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FOR UNITY AND SOLIDARITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The international communist movement is marking the third anniversary of the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties. The Meeting's historical significance lies in the fact that it worked out and adopted a Statement which, together with the Declaration of 1957, formulates the general policy of the world communist and working-class movement and provides a creative Marxist-Leninist programme of action for the international working class.

What are the most important results of the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist Parties for implementation of the ideas contained in the Statement?

— The Soviet Union is successfully carrying out the great programme of communist construction, which is having an immense revolutionising influence on the minds of people the world over.

— The world socialist system has on the whole consolidated its economic and political positions in the international arena. After the victory of the revolution in Cuba the beacons of socialism now shine on three continents: Europe, Asia and America.

— The working class of the imperialist countries has improved its organisational standards and become more militant. It is developing economic and political battles against monopoly capital, more and more actively.

— The national-liberation movement has inflicted a series of powerful blows at the imperialists, and has entered a new and higher stage of development.

— The peaceloving forces, and especially the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, have managed in this period to hinder attempts by the aggressive circles of imperialism to start a world war.

— The number of Communist Parties has increased and the ranks of the international army of Communists and all the forces of peace and democracy have grown.

Two irrefutable conclusions are to be drawn from this.

The general line of the communist movement is a sound and profoundly revolutionary policy. In order to achieve new success and win victories, it is necessary to work and act in conformity with this policy.

The forces of socialism and the working-class and national-liberation movements have grown and today have still greater opportunities to implement the noble goals and tasks defined by the Statement.

I

The Communists have never concealed their aims and do not conceal them now. Their ideal is to build a society free of social inequality, of all forms of oppression and exploitation and of the horrors of war, a society which establishes Peace, Labour, Freedom, Equality, Fraternity and Happiness for all peoples on earth.

The Communists proceed from the premise that history is made by the masses themselves and that the victory of communism is to be achieved by the efforts of the working people. This new society will not be a gift from some benefactor, nor will it be brought on bayonets from outside. It will be established as a result of the revolutionary struggle and constructive efforts of the people themselves.

The general policy of the international communist movement provides an answer to the question both of the aims of its struggle and of the means by which these aims can be attained. This policy is shaped on the basis of a scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the historical stage through which mankind is now living. At the same time, this general policy expresses the determination of Marxists-Leninists not merely to explain what is going on in the world but also to change the world. That is why it calls for unity of action on the part of the fraternal parties and for their implementation of a unified strategy.

In working out its general policy the international communist movement was guided by Lenin's instructions that "events of the greatest historical importance can be understood only by analyzing, first of all, the objective conditions of the transition from one era to another."

"We cannot know," wrote V. I. Lenin, "how rapidly and with what measure of success the separate historical movements of a given era will develop. But we can know and do know **which class** is in the focus of this or that era, which class determines the main content of this era, the main trend of its development, the main distinguishing features of the historical

situation of this era, etc. It is only on this basis, i.e., by taking into account, first of all, the main features distinguishing the various 'eras' (and not individual episodes in the history of some of the countries) that we can correctly work out our tactics; it is only a knowledge of the basic features of a given era that can serve as a foundation for the assessment of the more concrete specific traits of this or that country." (Works. Vol. 21, p. 125).

In the light of this Leninist thesis it is absolutely clear that the discussion taking place in the international communist movement of such problems as what characterizes the epoch, its basic contradiction, and the appraisal of the role of the different revolutionary forces is of enormous principled political importance, and that the answer to these questions predetermines the strategy and tactics of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of 81 parties gave a precise, clear reply to these questions. It showed that the international working class and its main creation, the world system of socialism, hold the centre of the contemporary period and the principal characteristic of our time is that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.

It is precisely these new objective conditions which provide the opportunity for a new solution of the major problems of the present day in the interests of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The general line of the present-day international communist movement stems precisely from this. It was elaborated through analysing all the contradictions of the given historic stage and singling out the basic contradiction of the epoch. This contradiction at present is that between the two world systems, between the socialist and capitalist systems.

