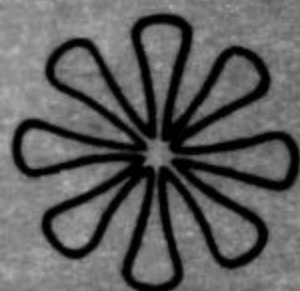


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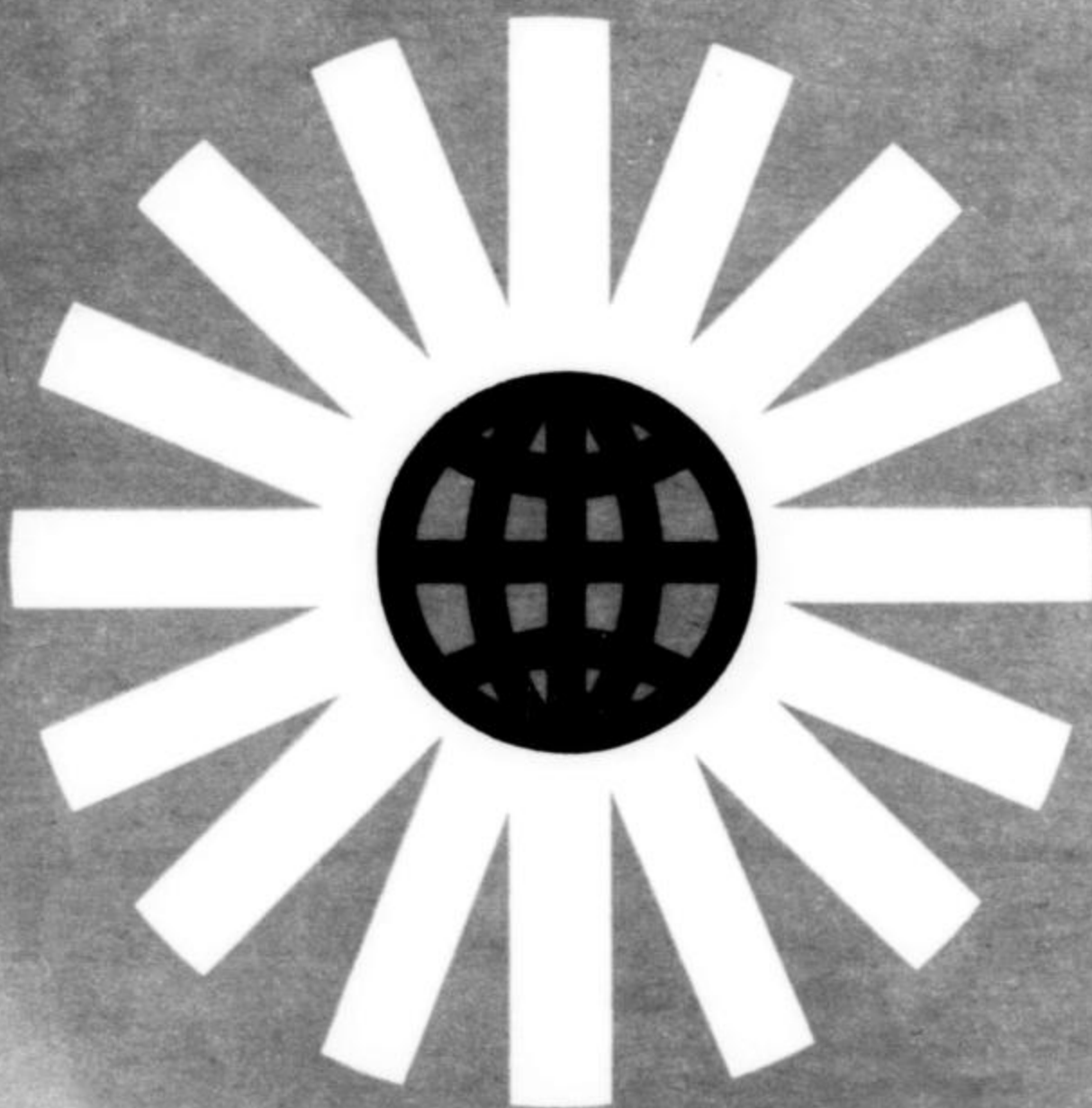
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CENTENARY**

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CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN

THESES* OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

April 22, 1970, marks the birth centenary of Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov-Lenin, brilliant continuer of the revolutionary teaching of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, leader of the greatest social revolution and architect of the world's first socialist state, leader of the international working class, of all working people.

A whole revolutionary epoch in the life of mankind is associated with the name and activities of Lenin. Lenin gave answers to the most burning questions posed by history, comprehensively developed the theory of socialist revolution and the building of communist society, provided the Russian and the entire international revolutionary movement with a scientifically grounded strategy and tactics, and headed the working-class struggle for translating the ideals of socialism into life. Socialism, turned by Marx and Engels from a utopia into a science and enriched by Lenin with new conclusions and discoveries, has been embodied in social practice on a world scale and has grown into the main revolutionary force of our time.

Since the very beginning of his revolutionary activities Lenin firmly adopted the positions of Marxism, its revolutionary critical spirit, creative and active character, and proletarian internationalism. He devoted all his life to the cause of emancipation of the working class, all working people from exploitation and oppression, to the cause of socialist revolution and the building of a new, communist society.

Lenin carried forward and multiplied the theoretical legacy of his great teachers in relation to the new historical conditions. He vigorously fought against attempts to turn the Marx-Engels doctrine into a stark, dead dogma, Lenin wrote: "We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists *must* develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life." (*Coll. Works, Engl. Ed., Vol. 4, pp. 211-212.*) Lenin saw in the creative development of Marxism an

essential condition for the effectiveness of a revolutionary teaching, a key to the theoretical and practical solution of the pressing tasks of the working class, an important means of combating Right-wing and "Left-wing opportunism, dogmatism and revisionism of all shades.

V. I. Lenin was a political leader of a new type, a scholar, tribune and propagandist, an organizer of the broad masses of the people. His distinguishing features are a profound scientific approach in the analysis of current events, a sober assessment of the correlation and alignment of class forces, consistency and firmness in upholding Marxist principles, purposefulness in action, flexibility in the tactics of the struggle, and devoted service to the interests and goals of the proletarian movement.

The elaboration of the theory and scientific policy was closely linked up by Lenin with the study and summing up of the experience gained by the people in their struggle. He sought and found in the experience of millions answers to the topical issues of the working-class movement. An unexcelled strategist and tactician of the class proletarian struggle, Lenin was closely associated with the working people, proceeded from their vital interests, constantly felt the pulse of life of the people, and carefully studied the social psychology of the workers and peasants, of all strata of society, taking all this into account in the elaboration of political solutions.

Lenin's life was one of constant endeavor. It was a life of creative thought and unflagging revolutionary action, of ideological and political battle. Lenin was the incarnation of the most salient features of a proletarian revolutionary. He had a powerful mind, a will that overcame all obstacles, a sacred hatred of slavery and oppression, revolutionary passion, consistent internationalism, boundless faith in the creative forces of the masses, immense organizational genius. The life and activities of Lenin merged with the struggle of the working class and the Communist Party.

The activities of Lenin and his teaching tremendously influenced the Russian and international liberation movements, imparting to them an ideological and revolutionary aspiration and organization.

Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the epoch of the collapse of colonialism and the victory of national-liberation movements, the epoch of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and the building of a communist society.

"All the experience of world socialism and of the working class and national-liberation movement," says the Address of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties on the Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, "has confirmed the world significance of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. The victory of the socialist revolution in a group of countries, the emergence of

the world socialist system, the gains of the working-class movement in capitalist countries, the appearance of peoples of former colonial and semi-colonial countries in the arena of socio-political development as independent agents, and the unprecedented upsurge of the struggle against imperialism—all this is proof that Leninism is historically correct and expresses the fundamental needs of the modern age."

The main element in Lenin's approach to social developments and processes is an organic unity of scientific objectivity and their principled assessment from working-class positions. Leninism provided Marxist-Leninists, all true revolutionaries, with methods of revolutionary thinking and revolutionary action. It is constantly enriched by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the international communist movement on the basis of experience gained in socialist and communist construction, of the living practice of the liberation movement.

Relying on the ideological legacy of Lenin, the Communist parties are carrying out extensive creative work and uncompromisingly combating present-day bourgeois ideology, the Right and "Leftist" revisionist distortions of revolutionary theory. Marxism-Leninism is a great international teaching. Any attempts to undermine the unity of Marxism-Leninism, artificially to split it into different national or regional "variants" invariably culminate in a revision of the principles of the working-class revolutionary teaching which is uniform in nature and is the property of all Communists, all revolutionary workers, all working people.

Observing the birth Centenary of Lenin, the Soviet people, the peoples of the socialist countries, the international working class, all progressive mankind again and again turn to the ideas and deeds of the leader of the world proletariat and all working people, the great revolutionary and Communist who headed the revolutionary forces, implementing sweeping social reforms in the interests of the laboring masses.

Observing the birth centenary of Lenin, the Soviet people, the peoples of the socialist countries, the international working class, all progressive humanity express sincere admiration for the brilliant thinker. Lenin was the greatest scholar in revolution and a revolutionary in science, who had discovered a new stage in the development of Marxist theory that enriched all the component parts of Marxism—philosophy, political economy and scientific communism.

Observing the birth centenary of Lenin, the Soviet people, the peoples of the socialist countries, the international working class, all revolutionary fighters, are reviewing their forces, defining the prospects and tasks of their activity, and consolidating their militant unity in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

I.

V. I. LENIN—FOUNDER OF A PROLETARIAN PARTY OF A NEW TYPE, THEORIST AND LEADER OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

1. At the borderline of two centuries world capitalism entered its last, imperialist stage. A revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism became the vital need of social development. A turning point set in in world history. The international proletariat appeared as the social force called upon and able to head the struggle for the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, for a radical transformation of social life. It fell to the lot of the Russian detachment of the international proletariat led by the Party of Bolsheviks which Lenin had founded to begin accomplishing this lofty mission. In Leninism, which summed up the practice of the entire labor movement after Marx and Engels and evolved new forms of proletarian struggle and organization, the international working class acquired a potent theoretical instrument, a comprehensively elaborated ideology and program of revolutionary action.

Early in the 20th century Russia was the knot of contradictions of world imperialism. It contained all the typical socio-economic antagonisms of the world of that time: between labor and capital, between developing capitalism and considerable vestiges of feudalism and serfdom, between the highly advanced industrial areas and backward outlying districts. These antagonisms were rendered particularly acute by the political, spiritual and national oppression practised by tsarist autocracy. The social problems facing the country—the abolition of landlord oppression, emancipation of working people from capitalist bondage and national oppression, and the need of socialist reforms—were also the main problems in many other states.

Russia was a country with a medium level of development of capitalism which was intensively growing into a monopoly phase. Sharp contrasts were a characteristic feature of its reality: an agrarian country with a predominantly rural population, Russia was nonetheless distinguished for its high degree of concentration of industrial production and revolutionary organization of the working class. One of the largest world powers, it was invariably a participant in the feuding imperialist blocs, remaining, however, dependent on more advanced capitalist states. Russian culture gave the world classical samples of literature, art and science, while three quarters of the country's population were illiterate.

Tsarism and the landlord and bourgeois quarters of Russia strove to preserve the system of social relations which had outlived its day. The workers ruthlessly exploited by capital, the peasants oppressed by the landowners, and the oppressed peoples of the out-

lying national districts were rising to the struggle against the bourgeois-landlord system. Russia proved to be the weakest link in the world system of imperialism. In these conditions the working-class struggle for a democratic and socialist development of the country assumed a world historic significance. In the words of Marx and Engels, Russia was an advanced detachment of the revolutionary movement in Europe.

The working class, being the main revolutionary force of society, rallied all the exploited and ever more widely developed the fight against the tsarist autocracy and the bourgeoisie. Concentrated at large enterprises in industrial areas, the proletariat was undergoing a rich school of revolutionary tempering under the guidance of the Marxist Party. Reformist and other alien trends were being overcome and the experience and the best revolutionary traditions of the world proletariat were used fruitfully in the course of sharp class struggles.

From the initial steps of its political struggle the proletariat of Russia was able to rely on a scientific theory of the liberation movement—the teaching of Marx and Engels. The ground for the apprehension and application of Marxism in Russia was prepared by its socio-economic development, the acute class contradictions, and revolutionary traditions going back to the peasant revolts, the activities of A. N. Radishchev and the Decembrists, A. I. Hertzen, N. G. Chernishevsky and other democrats of the 60s, and revolutionary Narodniks of the 70s of the last century.

The first Russian Marxists led by G. V. Plekhanov began in the eighties active work to spread Marxist ideas. The finest representatives of the revolutionary intelligentsia, together with the more class-conscious workers, brought Marxist ideas into the proletarian movement.

The credit for combining scientific socialism with the mass workers' movement, for developing Marxist theory in the new conditions and embodying it in the practice of socialist revolution and socialist construction goes to the Party of Bolsheviks led by Lenin.

2. Lenin considered that the formation and strengthening of a revolutionary working-class party was decisive for the success of a socialist revolution. He saw in the proletarian party a potent lever capable of "transforming Russia."

The formation of the Party was preceded by enormous ideological and theoretical work by Lenin, his criticism of petty-bourgeois Narodnik socialism and uncompromising struggle against reformist and other opportunist trends. Without such cleansing effort it would have been impossible to combine Marxism with the liberation

movement and to establish an independent class line of the proletariat.

The founding of the Party of Bolsheviks, a party of a new type, signified the victory of a Marxist, truly revolutionary trend in the labor movement of Russia. For the first time in the history of the international socialist movement the program of a working-class party contained the demand for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the need of which for building a new society was theoretically proved by Marx and Engels and then thoroughly substantiated by Lenin. The Party headed the struggle of Russia's proletariat, the revolutionary masses against tsarist autocracy and capitalism.

Summing up the vast experience of the revolutionary movement Lenin, in *What Is To Be Done?, One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* and other works, evolved an integral teaching on the proletarian party of a new type. He believed that the party should be the vanguard of the proletariat, its organized detachment and supreme form of political organization. It is called upon to help the self-determination of the working class, the realization and accomplishment by it of its world historic mission. Lenin stressed that there could be no revolutionary movement without a revolutionary theory, that only a party equipped with an advanced theory could play the part of a foremost fighter.

V. I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks rejected the attempts to turn the Party into a talking club, into a kind of conglomeration of factions and groupings. Lenin and the Bolsheviks saw the decisive condition for the strength of the Party in the monolithic cohesion of its ranks, in the inadmissibility of activities aimed at undermining its unity and weakening its iron discipline.

The Bolshevik Party was set up, grew and developed as a party of true proletarian internationalists. It is profoundly internationalist in its ideology, composition and the nature of its activity. Uniting in its ranks the proletariat of a multinational country, the Bolshevik Party has been, ever since its foundation, an inalienable component part of a single whole, a militant contingent of the international communist movement.

The most complicated tasks which the Bolsheviks had to resolve under Lenin's guidance were to evolve and perfect the means and methods of working-class struggle and to equip the Party with a revolutionary strategy and tactics. Lenin worked consistently for the organization of a militant proletarian party. He resolutely exposed the opportunist practices of the parties of the 2nd International which were gradually becoming parties of social reforms and growing into the political system of bourgeois society, confining their activity to legal, primarily parliamentary methods. The

Bolsheviks set the example of ably combining legal and illegal, parliamentary and non-parliamentary, peaceful and non-peaceful methods of struggle, applying these methods flexibly, depending on circumstances. The Bolsheviks did not renounce the fight for reform but they always made this struggle, just as their entire activity, serve the aims of preparing the revolution.

Lenin regarded the struggle on two fronts—against the Right and “Left” varieties of opportunism and revisionism—as an indispensable condition for the successful activity of the Marxist Party, for the development and victories of the working-class movement.

Throughout his revolutionary activity Lenin fought relentlessly against the trends that were using the Marxist flag as a cover but were actually hostile to scientific socialism. He thoroughly criticized the bourgeois-liberal substance of the reformism of the “legal Marxists” and “economists.” Upholding and defending the revolutionary principles of Marxism, the Party and Lenin fought Menshevism, the most dangerous opportunist trend inside the Russian working-class movement, tooth and nail, and sharply criticized the opportunism of the Right-wing socialist leaders in the international arena. At the same time, Lenin resolutely rejected the petty-bourgeois “ultra-revolutionariness” which ignored the realistic conditions of the class struggle and egged on the proletariat to political gambles, dooming the working-class movement to defeat.

The setting up of the Bolshevik Party marked the beginning of a new stage in the Russian and international working-class movement. For the first time the proletariat obtained an organization capable in the new historic conditions of successfully leading its struggle for social emancipation.

3. The period in which capitalism entered its imperialist stage and the proletarian movement acquired a mass scale called for a further development of the Marxist theory, and the working out of a revolutionary strategy and tactics that would accord with the new historic conditions.

Comparing the Russian economic reality with the trends of world capitalism, Lenin, in his fundamental work, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, showed the increasing aggravation of the socio-economic antagonism in town and country, thoroughly analyzed the changes in the class structure of society and indicated the real allies of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions. He showed convincingly that the peasantry was destined to play a role of utmost importance in the revolutionary struggle, together with the chief motive force of the revolution—the working class.

V. I. Lenin proved that by their social standing and struggle for the abolition of landlord land ownership, the toiling peasantry were

objectively interested not only in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, but in the overthrow of the power of capital as well, for only socialism could radically solve the agrarian problem. Lenin studied the main trends of world agrarian capitalist evolution and the process of the class stratification in the countryside, determined the attitude of the working class to various sections of the peasantry at different stages of the revolution and created a comprehensive theory and program on the agrarian question.

