1962, in thousands)	Legal pension age Men	Legal pension age Women
USSR (1962)	39.4	None since 1930	60	55
USA	40.1	4,013	65	62
FRG	45.5	161	65	65
France	45.9	123	60	60
Britain	47.4	502	65	60
Japan	51.3	400	—	—

Main Indices of Growth of Material and Cultural Standards of Soviet People

(1962 compared with prerevolutionary period)

Number of factory and office workers	5.3 times
National income	26 times
Real income of workers	5.9 times
Real income of peasants	more than 7 times
Urban housing area	6 times
Number of pupils and students	5.7 times
Number of specialists with higher or specialized secondary education	52 times
Number of children in pre-school establishments	1,243 times
Number of doctors (excluding dentists)	19 times
Hospital accommodation	9.4 times
Average life span (1960-61)	more than 2 times
Infant mortality	dropped 8.5 times

In 1960-61 the number of school pupils in the socialist countries exceeded 163 million, twice the 1949-50 number.

The USSR has twice as many engineers employed in the national economy and trains three times more engineers than the United States.

II. INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

"... The emancipation of the working classes must be won by the working classes themselves," is the guiding principle of the working-class movement formulated by the First International.

Numerical Growth of Industrial Workers in Highly Developed Capitalist Countries (Britain, USA, France, Germany)

Mid-19th century	— less than 9 million
Early 20th century	— about 30 million
Mid-20th century	— almost 60 million

Wage and salary earners in all developed capitalist countries total approximately 180 million or more than 70 per cent of the gainfully employed population. In the past decade the number of factory and office workers in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America has grown by over 40 million.

Strikes in the Capitalist Countries

1919-39	177,400 strikes
	80.8 million strikers
1946-63	247,400 strikes
	222.6 million strikers

The Inaugural Address of the First International characterized the Ten Hours' Bill won by the British working class after thirty years of stubborn struggle as the first instance when "in broad daylight the political economy of the middle class succumbed to the political economy of the working class." The First International considered an 8-hour working day a precondition without which all further attempts to improve the condition of the workers and achieve their emancipation were doomed to failure. Since then the working people of the capitalist countries have won not only legislation on the eight-hour day but also considerable extension of their economic and social rights — pensions, paid holidays, labor protection, temporary disability benefits, and so on. In many capitalist countries the workers are now fighting for a 40-hour week.

Action on an industrial and nation-wide scale is now becoming a law of the strike movement, which thus acquires greater political significance.

Dynamics of Strike Movement in Capitalist Countries (millions of strikers)

	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Developed capitalist countries	13.5	16.0	43-46	41-43	42-44
Latin America	9-10	18-20	9-10	7-8	13-17
Asia with- out Japan)	about 2.0	over 1.0	1.5	over 1.0	about 1.0
Africa	0.4	0.3	0.4	about	0.3
Total	25-27	35-37	54-58	50-53	56-62
Participants in political strikes	11-12	16-18	41-45	30-33	35-40

Growth of Working-Class Organization

At the time when the First International set

the trade unions the task of learning to act consciously as the organizing centers of the working class, the British trade unions, then the biggest associations of the workers, united hardly three per cent of the working class. In 1913 there were 15 million trade unionists in the world.

At present organized workers number more than 200 million, which is 40 per cent of the world working class. In the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America the trade unions have 90 million members, who make up roughly 30 per cent of all wage and salary earners.

The Communist Movement

Organizing the working class into "a distinct political party, opposed to all the parties formed by the possessing classes" was emphasized by the First International as the essential condition for the victory of the social revolution. The first step towards forming such a party was the Communist League founded by Marx and Engels in 1847. But, uniting revolutionary groups in a few West European countries with a total membership of hardly 400, it was not a mass organization. The International, with a membership of tens of thousands of workers, was the first international proletarian mass organization. It had sections in many countries in Europe and in the USA. It laid the foundation of the present world Communist movement.

Today, Marxist-Leninist parties with a membership of upwards of 42 million and supported by hundreds of millions of working people are active in more than 90 countries.

Dynamics of Growth of the Communist Movement

Year	Number of parties	Total Membership	In non-socialist countries
1928	46	1,680,000	443,000
1935	61	3,141,000	785,000
1957	75	33 million	about 4.6 million
1960	87	over 36 million	over 5.3 million
1963	90	42.8 million	over 6 million

Twenty-six of the 28 new Marxist-Leninist parties formed in the last 25 years were founded in developing states: 11 in non-socialist Asian countries, 9 in Latin America and 6 in Africa.

Communist Party Membership in Non-Socialist Countries

	1939*	1957	1963
Europe	about 500,000	over 2.5 mill.	over 3 mill.
Asia	over 20,000	over 1.7 mill.	over 2.5 mill.
America	about 180,000	215,000	over 250,000
Africa	about 5,000	over 20,000	over 50,000
Australia and Oceania	about 5,000	6,500	over 7,500

*Excluding countries now belonging to the socialist system.

Votes Polled in Parliamentary Elections by the Biggest Communist Parties in Capitalist Countries

Italy	1958	6.7 million (22.7 per cent)
	1963	7.8 million (25.3 per cent)
India	1957	12.0 million (10.5 per cent)
	1962	11.5 million (10.1 per cent)
France	1958	3.9 million (18.9 per cent)
	1962	over 4 million (21.9 per cent)
Finland (Democratic Alliance)	1958	450,400 (23.2 per cent)
	1962	507,100 (22.1 per cent)
Japan	1960	1.2 million (2.9 per cent)
	1963	1.6 million (4.0 per cent)

More than 35 million people cast their votes for Communists in capitalist countries where the Communist parties are legal and take part in elections. In practically 40 capitalist countries the Communist parties are outlawed and forced to work underground.

III. THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The First International stressed that it was the duty of the working class to combat national oppression. Today the struggle of the oppressed peoples, supported by the socialist countries and the international working-class movement, has led to the disintegration — mainly on the political plane — of the colonial system created by imperialism.

The former colonial peoples have to decide on the way of their further development and tackle the task of shaking off the monopoly yoke and ridding themselves of the hangovers of colonialism. More and more countries, upon winning political independence, proclaim socialism to be their goal.

Colonies and Semi-Colonies

	Population		Territory	
	mln. people	% to world total	mln. km ²	% to world total
1919	1,230	69.2	104.5	77.2
1938	1,373	63.6	80.3	59.9
Early 1964	40.2	1.3	6.9	5.2

Sovereign States in 1962

	Population		Territory	
	mln.	%%	mln. km ²	%%
In place of former colonies	872.7	27.1	35.5	26.3
In place of former semi-colonies	1,018.7	32.3	38.1	28.9
Total	1,891.4	59.4	73.6	55.2

As we see, after the Second World War imperialism lost domination over countries inhabited by nearly 2,000 million people, or almost two-thirds of mankind.

Whereas at the outset, the disintegration of the colonial system proceeded comparatively slowly, and the peoples had to take to arms to win independence, later, with the existence of the socialist world system and the growing preponderance of the anti-imperialist forces, the process quickened and most diverse forms of struggle were developed. Of the 52 states that have emerged in the postwar 37 achieved independence in the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism, and most of them did so by peaceful means. The year 1960 alone saw the proclamation of the independence of 17 African states.

Colonialist Heritage

(Standard of living in countries of the capitalist system)

	Developing countries	Developed countries
Annual per capita income (U.S. dollars)	60	800
Food consumption (calories per day)	1,850	3,140
Literacy (%%)	13.5	98.5
Number of doctors (per 100,000 of population)	8	102
Life span	35	65

Political independence has enabled the former colonial countries to reach the average rate of growth of the capitalist countries. The average annual increase of gross output in the developing countries grew from one per cent before the Second World War to four per cent in the 1960's.

On the whole, however, the gap in the levels of economic development, far from shrinking, continues to widen. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the emergent countries will be able to overtake the economically developed states in an historically brief space of time only by taking the road of non-capitalist development, that is, by taking the socialist way.

In a number of new states the content of the social changes is going beyond the boundaries of the anti-imperialist general democratic revolution. State regulation and elements of economic planning restricting capitalist anarchy are seen in roughly 40 of the developing countries.

Socialist Aid to the Developing Countries

The socialist system is helping the emergent states in building about 900 industrial and other projects; of these 480 are being erected with Soviet help and more than 400 with the aid of Czechoslovakia, GDR, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania. The Soviet Union is giving economic and technological aid to 23 Asian, African and Latin American countries. At the end of 1961, 15 countries were receiving aid from Czechoslovakia, 12 from Poland, 9 from Hungary, 8 from Bulgaria, and 6 from Rumania.

Soviet credits, granted on much easier terms than those of the capitalist countries, total 3,000 million new rubles. Credits granted in 1953-61 by Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, the GDR, Bulgaria and Hungary amounted to 600 million rubles.

The Soviet Union is assisting in the construction of 34 iron and steel and non-ferrous metals plants, more than 30 metal-working and engineering enterprises, over 20 oil refineries and chemical plants, 20 electric power stations and 63 educational establishments.

Much aid has been granted by the socialist countries for training specialists. For instance, more than 12,000 young people from newly-free countries are studying in the Soviet Union alone.

IV. OTHER WORKING-CLASS ORGANIZATIONS

The World Federation of Trades Unions, which has a membership of 120 million, is the biggest and most representative organization of the working people. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, where Social Democratic influence is predominant, has 57 million members. There are 6 million members in the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions. In addition, 17 million workers belong to the so-called autonomous trade unions not affiliated to any of the three main international trade union centers. The All-African Federation of Trade Unions and the African Trade Union Confederation unite considerable members on the African continent.

The Socialist International has 25 member-parties, 16 of which are active in the West European countries. The Asian Socialist Conference affiliated to it is composed of 11 parties with a total membership of about 500,000. Socialist parties not affiliated to the Socialist International exist in Brazil, Colombia, Peru, Chile, Uruguay, Ecuador, and also in Australia, the Netherlands, Italy, France, Finland, Norway, Israel and other countries.

Special importance attaches to the principle of the world revolutionary movement proclaimed by the First International: *unity of its class-conscious members and concerted action by its contingents*. Addressing the trade unions of Great Britain and Ireland, the General Council of the International Working Men's Association wrote in 1868: "*The Association does not compete with any of the existing labor organizations and does not oppose them. On the contrary, its aim is to utilize and expand the influence of these organizations in all countries and ensure mutual understanding and unity of action among them*" (emphasis ours). That is why the centenary of the First International is celebrated today by the entire working-class movement and progressive forces everywhere. The Communists, direct heirs of the First International, see in it the great example of the breadth of Marxist thought, which has succeeded in uniting the efforts of working-class organizations of the most diverse trends.

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