Singling out this contradiction as the basic one by no means signifies that the contradictions which are rending as under capitalist society are being concealed, ignored or belittled. In general, it would be most superficial to consider the given contradiction as only an outward contradiction as far as capitalism is concerned. Its origin is based on the contradiction between labour and capital, which has developed on a world-wide scale into a contradiction between opposing social-political systems. At the same time, deepening of the basic contradiction has an enormous influence on the revolutionary processes taking place within the capitalist system, accelerating them to a vast degree.

The meetings determined that the general line of the international communist movement at the given historic stage lies in preventing an armed conflict between the two systems and in

developing the class and national-liberation struggle and the struggle for socialism, which is on the upswing due to the internal contradictions inherent in the capitalist system.

The Statement stresses that the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence and economic competition between the socialist countries and the capitalist countries is the firm basis on which the foreign policy of socialist countries rests.

Marxists-Leninists consider the policy of peaceful coexistence not a tactical stratagem for a certain limited period, but a strategic policy for the entire period of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale.

Such an approach to the policy of peaceful coexistence is in accord with the present stage in world development when the appearance of thermonuclear weapons has increased incalculably the price which mankind would have to pay for a world war unleashed by imperialism, and when a real opportunity has arisen to avert a world war.

Marxism-Leninism has never been indifferent to the consequences to society of changes in the methods of waging war, in the arms used and the scale of their employment. V. I. Lenin called a world war the greatest of crimes and wrote that it would "undermine the very foundations of human society. Because it is for the first time in history that the most powerful achievements of technology are being applied on such a scale, so destructively and with such energy for the extirpation of millions of human lives." (Works, Vol. 27, p. 386. Rus. Ed.)

The world communist movement tells the peoples the entire truth about the threat of a thermonuclear war. A realistic, scientifically grounded understanding of the possible effects of a thermonuclear war mobilises the broad masses of the people to struggle against the militaristic designs of imperialism and against imperialism itself as a source of wars.

The Moscow Meetings of the Communist Parties defined the issue of war and peaceful coexistence as the crucial problem of world politics and posed the struggle for peace as the primary task of the communist movement.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is a policy of excluding armed methods of struggle and promoting principles of sovereignty, equality and non-interference in internal affairs among nations with different socio-economic systems. Under the conditions of peaceful coexistence, struggle between the two systems proceeds in the shape of economic competition and ideological struggle, these forms becoming more and more widespread, while war as a means of solving international issues must be ruled out.

The principle of peaceful coexistence operates exclusively in the sphere of relations between states. It does not, and cannot, apply to the class struggle against capital inside the bourgeois countries, or to the national-liberation movement. Different forms of the struggle — both peaceful and non-peaceful — are an inevitable process arising from the very existence of capitalist society and the class contradictions in it.

Making the struggle for peace among states the paramount task of the communist movement has nothing in common with bourgeois pacifism, which denies wars altogether. It is well-known that the Communists have always been in the forefront of the liberation struggle against oppressors, which can assume both peaceful and non-peaceful forms. Nor has the struggle for peace anything in common with social pacifism, which denies the class struggle. It is well known that the Communists are the most consistent fighters against class oppression.

The Communists are working to prevent a new world war by relying on the new balance of forces in the world arena and the practical means that exist to curb aggressors, and not by remonstrating with the imperialists. Their strategy of working for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems is based on the idea of rallying the basic revolutionary forces of today — the world socialist system, the international working class, and the national-liberation movement.

The general line of the world communist movement, as the 1960 Meeting has determined it, is the line of working for peace democracy, national independence and socialism, the line of achieving the complete victory of socialism and communism.

II

The conclusions of the Moscow Meetings have been confirmed by the entire course of world social development. In the past three years the revolutionary forces of today have intensified their pressure on imperialism and pushed forward again, having reached new frontiers along the strategic line drawn up by the world communist forums.

The documents of the Moscow Meetings emphasise that world developments now depend on the struggle of the two systems. The socialist states are the main bulwark of the revolutionary forces of today. Lenin has shown that the national and international tasks of these states merge; they exert their main influence on the world revolutionary process through their economic achievements.