In his book, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, and in other works, Lenin, on the basis of an analysis of the experience of the Russian revolution of 1905 and the European working-class movement, proved that from now on the hegemony in the struggle for emancipation was passing to the proletariat and that the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in which it was allied with all the peasantry, had inevitably to grow into the hegemony of the proletariat in the socialist revolution, with its alliance with the country poor and all the exploited masses of town and country. ". . . From the democratic revolution we shall at once . . . begin to pass to the socialist revolution. We stand for uninterrupted revolution," Lenin wrote, "We shall not stop halfway." (Vol. 9, pp. 236-237,)

This conclusion upset the traditional Social-Democratic dogma by which a long period of domination by capitalism had to follow the bourgeois revolution. Lenin showed that in the epoch of imperialism the solution of democratic and socialist tasks had drawn nearer, and that in these conditions the policy of the proletariat's alliance with the middle sections of the population in the struggle for democracy and socialism was of particular importance. The development of revolutionary events in Russia and other countries corroborated Lenin's foresight.

Lenin had done a service to history by creating a scientific theory of imperialism, by studying its nature, contradictions and laws. Lenin's analysis of imperialism in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and in other works is a direct continuation and further development of the ideas of Marx's *Capital*. Lenin proved that the monopoly stage of capitalism is its final stage, the eve of socialist revolution. The comprehensive analysis of the new phase in world history enabled Lenin to determine the tremendous potentials of the revolutionary movement in the epoch of imperialism.

Having discovered the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism at its imperialist stage, Lenin arrived at the conclusion that different countries would come to socialism at different times and that the imperialist front may be breached not necessarily in a country with the highest level of development.

That conclusion was a new word in the science of Marxism. It radically changed the notion of the conditions of victory of the new system and opened up a clear prospect of struggle to the Russian and international proletariat. In those days, Lenin already foresaw the main processes of social development as a result of the victory of socialism in one or several countries and the inevitability of a struggle between the two systems in the world arena.

Lenin thoroughly elaborated the national question as applicable to the new historic conditions, and advanced and substantiated the idea of combining the proletarian class struggle with the struggle for the abolition of national oppression, the struggle for socialism with the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples.

The need to comprehend the new historical processes and perfect the Marxist methodology, the tasks of the ideological struggle, demanded that the Bolshevik Party and its leader most thoroughly analyze the topical philosophical problems. Lenin's works, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, *Philosophical Notebooks*, and others developed and enriched the ideas contained in the works of Marx and Engels on dialectical and historical materialism. Lenin "sorted out" philosophically the new scientific problems that had accumulated after Marx and Engels, defended and developed the basic principles of the Marxist world outlook and method, and thoroughly criticized the idealistic and metaphysical concepts.

Lenin's further elaboration of materialist dialectics, his study of the theory of cognition of dialectical materialism and his idea of the unity of natural science and philosophy are of everlasting importance. Lenin was the first thinker of the century to see in the achievements of natural science of his time the beginning of a tremendous scientific revolution, to disclose and generalize philosophically the revolutionary meaning of the fundamental discoveries made by the great explorers of Nature. He provided a brilliant philosophical interpretation of the new scientific data in the period of the drastic "breaking of principles" in the leading fields of natural science. His idea of the inexhaustibility of matter has become the general principle of natural scientific cognition.

V. I. Lenin comprehensively studied the dialectics of social development, the interaction of economics and politics, the interconnection of social being and social consciousness, and much else. The elaboration by Lenin of the problems of social development was closely aligned with the requirements of revolutionary practice and ideological struggle. Lenin's criticism of subjectivism in philosophy and sociology dealt a decisive blow at the ideological sources of political voluntarism and adventurism. Lenin's attacks on the concepts of fatalism and spontaneity as the theoretical basis of the tactics of Right-wing opportunism were of prime importance.

Emphasizing the determinative significance of the objective conditions and trends of social development, Lenin always combined the depth of a scientific analysis of historical circumstances with the most resolute recognition of the significance of the revolutionary energy, initiative, class-consciousness and organization of the masses, classes and parties, as well as the activity of individuals. His dialectical mind found new possibilities for expediting the revolutionary process, connected with the operation of the subjective factor in the conditions when the general prerequisites for replacing capitalism by socialism had already matured. Lenin teaches that in such a situation the working people's readiness and ability for revolutionary actions, their class-consciousness, organization and experience in struggle become the decisive requisite for the success of the revolution.

4. The revolutionary-transformative role of Marxist-Leninist theory and its unity with revolutionary practice in the activity of the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin were brilliantly manifested in the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Revolution of February 1917 overthrew the tsarist autocracy and put the bourgeoisie in power. The working class was faced with the practical task of going over to a new stage of the struggle—the winning of political power, the struggle for socialism. Lenin equipped the Party and the working class with a concrete plan for the transition to socialist revolution. In the April Theses, in the documents prepared for the April Conference and the 6th Party Congress, in his articles and statements, Lenin put forth strategic and tactical slogans which had immense mobilizing power. "The specific feature of the present situation in Russia," he pointed out, "is that the country is *passing* from the first stage of the revolution—which, owing to the insufficient class-consciousness and organization of the proletariat, placed power in the hands of the bourgeoisie—to its *second* stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants." (Vol. 24, p. 22.)

The Bolsheviks were moving towards the socialist revolution with a clear-cut program of preventing national disaster on the brink of which the country had found itself owing to the criminal policy of tsarism and the exploiter classes. The Bolsheviks came out as a party not only of destroyers of the old, but also as builders of a new society. *The State and Revolution*, *The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It*, *Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?* and other Lenin works of that period were for the Party an effective program of socio-political and economic transformations.

The clarity of the program directions and the consistency of their implementation enabled the Bolsheviks to wrest a considerable sec-

tion of the followers of the conciliatory Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary parties from their influence, to win the majority of the working people to their side and to build up a political army of the socialist revolution. The struggle of the working class for socialism, the nationwide movement for peace, the peasants' struggle for land and the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of Russia merged into a single stream.

In the period between February and October 1917, the Bolshevik Party with Lenin at its head set an example in the use of various forms and methods of class struggle, their able combination and change, and the choice of the most effective of them at each given moment. By this comprehensive elaboration of the teaching on the revolutionary situation and armed uprising Lenin made an outstanding contribution to Marxist theory.

The Party led the masses to the storming of capitalism precisely when the necessary objective and subjective conditions had arisen, when the nationwide crisis had matured and when the mind, the will and the passion of tens of millions of people had already been prepared for the storm by the entire course of the struggle. Guided by Lenin, the Bolshevik Party effected in practice the Marxist demand to regard uprising as an art.

The Great October Socialist Revolution set the world an example in the solution of radical social problems: the overthrow of the power of the exploiters and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the conversion of the private property of the bourgeoisie and landlords into public socialist property, the just solution of the agrarian problem in the peasants' favor, the liberation of the dependent peoples from colonial and national oppression, and the creation of political and economic prerequisites for the building of socialism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was the first victorious act of the world socialist revolution. It changed radically the political and socio-economic aspect of one of the biggest powers, elevated the international liberation movement onto a higher plane, "has charted the road to socialism for the whole world," Lenin wrote, "and has shown the bourgeoisie that their triumph is coming to an end." (Vol. 28, p. 44.) A new chapter in world history had begun.

II.

SOCIALISM—EMBODIMENT OF THE IDEAS OF LENINISM

5. The theoretical and practical problems of socialist construction, and the prospects for the development of the world revolution occupied the central place in Leninism after the victory of the October Revolution. The epochal, historic service rendered by Lenin, by the

Bolshevik Party is that they headed the setting up of the world's first socialist society. The successful building of socialism in the USSR, and the emergence of other countries on the road of socialism are the real embodiment of the Marx-Engels-Lenin teachings.

The socialist transformations in Russia marked the beginning of the revolutionary change of the social makeup of the planet, and created a reliable state foundation for the international liberation movement. The Soviet example had a tremendous revolutionizing impact on the rest of the world. From now on, Lenin said, the struggle between the two camps—socialist and capitalist—forms the axis of world politics, of all relations among peoples.

The very difficult problem which the Soviet Republic had to tackle at the outset was to bridge the gap between the greatness of the tasks confronting it and the material and cultural poverty. An advanced political system firmly took shape, and social ownership of the basic means of production was established. However, small-scale commodity farming prevailed in the country, and the technical and economic backwardness, aggravated by the devastating consequences of the First World War, the Civil War and foreign intervention, was making itself felt. In these conditions, the question of the ways and means of the socialist development of our country acquired exceptional acuteness.

V. I. Lenin believed that the country had everything, in abundance, necessary for the building of socialist society. He was fully confident of the tremendous organizing strength of the new, workers' and peasants' power, of the inexhaustible creative potential of the revolutionary masses. Lenin's understanding of the problems of socialist construction is scientifically substantiated and set forth in such of his works as: *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*; "Left-Wing" Childishness and Petty-Bourgeois Mentality; *A Great Beginning*; *Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*; *The Tax in Kind*; *On Co-operation*; *Our Revolution*; *How We Should Reorganize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection*, and *Better Fewer, but Better*.

The "Left Communists," Trotskyites, upheld different positions, hostile to those of Lenin. The "Left Communists" set forth the adventurist demand of an immediate introduction of communist principles, without preparing the necessary economic basis. As for the Trotskyites, they declared that it was hopeless to think that revolutionary Russia could hold out against a conservative Europe, that socialism could triumph in the USSR only after a socialist revolution in the Western countries. The Party rejected these capitulatory views, and adopted Lenin's plan for the upbuilding of a new society.

Lenin taught that the substance of socialism lay in the transition of the means of production into the hands of the people, in the

replacement of the capitalist system of economy by production under a general plan in the interests of all members of society. Such a transition cannot take place without a democratic organization of all forces of working people, without their active participation in the affairs of the state. Socialism presupposes work without capitalists, with the strictest control by state and public organizations over the measure of labor and consumption.

V. I. Lenin ridiculed those who expected an overnight appearance of a certain, ready-made, ideal society, free of contradictions and difficulties. Socialism is a qualitatively new system, fundamentally differing from exploiter societies. At the same time, it is the initial phase of a communist formation, following in the wake of capitalism, and, therefore, still bearing its "birthmarks." The development of socialism is a complicated process of transition from lower forms of its social organization to the highest, depending on "what might be called the stages of the economic maturity of communism." (Vol. 25, p. 471.)

Tackling initially the creative tasks of the revolution, the working class of Russia embarked on an unexplored road and came up against incredible difficulties and obstacles. The Communist Party—the inspirer and organizer of creative work on an unheard-of scale—had at each step to find answers to questions which had never before been resolved by anyone.

The new society in the country was set up in a hostile capitalist encirclement. Lenin warned that this encirclement, exerting military, political, economic and ideological pressure, would not terminate the attempts to restore capitalism, or, at least, retard the growth of the publicly owned economy, the shaping of the new way of life, and the development of a socialist consciousness.

Historical experience teaches that the building of socialism always comes up against the stubborn resistance of the overthrown exploiter classes, of the forces and traditions of the old world. The proletarian state has to suppress the subversive activity of the bourgeoisie, of the enemies of socialism, to overcome the political waverings of the petty-bourgeois strata of town and countryside, and a part of the old intelligentsia. Not only the outright restoration forces, but also all kinds of Right and "Left" revisionist elements were exponents of these trends in the ideological and political field.

The attacks of the Trotskyite opposition against the Party, against Lenin's ideological legacy, were particularly intensive after Lenin's death. They were loudly acclaimed and backed by the direct enemies of Soviet power, and coincided with the attacks by the most aggressive forces of the capitalist encirclement. Eventually, the Trotskyites slid down to the road of counter-revolution and anti-Sovietism.

The entire Party, headed by its Central Committee, rose in defense

of Leninism. It ideologically exposed and organizationally routed Trotskyism. The same fate was suffered by the Right-wing opportunists, who revised the general line of the Party in a spirit of bourgeois ideology, and who opposed high rates of industrialization, collectivization of agriculture, and the elimination of the kulaks as a class.

Abiding by Lenin's behests, the Communist Party and the Soviet people traversed a difficult and glorious path. Socialism, the inevitability of the victory of which was proved by the founders of scientific communism, socialism, the building of which commenced under Lenin's guidance, became a reality in the Soviet Union.

The formation of the world socialist system was a new historic change in the system of the world economic and political forces in favor of socialism; it was the practical assertion of Leninism on an international scale. The trail to a new social system has in the main been blazed and tested for all peoples on earth by the heroic effort of the Soviet people and of the peoples of the socialist community.

6. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the main instrument in the building of socialism. It enables the working class, the working people, to oppose the power of capital, the ties of the bourgeoisie, its experience in administration, private-ownership ideology and psychology with the force of proletarian conviction, consciousness, organization and discipline.

Summing up the experience of the Paris Commune and the three Russian revolutions, Lenin developed and concretized the teachings of Marx and Engels on the dictatorship of the proletariat, and showed profoundly the historic significance of the Republic of Soviets—a state of a new type, immeasurably more democratic than any bourgeois-parliamentary republic. Lenin said: "If the creative enthusiasm of the revolutionary classes had not given rise to the Soviets, the proletarian revolution in Russia would have been a hopeless cause." (Vol. 26, p. 104.)

The Soviet state illustrated in practice that it was a powerful instrument in the development of socialist planned production, in the promotion of the cultural standards of society, and in the communist education of the working people; an instrument guarding public and personal interests, and the new law and order; an instrument protecting the socialist gains and supporting the international revolutionary-liberation movement.

The dictatorship of the proletariat means replacing democracy for the exploiters by socialist democracy for the working people; it signifies the beginning of the epoch of genuine government by the people. Lenin links the achievement of real freedom primarily with the emancipation of labor from the yoke of capital, with the deliverance of the working people from exploitation and spiritual oppres-

sion. He always interpreted political freedoms—freedom of speech, press, assembly, etc.—from class positions, as conditions for the socialist cohesion of the working people and the spreading of socialist ideology, excluding “freedom” for anti-socialist propaganda, “freedom” for the organization of counter-revolutionary forces.

Organization and administration in a socialist society rest on the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, envisaging the organic blending of single, centralized, planned management of the economy and social and cultural construction with the development of local initiative, with a variety of ways, methods and means of moving ahead to the common goal. Lenin regarded as essential conditions for the encouragement and development of socialist initiative of the masses, for proper leadership of the new society, the inadmissibility of “regionalism” and parochialism, bordering in many cases on anarchism, on the one hand, and “bureaucratic centralism,” confusing “democratic centralism with bureaucracy and routinism” (Vol. 27, p. 208), on the other.

The gradual expansion of the social basis of the socialist state stems logically from the very nature of the new system. With the building of socialism, when the entire people has firmly taken a socialist stand, the working class wages its class struggle against international imperialism and against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology in close unity with the cooperated peasantry and the working intelligentsia. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat turns into a political organization of the entire people, the working class, headed by its vanguard—the Communist Party—playing the leading role.

The socialist state of the entire people continues the cause of the proletarian dictatorship, serves as an organizing factor in solving the tasks of communist construction. Leaning on the support of all working people, on their conscious organization, the state of the entire people does not, however, reject the necessary measures of compulsion in relation to persons violating the laws of socialist society, its norms and principles.

At all stages of the development of the socialist state, its vital cause has been and remains guarding the gains of socialism against encroachments by the forces of counter-revolution and world imperialism. Every revolution, in Lenin's words, is of value only if it is able to defend itself. He stressed: “Those who treat frivolously the defense of the country in which the proletariat has already achieved victory are the ones who destroy the connection with international socialism.” (Vol. 27, p. 332.) The Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, the armed forces of the victorious people, created by the Party and Lenin, upheld the gains of the revolution in the Civil War.

Demonstrating mass heroism in the Great Patriotic War, our people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, effected an

immortal exploit in the name of socialism. This war was both a grave test and a school of courage. It ended in a great victory because socialism assured the invincible unity of the entire Soviet society, the might and unheard-of mobility of its economy, a high degree of development of military science, because it reared splendid armymen and commanders. The rout of the shock forces of world imperialism—German fascism and Japanese militarism—and the accomplishment by the Soviet Army of its liberation mission facilitated in a decisive way the success of the people's democratic revolutions in a number of countries of Europe and Asia.

Developing the national economy and building up the defense potential of their country, the Soviet people regard it their internationalist duty to do everything possible for the economic, military and political consolidation of the world socialist community as a whole, and each of its member-countries. The imperialist policy of exporting counter-revolution is opposed by our community with its own invincible might and resolve to defend the revolutionary gains of the peoples.

7. Leninism teaches that the successful construction of socialism and communism is only possible under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party, armed with advanced theory, steeled in battle, enjoying the trust of the working people, and able to express the sentiments of the masses and to influence them.

The strength of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union lies in its allegiance to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and revolutionary traditions, in solid unity, ideological steadfastness, and in the lofty moral and political qualities of Communists. It imposes a great responsibility on every Communist for the state of affairs in his organization and in the Party as a whole. Communists were in the forefront of the fighters in the years of the Civil War, in the Great Patriotic War, and in socialist construction. They are also invariably trail-blazers in all fields of communist construction.

Leaning on the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the accumulated experience of struggle, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union draws up the political line, and effects the guidance of the masses, of the economic, social, political and spiritual life of society. It unites, coordinates and directs the activities of all sectors of the administrative system. The Party implements its tasks both directly and through the Soviets, the state bodies and public organizations, encouraging and developing their creative initiative.

A vital part in the development of our society is played by the Soviet trade unions—the biggest of the mass organizations of the working people, a school of communism for tens of millions of factory and office workers. Under the leadership of the Party, the Soviet trade unions actively work for the further strengthening of our economic and defense potentials, for a further rise in living

standards, higher labor productivity, the development of socialist emulation and the movement for a communist attitude to work and for conscious discipline in production, improvement of working and living conditions and the organization of the leisure of working people.

The Lenin Young Communist League of the Soviet Union is a militant reserve and assistant of the Party. Lenin's historic speech, "The Tasks of the Young Leagues," serves as a program of its activities. More than one generation of young Communists, builders of socialism, received their political tempering in the ranks of the Komsomol.

The Communist Party comes out as the vanguard of the entire Soviet people, as the political leader of all organizations of working people. Awareness of its historic responsibility and duty to the people guards the Party against complacency. Lenin's behest that "under no circumstances will we allow our Party to contract a swelled head" (Vol. 30, p. 528) is sacred to all Communists. Criticism and self-criticism are unquestionably necessary for any living and viable party, Lenin pointed out. This is a law, an essential condition for the development of the Party, for the implementation of its leading role in society.