Economic competition between the two systems is a major sphere of the class struggle in the international arena. The

achievements of socialism in this field, steadily changing the world balance of forces to the detriment of imperialism, make the socialist community an ever more powerful factor in averting war and accelerating revolutionary processes on a world scale. The share of socialism in world industrial production increased from 27 per cent in 1955 to 37 per cent in 1962. Capitalism is incapable of preventing the steady weakening of its positions in the world economic arena. This is borne out by the invariable superiority of the socialist countries in the rate of economic growth. This superiority is in evidence not only in the periods of capitalist economic crises, but also at the time of a relatively favourable situation in the capitalist economy. From 1958 to 1962, the average annual increase in the industrial output of the socialist countries amounted to 11.4 per cent, whereas that of the non-socialist countries was 4.9 per cent.

While fulfilling its international duty of using the advantages of the socialist system to win the economic competition with capitalism within the shortest time possible our Party concentrates the efforts of the Soviet people on the development of the national economy. The CPSU Programme adopted by the 22nd Congress has embodied in concrete figures and schedules the prospects for building the material and technical basis of communism in our country, for a complete economic victory over the most developed capitalist countries. Our country is confidently following the path charted by the Party, is successfully overcoming the difficulties in its path and is steadily approaching final realization of the magnificent goals of the Party's Programme. During the five years of the Seven-Year Plan period the volume of industrial output will have increased 58 per cent, as against the 51 per cent envisaged by the Seven-Year Plan. The forthcoming Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee is to map out ways of further developing the chemical industry, enhancing its role in building the material and technical basis of communism, developing agriculture and improving the people's standards of living.

The heroic exploits of Soviet cosmonauts in the past three years have graphically shown that the Soviet Union is preserving its leading positions in the most modern branches of world science and technology, and that the most developed capitalist country, the United States, is powerless to make up for its lag in these fields despite all its efforts to do so.

The successes scored by socialism in the struggle between the two systems are a mighty factor contributing to the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. The Statement pointed out that the new stage in this crisis has set in not as a result of

the world war but under the conditions of peaceful coexistence and the peaceful competition of states with different social systems. This important theoretical conclusion has been further confirmed in the years since then.

Under the conditions of peaceful coexistence the class struggle in the capitalist countries is continuing to develop, something that is graphically borne out by the mighty upsurge in the strike movement. The number of people taking part in strikes grew from 27 million in 1958 to more than 60 million in 1962.

What are the specific features of the present rise in the working-class movement? Firstly, that it is constantly spreading. Besides Italy, France and Japan, where mass actions of the proletariat have long been a characteristic feature of the political situation, sharp class battles have developed in the past years in Belgium, in such hotbeds of fascism as Spain and Portugal, and also in the FRG and Greece. Mass actions of the working people took place in 1962-1963 also in the United States, Britain, Canada and in the Latin American countries. There is not a corner of the capitalist world today where the bourgeoisie do not feel the increasing force of the blows dealt by the fighting proletariat.

Secondly, the working class is making ever wider use of such a powerful means of struggle as the general strike. In the course of 1958-1962 there were more than 80 general strikes or strike battles of equal scale, in nearly 40 countries of Europe, Latin America, Africa and Asia.

The third specific feature of the working-class movement at the present stage is the growing proportion of political strikes: in 1958 approximately 44 per cent of all the strikers took part in them, in 1962-64 per cent.

Finally, an important feature of the present stage of the class struggle is the considerably increased desire for unity of action in the part of the working class, which frequently sweeps away all obstacles in its path. This tendency was vividly manifested in the French miners' strike in March 1963, in the strike battles of 1962-1963 in Italy, in the general strike in Belgium, and in a number of other countries.

As the contradictions between labour and capital grow more acute at the present stage the contradictions between the handful of monopolists and all sections of the people grow more profound and the prerequisites for the establishment of a united anti-monopoly front are increasing.

The events of the past three years have fully confirmed the conclusions drawn by the Moscow Statement on the tre-

mendous revolutionary significance of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. "The complete collapse of colonialism is imminent," it is stressed in the Statement. In 1961—1963 the historic process of the collapse of the system of colonial regimes has entered the final stage. The following data give a convincing picture of the scale of the liberation struggle of the peoples: in the first post-war five-year period (1945—1950) political independence was acquired by 12 countries, in the second (1951—1955)—by three, in the third (1956—1960)—by 24, and in the past three years (1961—1963)—by 11. And all this took place in conditions of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. The CPSU, the entire world communist movement, supports the sacred struggle for freedom of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and other colonies, the heroic struggle of the peoples of South Viet-Nam, South Korea and the native population of the South African Republic, and treats with sympathy the broad people's movement against the dictatorial regimes in a number of Latin-American countries.