Analyzing the nature of the social processes and generalizing the experience of the masses, pointing out the way forward, the Party brings out new possibilities, evolves measures which help to surmount the difficulties and divergences. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union strongly denounced the personality cult, which led to abuse of power and violations of socialist democracy and revolutionary legality. It also condemned subjectivism, which ignores the laws of social development and the opinion of collective bodies, and substitutes voluntarist decisions for scientific guidance. Strict observance of the Leninist norms of Party and state life, the development of criticism and self-criticism, the consistent implementation of the principle of collective leadership, and broad ties with the masses—all guarantee that these negative phenomena will not be allowed. The Party rejects all attempts to direct criticism of the personality cult and subjectivism against the interests of the people and socialism, attempts aimed at smearing the history of socialist construction, at discrediting the revolutionary gains or revising the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Over the past few years the CPSU has spared no effort to restore and develop the Leninist norms of Party life and the Leninist principles of guidance in all spheres of Party, state, ideological and economic activity.

The guiding and organizing activities of a Marxist-Leninist Party are the basic condition for the working class to exercise decisive influence on the development of the new society. Lenin warned,

and experience shows, that any attempts to weaken the leading role of the Party are fraught with the danger of giving free rein to anti-socialist elements, the danger of restoring the capitalist order.

The Party's fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the interests of the working class, of all working people, and the strengthening of the unity of the Party and the people, are an earnest of the successful fulfilment of Lenin's behests, of further victories of the cause of the revolution, the cause of communism.

8. Lenin taught that the main task of the proletariat and all working people after the winning of power "is the positive or constructive work of setting up an extremely intricate and delicate system of new organizational relationships extending to the planned production and distribution of the goods required for the existence of tens of millions of people." (Vol. 27, p. 241.)

Developing Marx's tenet on public ownership as the economic basis of socialism, Lenin defined the main ways and forms of its development. By its character, large-scale machine industry demands socialization on a state scale. Therefore, the concept of so-called cooperative socialism, envisaging the transfer of enterprises and institutions into the hands of separate working collectives, has nothing in common with scientific socialism. Lenin wrote that the task of socialism was to make all means of production public property, and not that ships be handed over to shipwrights, and banks, to bank clerks.

V. I. Lenin teaches that only highly-developed industrial production in all branches of the national economy based on the latest achievements in science and technology can be the material basis of socialism. As the task of the socialization of the main means of production is being accomplished, he wrote, "there necessarily comes to the forefront the fundamental task of creating a social system superior to capitalism, namely, raising the productivity of labor, and in this connection (and for this purpose) securing better organization of labor." (Vol. 27, p. 257.)

The main direction in creating new productive forces on the basis of electric power, the complex employment of the natural wealth, the introduction of advanced techniques, technology and organization of production was envisaged in the State Plan for the Electrification of Russia (GOELRO) drawn up under Lenin's guidance. In conformity with Lenin's teaching, the working people of the land of Soviets have implemented industrialization under the leadership of the Party. It was accomplished in a very short historical period, in the glorious years of the first five-year plans, and made the USSR one of the most industrially developed powers in the world.

V. I. Lenin scientifically proved the need and ways of transferring the many-million-strong mass of petty commodity producers on to

socialist rails. Lenin considered that for their production units, as distinct from large-scale production, cooperative forms of socialist collectivization were the most expedient. As a result of the collectivization of the individual peasant farmsteads and the broad development of state farms, petty commodity production and the capitalist order in the countryside gave way to the socialist system. Socialist ownership in its two forms—that belonging to the whole people, and cooperative, collective farm property—has become the basis for economic relations also in agriculture. Thanks to the qualitative renewal of its technical basis, the Soviet Union now possesses large-scale highly-mechanized farm production that ensures an increase in food and raw material resources.

V. I. Lenin provided a scientific solution for the fundamental problems in planning and running the socialist economy. The foundations for planned management of the economy in all its links were laid under his direct leadership. Lenin's requirements for planned economic management are: a scientific approach, ability to determine correctly the perspectives and the priority of the tasks in hand, orientation on the latest achievements of science and technology, on advanced experience, flexibility and an ability promptly and precisely to react to the changing conditions.

Socialism introduces a new system of distribution of material values. Every worker and labor collective receives material remuneration in conformity with the results of his or their activities, with the actual contribution to the aggregate social labor. Socialism creates, for the first time in history, equality of people in respect of the means of production and does away with exploitation, but, as Lenin pointed out, it cannot as yet provide full equality in consumption, in the material well-being of people.

Lenin viewed distribution under socialism as a mighty lever conducive to the growth of production, better quality of labor, its productivity, and development of the workingman's initiative. At the same time he asserted that without a conscious, socialist attitude to labor, without the masses understanding the long-range overall interests socialism is impossible. Lenin saw in the first shoots of the new attitude towards labor—the communist subbotniks—"the beginning of a revolution that is more difficult, more tangible, more radical and more decisive than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for it is a victory over our own conservatism, indiscipline, petty-bourgeois egoism, a victory over the habits left as a heritage to the worker and peasant by accursed capitalism." (Vol. 29, p. 411.)

Pointing out that the success of our plans depends above all on people, Lenin himself strove and taught others "to test and discover real organizers, people with sober and practical minds, people who combine loyalty to socialism with ability, without fuss (and in

spite of muddle and fuss), to get a large number of people working together steadily and concertedly within the framework of Soviet organization." (Vol. 27, p. 262.)

The high effectiveness of Lenin's principles of socialist organization of the economy was for the first time ever strikingly demonstrated on the example of the Soviet Union. Our country had advanced from fifth to second place in the world for gross industrial output already in the prewar period. The average annual increase in industrial production during the years of peaceful labor amounted to 14 per cent, and for the whole Soviet period to 9.9 per cent as against 2-4 per cent for the same period in the USA, England, France and West Germany. Lenin's prevision of tremendous accelerated development of society's productive forces as a result of the elimination of capitalism has been fully confirmed.

9. The task of socialism, Lenin pointed out, is to make all the gains of culture serve the interests of the working people. With political power passing into the hands of the working class, the achievements of science, technology, and art become the property of all the people, and the possibility of turning human talent into an object or means of exploitation is excluded forever.

Lenin's program for the cultural revolution was an important contribution to revolutionary theory and practice. Its main content was the advancing of public education—the creation of all the conditions for drawing the broad masses of the working people into politics and giving them access to knowledge and aesthetic values: the dissemination of scientific socialist ideology and the organization, on the basis of its principles, of the people's entire spiritual activities; surmounting petty-bourgeois views and morals.

Now more than a third of the population in the USSR has a higher or secondary education, and the transition to universal secondary education is being implemented. More than 820,000 scientific workers are employed in all branches of national economy and culture. The continuously rising professional skill of the workers, peasants and office employees represents tremendous social wealth.

The Party has always viewed spiritual creative endeavor in socialist society as an inseparable part of the general Party, the general proletarian, cause. Leninist principles of partisanship of literature and art and their kinship with the people were the foundation for the consolidation of the best forces of the intelligentsia in the arts on the ideological and political platform of Soviet power. A considerate attitude towards talent and creative quest is combined in Lenin's approach to spiritual activities with principled ideological and political positions, with clear-cut moral demands. Lenin was irreconcilable to what he called "literary camouflage" of anti-

socialist ideas, to dragging in reactionary views with the help of a vogueish phrase, to attempts to cover up a poverty of content by formalistic trickery, and came out against simplification and subjectivism in the evaluation of works of art.

Socialist culture is an epochal advance in the spiritual development of mankind.

10. V. I. Lenin characterized socialism as a period of the gradual destruction of classes and the establishment of social equality. The socialist transformation of social relations is a dual process—one of destruction, breaking down the exploitation system and the private-property pattern of life, and replacing them by a consciously organized uniform collective of all the working people in town and country.

Of decisive importance in this transformation is the alliance of the working class and all working people, founded on the unity of their basic interests, ensuring the solidarity of the people on the common basis of the construction of socialism, with the working class playing the leading role.

In a socialist society that is consistently overcoming social distinctions, the working class, which has radically changed during the years of Soviet power and now accounts for more than half the USSR's working people, continues to act as the leading social force. The working class produces the biggest share of the social product, is in the forefront of technical progress, and is occupied in the decisive spheres of social production. The traits of a conscious worker of industry who is drawn into intellectual activity and is an active champion of the new life asserting the lofty standards of human relations merge into a single whole in the person of the Soviet worker.

The working peasantry has become transformed from a class of petty private owners into a class of collective farm peasants, into a new, socialist social force. The collective farm and cooperative system, the Soviet way of life, the constant politico-educational influence of the working class and the Communist Party on the peasant masses have helped develop in their midst habits of collective labor and collectivist psychology, and their active acceptance of modern industrial methods of running the farms.

In the very first years of socialist construction Lenin set the task, in addition to that of making use of and re-educating old specialists, of forming a new intelligentsia out of workers and peasants. The socialist intelligentsia, which has grown up in the conditions of the Soviet system, is an organic component part of our society. Its share and social role in the conditions of the accelerated scientific and technological progress is increasing to an ever greater extent. Lenin's prevision is coming true: "Only collaboration between scien-

tists and workers can put an end to oppressive poverty, disease and dirt. . . . No forces of darkness can withstand an alliance of the scientists, the proletariat and the technologists." (Vol. 30, p. 402.)

The solution of the national question was considered by Lenin an important prerequisite for ensuring social equality and unity of the working people. Self-determination and equality of nations; the unity of the workers and working people of the different nationalities in the struggle for democracy and socialism; close political, military and economic alliance of the peoples which have taken the socialist road; ensuring the actual equality of nations through the free development of their economy and culture by joint effort—such are the principles of the Leninist program on the national question.

The interests of the working class make it incumbent on Communists to struggle against both underestimation of national features and against their exaggeration. In its struggle against nationalist deviation and great-power chauvinism the CPSU has always held that neither nationalism in any form nor national nihilism are compatible with socialism.

Under the leadership of Lenin a multinational socialist state, the USSR, was set up: a voluntary union of equal and sovereign Republics based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, on the unity of society's economic and political organization, on common ideological and cultural activities. The unity of more than a hundred socialist nations and nationalities of our country, their rapid economic and cultural upsurge, the establishment of a common proletarian ideology — such are the achievements of socialism in solving the age-old national problem with which no other system can cope. The monolithic unity of the peoples of the USSR is a necessary condition for the successful implementation of the tasks of communist construction.

The social, ideological and political unity of all strata of the working people, of all citizens, irrespective of origin, occupation, nationality, sex or education is ensured in the USSR. The Soviet people is in principle a new, international community of nations, the socialist union of all working people of the USSR—workers of industry, agriculture and culture, of physical and mental labor, which forms the social basis of the multinational state of all the people.

The historic transformations in the social structure of our society were accompanied by fundamental changes in the people's way of life, by intensive development of their socialist, Soviet traits and by a considerable rise in their living standards. Despite the need to deflect considerable funds for defense, despite the tremendous losses caused to our country by the imperialist aggressors, and the

colossal expenditures which the subsequent rehabilitation of the national economy required, the Soviet state has undeviatingly followed the Leninist general line of improving the people's welfare and culture:

- unemployment has been wiped out in the country;

- instead of the 10-12-hour working day, as was the case at most of the industrial enterprises of prerevolutionary Russia, a 7-hour working day has now been established, and for certain categories of working people—six and less hours of work a day with a six-day working week, or a five-day working week with the same length of working time but with two days off;

- working conditions have been made healthier everywhere; the USSR is among the countries that have the lowest level of industrial injuries;

- the real incomes of workers in industry and construction, taking into account the liquidation of unemployment and the reduction in the length of the working day, have increased on the average for each employed more than seven times as against 1913; the real incomes of peasants increased during this period almost 11-fold;

- the total area of urban housing has increased eightfold against 1913; the living conditions and amenities have improved considerably;

- education is universal and is implemented at state expense. Society assumes a considerable share of the expenses on the upbringing of the growing generation. At present a total of about nine million children are taken care of in permanent kindergartens and creches. The number of pupils in general educational schools has increased in the years of Soviet power from 9.7 million to 49 million;

- a uniform pension system has been established. Pensions are paid by the state and the collective farms; the pensionable age is lower in the USSR than in most countries;

- free medical service and protection of mother and child have been established. In half a century the average life span has more than doubled.

Socialism has already brought the working-man tremendous benefits. The further development of this most advanced, truly people's social system will bring society nearer to the all-round development of the personality, to the realization of the provisions of the founders of scientific communism.

11. Life has proved the correctness of Lenin's prevision that more states will break away from the world capitalist system as a result of socialist revolutions, that the dictatorship of the proletariat will transform from a national into an international force. The general significance and effectiveness of Lenin's teaching on

socialist construction have been comprehensively confirmed by the experience of many countries of three continents. The organization of international cooperation within the framework of the world socialist system testifies to the viability of Lenin's principles of the new type of international relations. The political and economic solidarity of the socialist countries multiplies the strength and might of each of them, makes it possible more fully to use the advantages of the socialist organization of social life.

The vital force of the new system manifested itself in its ability to cut a road for itself in the most varied conditions, and to discover different forms of accomplishing similar social and cultural tasks. Just as Lenin had forecast, each nation contributes "something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life." (Vol. 23, pp. 69-70.)

V. I. Lenin expressed his deep conviction that socialism would ensure the social and economic unity of people both on a national and on an international scale. Lenin saw the material basis of such unity in the tendency towards "the creation of a single world economy, regulated by the proletariat of all nations as an integral whole and according to a common plan. This tendency has already revealed itself quite clearly under capitalism and is bound to be further developed and consummated under socialism." (Vol. 31, p. 147.)

The inter-state relations of the socialist countries are characterized by common basic interests. The fraternal countries are united by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, by the common aims of building socialism and communism. They have common tasks in the struggle against capitalism and its imperialist policy.

Life itself demands that the fraternal countries come still closer together economically and politically. The coordination of their national economic plans and the long-range program for the further development of socialist integration adopted at the 23rd Special Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance are designated to promote the successful solution of this task. By elaborating such major measures the fraternal Parties are making a creative contribution to the development of Lenin's idea on setting up an "international cooperative of working people."

The establishment of the world socialist system is a complicated and multi-sided process bound up with surmounting objective and subjective difficulties. Fraternal relations and cooperation are being formed between countries with far from the same economic levels, historic and cultural traditions and ties, and social structures.

Experience testifies to the fact that wherever petty-bourgeois elements succeed in exerting their influence, they try to prevent the

normal course of socialist transformations, to set the socialist countries against each other, to revive opportunist, revisionist and nationalistic views on which imperialism is playing. Such a danger increases wherever a retreat from the principles of Marxism-Leninism is permitted.

"Left" revisionism attacks the theory and practice of scientific communism, and tries to replace it by a reactionary utopian and military-barracks "socialism." Its petty-bourgeois nationalistic substance is exposed by the preaching of the Messiah role for separate countries, mass-scale brainwashing in the spirit of hegemony, chauvinism and bellicose anti-Sovietism.

On the other hand, the Right-wing revisionists propagate the concept of so-called liberalized socialism that denies the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, replacing socialist democracy by political liberalism of a bourgeois type, bringing to nought centralized planning and management of the national economy, and which is designed to unleash market spontaneity and competition.

The CPSU highly assesses the struggle waged by the Communists of the fraternal countries against any attempts to erode the positions of the new system, against an opportunistic approach to the problems of the building of socialism and the mutual relations in the world socialist system, for overcoming the differences between the parties on the principled basis of Marxism. A reliable condition for forming a new type of international relations is the correct policy of the Communist and Workers' parties, the undeviating implementation of Lenin's teaching on the building of a new society, and observation of the principles of socialist internationalism.

The building and development of socialism within the framework of separate countries and on an international scale is the great result of the historic creative endeavors of millions of working people who have taken their destiny into their own hands. The scope with which the planet's working population is embraced by this historic creative effort is growing, just as Lenin had predicted. The natural process of the transition from the pre-history of human society to its true, consciously wrought history finds its expression in this.

III.

LENINISM—THE BANNER OF THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM, FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY RENEWAL OF THE WORLD

12. The experience of the class battles of the 20th century has shown that only when guided by Lenin's teaching can we understand the essence and character of the revolutionary changes taking

place in the world, correctly assess the role of the forces participating in them, and properly outline the future development of the world socialist revolution.

The need to replace capitalist relations of production by socialist ones is now more urgent than ever before. Lenin stressed, however, that to overthrow the last exploiting system on a world scale, and to establish a new social system is a complicated, long-drawn-out and diversified process. The material preconditions for a transition to socialism first matured in the industrial capitalist countries. But in the majority of them the imperialist bourgeoisie has managed to stay in power. Under contemporary conditions this is the chief obstacle in the path of social progress.

In the face of socialism's successes, the imperialist bourgeoisie is making every effort to defend its interests and preserve its main positions. It is maneuvering in all spheres of public life, mobilizing all its material resources to preserve its hegemony, is more and more closely uniting the strength of the monopolies with that of the state, and displaying political resourcefulness in its attempts to repulse the onslaught of socialism.

In the economic sphere capitalism is using the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution and is relying on the powerful, highly organized production mechanism to mobilize, with the help of the state, all its resources on a national scale, to accelerate economic growth rates, and to maintain the comparatively high efficiency of production.

In the political sphere the bourgeoisie craftily combines brutal methods of suppressing the masses with new means and methods of influencing the working people. By speculating with slogans like "social partnership" and "an open society," it is trying to subordinate the working-class organizations and to absorb them in the pseudo-democratic multi-party system that is designed to conceal the dictatorship of the imperialist upper strata. Along with this, the monopolies, seeing the failure of their plans to subordinate the working-class movement to the bourgeois political mechanism, are turning more and more often to violent methods to suppress the masses. Repressive bodies of the imperialist countries are increasing in size and numbers, and new anti-labor laws are being introduced.

In the social sphere monopoly capital is trying, with concessions and sops, to disguise the intensified exploitation of the working people in an effort to prevent class disturbances most dangerous to the bourgeoisie. By making concessions in what is secondary and unimportant, to preserve what is vital, Lenin said, capitalism is trying to distract the workers from the class struggle, and to enlarge and consolidate the social basis of its rule.

Actually, the working class is being exploited to an increasing

degree, and the chief benefits from the use of modern productive forces go to the industrial-financial oligarchy. This leads to an intensification of social antagonisms, economic difficulties in the main capitalist countries, a chronic currency-financial crisis, unemployment, and to more acute inter-imperialist contradictions.

An enormous share of the national wealth is spent by the imperialist countries in preparing for and waging wars. The military-industrial concerns use a system of "legal embezzlement," as Lenin put it, to extract vast profits that are guaranteed by the state. The military-industrial complex has become imperialism's striking force stimulating a reaction in the home and foreign policies of the bourgeois countries.

The most aggressive detachments of modern imperialism, primarily in the United States and West Germany, still hope to "replay" the historic battles of the 20th century, to revenge themselves, to roll back socialism from the heights of world influence and to recreate colonialism in new forms. U.S. imperialism has become the headquarters of anti-communism, the center of international reaction and militarism. In the past few years alone it has conducted military intervention against Vietnam, Cuba, Panama and the Dominican Republic, as well as other military provocations. It has actively supported Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, and reactionary coups in a number of countries. The revival of revanchist and neo-Nazi forces in Federal Germany is a grave threat to European peace and security.

But the world has fundamentally changed. Imperialism has lost forever the monopoly in settling world affairs it had before October 1917. It has ceased to be the dominating force on the international scene. Today it is obvious that the chief aim of imperialist strategy—the destruction of the socialist system—cannot be achieved. "Imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative, nor reverse world development," declared the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Socialism is now on the historical offensive. Such is the logical result of the embodiment of Lenin's teaching concerning the revolutionary process, and of the conscious, purposeful socialist policy, and the dedicated work of the millions of people who are creating the material and moral might of world socialism.

13. Under conditions where the world system of imperialism has matured for a socialist revolution, and in a number of sectors has already been destroyed, Lenin attached decisive importance to the development and consolidation of the forces destined to carry the revolution through to the end.

After the October Revolution, Lenin assigned the central role among these forces to the working class and the working people

of the countries building a new, socialist society. Since that turning point the victorious forces of socialism have become the vanguard of the revolutionary movement. The emergence of socialism into the world arena enhances the revolutionary opportunities of the proletariat of the capitalist countries, and holds out new prospects for the development of the national-liberation movement.

Today, as Lenin had so brilliantly predicted, socialism has grown into the most influential social force in historical development, a gigantic accelerator of social progress. The aspect of the modern world is determined by the duel between "two methods, two political and economic systems—the communist and the capitalist" (Vol. 31, p. 456).

At the present stage in the competition between the two systems there is something very timely about Lenin's statement that the chief lever of socialism's influence on the world revolution is its economic policy, the creation of a technical-economic foundation for the new society that will exceed the productive forces of capitalism. "Once we solve this problem," said Lenin, "we shall have certainly and finally won on an international scale." (Vol. 32, p. 437.)

The other aspect of the revolutionary strategy of the socialist world, said Lenin, is "support of the revolutionary movement of the socialist proletariat in the advanced countries . . . Support of the democratic and revolutionary movement in all countries in general, and especially in the colonies and dependent countries." (Vol. 27, pp. 157-158.) The CPSU has been consistently guided by these instructions. There has been no revolutionary movement, no action by the masses of the people for their national and social emancipation that has not received effective assistance from Lenin's party, from the land of the October Revolution.

The influence and prestige of world socialism is predetermined in many ways by the fact that the Marxist-Leninist parties in power "are establishing completely different international relations" (Vol. 31, p. 477). To the imperialist policy of war and aggression and the enslavement of other countries and peoples, socialism opposes the Leninist policy of peace and friendship among peoples. The socialist foreign policy, as previously, is helping to draw the masses of the people more actively into the struggle for the triumph of just, democratic principles in international relations.

True to Lenin's precepts, the CPSU works unceasingly to consolidate peace. The aim of its foreign policy activity is to ensure peaceful conditions for the building of socialism and communism, and to create a most favorable atmosphere for the struggle of the working people of all countries for emancipation, and for the social and economic progress of all nations. At the same time, Lenin pointed

out, the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing systems means a sharp political, economic and ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism, between the working class and the bourgeoisie. It has nothing in common with class peace, and leaves no doubt about the sacred fight for liberation, up to and including armed struggle. The Soviet Union is continuing to support the Vietnamese people's just war for liberation against American imperialism, and the just wars of other peoples subjected to imperialist aggression.

14. The chief revolutionary force in the industrial capitalist countries is the working class that is fighting against imperialism within its own citadels. Lenin had high praise for the proletariat of the industrial countries, saying that it is "our chief hope, our chief support" (Vol. 28, p. 348).

Life itself has effectively refuted the current thesis of the bourgeois-reformist and petty-bourgeois anarchic theorists, that the revolutionary spirit of the working people in the West "is dying out." In class battles of recent years the working class of the imperialist countries has demonstrated good organization, a militant, offensive spirit, and readiness to take resolute action in the name of democratic and socialist ideals. It has shown its ability to carry the broad masses with it under the new conditions of deep-going changes in the economy, social relations and social awareness of the working people.

In the draft plan for his report on the international situation and the main tasks of the Comintern, Lenin noted five "social factors of strength" of the working class: 1) numbers, 2) organization, 3) place in the process of production and distribution, 4) activity, and 5) education. Since Lenin wrote this the size of the working class has sharply increased. It has become infinitely better organized and politically active, and is better educated and better trained. Under the influence of capitalist life larger and larger numbers of workers in the new occupations, and intellectuals connected with servicing advanced technology, are coming to realize their complete dependence on the state monopoly system, are growing convinced of the need to replace capitalism by a new social system, and are merging into the anti-imperialist stream.

Ensuring the unity of the working class was Lenin's constant concern. Basing himself on the experience of revolutionary struggle, and the lessons of the years after the October Revolution, when the opportunist policy of the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democrats brought about a split in the ranks of the proletariat, and helped to preserve the rule of the bourgeoisie in many European countries, Lenin called on Communists to spare no effort in "drawing more and more masses of the workers into the struggle against capital" (Vol. 42, p. 411). It is to Lenin that we owe the

idea of a united working-class front that has been adopted by the Communist Parties. While supporting solidarity of action of all detachments of the proletariat, its political parties and trade union organizations, Lenin taught that we must not forego our convictions, and must resolutely uphold the principles of revolutionary Marxism and proletarian internationalism.

The chief source of bourgeois influence on the proletariat in Lenin's lifetime was Right-wing Social Democracy, and it remains so today. Its policy is objectively helping the monopolies and the capitalist state to hold the revolutionary actions of the proletariat in check, is hindering the struggle of the proletariat for socialism, is supporting the foreign policy of imperialism, and is pursuing an anti-communist course. However, an awareness of true class interests, the interests of the fight against imperialism and for the vital rights of the masses, and for democracy and peace, is penetrating ever more deeply into the midst of Social Democracy. A desire to restore the united front of the working people is growing in the social-democratic masses. Communist initiative has already led to definite achievements along these lines in a number of instances.

Ultra-"Left" extremist trends which, Lenin noted, are "a kind of penalty for the opportunist sins of the working-class movement" (Vol. 31, p. 32), continue to remain an obstacle on the road to the restoration of unity in the ranks of the proletariat. Today "Left" revisionism is, not infrequently, along with Right-wing opportunism, a direct weapon of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The struggle for the unity of the working class presupposes overcoming "Left" as well as Right-wing opportunism.

Lenin considered that the creation of a reliable system of alliances, uniting the working class with all strata, which reality itself brings into opposition to the power of the monopolies, was an indispensable condition for victory in the revolution.

In the majority of the capitalist countries the chief ally of the proletariat is still the working peasantry. The transition of agriculture to the machine stage of production has led to the rapid erosion of the peasantry. The monopolies and the capitalist state condemn to want and ruin the main masses of the peasantry, who are actively joining the ranks of those participating in the anti-monopoly coalition.

Growing antagonism between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the urban middle strata, which are supporting the revolutionary working class more and more actively, is characteristic of modern capitalism. The progressive intelligentsia is coming to play an ever more prominent role among the allies of the proletariat. The scientific and technological revolution has hastened the stratification of

the intelligentsia to a remarkable degree, turning a considerable section of it into hired workers who, subjected to subtle exploitation, are acquiring interests and positions close to those of the working class.

New groups of young people are merging into the revolutionary process. They are acutely conscious of their servile social position and its lack of prospects, and are taking an increasingly active part in the fight against the capitalist system. Communists highly appreciate the rise of the youth movement, including the student movement, seeing it as another important factor in the general struggle against the monopolies. They are actively participating in the movement, spreading the ideas of scientific communism among the youth, helping it to shake off the influence of Right-wing and Leftist ideas, and persistently explaining the hopelessness of action that is isolated from the general stream of the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

In his analysis of the course of class battles in the capitalist countries, Lenin stressed that class contradictions will inevitably become progressively acute, and the battle of the classes will become increasingly intense. Under such conditions, acute political crisis, due to the most varied reasons, may "suddenly" arise and develop swiftly. "... Where the objective conditions of a profound political crisis exist," said Lenin, "the tiniest conflicts seemingly remote from the real breeding ground of revolution can be of the most serious importance as the reason, as the last straw" (Vol. 15, p. 276.)

This prevision of the great leader of the revolution is coming true today, when large-scale battles of the working people keep flaring up in the most highly developed capitalist countries. They arise both as a result of the growth of economic contradictions and on the basis of the deep anger of the broad masses at the stifling atmosphere of the total power of state monopoly capital. These battles are at times spontaneous. This makes even more significant today Lenin's instructions to be equal to the occasion, to know the mood of the masses and not to allow any lagging behind the pace of a mass movement, in which a revolutionary potential is accumulating.

15. Serious blows at the world imperialist system are being inflicted by the national-liberation movement. In our time the countries which, Lenin remarked, the colonialists had kept "out of history" for ages, have turned from targets of policy into its active agents. The prestige of socialism's ideas and practice is quickly growing in these countries.

As it becomes adapted to the new conditions obtaining in developing countries, imperialism keeps constantly changing its tactics. It resorts not only to military and political actions, but even

undertakes great material expenditure to split the national liberation movement and to destroy its weak and most vulnerable links. In the process, imperialist politicians are counting on using the numerous difficulties of the national states and their economic backwardness.

V. I. Lenin emphasized many times the immense historical specific features of the former colonial countries. "The preponderance of pre-capitalist relationships is still the main determining feature in these countries, so that there can be no question of a purely proletarian movement in them." (Vol. 31, pp. 242-243.) Their distinguishing features still continue to be dissociation of the economy, and incomplete formation of nations and classes.

In the past few years many of the young national states have been going through a period of fierce class struggle, economic derangements, coups d'état, and tribal feuds. World imperialism tries to capitalize on the instability and contradictions of national revolutions. It organizes counter-revolutionary putsches, gives support to anti-popular military dictatorships, fans nationalism and separatism, and tries to paralyze progressive tendencies. The policy of imperialism and reaction is opposed by the forces working for a socialist orientation. Life fully confirms the vital nature of the task, posed by Lenin, of skilfully using, in the specific conditions of newly free states, the general principles of revolutionary strategy.

Lenin wrote that "... it will be mistaken to assume that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development" (Vol. 31 p. 244). History has confirmed this conclusion drawn by Lenin. In the new era, the peoples that have shaken off the yoke of colonialism can follow the road of social progress, bypassing capitalism, if they are guided by revolutionary forces, and if they get the support of world socialism. Some states, having taken the road of such development, have nationalized heavy and, in some cases, medium, industry; they have carried out agrarian reforms. They are encouraging the cooperation of peasants and are restricting and ousting foreign capital and the local bourgeoisie.

Yet, before changing over to capitalism, says Lenin, it is not enough to abolish the property of the exploiters, and to socialize their means of production. "... An enormous step forward must be taken in developing the productive forces; it is necessary to overcome the resistance (frequently passive, which is particularly stubborn and particularly difficult to overcome) of the numerous survivals of small-scale production; it is necessary to overcome the enormous force of habit and conservatism which are connected with these survivals." (Vol. 29, p. 421.) The road to the victory of

socialism in the national states includes a historical period of transitional stages of social development, during which the material and social prerequisites of socialism are gradually prepared, and when the working class appears, with an intelligentsia loyal to the people.

Lenin's deductions to the effect that the guarantee of success of the national-liberation revolutions lies in the active enlistment of the masses, and especially of the growing numbers of the working class, in the guidance of society, in its alliance with the peasantry, in establishing extensive democracy, and in getting support from world socialism and the international working-class movement, are very important.

16. A major source of the all-conquering strength of Leninism is that there is proletarian internationalism inherent in its very essence. Lenin regarded the consistent implementation of the principles of internationalism as the real criterion of revolutionary spirit in our era, and as a guarantee of the victories of the working class. "Capital is an international force," said Lenin. "To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood, is needed." (Vol. 30, p. 293.)

Lenin considered that the focal issue of internationalist policy was the sound combination of national and international features in the activities of the proletarian parties, and of all the detachments of the revolutionary movement. As he resolutely came out against any kind of national nihilism, Lenin taught revolutionaries to consistently take into account national interests, to defend the principles of equality of all nations, their right to independence and self-sufficient development. He explained that the struggle for socialism, for its construction and defense was, and is, the best way of fighting for the national interests of the people. An effective solution, by every detachment of revolutionaries, of the task of national and social emancipation in their country is an indispensable prerequisite of the struggle for the common interests of the world socialist revolution.

At the same time Lenin emphasized that internationalist policy was not restricted to the national contribution to the common cause of the world proletariat. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism includes the joining of all the national detachments of revolutionary fighters into a single union, to achieve victory over international imperialism.

Not only the proletariat of big powers, but also the working class of small countries, as they fight for their national rights and interests, said Lenin, should always remember their duty to "fight against small-nation narrow-mindedness, seclusion and isolation, consider the whole and the general, subordinate the particular to

the general interest." (Vol. 22, p. 347.) Any other approach ultimately means slipping into nationalism, which is a deadly enemy of the revolutionary cause. Nationalism, by its "tactics of division and dismemberment . . . is reducing to nil the great call for the rallying and unity of the proletarians of all nations, all races and all languages." (Vol. 6, p. 521.)

In the present situation proletarian internationalism becomes especially vital; it turns into a major prerequisite for social progress, for the cohesion of all revolutionary forces for a further offensive against imperialism.

Practical revolutionary experience, beginning with the Great October Socialist Revolution (which was the first in history to offer an example of the blending in one stream of all revolutionary and democratic movements) proved the great soundness and fruitfulness of the Leninist approach to the question of the unity of revolutionary forces. The victory of socialist revolutions in a large group of countries, the successes of the revolutionary working-class movement, the triumph of the national-liberation revolutions, the establishment of national democratic states—such are the fruits of unity, cooperation and mutual aid of the forces of the world social revolution.

International solidarity, as previously, remains the cornerstone of the communist and working-class movement. As he pointed out the importance of taking into account the concrete-historical features and the specific traits of the situation in which every Party has to operate, Lenin always championed the unity of the internationalist tactics of the communist movement. As always, the task, he wrote in his work *"Left-wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder*, "consists in learning to apply the general and basic principles of communism to the *specific relations* between classes and parties, to the *specific features* in the objective development towards communism, which are different in each country and which we must be able to discover, study and predict" (Vol. 31, p. 89). Unity on the basic, cardinal and substantial points is not violated, but ensured, according to Lenin, by diversity in details, in local features, in the methods of approach to the matter.

The significance of the unity of the revolutionary forces grows in the course of historical development. The more mature the objective prerequisites of a social upheaval, the greater the successes of the fighters for its implementation, the more active will be the resistance of the class enemy, and consequently it is all the more important to ensure the firm cooperation of revolutionaries.

Half a century ago Lenin deemed it necessary to include in the tested combat call of the Communists the phrase: "Workers of all countries, unite!" and an appeal to the peoples of the colonies and

dependent countries: "Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!" At present, the international communist movement, loyal to the ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin, has evolved a new slogan conforming to the modern enriched conception of revolutionary proletarian internationalism: "Peoples of socialist countries, proletarians, all democratic forces in the capitalist countries, and newly-free and oppressed peoples—join the common front of struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence, social progress, democracy and socialism!"

17. Following Lenin's initiative the 3rd Communist International was formed, combining on a worldwide scale Marxism-Leninism and the international working-class movement. The Comintern successfully solved the problems confronting it: it revived the international nature of the working-class movement, it saved its revolutionary content which was seriously damaged by the betrayal of the leaders of the 2nd International. It opened a revolutionary prospect for the working class and the working masses in the capitalist world. It showed clear and definite ways of struggle in the new historical conditions. It did immense work to create and cement the Communist parties ideologically and organizationally. The Comintern called upon the Communists and working people in all countries to come out adamantly in defense of the world's first country of socialism.

The Communist International, guided by Lenin's ideas, had, for a quarter of a century, provided clear answers to the basic questions posed before the working class and mankind: about war and peace, about the struggle for democracy, against fascism; about the development of the national-liberation movement, about the role of socialism, and ways of leading the masses to socialist revolution. Many ideas advanced by the Comintern have definitely become a part of the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism.

Leninist schooling in the Comintern was provided for many Communist parties which preserved, developed and consolidated the revolutionary trend in the international working-class movement. According to Lenin, it is only under the leadership of such parties that "the proletariat is capable of displaying the full might of its revolutionary onslaught . . . capable of displaying its full might . . . (Vol. 31, p. 188.)

V. I. Lenin showed constant concern for the establishment and development of the world Communist movement; he formulated the major principles of the activities of the Marxist Party of the new type.