As pointed out in the Moscow Statement, "the forces of world socialism contributed decisively to the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for liberation from imperialist oppression." The growing might of the world socialist system has created a situation in the world enabling the peoples to smash in a short space of time colonial empires of the capitalist powers that it took centuries to establish.

The national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is at the present stage becoming more profound and is assuming an ever greater scale and acuteness. This is the struggle for the abolition of the last vestiges of the colonial empires and for the overthrow of the anti-popular tyrannical regimes—the puppets of imperialism—it is the struggle against neocolonialism in all its forms, against participation in the military blocs of the imperialist countries, against the military bases of imperialism; and finally, the struggle for economic independence, for the abolition of the domination of foreign capital, for the national economic development of the newly-free countries, for radical agrarian reforms, for democratisation of the social system, a struggle which is assuming ever great significance in the present conditions.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Soviet people consider it their internationalist duty to render utmost political and economic support, and, if need be, also to render assistance with arms to the national-liberation struggle of the peoples. The part played by this support in the fight of the peoples of

the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Indonesia, Yemen and other countries against the colonialists is common knowledge. "The Algerian people," President Ben Bella points out, "who scored victory in the struggle for national-liberation and are confidently continuing, in defiance of neocolonialism and imperialism, to work for the upbuilding of a new sound society, highly appreciate the support constantly being lent them by the peoples of the Soviet Union." Many statements of this kind on the Soviet Union's noble assistance have been made by prominent champions of the national-liberation movement.

Aid to the young national states in the fight against the economic expansion of imperialism and for the consolidation of the national economy is becoming ever more important in modern-day conditions. The Soviet Union is facilitating the development of key branches of the economy of the newly-free countries. It is promoting their industrialisation. About 500 industrial and other installations are being put up in 23 states at present with the help of the USSR. The Bhilai Steel Mill and the High Aswan Dam, which are being erected with Soviet assistance, vividly symbolise the disinterested support of the socialist countries for the peoples who have cast off the yoke of colonialism. The CPSU regards the fraternal alliance with the peoples, who have cast off the yoke of colonialism, as one of the corner-stones of its foreign policy.

The effort of the peoples of the socialist countries for the upbuilding of a new society, the fight of the working class of the capitalist countries against the monopolies, and the struggle of the peoples of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries to win and consolidate national independence are not separate phenomena, independent of one another, but are inseparably-bound aspects of a single, world revolutionary process, called upon to remodel the world on socialist lines.

In the present stage each of these three detachments has its own specific, vital tasks in the anti-imperialist struggle. But they have one common and most essential task, now confronting all progressive mankind, the task of preventing a world thermonuclear disaster.

At its international forums, the world communist movement drew up a comprehensive programme of struggle against imperialism, for peace and disarmament, for the prevention of a world war and its exclusion from the life of society.

The foreign policy conducted by the CPSU and the Soviet Government in the past years was wholly based on this programme of the world communist movement. It fully accorded with the line defined by the Statement of 1960. In the past years

Soviet people have consistently worked for peace, for the relaxation of international tensions. At the same time, taking into consideration that the imperialists continued their arms race, the USSR carried out a tremendous amount of work in building up its defence capacity, and, first of all, in perfecting its nuclear missile shield, reliably protecting the interests of each socialist country and the socialist community as a whole. This defence build-up by the Soviet Union, fully placed at the service of peace and socialism, played a very important part in breaking up the imperialist policy of "hurling back communism," and in frustrating the repeated attempts of the aggressive circles to unleash a new war.

It goes without saying that peace can be secured and the aggressive forces bridled only by double pressure on the imperialists, from "within," on the part of the masses of the capitalist countries, and from "without," through a vigorous, firm and simultaneously flexible foreign policy of the socialist states, by means of a resolute struggle waged by all peace-loving forces. To speak of the vital part played by the foreign policy actions and defence means of the socialist countries in the development of international relations does not at all mean depreciating the role of the masses. The enhancement of their role in the historical process, in general, and in world affairs, in particular, is namely linked with the fact that in a number of countries they have gained control of the levers of state power, have gained control of the means of production, rely on a powerful economic basis, and have built up armed forces capable in the event of aggression, of routing the imperialist aggressors. The nuclear missile capacity of the Soviet Union is the fruit of the gigantic efforts of our entire people in industrialising the country, in advancing education, science and technology. It shows the ability of a nation, liberated from exploitation, to gain superiority over the capitalists in the most modern fields of knowledge. This capacity is not divorced from the masses, but, instead, serves their interests, the cause of peace, and lastly, it also puts on a firm footing the fight for disarmament which ultimately likewise means fighting for the enhanced role of the masses in the historical process.

The Statement pointed out that the socialist countries should display utmost vigilance in relation to imperialism, and should take all the necessary steps to ensure the security of the peoples and to preserve peace. Consistently carrying out this directive of the world communist movement, the Soviet Union actively counters the aggressive schemes of imperialism.

When in the summer of 1961 the imperialists sharply inten-

sified their subversive activity against the German Democratic Republic and brought the situation in Central Europe to a crisis, the Soviet Government took resolute steps to fortify the positions of the GDR, to support its government's undertakings aimed at securing the sovereignty of that country.

In the autumn of 1962 the aggressive forces of imperialism brought the world to the brink of war by provoking a dangerous crisis in the Caribbean. They again endeavoured to test by strength the solidarity of the socialist community and to strangle the freedom of the Cuban people. The principled and flexible policy of the Soviet Union, the staunchness of the Cuban people and the support given to them by all socialist countries and the other peace forces thwarted the designs of the aggressors and averted the threat which hung over the Cuban revolution.

The Communist Parties called on the people in their Peace Manifesto "to demand prohibition of the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons and, as a first step, an immediate and to the testing of these weapons." The Soviet Union made its contribution to the achievement of this demand. The Moscow treaty banning nuclear tests in the air, outer space and under water and the agreement outlawing the orbiting of nuclear weapons were an obvious success of its foreign policy.

The chief result of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries was the preservation of peace, prevention of war. And this was done not by concessions to imperialism. On the contrary, it strengthened the positions of the socialist camp, the entire international revolutionary movement.

The Marxist-Leninist theory is constantly carried forward through the summing up of revolutionary processes. The correct theoretical conclusions are not refuted by life but are enriched by it. It is significant that many of the phenomena noted in the Statement as tendencies developed quickly during the past three years and now manifest themselves in more concrete forms, demand a penetrating theoretical interpretation.

Let us take some of these phenomena. The Statement noted as an objective law the growth of the international socialist division of labour. In the last three years important steps have been taken, especially within the CMEA framework, for the coordination of economic plans, specialisation and cooperation of production. The June 1962 meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the CMEA member states approved the Basic Principles of International Socialist Division of Labour. The adoption of this document was a major step on the way to building a mutually linked economy of the socialist countries.

Closer economic cooperation between the socialist countries, far from contradicting the interests of their economic advance, is an important condition for it. Of course, cooperation is a matter for every nation to decide independently, and in this lies an essential feature of the equal relations between the socialist states. Rejection of the advantages of international socialist division of labour would slow down the growth of production, the introduction of new technique, and would prevent the gaining of time in the economic competition with capitalism. Genuine national interests can best be ensured by promotion of economic cooperation between the socialist states.

Important processes are taking place in the countries which recently took the road of independent development. The Moscow Statement noted the desire of the popular masses of these countries to take the non-capitalist road of development. It can be said at present that a number of countries are making definite steps in this direction. The embarkment of the road of non-capitalist development is determined by the correlation of internal class forces; however, the very opportunity of such development in countries where the proletariat has not yet formed as a class or where it has not yet become a sufficiently powerful political force, is due to the impact of the world system of socialism.

The struggle for the non-capitalist road of development is a revolutionary struggle directly linked with the break-up of existing production relations, with the development of a sector of the economy, independent of foreign and native private capital. This process takes place in different, at times contradictory, forms. However, Marxists-Leninists neither can nor should ignore this tendency in itself just because very often it does not accord with accustomed schemes or conceptions.