The Marxist-Leninist Party of our times is:

—a revolutionary party which channels all its activities into preparing the proletariat "for the conquest of political power—politi-

cal power, moreover, in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Vol. 31, p. 189.) Such a party is an embodiment of unswerving loyalty to the revolution, selfless courage and determination;

—a conscious vanguard of the class, a vanguard closely connected with the masses, and leading the masses. Lenin strove to have the Party become "the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat without permitting it to become divorced from the masses, but, on the contrary, by linking it more and more closely with them, imbuing them with revolutionary consciousness and rousing them for the revolutionary struggle." (Vol. 33, p. 209);

—an internationalist party for which, according to Lenin, "the struggle against opportunist and petty-bourgeois pacifist distortions of the concept and policy of internationalism is a primary and cardinal task" (Vol. 31, p. 149);

—a single combat organization built on the principles of democratic centralism, and capable of cementing the working class and the working people in a revolutionary struggle, an organization irreconcilable towards any kind of opportunism and splitting activities. A party conforming to the ideas of Marxism and its practical course, emphasized Lenin, is a "Marxist centralized political party" (Vol. 30, p. 62);

—it is a party which tirelessly masters the difficult art of using the general principles of Marxism in concrete conditions, a party capable of championing, in any situation, the ultimate goals of the working-class movement. Lenin resolutely condemned "the attempts to represent the inclusion of limited demands in the program as opportunism, and all and any attempts to use limited demands to obscure and side-track the basic revolutionary task" (Vol. 42, p. 428). The Communist Party rejects both the opportunist thesis that "onward movement is everything, and ultimate goal is nothing," and dogmatic sectarianism, which passively awaits great events, though completely unable to muster and cement the forces for the implementation.

The contemporary world communist movement, developing on the basis of Lenin's ideas, has turned into a mighty and most influential political force of our epoch. International meetings have become major landmarks in the development of the communist movement. Their documents have dealt with the vital issues of Lenin's ideological heritage.

For the consolidation of the positions of the Communist Parties, and for an ever increasing offensive against imperialism, an immensely important part is played by the struggle of these parties for the socialist consciousness of the working class, against the ideology of the bourgeoisie. At present, the spreading of scientific

Marxist-Leninist ideology among the masses, and the struggle for the hearts and minds of men have assumed particularly great scope and intensity.

The struggle between the two ideologies—the socialist and the bourgeois—reflects, Lenin emphasized, the irreconcilability of the class stands of the proletarians and the bourgeoisie, the opposition of the two social systems. It is only by mastering socialist ideology that the working masses change over from understanding their current requirements and immediate tasks to the realization of basic interests and historical vistas. In a world where the struggle of the classes obtains, there is not, nor can there be, any non-class or supra-class ideology. “Hence,” emphasized Lenin, “to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology.” (Vol. 5, p. 384.)

The imperialist bourgeoisie retains power over the peoples of its countries by both violence and deceit. It resorts increasingly to ideological means for enslaving the masses: it resorts to “total” ideological mobilization of all the reactionary forces under the banner of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

In the ideological struggle there is no place for neutralism and compromise. Marxist-Leninists reject the opportunist thesis about peaceful coexistence in the ideological area. The best weapon against bourgeois ideology is the constructive spirit of Leninism, the continuous development and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the basis of the generalization of new historical experience.

The communist movement has been developing in the struggle against reformism, against all types of opportunism, Right-wing and “Left” revisionism.

Contemporary revisionism “assimilates” the ideas of various anti-Leninist trends, which in times past have suffered fiasco in open combat with Marxism-Leninism. By their use, revisionism is trying to penetrate the Communist parties, so as to impose its course upon them, by using manifestations of ideological immaturity and dogmatism. Revisionism, Lenin said, always means political surrender to difficulties, to the class enemy; it is a retreat from proletarian positions. It is substitution of Marxism by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois conceptions. Revisionism in theory paves the way for opportunist practices, as it endeavors to incorporate the working-class movement into the capitalist political system.

Countering imperialism and the splitters, the Communists in different countries increase the rapprochement of their political and theoretical stands, and the cohesion of their ranks. The best means for overcoming differences in the international communist

movement is the practical struggle for common goals. Unity is not a declaration or a phrase—it is achieved in joint action and struggle.

VI

ALONG LENIN'S ROAD—TO COMMUNISM

18. The building of communism—such is our general prospect. Lenin viewed communism as the natural outcome of the development of socialism, the revelation and realization of the opportunities and advantages inherent in it. A lengthy and serious preparation of material and moral prerequisites is required for the transfer to communism. The Party's entire theoretical and political activity pursues this end.

Scientific conceptions of communism have nothing in common either with the pharisaical "philosophy" of poverty as a "boon," or with the bourgeois-philistine cult of things. Material wealth in the Marxist-Leninist understanding is created to satisfy the reasonable requirements of people and is a necessary prerequisite for the development of human abilities and the blossoming of the individual.

Lenin's ideas on the essence and principles of communism, on the forms and methods for building it has been elaborated by the Party into an integral and scientifically substantiated program for the building of a communist society. It serves as the basis in solving major political, economic and ideological problems and organizational activities which, as was stressed by the 23rd Congress, are in the focus of attention of the Party.

Lenin attached decisive importance to the building of the economic basis of the communist system. "We value communism only when it is based on economic facts." (Vol. 29, p. 191.) As Lenin saw it, the all-round development of the productive forces, and a sharp rise in labor productivity based on the latest achievements of science and technology are required for the transition to the higher phase of communist society. "Communism," he stressed, "is the higher productivity of labor—compared with that existing under capitalism—of voluntary, class-conscious and united workers employing advanced techniques." (Vol. 29, p. 427.)

While advancing along Lenin's road, the CPSU, above all, considers the main task in building communism that of creating its material and technical basis. The essence of the Party's economic policy is, on the basis of the all-round utilization of the achievements of science and technology, of the industrial development of the whole of social production, of improving its efficiency and labor productivity, to ensure a further considerable rise in industry, high stable rates in the development of agriculture and, as a result of

this, to achieve a substantial upsurge in the standard of living of the people, a fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of all Soviet people.

The USSR national economy has at present entered a stage when intensification of production to an ever greater degree becomes the major trend in its development. It demands profound qualitative changes in the entire national economy, in each of its sectors: the creation of a modern, most rational system of organization and management of production; the ensuring of all-round technical progress, the practical utilization of the latest data obtained by science; the further industrialization of all branches of the economy; the improvement of inter-branch and inner-branch patterns and proportions in the national economy; the steady specialization of production; the effective utilization of material resources.

The building of communism calls for large-scale utilization of the achievements of the present-day scientific and technological revolution which brings with it qualitative changes in the technology of production, energetics, the implements and articles of labor, in the organization of management, in the nature of labor activities of people. It also profoundly influences the makeup of the worker, facilitating an improvement in his education and culture, a wider scientific and technical outlook. A characteristic feature of our time is the ever more intensive transformation of science into a direct productive force of society. The rate of growth of the economy to an ever greater degree today depends on the rates of research and the introduction of results into production.

Science and technology in the world today have been transformed into a major bridgehead in the competition between the two opposing socio-economic systems. A protracted and persistent struggle will take place here. The introduction of science into diverse spheres of social life, a fuller utilization of the opportunities of scientific and technological progress for accelerated economic development and for satisfying the requirements of all members of society—such is the major economic and political task. In guiding the building of communism, the CPSU proceeds from Lenin's instructions "that learning shall not remain a dead letter, or a fashionable catch-phrase . . . that learning shall really become part of our very being, that it shall actually and fully become a constituent element of our social life." (Vol. 33, p. 489.) Running the economy in a Leninist way, in a communist way, means relying on science.

19. The building of communism envisages an improvement in the entire system of economic relations in socialist society. Lenin pointed out that socialism represents ". . . a higher type of social organization of labor compared with capitalism. This is what is

important, this is the source of the strength and the guarantee that the final triumph of communism is inevitable." (Vol. 29, p. 419.)

The gigantic growth of the productive forces in our country, and the development of the scientific and technological revolution urgently demand a further improvement in the methods and forms of managing the economy. Such is the aim of the economic reform which is being carried out in accordance with the decisions of the March and September 1965 Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee and the 23rd Party Congress. The role of long-term planning is enhanced as the leading form of general state planning, as well as scientifically substantiated forecasts of the development of the economy and society over a lengthy period.

V. I. Lenin attached especially great importance to the socialist emulation of the working people in developing social production.

The Party, carrying out Lenin's instructions, strives to fully use all forms of material and moral incentives for labor, to develop socialist emulation which opens up wide vistas for initiative and creative innovation. It is necessary that the entire matter of management be organized in such a way, Lenin taught, that every politically conscious worker feels "... that he is not only the master in his own factory but that he is also a representative of the country; it is a question of his feeling his responsibility." (Vol. 27, p. 403).

The building of communism is the cause of the entire people, the cause of every Soviet person. The successful fulfilment of the economic program of communism depends on his consciousness, initiative, culture and professional skill.

Profound changes are taking place in agriculture. Agricultural production is to an ever greater extent acquiring an industrial nature; its technical equipment is on the upgrade. A long-term program of melioration, land improvement, of introducing chemicals and improving efficiency in agriculture and in animal husbandry is being carried out. The state farms are growing stronger economically. The level of socialization of cooperative-collective farm property is increasing as a result of the growth of the indivisible funds of collective farms and the development of state-collective farm and inter-collective farm productive ties. The Party is doing everything necessary for the further development of agriculture. A considerable event in the life of the countryside, in the life of the entire Soviet country, was the Third All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers which adopted the new Model Rules of the Collective Farm, the law of collective farm life in the period of building communism.

Together with the growth of labor productivity and social wealth there is a steady rise in the well-being of the people; housing conditions are improving from year to year; the socialist principle of

distribution according to work done is being improved; the public consumption funds are growing. These achievements would have been even more considerable, given the opportunity to use all the country's resources for the development of the economy, for improving living standards and raising culture. The state is compelled to allocate large funds for defense, for maintaining it on the highest modern level.

20. Lenin taught that economic achievements in building communism greatly depend on the successful solution of socio-political problems. The class structure of society in the process of building communism develops towards social homogeneity. Lenin's idea of the gradual elimination of substantial differences between mental and manual workers is being carried out.

The development of material production on the latest technical basis, and a considerable rise in labor productivity facilitate the development of both forms of property towards the creation of a single communist property, the levelling of cultural and living conditions of the rural and urban population, a change in the nature of work, the gradual elimination of class distinctions.

Just as Lenin had foreseen, the further blossoming and rapprochement of socialist nations and the expansion of their contacts are taking place in our country. The closer these contacts and the higher the understanding of countrywide problems, the more successfully are manifestations of parochialism and national egoism overcome. Consistently carrying out the Leninist national policy, the Party is irreconcilable towards any and all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, national exclusiveness and isolation. The Party educates the working people in a spirit of love for their socialist country and for the brotherhood of free peoples. Socialism has given rise to a new type of patriotism, organically fused with internationalism.

The entire labor and socio-political life of our society is built on the solid foundation of socialist democracy. "... The greater, the more responsible this new historical problem is," Lenin wrote, "the larger must be the number of those enlisted for the purpose of taking an independent part in solving it." (Vol. 27, p. 469.) Socialist democracy is built on the conscientious discipline and organization of the working people.

The Party attaches principled importance to the development and absolute support of businesslike criticism and self-criticism of shortcomings and omissions, of everything worthless and antiquated which hinders our work. Following Lenin's principles in all its work, the Party is resolutely rooting out bureaucracy, lax organization, red tape, slovenliness, negligence and attempts to replace real work by phrase-mongering. A class-political appraisal of

anti-social phenomena profoundly alien to socialism, such as the plundering of socialist property, money-grubbing, violation of labor discipline and public order, and the struggle against these negative phenomena are an important function of the socialist state, of the entire public, the civic duty of a Soviet person.

The scope and complexity of the tasks being solved enhance the role of the conscious, organizing vanguard in the life of our society—the Leninist Party of Communists. Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory and with exceptionally rich political experience, the Party makes all work in building communism planned and purposeful.

21. Lenin regarded the building of communism as a complex task in which the solution of economic and socio-political problems was organically linked with the moulding of a new man, with the education and upbringing of people, of giving them *"all-round development and an all-round training,"* (Vol. 31, p. 50). Communist ideology plays an active role in this educational work.

Marxist-Leninist ideology is a consistent expression of the basic interests of the working class, of all working people, and at the same time is that scientific theory, tested by the experience of socialism, which provides an objectively true picture of the world: it is a reliable guide in practical activities. The 23rd CPSU Congress stressed that the education of the working people in a spirit of high political consciousness and a communist attitude towards work should be in the focus of attention of the Party's ideological activities.

The moulding of a communist world outlook and morale is taking place under conditions of a most acute ideological struggle in the world arena. This demands a consistent class policy in matters concerning education, it demands clarity and precision in ideological positions, heightened revolutionary vigilance, consistent struggle against political indifference, private-property survivals and narrow-mindedness, a nihilistic attitude towards the gains of socialism, and the penetration of bourgeois and revisionist views.

The lofty moral-political qualities, humane principles and moral standards of Soviet man are moulded by the entire socialist system, are formed above all in the process of the active participation of the working people in production and socio-political life and depend on the content and scope of the ideological activities of Party organizations. Our Party constantly stresses the need for organic unity in solving economic-political problems and ideological-educational activities.

The effectiveness of the Party's ideological influence, the efficiency of ideological activities directly depend on the level of theoretical work, on the scientific elaboration of urgent problems of communist construction. Lenin pointed out that the Party

should "always carry on propaganda for the proletarian ideology—the theory of scientific socialism, viz., Marxism—guard it against distortion, and develop it further." (Vol. 5, p. 342.) Fulfilling Lenin's behest, the CPSU devotes great attention to the theoretical interpretation of practical activities, to Party cadres and all Communists firmly mastering the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory, to improving the system of political education, political information, the activities of press organs, radio and television.

The Party shows daily concern for improving general and higher school education and exerts every effort so that it should meet to the fullest possible extent the demands of communist construction and modern scientific and technological progress.

Lenin attached great importance to literature and the arts in creating the spiritual prerequisites of communism, in educating a new man. A society which builds communism is profoundly interested in the blossoming of literature and the arts, of all forms of creative endeavor. Their social value is determined by high artistic skill, ideological irreconcilability and Party fervor in the affirmation of communist ideals.

To learn communism—such are the Leninist instructions to YCLers, to youths and girls. Industry, a thirst for knowledge, ideological conviction, patriotic selflessness and internationalism—all these qualities of the Soviet youth are remarkable proof that they sacredly carry out Lenin's behests, that they strive to live and work the way great Lenin taught.

"We are the party of the future, and the future belongs to the youth," Lenin wrote. "We are a party of innovators, and it is always the youth that most eagerly follows the innovators" (Vol. 11, p. 354). The Party attaches great importance to the conscientious participation of the youth in socio-political life, is confident in their strength and opportunities. It considers the task placed by Lenin of the communist education of the youth "to train a generation that is fully capable of building communism" (Vol. 29, p. 111), as a most important general Party and nationwide task.

In building communism, as Lenin put it, we are confronted with titanic work, even greater than anything hitherto. Life poses new tasks and problems which require a profound study and creative solutions. The guarantee of successful forward advance is the leading role of the Communist Party. The Soviet people, following the road indicated by Lenin and under the guidance of the Party, attained the victory of the October Revolution and socialism. We are advancing along Lenin's road and will reach communism.

Lenin's immortal ideas and cause, and the great exploit of his life serve as an inexhaustible source of inspiration and optimism for Soviet people, for working people all over the world.

Lenin's bright genius illumines the road of revolutionary struggles and creation.

To live and struggle the Leninist way means to devote all one's strength, knowledge and energy to the most humane and just cause on earth—to the struggle for the complete liberation of the working people from oppression and exploitation, for the victory of communist ideals, for a better future of mankind.

Continuing Lenin's cause the Soviet people, by persistent work, multiply the public wealth, develop socialist democracy, science and culture, manifest indefatigable concern for strengthening the defense might of their socialist country, are building a life worthy of man.

Continuing Lenin's cause the Soviet people, under the guidance of the Communist Party, to a still greater degree close their ranks, strengthen the fraternity and friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

Continuing Lenin's cause the Soviet people strengthen international solidarity with the peoples of the socialist countries, with the international working class, with the fighters for democracy and national liberation, for a stable peace, democracy and socialism, for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The ideas of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin are being embodied in the activities of Communists, in the struggle of the working class and all working people, in the onward march of socialism and communism, in the invincible social progress of mankind.

Lenin's name and his cause will live forever!

(Pravda, December 23rd, 1969.)

MEETING* OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

Twenty-eight Communist and Workers' parties of Europe met in Moscow on January 14 and 15, 1970.

The meeting was attended by representatives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium, Bulgarian Communist Party, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, German Communist Party, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Irish Workers' Party, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Norway, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, San Marino Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Spain, Left Party—Communists of Sweden, Swiss Party of Labor, Communist Party of Turkey, and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The participants in the meeting exchanged views on the problems of collective security and peace on the European continent. They informed one another on the measures they were carrying out in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin.

The meeting proceeded in a spirit of comradely cooperation.

*Pravda, January 16, 1970.

THE MOST REVOLUTIONARY TASK OF TODAY

POLITICAL RESOLUTION* OF THE 14th CONGRESS OF THE CP OF CHILE

Congress confirms the fact that the Communist Party of Chile is a great national force equipped with a steadily improving knowledge of the realities of the country and capable of ruling the nation together with its allies.

We Congress delegates unanimously approve Comrade Luis Corvalan's report stating the Communist view on the country's problems and the ways and means of solving them. We have prepared a new wording of the Party program that is richer ideologically, more exact scientifically and has a greater potential.

Both documents confirm the correctness of our Party's general strategy, which can pave the way for the revolution in Chile, as the practice of social struggle has shown.

We call on the Party and the people to study these documents carefully and assimilate the ideas contained in them, for they are the basis on which the militancy of the masses can be heightened.

The delegates' speeches at Congress indicated that our people still suffer from unemployment, poverty, disease, housing shortages and other evils.

Those responsible for this drama retain their privileged position.

The U.S. imperialists daily pump 1.5 million dollars out of Chile. And every day there are 1.5 million children starving in Chile.

The monopoly oligarchy bolsters its power, using the state apparatus more and more to impose its class interests on the country.

The landed proprietors are still an enormous obstacle to progress.

Hence it is still an important patriotic task to end the domination of imperialism and the economic and political power of the monopolies and landowners. Increasing segments of the population are coming to realize this and to act accordingly.

Lawful indignation and the desire for radical social change are growing in the country.

The failure of the Christian Democratic Party's reformism bears out the conviction of thousands upon thousands of Chileans that no political alignment striving to preserve the foundations of the

*Abridged from *Siglo*, November 30, 1969.

present system can pave the way for meeting the people's needs.

In Chile it has been proved once again that a government which begin its activity by raising the banner of reformism and, at the same time, the banner of anti-communism and anti-labor policy drifts on to a reactionary position. The political failure of the present government also shows that the country can make no headway under a bourgeois leadership.

That is why we emphatically reject the attempts to induce the Left to form a bloc with the CDP continuing in power and with its candidate, Tomic. We Communists have warned the people against this maneuver from the first. The policy of splitting the forces that must form a coalition based on popular unity, is due to the Christian Democrats' attitude to imperialism, the financial oligarchy and the landowners. These greatest enemies of ours have pledged their protection to the present government, which therefore meets them half-way. To form such a bloc with the Christian Democrats would in the final analysis amount to an unscrupulous collusion, and we Communists declare emphatically that we refuse to cooperate and never will.

The traditional Right has become more active on the political scene. The financial oligarchy would like to lord over everything alone, without any go-betweens. It has come to the conclusion that the reforms, while intended to save the establishment, have—in view of the intensity of social contradictions in our country and the strength of the popular movement—made for new social strata and new segments of the population taking the revolutionary road.

To bring about a new oligarchic regime, the National Party is unscrupulously pursuing a policy designed to mislead and deceive national opinion. While supporting all that is reactionary in the government, it poses as a defender of the middle strata and even of the urban and rural proletariat. For all its demagoguery, however, it is only too evident that a comeback of the traditional Right through a man like Alessandri would help imperialism and monopoly to intensify the exploitation of the people and strengthen the positions of the landed oligarchy. The result would be an aggravation of the people's problems irrespective of whether the methods used were frankly repressive or pseudo-democratic.

In fighting for power, we must not underestimate reaction's efforts to establish a fascist-like dictatorship in the country.

In reply to the liberation struggle and revolutionary movement of our people, the imperialists are laying plans for a coup in Chile. To achieve their goals, they are working among diverse segments of the population, trying hard to mislead and divide them by hook or by crook.

Leading groups of the National Party have already set out with

determination to contribute to a military "solution" in order to stem the genuinely revolutionary process in the making among our people. Some CDP reactionaries do not mind this.

The country has passed through trying moments due to the danger of a coup. The overwhelming majority of the working people and the nation as a whole have declared against the attempts at sedition. In the decisive mobilization of the masses to stop the conspirators the working class has shown itself to be the principal and most significant democratic force. Large sections of the population, various parties and revolutionary and popular trends now see very well that however the conspirators may disguise their plans, their purpose is not to effect changes for the good of the people. Nevertheless, some are still confused. Congress warns the country that the danger is not over and that an insurmountable barrier must be raised to the conspirators' plans.

We Communists distinguish strictly between the economic and professional demands of members of the armed forces, demands which we support, and the conspiratorial tendency shown by the reactionary elements of the armed forces, who are responsible for the condition of these servicemen and who, nevertheless, try to take advantage of the latter's aspiration to retain their own privileges and achieve goals contrary to the interests of the people and the military establishment itself.

We Communists do not take a biased view of the armed forces. They are a state institution, but saying so is not enough to give the right idea of all servicemen. It is quite clear that the armed forces are not an instrument of the people. But neither must they necessarily be an appendage of imperialism and an obsequious servitor of reaction. Hence we Communists, while rejecting all military solutions, do not raise an insurmountable wall between the civilian population and the military in striving to solve the problems of our country.

U.S. imperialism presents a threat to the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of every country, above all of countries like Chile where it has important interests.

We consider that the future popular government should concern itself with implementing a modern patriotic and popular doctrine of national defense. A necessary principle of this doctrine should be to strengthen all the armed forces and enhance their national character, which is incompatible with any attempt to use them for suppressing the people or to involve them in actions in which foreign powers are interested. We share the criteria set by the founders of the Republic, who formed the armed forces to fight for the independence of the country and for the Chilean people's right to have a government chosen by the majority of the population.

Uniting the people is a principle justified by history and is the only way in which the problem of power can be solved in favor of the people. Popular unity is the road to the Chilean revolution, and the struggle to achieve and promote it has always been a standing revolutionary task of the Communists. The unity we have in mind retains its validity irrespective of whether elections are held and whether or not they are preceded by election battles. We have in mind the most diverse fronts on which the struggle goes on and the possibility of the revolutionary process in Chile being embarked on a different course by events.

We seek a militant unity expressing itself in every battle, small and big alike. We seek a solid alliance based on a common program and not on the will of a messianic leader. We want popular unity around the working class, and we consider that other social classes and the progressive segments of the population and their political organizations should assume part of the responsibility.

We declare for every left-wing party or alignment contributing its share to the common effort from the standpoint of its own ideological position and without changing its character, and for continuously and fruitfully confronting ideas and views, which would help to eliminate factors likely to cause division. Differences have social and even historical roots and the enemy tries to use them.

The unity we are striving for calls for mutual loyalty, a continuous search for united action, joint activity resulting from exchanges of views, the adoption of collective decisions, and the renunciation of warring factions within the framework of popular unity.

The Communist Party attaches decisive importance to unity between Socialists and Communists. We hope that the differences dividing us will never endanger our common stance and that we will be able to accentuate what unites us and not contradictory aspects, as has unfortunately been the case more than once. We see Socialist-Communist unity not as a factor opposing them to other forces of the Left but, on the contrary, as a factor uniting all these forces.

In spite of the differences and difficulties that arise, mutual understanding between our parties is a reality. It expresses itself in the anti-imperialist struggle, in internationalist solidarity, in the opposition to the government, in support for the demands of the workers, peasants and the people as a whole, in many other actions, and in the aspiration to a common goal, socialism. It follows that this unity has a real and solid basis for development.

The framework of the alliance and the scope of popular unity are determined by the nature of the Chilean revolution. The most revolutionary task in Chile today is to fight for the abolition of

imperialism and the power of the monopolist and landed oligarchy, for socialism will have no perspective unless this task is accomplished.

Spokesmen of all the parties and movements represented on the Coordinating Committee for Left Unity used the Congress rostrum to voice their views on the problems of the country and on popular unity. We set great store by their contribution. Congress noted with deep satisfaction the presence of members of the United Popular Action Movement among these forces. It gave a fraternal welcome to representatives of the Radical Party, who ranged their organization alongside the left-wing forces. Their participation—together with the Social Democrats, members of Independent Popular Action and other independent groups of the Left—in the common effort opens the prospect of victory for the Chilean people.

We Communists maintain that all the forces that can contribute to the fight against imperialism and the oligarchy should take their place within the system of popular unity. This is the only way in which we can set up a front capable of carrying out a genuine revolution.

This united front would, therefore, bring together social and political forces among which there are and will be differences. We do not make a secret of these differences among the people. In fact, this is why we insist on the complete class independence of our Party as the spokesman of the proletariat and strive to increase the vanguard role of the working class as the revolutionary process goes on.

The 14th Congress of Chile's Communists states proudly that in recent years our working class has strengthened its role as the motive power of the Chilean revolution and the center of attraction of popular unity. The working class has been building up this role while extending its fight for its demands and heightening its ability to identify itself specifically and effectively with the aspirations of all progressive strata of the population.

The proletariat's level of organization has risen sharply in recent years. The working class has successfully thwarted attempts to split it by means of parallel unions and made important progress in strengthening and extending trade union unity in the ranks of the United Trade Union Center of Working People.

This is an earnest of the perspective of the Chilean revolution, for the working class is the only consistently revolutionary class whose historic mission is to build socialism and deliver society from every form of oppression. Furthermore, it is the most numerous class in our country, which is growing faster than any other class as social development goes on and which has the highest standard of organization. We call on the Party to help enhance

the role of the working class, solve outstanding problems of the trade union movement, reorganize it on broader and more dynamic principles, organize the unorganized, defeat economism and apolitical attitudes among the working class, and raise its standard of solidarity with every social struggle of the working class itself and of other segments of the people.

The Party must step up its activity among the peasants so as to settle the dispute between the landowners and the bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the proletariat, on the other, in favor of the revolution and exert decisive influence on the rural population. Success in this will be a result of new gains in organizing agricultural workers, tenants and members of agricultural cooperatives and in radicalizing the agrarian reform, and of the determination to devote greater attention to the non-proletarian sections of the rural population.

We call on the Party, the working class and the whole people to give the most active support to the fight of the peasants in order to help solve the problem of hunger.

Congress, which was also addressed by Mapuche delegates, stated that this people, which for hundreds of years was brutally oppressed, is asserting its nationhood. Our Party, which supports the national rights of the Mapuches, has handed them a banner of struggle that helps to strengthen their will for liberation.

We in Chile are witnessing a considerable growth of the political activity of the younger generation, which is becoming an important factor for social struggle and an ally of the working people seeking revolutionary change.

The Communist Party thinks highly of the decisive role which the Communist Youth League has to play in developments agitating the younger generation.

Congress heard with deep feeling a tribute from the younger generation of Communists reaffirming its loyalty to the Party.

Chile's women are taking an increasing part in politics and in organizing the struggle of working men and women and the whole people.

The urban population is becoming more organized, and there is an increase in the number of neighborhood councils, which are gaining prestige in their sphere of activity. The fight for more housing, urban improvement, public health, schools and nurseries and for the abolition of the hated "readjustment" system is on the rise.

The struggle for the right to a decent home is mobilizing thousands of women, who form committees to engage in vigorous revolutionary action.

On the other hand, the increasing inability of the capitalist sys-

tem to satisfy social needs, which are growing in step with the rapid growth of mankind's abilities, impinges on large groups of people who at one time were satisfied by their conditions. Our country is strongly influenced by world phenomena, such as the rebellious spirit of young people representing the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie, the ability of more and more Christians to find in their religious views a reason to reject the establishment and support the revolution, the impact of the scientific and technological revolution expressing itself in the rise of a growing number of revolutionary and radical trends among the intellectuals and its role in hastening the realization by large groups of the middle strata of the fact that their interests are irreconcilable with those of the big monopolies and that the monopolies manipulate the state apparatus to subject and exploit them.

Thus the social basis of the movement has extended through the influx of new forces. This provides the working class and its vanguard, the principal makers of revolutionary conditions, ample opportunities for alliance.

Congress regards these phenomena as positive facts and announces that its mind is open to them. We recognize the value of these new forces and consider it our duty to conduct an intense ideological struggle for unity in order to help them the more speedily to cast off the burden of the alien, reformist or leftist ideas and trends they bring into the popular movement.

Leftism manifests itself as a more or less widespread trend among the new forces and among certain left-wing parties, and is the banner under which anti-Communist groups operate from ultra-revolutionary positions. It expresses itself in revolutionary phrasemongering, in irresponsible appeals for armed struggle, in the tendency arbitrarily to restrict the range of the proletariat's alliances.

We Communists draw a precise distinction between forces which let themselves be carried away by revolutionary talk and anti-Communist groups. We do not take a scornful or dogmatic stand on the former. As for anti-Communist groups, we rule out all possibility of reaching mutual understanding with, or making concessions to them and we expose the role they play as provocateurs in the service of reaction and imperialism, even though they may include elements which may arrive at correct positions under the influence of revolutionary practice and criticism.

Our ideological fight must take account of this fact to gain firmness and increase its ability to convince.

A pressing political task flowing from the very nature of the social process in Chile is to unite all the forces rejecting passivity and seeking revolutionary change. Their unity will bring about popular unity and pave the way for victory.

Congress had the privilege of being attended by delegations from numerous fraternal Communist and Workers' parties. Their speeches were evidence of the identity of the struggle of the peoples of the world and convinced us Chilean Communists even more strongly that our struggle is both national and internationalist because in either case the enemy—imperialism—is the same.

The fight of every people for its independence, for democracy and socialism, is linked with the worldwide struggle against imperialism. The stronger the unity of the anti-imperialist camp, primarily of the international working-class movement, the sooner will this struggle lead to victory.

That is why Congress hails the decisions of the international Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties, which listed as the main goals the common fight of all the anti-imperialist forces of the world, all-round support for the heroic people of Vietnam, the fight against the war menace, for peace and peaceful coexistence, every aspect of the struggle for disarmament and, first of all, for a ban on the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the fight against local wars and other forms of imperialist interference and aggression, the offensive against the remnants of colonialism, an inexorable reaction to every manifestation of fascism, the most determined fight against the ideology and any practice of racial discrimination or anti-Semitism, and a continuous struggle to democratize every aspect of public life.

We Chilean Communists take a legitimate class pride in the existence of the socialist community whose main bulwark is the Soviet Union. We again signify our resolve to do all in our power to support and defend its integrity. Speaking from the Congress rostrum, fraternal Party representatives from the socialist camp told about the important achievements of their countries. These achievements confirm the superiority of their social system. Imperialist propaganda is striving above all else to spread the poison of anti-Sovietism. It resorts to every manner of intrigue, maneuver and attack against the Soviet Union, the world's main anti-imperialist bastion. We Chilean Communists will yield no ground to these aspirations of the enemy. In this, we will be prompted primarily by the interests of our people.

We Communists consider that the contribution of every people to the fight against imperialism should consist, first of all, in stepping up its own revolutionary effort. However, this effort is inseparable from the international solidarity of the forces opposing the enemy of all peoples throughout the world. International solidarity is a specific form of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Congress calls on the Party, the working class and the people of Chile to take new initiatives and carry out broader mass actions

for solidarity with the embattled people of Vietnam, for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam, for an end to that barbarous and brutal aggression.

Our primary duty from the standpoint of Latin American solidarity is to defend socialist Cuba, whose victorious revolution helps to raise the militancy of the working people of the continent.

The anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America is on the rise. Delegates from fraternal Latin American parties spoke of the powerful struggles of the masses in their countries against imperialism and the oligarchy and against their servile governments. This makes it our internationalist duty to identify ourselves more actively with the peoples of the continent. We must fulfil this duty all the more because U.S. imperialism openly expresses its readiness to subdue the peoples of Latin America by means of military dictatorships.

Every delegate's speech brought out the greatness of Lenin and his revolutionary work. Lenin's contribution and ideas are particularly important now that the reactionaries give vent to their hatred while ultra-leftists resort to venomous allegations in an effort to drown the Communists' voice and push them into the background.

Our entire activity is inspired by Lenin's ideas. We borrow from Lenin's legacy his firmness and flexibility in creatively applying Marxism, his uncompromising stand against opportunist conciliation, his ability to face the enemy, and his tried and tested determination in upholding Communist principles.

We call on the Party and the working people to set out during the Lenin centenary celebrations to study and implement Lenin's ideas according to the victorious principles of Leninism, and to strengthen the Party with the same indomitable will and boundless faith in the masses as was shown by Lenin.

Congress states that we have a politically strong, united and healthy Communist Party loved and esteemed by the people, a party that has grown ideologically and is free from internal discord.

The Party membership has more than doubled since the 13th Congress. We have considerably improved our standing in the working-class movement and have strengthened and extended our positions in the rural areas, among the most diverse sections of the university community, among women and young people. We have achieved a level of development and influence unprecedented in the Party's history.

Congress proceeded amid a violent anti-Communist campaign, which on its opening day was launched by the most notorious mouthpiece of imperialism and the oligarchy. We must take this

as a warning, for the coming period of struggle will be one of sustained pressure on the Party. This situation makes it our duty as the vanguard of the working class and the whole people to be more exacting in regard to our organizational, political and ideological positions. Congress calls on the Party membership actively to counter gross attempts to misrepresent our policy to the people. These attempts are designed to undermine our prestige, isolate us, distort our policy and arouse distrust of us among the people. But above all they are aimed at diverting our Party from its positions of principle, from the path charted by its congresses, a path proved correct by life.

To be able to assume the full responsibility for the country's destiny, which the people are putting in our hands, and to ensure that our presence becomes more effective in everyday political struggles, we must carry on our work, striving to strengthen the Party numerically, ideologically and politically and to increase its influence. We must steadfastly consolidate our proletarian positions, extend our activity among the masses, with special emphasis on the distribution of our press as an ideological instrument, promote collective leadership, internal democracy, criticism and self-criticism in our ranks, react to new social developments and master every form of struggle.

Congress has approved amendments to the Party Rules to ensure that these tasks are accomplished most effectively.

We are proud to state that our Party is daily becoming a party of the new type, which the people recognize and commend for its disinterestedness and abnegation, for its effort to achieve popular unity, most working people regarding it as their own party expressing *their* aspirations, offering them guidance and leading them into action, a party prompted primarily by the interests of the proletariat and inspired by deep and fruitful patriotism, a party to which Chile and the cause of the revolution are above everything else.

Congress is convinced that the Communist Party of Chile will play a decisive role as it proceeds along these lines in translating the potentialities of the Chilean people's movement into reality and in paving the way for the revolution in our country.

INTERVIEW* WITH GUSTAV HUSAK, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC CPC

Q. Comrade Husak, what do you think of the year 1969 in terms of the effort to lead our Party and society out of the crisis?

A. Every citizen will have readily noticed the changes that have come about. Let us recall what the situation was like a year ago. The Party was divided and incapacitated. And what was the state of our mass organizations, the state of the trade unions? The Czech Metalworkers' Union presented an ultimatum, threatening to call a general strike. Most of the mass media played into its hands. There were student strikes, and other demonstrations were afoot. Let us recall the January events in Prague. Nobody, not even the Party leadership, knew how any week would turn out, whether we wouldn't again have to muster all forces to keep the peace.

There was no certainty—neither political, social, economic, nor international. The foundations of socialism were impaired, they were disrupted and undermined to the utmost. All that was left was an illusion known as the "new model" of socialism, that petty-bourgeois notion of socialism, and camouflaged anti-socialist aspirations of domestic and foreign political origin.

The changes that have occurred are of considerable importance. The principles of our society and our Party work have been consolidated throughout the Party, throughout society. We have restored the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which all the sound forces of our Party and society are coming to support. That isn't little compared with the chaos and unrest and tension and crises we had. We have re-established the Party's leading role and are gradually strengthening mass organizations and government agencies. The economy has made appreciable headway. We have stripped Right-wing, hostile forces of their main instruments of power—in the press, in government agencies and elsewhere.