The complicated conditions of development of economically backward countries are reflected in the sphere of ideology, give rise to diverse social doctrines in which elements of scientific socialism are often combined with religious, petty bourgeois, utopian and other ideas. Communists cannot ignore the positive role of such doctrines when they serve as a basis for anti-imperialist, revolutionary-democratic and anticapitalist measures. While supporting everything that directly or indirectly serves the cause of social progress, Marxists-Leninists actively propagandize the ideas of scientific socialism, help the people understand the justice and vitality of Marxist-Leninist teachings by their own experience.

Serious changes are taking place in the economy of the imperialist countries. One of the new phenomena in the development of the economy and politics of capitalism is monopoly

“integration”: the setting up of an economic-political organisation of West European capitalist countries in the shape of the Common Market. Under conditions of monopoly “integration” the objective tendency for economic rapprochement takes on antagonistic and reactionary forms. By organising the Common Market the monopolies are striving to usurp those economic advantages which derive from the intensification of the international division of labour and the specialisation of production, to benefit by these processes to increase their profits, to aggravate the exploitation of the working class and the peasantry. It is not surprising that the Common Market policy was one of the factors sharpening the class struggle of the proletariat and the peasantry against the monopolies.

The calculations of the imperialist strategists that “integration” would lead to harmony of relations in the imperialist camp and to easing or completely eliminating the discord between its participants were groundless. The failure of the talks on Britain’s entry to the EEC, the aggravation of the tariff war between the Common Market countries and the United States, the intensification of contradictions within the Common Market, in particular, on matters concerning the agricultural policy—all this is graphic proof of the correctness of the conclusion drawn by the 1960 Meeting that the new interstate organisations appearing under the slogan of “integration” actually lead to the intensification of the contradictions and struggle between the imperialist countries.

The attention of the Marxists-Leninists is especially drawn to the processes taking place in the political superstructure of capitalist society.

The Meetings of fraternal parties, urging all democratic forces to be vigilant, drew attention to the fact that on the horizons of world affairs there arose sinister signs of intensified reaction, of fascist trends in the imperialist countries. In the last few years the reactionary forces of imperialism, the so-called “wild men,” have grown more active. They are stopping at nothing in carrying out their schemes. They are not only attacking the revolutionary forces, but also those bourgeois statesmen, who soberly assess the balance of forces on the world scene and seek the settlement of international problems through negotiation. This was especially graphically manifested in the assassination of U.S. President John F. Kennedy. The instigators of this hideous crime pursued the object of removing from the political arena the most authoritative political leader of the capitalist world, who, while fully upholding the positions of his class, soberly assessed the changes in the world and endeavoured to adjust to

them the domestic and foreign policies of his country. At the same time, those men who directed the assassin's hand against the President of their country, strove both to change the balance of political forces in the United States in their favour, in favour of the "wild men" and racists, and to whip up anti-communist, anti-Soviet and anti-Cuban hysteria.

The programme of the American ultras is a thermonuclear war in international policy and the elimination of all democratic freedoms and civil rights in their own country. The shots in Dallas attracted the attention of the entire world public to this sinister programme which spells danger not only to the American people, but to all mankind as well. The reactionary forces have become more active. Their path can be blocked only by the working class, the working people, all democrats, by their united action.

The most far-sighted representatives of monopoly capital realise today how hopeless are the efforts to liquidate the socialist system and crush the working class and national-liberation movements by force.

The imperialists do not reject methods of violence and terror in fighting against democratic movements, and continue to build up their military potential, but at the same time they are counting more and more on the policy of splitting the working class and national-liberation movements, of disuniting the revolutionary forces.

This trend, however, does not testify to the strength of imperialism, but to its weakness. It is an indisputable fact of our time that imperialism has been compelled to take up a close defence, whereas the forces of the world-liberation movement, despite all the difficulties in its way, are developing a sweeping offensive along the entire front of the social battle in the world arena.