Q. Those changes began in April. Before that time, the effort for consolidation only expressed itself in various ways in the will of a segment of the Party membership which the leadership of the time could not react to. Why in April and not earlier?

A. Before April 1969 there was an internal struggle in all Party committees and in its leadership between those who may be called sound Marxist forces, on the one hand, and petty-bourgeois and Rightist influences in the Party and anti-socialist influences in

*CTK release, January 8, 1970.

society, on the other. I will say openly that in December 1968 or January 1969 every decision involved a stubborn fight in the leadership. Even when a decision was adopted some simply boycotted it. They held very important, key political posts. This fate befell, for example, the statement adopted by the Presidium of the CC CPC early in January 1969.

Q. That means that the decision about the need to lead our country, Party and society out of the crisis did not really come until April. Before that there was nothing but appeals for "calm" put in general terms. The fact that we were in crisis was not officially admitted because to state that at the time would in itself have meant accusing the leadership. Would you call that a turning point?

A. Yes, April was a turning point. The Central Committee, or its overwhelming majority, realized the need to stop marking time and provided the organizational prerequisites for it. The new Presidium of the CC CPC became the main factor in the struggle to end the crisis. It organized the struggle against the forces that had caused and aggravated the crisis. It deprived of their influence people who had tolerated the existence of those forces. The Presidium's unity of views on the evolution of the situation and its unity of action marked the beginning of the settlement of the situation.

In other words, April 17, 1969, meant an end to the crisis situation in the Presidium of the CC CPC as an important political factor, for it was from the Presidium that the crisis situation spread to every echelon of the Party and hence to society as a whole.

Q. After the April Plenum development in the Party assumed a new pace and many people began to see clearly. But that pace was not the same everywhere. How far are we succeeding, or have succeeded to date, in leading the Party and society out of the crisis situation?

A. The Party leadership acted on the principle of beginning with the main factor. The main factor in resolving the crisis situation was the Party and in the Party it was primarily the key sectors—the center, the regions and the districts. It was in these key sectors that we had to begin resolving the situation. Today, eight months later, we may say that the line evolved in April and specified in May and September gained the upper hand at the center and in the regions and districts. The key sectors of the Party and its more active members, the sound core of the Party in these sectors, were a mobilized force adhering to common principles, the force which subsequently influenced the whole of society. These sectors therefore received the greatest attention.

This process must now take place in all organizations, which still have considerable shortcomings. I mean explanatory work

first of all. A substantial proportion of the Party membership is still passive. We must also finish settling the question of Party membership in the case of people who stick to plainly hostile positions and refuse or are unable to correct their erroneous positions. We want to complete this process in the Party this year.

When the situation in the main core of the Party became more or less stabilized, we had to solve problems in other sectors. The changes brought about in the trade unions, for example, are of some importance although shortcomings in their lower echelons are still rather numerous. A similar process is going on in all other mass organizations, among the youth, etc. It now encompasses all that in our country is called—not too accurately—the “political system.”

Q. Some comrades have a feeling, however, that the pace of the process is sluggish.

A. But there is a reason for that “sluggishness.” It is due to the depth of the crisis, which could not be dealt with promptly. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that explanation was a difficult process. Many people were misinformed and misled, they didn’t know many of the facts. The amount of documentary evidence *Rudé Pravo*, for one, has published since April! However, changes had to be brought about before this activity of *Rudé Pravo* became possible at all. People asked for documents and facts, we had to inform and persuade them. This battle for people’s minds, in which big changes have taken place in the past two years, cannot be fought out in a few months.

Q. The sphere of power is one of the main factors, of course.

A. By all means. The sphere of state power was highly important. Its very foundations were seriously undermined. The idea that the socialist state is the power instrument of the working class and other working people enabling them to safeguard the interests of social development and the goals of socialism against all who try to prevent their attainment was virtually forgotten in 1968 and even earlier.

From 1960 on, the notion of a supra-class state of the whole people had been gaining ground in our country, various stages were skipped and it was alleged that we had already reached a situation in which class antagonisms no longer had any effect or any adverse effect. Ideas like “all citizens are alike,” “freedom for all,” “an equal share for all” and so on were advocated. And this was done regardless of who wanted what, whether the activity of this or that individual tended to strengthen or weaken the socialist state. No account was taken of existing trends, of the nature of the various groups, and so on. It was forgotten that we had had, or still had, remnants of the one-time bourgeois classes and a sub-

stantial proportion of members of the petty bourgeoisie, that we had among us people who before February (1948—Ed.) were members of bourgeois parties, that many of them hadn't changed their approach to problems, that their views continued to be diffused among, say, young people, that imperialist propaganda was exerting a strong influence, that we had our own mistakes and shortcomings which affected people's thinking, etc.

In 1960 the Party leadership drew the wrong conclusion that by changing property relations we had also transformed people's thinking, so much so that the state of the whole people had become a reality in our country and we could stop interpreting the socialist state as the dictatorship of the proletariat. This naive attempt to skip whole stages was harmful. In 1968 this idea was disguised by abstract catchwords of freedom, democracy, humanity, a new model of socialism, and so on. I say "disguised" because those who propagated them knew very well what they were after.

State power was in effect undermined everywhere—in the armed forces, security bodies and the government apparatus. The anti-socialist and Rightist forces had their men, indeed organized instruments of power, in this sphere, from the lowest to the highest government agencies. The purpose of cleansing these organs of state power, the governments and parliaments, the armed forces and security bodies was to make them dependable instruments of the socialist state safeguarding socialism. In this respect, too, much has been done in recent months.

Q. What is your opinion of the stage of our economic development coinciding with the process of political consolidation? Specifically, what about the reform?

A. The Central Committee is going to discuss those problems at its January meeting. Attempts to implement an economic reform in the late fifties and then in the sixties did not help our economy out of its plight. We must ponder the positive and negative aspects of that reform. The fact is that in these past years we haven't overcome our difficult situation. In 1968 the concept of a commodity economy gained ascendancy in our country, the plan as the central regulating factor was renounced and spontaneity got the green light in the economy.

The 1969 plan was called merely an "economic guideline." It was not the title that was wrong. The mistake lay in the fact that adherence to the guideline providing for the satisfaction of definite needs of the Czechoslovak economy was not binding on the enterprises. Nor did the enterprises heed it. There was no way of making them fulfil tasks concerning the whole of society. The door to spontaneity was also thrown open in foreign trade. The whole sphere of economic management was weakened and disrupted. The ex-

tremely dangerous inflationary trends became more marked, wages and other incomes of the population soared by roughly 25 per cent, or 44,000 million korunas, in two years. Production was in a state of virtual stagnation, output in some important branches, such as consumer goods, even dropped, many enterprises manipulated prices to secure what at first sight seemed to be an advantageous position.

After April we also set out to consolidate the economy, that is, we adopted a policy aimed, first of all, at eliminating all those dangerous trends. Eighteen months later the CC Presidium tackled economic problems again. The government promptly took measures against inflation. They involved wages, prices, investments and foreign trade. We made clear that it was necessary to draw up a plan binding on the enterprises and taking into account the interests of the whole of society.

The first results are in. They are revealed by a comparison of the two entirely different halves of 1969. Let me show this by citing some of the latest official data.

Labor productivity in industry in the first half of 1969 increased by a mere 2.9 per cent over 1968 while wages went up 7.8 per cent. In the second half, productivity is expected to have risen by some six per cent and wages, roughly four per cent. Or take gross industrial output. It increased by 3.7 per cent in the first half and as much as 6.5 per cent in the second. The number of new building projects has been substantially reduced and foreign trade has improved.

But that isn't enough, of course. We must re-establish the whole management system. The ministries, general departments and enterprise managements have yet to rise fully to their role. There are still some residues of anarchy in foreign trade, etc.

We are now revising the whole concept of our economic policy. We had to revert from the concept of virtually unplanned and, in effect, spontaneous development, a concept smuggled into practice by Sik and Co., and providing tremendous opportunities for abuses at the expense of society, to planned socialist economic management.

The new plan is based on the principle of controlling prices, wages, investments and production. We have even resorted to a price freeze—the government has prohibited wholesale and retail price increases. This is the exact opposite of the previous concept of permanently fluid prices. The principle we uphold in our plans and try to impress on people's minds is that the economy can make progress only by raising and intensifying production, through technological advance and higher labor productivity, and that we can only distribute what is created through labor.

Q. A summary should include our international relations. There

was a certain crisis in this sphere and the April Plenum helped us out of it. Why didn't that come earlier?

A. At the CC meeting in September 1969 and on other occasions we said openly that crisis relations had developed between our country and our allies. They were caused by our country, by unhealthy and dangerous developments here, by the growth of destructive forces. There was an attempt to sever our country from the socialist community through internal change, to achieve a political leadership so composed as to make it possible "quietly" to move Czechoslovakia to the other side. Our socialist neighbors could not look indifferently on what was taking place on their frontiers, in an allied country.

The lampoon now published in Vienna by Pelikan shows what were the ends to which the CPC congress was to have been used, what those tactics meant, who was to have won, what forces decided on this, and so on. Those were the roots of the trends that objectively endangered socialist society in our country and infringed and greatly affected our relations of alliance until the August solution.

But why did critical tensions between us and our allies last till April 1969? The reasons were inner-political again.

The new leadership realized that we must settle our relations with our allies but that we could normalize them only if we succeeded in consolidating the situation at home. It is like communicating vessels. The Rightists in the Party leadership would never have normalized these relations because they themselves were steering developments against normalization, and mere declarations were not enough.

But now, at the close of several months, we have achieved complete confidence between our country and the Soviet Union and our other allies. We don't owe this to fine words but to the trend of development in Czechoslovakia, a trend proving that the new Party leadership is striving in good faith to consolidate the situation in Czechoslovakia as a socialist state, in complete accordance with our national and international interests.

Developments at home and abroad are interconnected, they were also interconnected last year, before the crisis. Dangerous development at home leads to crisis while development towards consolidation makes for the consolidation of mutual relations. We have registered notable gains in this respect and it is now safe to say that our relations with our allies are genuinely friendly.

Naturally, this is having its effect on the international working-class movement as a whole. Most Communist parties today support this process and take a favorable view of development in Czechoslovakia. They regard our Party as a Marxist party striving

in difficult conditions to solve problems from the standpoint of principle. That is why at the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties our Party took its traditional place and restored its honor as a revolutionary party.

The international standing of Czechoslovakia has improved and strengthened as a whole. Even the bourgeois world has no doubts about Czechoslovakia. It seizes on every opportunity to revile and slander us but acknowledges it as a weighty fact that Czechoslovakia is a member of the socialist community, to which it actually wants to belong, and that no chance circumstances can affect the political attitude of the CSSR.

Q. Comrade Husak, there is one more thing that makes us look back. Two years have passed since the Central Committee met in January 1968. It would be interesting to recall and examine that event once again. But first may I ask you a rather personal question: in what capacity and with what hopes did you follow the January Plenum of the CC CPC?

A. In what capacity? I was an ordinary member of the Party. My CPC membership was restored after rehabilitation in 1963. But I wasn't allowed to resume political activity. From 1963 to 1967 I did research at the Slovak Academy of Sciences. I took a very sympathetic view of the course of events, which in the autumn of 1967 began to pick up speed. Naturally, I welcomed all the positive things that had taken place in previous years, irrespective of my own fate. But I also saw serious defects. And that is why in 1964 I declined the post of deputy minister I was offered—I felt it couldn't solve the problem.

The personnel situation was such that people who for fifteen years had been responsible for development in the country—meaning both good and bad development—could not correct themselves. They had become an obstacle. I mean primarily Antonin Novotny. The developments I watched in 1967 gave me the impression—although I lacked adequate information on numerous details and on the merits or demerits of this or that individual—that a new situation might develop in the Central Committee and the Party, that shortcomings would come to be removed more promptly, that it would become possible to solve pressing problems.

That is why I supported the changes that occurred in the Party leadership in January 1968. That is why I was willing to help the new leadership solve problems constructively. Those were great hopes, they promised further progress both in the Party and in society.

Q. Some people claim, however, that January meant a "coup" in the Party. They say the tragedy we went through wouldn't have

occurred if it hadn't been for January. Could January really be avoided?

A. We could have avoided solving precisely in January all that was solved in that month. Perhaps it shouldn't have been done in January. It could have happened in some other month or, given definite circumstances, in some other year. The problems facing us had come to a head years before. They had to be solved, sooner or later.

I know that some people say life in our society would have been peaceful but for January. I think nobody had expected that the movement which began before and in January 1968 would be headed by a so weak, heterogeneous or incapable leadership, one that would allow so destructive a development. We can state without the slightest hesitation that such a development in our country after January was neither inevitable nor necessary. Only a large measure of political naivete—not to use a different phrase—could lead to the situation in which we found ourselves afterwards.

It was not a question of any coup. The Central Committee is free to replace its leading functionaries. No one can be First Secretary, President, Minister, and so on, all his life. Those who allege that it was a question of a coup or that January paved the way for counter-revolution refuse to see the crisis situation we had in our country before January. Perhaps they want to maintain the positions they themselves held before January 1968.

That means they don't know what development in the Party and in society is like. Neither society nor the Party can be in a state of stagnation, marking time. On the contrary, they must always solve their problems in time, according to the objective needs and requirements of people and the economy. That was the meaning of January.

Q. But, on the other hand, it is obvious that the Rightists in the Party and even the reactionaries in society managed to use January as a smokescreen. The meaning of January was interpreted in different ways. What was its meaning in your opinion?

A. I spoke of this before April 1969, at the Central Committee meeting. It all depends on the standpoint from which you approach January. Approaching January as Communists, from the Marxist standpoint, we must say that its purpose was to remove obstacles to more effective development in the Party and in our society, to remove mistakes and deformations and solve urgent problems of socialist development.

That was the meaning of January, and that is how Marxists should interpret it. January was a critical reappraisal of the previous stage, a step to eliminate shortcomings in our activity and a search for more correct methods.

In that sense January was inevitable in our country. We had to enter a new phase of development and discard bureaucratic or dogmatic notions and practices.

We mustn't forget, however, that January was also hailed by other forces, anti-socialist ones, by forces which saw developments in a different light.

Q. They wanted to turn January into an "anti-February."

A. The past two years have shown, indeed, that we had whole groups of political forces which wanted to bring back the conditions prevailing before February 1948 and have their revenge for the victory of the working class. Those forces made a show of welcoming January although they pinned on it hopes all their own. January was also welcomed by Right-wing forces in the Party which, however, wanted to infuse the socialist system with certain petty-bourgeois notions.

Various intellectuals, for their part, had a concept of their own. They saw groups of intellectuals as a kind of leading "elite" that must predetermine the evolution of the state, and so on.

So many diverse social and political groups, so many diverse trends, so many different views on January.

Q. That is, in all probability, one reason why there is now less talk about January. Does it mean that in our policy January is a thing of the past?

A. The policy of our Party will carry forward all the positive things we had at any stage. At the same time we are going to get rid of all negative things. This means that we will do away with the mistakes and shortcomings that existed before January 1968, that we will criticize and disclose them and get rid of them. We will also get rid of all the shortcomings of the post-January period, of all Rightist, anti-socialist trends, and will combat them. But we will carry forward all the positive things linking January with people's and the objective requirements of our society. We will carry forward—taking a critical approach to the whole of development—all that was sound in the Party and its Marxist policies.

Regrettably, we are now in a much worse economic and political situation because post-January developments strongly affected people's mentality and activity.

Q. Moreover, we adopt various unpopular measures. People see a certain contradiction here.

A. Of course, we also carry out many unpopular measures. To use a figure of speech, the enemy has set fire to our home. We must now put out the fire so as to rebuild our home. We are putting out the fire so that it cannot destroy or blow up everything, so that crisis phenomena will not plunge us from one tragic situation to another. This is not a pleasant pastime at all but hard work.

We must prepare a reform in the economy and in political life and gradually carry forward all that we call, in Marxist terms, the ideas of January.

Q. In January 1968 the Party leadership set itself the task of working out and normalizing relations between Party and non-Party bodies to allow, according to the resolution, proper scope for the initiative of Communists working in non-Party agencies and to heighten their sense of responsibility as Party members. Does that intention stand? Doesn't it contradict what we are actually going back to, that is, the principles of the Party's leading role in society?

A. It didn't contradict those principles, nor does it contradict them now. Relations between the Party and various public organizations in the past were hierarchic, meaning that those organizations were directly subordinated and merely carried out orders. That was a wrong practice. Not only is the decision to search for new relations valid but we are already putting them on a different basis. Take the largest mass organization, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. Through the Communists active in the trade unions we try to ensure adherence to the main political principles we now consider indispensable. Otherwise the trade union movement is developing actively as an autonomous movement. No one is trying to keep it in tutelage, no one orders it about in a petty way as was done in the past.

Or take the economic sphere. The economic agencies are operating autonomously, assuming the responsibility for what they do. Not a single Party committee intends to be a substitute for the government, the mass organizations or economic agencies.

This marks a change of method. Naturally, we reject the practice current before April 1969, in the period when the Party, and above all its leadership, virtually took no interest in what the mass organizations were doing, in what was going on in them or in the economy, as if it hadn't been the ruling party at all, a party responsible for every sphere of public life.

However, the system of relations between the Party and non-Party bodies is still incomplete. The idea of the January Plenum you mentioned is now being put into practice.

Q. Most Communists regard it as criticism of unsound conditions in the Party to criticize conditions in which the opportunities of Party organizations to voice their opinion on policy-making were restricted and there was growing apathy, passivity and other sentiments resulting from it. Is there any remedy against an eventual relapse?

A. That remedy is theoretically known. It is constant self-critical analysis of our work, from the lower organizations and individual

members to the highest bodies. We simply cannot allow a situation in which the whole Party or its committees are afraid to express their opinion, to put it to the test in any way, and in which there is nothing but relations of unquestioning subordination. This self-critical attitude should be maintained and strengthened in the Party. This should be done even at the risk of occasionally bringing on unwarranted critical pressures or positions.

This risk does exist and we are aware of it today. We still hear certain critical views which we personally may consider wrong but which we must discuss so as to persuade people. You cannot strike the table with your fist, as if to say that it's the leadership's business and no one else's, that nobody else can talk about it, that there will be no discussion and that's the long and short of it. We must talk with people and persuade them and win them ideologically.

True, post-January developments also revealed another dangerous trend. I mean boycotting decisions and carrying on interminable discussions although there was a decision.

Inner-Party democracy consists of two parts: one is discussion, a truly free, democratic adoption of positions and the other, disciplined execution of a decision once it has been taken, and effort to carry it out. Democracy and discipline in the Party are inseparable.

We reject both blind, mechanical subordination and restriction of the activity of Party members and organizations, things that were typical of the pre-January period. But we also reject boundless democracy, or anarchy to be precise, a situation in which no organization is aware of its responsibilities flowing from, say, Central Committee decisions, anarchy undermining the Party organizationally, as it actually did in our case.

It follows that the universal remedy is a reversion to the Leninist principles of inner-Party life.

Q. We speak of the necessity for Party unity and, on the other hand, stress the necessity for discussion. Some of our critics ask us, therefore, if these requirements are compatible.

A. They are. In relation to basic ideological issues our Party envisages unity of views, of Marxist views, and that is why it is a "voluntary association of like-minded people." If there is discussion in which various questions can and must be freely aired and which ends in a decision, then everyone, whatever his personal opinion, must carry out the decision in disciplined fashion. Unity means unity of action. Anyone who refuses to submit to a decision resulting from discussion is undermining Party unity. I stress again that inner-Party democracy and discipline are interconnected and that together they make for closer unity of the Party. We want

conscious discipline. Decisions that are taken unquestioningly or mechanically are ineffective.

Q. Comrade Husak, we would like to go back once more to the issue of political power which you have already spoken about. We say in the Party that after January 1968 a trend of development was allowed which by its logic amounted to an attempt to effect an internal upheaval. In this connection we would like to recall that after February 1948 Comrade Gottwald said reaction had lost for good all chances of carrying out a coup in Czechoslovakia with the aid of internal forces. Afterwards, in 1960, when the new Constitution was adopted, we declared that socialism had triumphed definitively in our country. What is the reason for this contradiction, considering the events of 1968?

A. By announcing after-February that reaction was politically defeated, Gottwald put on record a fact of history. At that time, with so closely united a Communist Party and such strong support from the working people, there really were no internal forces in Czechoslovakia that could have turned development back. Later on, when it was said that socialism had triumphed and that the majority of people regarded it as the right political system, that statement, in its turn, was based on definite facts and experiences.

However, no social system is guaranteed forever against mistakes, blunders or spontaneous processes. Any good initiative, and at a certain stage even any gain, may lead to a very dangerous state of affairs if the policy is wrong and if hostile forces are allowed to operate. It was in 1968 that we gave an active opposition minority a free rein. The anti-socialist forces were not predominant in our country in relation to the population as a whole. Early in 1968 the masses were not influenced by Right-wing forces. But those forces had powerful media enabling them to influence society. Besides, anti-Party demagoguery was having its effect, the work done by the Party was smeared and so was our entire past. The Soviet Union, and all that was associated with socialism, was slandered.

Those forces carried on like that for months, for a year and a half, till April 1969. It is a fact that the former leadership allowed and enabled them to operate and tolerated their hostile activity.

We may well add to Gottwald's words what Lenin said after the revolution. He said nothing could defeat us except our own mistakes. In our case, mistakes piled up for years, long before January 1968, and afterwards they became even worse. Those were our own mistakes and they were used demagogically to weaken the positions of socialism and to create potential opportunities for the enemy.

We are not living in a vacuum but at the borderline of the imperialist world and we know the external forces which for many

years have been trying to undermine socialism in Czechoslovakia. Our enemies systematically play on such delicate issues as the national question, they foment nationalism and anti-Sovietism and fan religious sentiments. They even abuse such noble sentiments as the aspiration to freedom, democracy, humanism, and so on. The former Party leadership allowed these noble ideas, which the Communist Party has always championed, to be misused by the enemy against the Party and socialism.

Q. It might be opportune to ask ourselves self-critically: didn't we underrate for years what may be called the plainly subversive influence you are speaking about, as well as our ideological work?

A. We will have to return to this question again and again. For example, why is it that in a party like the CPC, a party having great fighting traditions, a party which led the people's national liberation struggle to February, a substantial proportion of the membership let themselves after twenty years be misled by incorrect slogans and couldn't see through them? The only reason for it must have been inadequate political work, ideological work, inadequate agitation and inadequate struggle against false theories. After February some people were naive enough to imagine that, with the bourgeoisie defeated, things would go swimmingly. But we have satisfied ourselves that things cannot go swimmingly.

People's mentality cannot change automatically in either ten, fifteen or twenty years to such an extent as to relieve the Party of the need to carry on the most vigorous political and ideological offensive. But there was no such offensive. Ideological life in the Party was held down more and more.

Let us recall the situation in recent years as regards Party studies, information of the membership on matters of home policy, explanatory work, people's activity, internationalist education. What was the source of all those chauvinist passions that broke out in 1968 against the Soviet Union and other allied countries and grew even between our peoples? People began to capitalize on discord between the Czechs and Slovaks, between the Slovaks and the Hungarians living in our country, because there were nationalist trends among the Hungarian and Slovak population. Even twenty years are not enough for survivals of the past to disappear altogether from people's minds.

Q. How was it that those forces could form inside the Party? How did they come into being?

A. We must speak again of shortcomings of the period before January 1968. Take, for example, the political trials. From the Czechoslovak point of view, the fact that certain distortions took place in so complex a period can be understood. But in 1954 and 1955 the leadership knew about those distortions very well. In 1956

the Soviet Union dealt with that problem at the 20th Congress of the CPSU. It began putting things right as far back as 1953. Poland, too, coped with the problem. The Hungarians tried to settle it openly. But in Czechoslovakia the problem was not dealt with in good faith.

Public opinion knew that those things were dealt with carelessly. It expected the problem of rehabilitation to be solved in the same way as in the Soviet Union, Hungary and Poland. But its solution in our country was frustrated from the first.

The problem was not solved and so tensions began to build up and an opposition camp developed in which there were bona fide Communists and outspoken enemies. Moral arguments and trump cards found themselves in the hands of the opposition. Had the Party solved those problems—which it could have done in the circumstances—it would have won the support of all fair-minded citizens and exposed those who were trying to profit from the correction of mistakes by using it against the Party and socialism.

In other words, the roots lie much deeper. There was also the peculiar Czechoslovak situation, that is, the fact that the leadership gradually found itself more or less in the hands of one man boasting very mediocre political qualities. He also predetermined the standard of work and the nature of policy.

Q. You mentioned the "peculiar Czechoslovak situation" before January 1968—the concentration of power in the hands of one politician and his abuse of it. That is a matter of principle also for the future. We trust that now, with the new composition of the leadership and in view of the experience gained, the road back to the fifties is cut off. But this faith and these assurances may be regarded as a promise, not a guarantee. How to create in Party and state a strong mechanism really guaranteeing that never again shall power be misused against society?

A. That is a very complicated matter. People have sought such a solution throughout the history of mankind. Certain guarantees can be provided to ensure that power does not fall into the hands of individuals or a small group, that government and other public bodies function democratically, that there is a definite distribution of power among the various agencies having the right of control and an atmosphere in which every excess can be criticized.

Of course, I wouldn't like to argue in purely theoretical terms. Take the recent months of our development. We can see that today it is impossible for anyone in the state leadership to abuse his authority. We have a sufficient number of agencies that would immediately step in.

To preclude the very possibility of abusing power means making this idea a permanent reality and guaranteeing public control over

the everyday life of society. This is a standing task. A public agency might tend to abuse the authority vested in it. There should therefore be another agency to exercise control over it at all times. For example, the Party today does not directly guide the activity of the security bodies. There are government bodies responsible for this sector. But these agencies, in their turn, are politically accountable to the Party, so that there is control. We have legal control and legal guarantees. But the main guarantee is people.

Q. Comrade Husak, we have a few more questions bearing on current inner-Party problems. For example, the Party leadership often stresses the need to finish the fight against the Right-wing forces. What does that mean right now?

A. First of all, we must politically defeat their views, their positions and arguments and demagogy. We must reveal that their views are incompatible with the Marxist conception of socialist society. We have already done much in this respect but we must work on, must reveal the danger of incorrect views in politics, in economy, in international relations. It is important for people to see the point at issue, so that they will stop seeing Rightist views through a kind of rose-colored glasses.

Another task, which I think we have also fulfilled to a degree, is the need to defeat the Right-wing forces in the Party as an organized entity. The Party must be solidly united on Marxist principles. It cannot tolerate any organized Right-wing group in its ranks as was the case in 1968 and in the first half of 1969.

A third task is to bring the misled back to a correct, Marxist position. People who have been misled should be re-educated and regained as bone fide members of the Party—that is, of course, if they are not deliberate instigators. In what way? Through persuasion, through honest political work and by encouraging their own activity.

Lastly, in the fourth place, the Party must part with those who have strongly discredited themselves and deliberately injured the Party and who persist in their wrong positions running counter to the Party's program, objectives and tasks.

These are, in rough outline, our tasks in this struggle.

I stress again that the Communist Party is a voluntary association of like-minded people and thus there is no room in it for those who do not share our common view. Those who want to fight against the Party cannot be in it. The Party must naturally part with this kind of people, cleanse itself of them. This will also be a guarantee that we will leave no organizational or ideological loopholes in the Party for advocates of Right-wing opportunism to resume their struggle against the Party at a "suitable" time, as certain people expect. This intention to "tide it over," to "dig in," is nothing

but an effort to hold the positions from which the Party could be attacked again as soon as an opportunity presented itself. We mustn't let that happen.

Q. What methods and criteria will the Party use to distinguish between the misled and the "misled"?

A. It is certainly necessary to see that distinction. But it should not be seen in general terms. It usually stands out more clearly in specific cases. Those who have deliberately and systematically misled others, and not for five minutes or a brief moment, can hardly be said to have been misled. Those who for years have misled or helped to mislead others are not people having passively accepted somebody else's ideas but are their obvious and active propagators.

However, those who for eighteen months listened to the radio and television and read the press and then repeated and accepted certain ideas which appealed to them for some reason, or who were captivated by those ideas, present us, needless to say, with a different case which we must handle with care.

We must also take this into account in exchanging Party membership cards. We are not going to assess people only on the basis of a brief period, of a few days or weeks. We will analyze the character of every person in its entirety, that is, will look into his life-long attitude to the idea of socialism and find out how he helped the Party achieve its objectives, how active he was, how far he sacrificed himself. If at some brief period he was somewhat in error, we must find out how he got rid of his error, how he corrected it, how actively he continues to participate in Party work, how he actually plans to overcome his shortcomings and mistakes. We are not interested in juggling with words but in deeds. If a person was in error, all the more should he now help the Party and persuade others who have been misled. He should be active.

If we consider people's entire character, their work before and after January 1968, to this day, it will be clear to us which of them were misled without inverted commas and which we cannot say to have been misled. And this will determine our approach to all these people.

Q. You mentioned the exchange of Party cards. What importance does the Party leadership attach to this campaign, which certainly isn't a purely organizational matter?

A. The exchange of Party cards was planned long ago. Last year it was put off because the situation was unsuitable. And now we want to use the exchange of Party cards to raise the political awareness and activity of the entire membership. It is not a question of a round-up of Party members but, on the contrary, of raising their militancy. It is important for every Communist to understand the policy of the Party, to see what we criticize and what we consider

positive and develop, so as to see clearly and to know why he must commit himself.

In this way we want to raise the ideological and political unity of the whole Party to a higher plane and make the Party more efficient. "Dead souls" won't help us in the Party, and still less will hostile people help us.

Q. Isn't there a danger that the exchange of Party cards may lead to excesses and violations?

A. There may be such a danger. The exchange will be carried on by people, and people don't have good qualities only, or not all people have them. In the case of excesses or of a misinterpretation of the position of the Central Committee people will be enabled to put things right, to appeal against incorrect decisions. We don't want to lose a single bona fide member but neither are we going to allow a single enemy to find shelter in the Party. We will follow the entire campaign to ensure that it does not become an arena for settling personal accounts or for foul play.

Q. Winter is normally the season of annual Party meetings. Are we to understand that the exchange of Party cards will delay them?

A. Yes, it probably will until the exchange is over in the branch organizations. Many branch organizations would find it difficult to sum up their activity on a common platform and discuss their next tasks and duties so as to work effectively.

Q. Could you in this connection give us your idea of the actual possibilities of preparing for the congress and for elections?

A. This matter was discussed at a recent meeting of the Central Committee. Holding the congress is conditional on the internal consolidation of the Party. The struggle in the Party has disrupted whole organizations. We must overcome this stage. When we have overcome it—and the exchange of Party cards should help us in this—the Party will be prepared to conduct the whole campaign, from the annual meetings to the congress.

Before the congress meets we want to focus the effort of the Party on the main, constructive political objectives. The Party is the leading political force in our society and its internal consolidation is a prerequisite of the political consolidation of the state.

That is why I think we should not expect elections to be held until after the Party congress. On the other hand, we cannot artificially reduce time limits if we want the congress and the elections to be successful. The evolution of the situation this year will suggest to us the time when the two campaigns should be held. This is one reason why we say that the year 1970 should see the conclusion of the process of consolidation in the Party and in our society.

Q. To conclude, Comrade Husak, what would you wish for yourself, the Party and the whole of society in the new year?

A. Speaking with a full sense of responsibility, I must say that I would like our effort for the consolidation of our Party and society to be crowned with success this year. This may sound modest, it may seem too little, so to speak. But I think that is a very great deal for Czechoslovakia's fourteen million people. Political consolidation should mean a tranquil life for people, respect for the law, the free development of society, favorable conditions for economic progress, stability, social security, a perspective for people, so that they don't have to live in daily uncertainty, so that there is no panic over supplies or over currency. All this should create conditions for people to live well, to be well off, and should make life worth living.

All this should create conditions for the energies of our people, both physical and mental, to be devoted to the growing prosperity of our society. Consolidation is a necessary stepping-stone to this.

We are working on a five-year plan. We have very many difficult economic problems to solve. We must put our economy on a sound basis and allow scope for its development.

I believe the results of the year in which we succeed in solving our problems will be assessed by millions of people as an important contribution to the progress of our society.

COMMUNIQUE*

Roger Garaudy has just published a new book entitled *The Great Turning Point of Socialism*. It sets forth ideological points of view and a political platform opposed to those of the French Communist Party.

The Central Committee has decided, as is customary before every congress, to open a general discussion. This discussion is developing throughout the Party on the basis of the draft theses adopted by the Central Committee. The Party's central press has opened a discussion forum.

Roger Garaudy, member of the Political Bureau, has a right to express his opinion in this discussion. Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the Party, invited him to do so at the Central Committee meeting on October 13 and 14 last. "On behalf of our Political Bureau," he said, "I would like to suggest to Roger Garaudy that he change his position, that is, uphold the Party's policy and agree to participate, like the whole Party membership, in the preparations for the 19th Congress according to the principles governing the Party and to its rules."

But Roger Garaudy, who refused to take part in the Central Committee's collective drafting of theses for the 19th Congress, chose a different way of expressing himself.

The reactionary forces, which are intent on blocking the movement of popular resistance to their policy, use every means at their disposal—state power, the radio, television, etc.—to step up their anti-Communist campaign. It is at this juncture that Roger Garaudy passes an important stage in the long evolution separating him from scientific socialism, by publishing his book which French radio and television hastened on December 4 to provide him the opportunity of presenting at length.

The book maintains a definite line, unanimously rejected by the Central Committee at its Champigny meeting in December 1968, which adopted the manifesto "For an Advanced Democracy, for a Socialist France."

Roger Garaudy explicitly proposes to the Party that it modify its strategy and tactics. He supports this with an analysis of the nature of our epoch which, nominally referring to Marx and Lenin, contains a fundamental revision of its historical materialist conception. This analysis is based on an extreme underestimation of the role of the relations of production, which leads to a very exaggerated view on the nature, pace and effects of the scientific and technological revolution.

**Humanité*, December 19, 1969.

On this basis, Roger Garaudy proposes a virtual renunciation of the class struggle. He questions the role of the working class, for which he substitutes a so-called "new historical bloc" as the leading force of the political and social movement. He goes so far as to put forward objectives consisting, not in combating exploitation and imperialism, but in "operating in the direction of a finalized capitalism in the United States, a democratized socialism in the Soviet Union, and a search for new criteria and new methods of development in the third world."

Saying nothing about the perspective of an advanced democracy leading to socialism, Roger Garaudy rejects a real policy of alliance of the working-class and democratic forces based on an effective alignment of the class forces and on their political expression.

These concepts amount to an outspoken rejection of the Leninist principles of the Communist Party. Democratic centralism, ideological unity and unity of decision and action are abandoned. For the first time dialectical and historical materialism are openly renounced as the universal method and conception of the world, as the philosophical foundation of the Party.

Instead of trying, like the whole Party, to maintain and strengthen the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement, Roger Garaudy launches an open and impermissible attack on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and numerous other fraternal parties of Europe and Latin America, thus violating once more the principles of proletarian internationalism and the decisions of the Central Committee. Faced with the exigencies of what he calls the "great mutation" of today, he puts capitalism and socialism on a par, but, having set out to transform the latter, he reserves for it the greater part of his attacks.

He condemns the whole period of building socialism, of which he refuses to see any but the dark aspects. As for the experience of the working-class movement, he borrows from it only a few elements which seem to him to prove his theses right.

Lastly, Roger Garaudy calls for a revisionist and divisive campaign on an international scale. With this end in view, he advocates an international agreement among those who are opposed to the line of the Communist and working-class movement and suggests that they should found a periodical.

These are the principal features of the platform presented by Garaudy. The Political Bureau, convinced that the whole Party will reject this line, will see to it that democratic discussion goes on throughout the Party on the basis of the draft theses. The 19th Congress will adopt the Party line, give new impetus to the implementation of its policy and strengthen the unity of its ranks and its leadership.

*Political Bureau
of the French Communist Party*

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