III

A successful onward march of the forces of socialism, democracy, national independence and peace would be inconceivable without the purposeful and vigorous work of the Marxist-Leninist Parties. By their activity the world over, the Communists have shown the great vital and transforming force of Marxist-Leninist theory and its ability not only of propounding, but also of carrying out even under hardest conditions the ideas of socialism, peace and democracy. Hence the growth of the membership and influence of the Communist Parties which exist today in nearly 90 countries. Practically every country in the world has a Communist Party or Communist groups and circles. The opponents of communism are also forced to

acknowledge the growth of its influence. According to Ezra Taft Benson, former U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, never in history has any other movement spread its influence so far and so fast as socialist communism in the last three decades. Communism has indeed, won over all foremost humankind, and this is a credit to the Marxists-Leninists.

The growth of the influence of the Communist Parties has been particularly rapid in the last decade. The fraternal parties justly trace this to the policy expressed and developed at the 20th CPSU Congress. As the 1957 and 1960 international communist forums noted in their programme documents: "The historical decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress are not only of great significance to the CPSU and for communist construction in the USSR, but also marked the beginning of a new stage in the world communist movement and facilitated its further development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism." The decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress stimulated the drawing up of highly-important documents of the communist movement, the Declaration and Statement.

The communist movement has been triumphant because of its allegiance to Marxism-Leninism, and the cohesion and unity of its ranks. The unity of the Communist Parties is the core of solidarity of the working class, all working people, and all progressive mankind, and the main guarantee of victory of the cause of socialism and peace.

Naturally, all who cherish the interests of the working class, of the toiling masses, and the cause of national independence, socialism and peace, are concerned about the open polemics still going on in the communist movement and questioning the life-tested basic principles of the Declaration and Statement.

This can only make happy, and is, indeed, making happy the enemies of communism. Plans are already being hatched in the "brain centres" of imperialism to make use of the differences in the communist movement for special purposes: to promote a tougher policy with regard to the "communist world," to launch a new anti-communist crusade, to step up witch-hunt spearheaded against the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries, and to intensify police reprisals against the Communists and all democrats. The U.S. newspaper, **Daily News**, screams: "Let us set the socialist countries against one another."

The West German newspaper, **Rheinische Post**, discloses the schemes of the Bonn policy-makers, intending "to make profit for themselves" out of the differences in the communist movement. The duty of the Communists is to make nonsense of the calculations of the imperialist circles.

It has to be admitted that differences in the communist movement cause harm to the Communist Parties and divert them from the struggle against imperialism. Especially grievous harm is done to the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries working under difficult conditions and fighting heroically against the class enemy. Marxists-Leninists have to realise that unity of the communist movement, which means a more intense anti-imperialist struggle and brings nearer the complete triumph of communism, depends, to a decisive degree, upon the conscientious activities of the Parties themselves, and upon their awareness of their international duties.

The differences in the communist movement ranks are, of course, serious, the open polemics have gone too far and have overstepped in many cases the standard of relations between fraternal parties. However, there is no need to dramatise the situation and regard it as hopeless. V. I. Lenin emphasised the fact that differences inside and between political parties are usually settled not only by theoretical polemics but also by political developments. In particular, differences as to the tactics of a party, i.e., its political behaviour, are often settled by the transition, under the pressure of events, from a wrong argument to the correct path of struggle.

Our Leninist Party has been doing everything necessary to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the communist movement and has been carrying for this purpose measures of vast significance.

The Central Committee of the CPSU has repeatedly proposed that the polemics be stopped between the Communist Parties, that debatable issues be settled through bilateral talks and that a meeting of Communist Parties be convened. This proposal was made in January 1963 by N. S. Khrushchov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. At the October 25, 1963, meeting with the participants in the Third World Rally of Journalists N. S. Khrushchov pointed out that putting an end to the polemics between the Communist Parties would be desirable for the unity of the socialist countries and solidarity of the world communist movement. Time should be given a chance to decide which viewpoint is more correct. Life will certainly show the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist positions.

Our Party proposes that the discussion of debatable questions be directed along the normal channel of relations between parties so as to concentrate on the main tasks of strengthening the economic and political might of the world socialist system, and fighting against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

A party's attitude to these tasks is the main criterion of the correctness of its position, its maturity and high integrity. The common struggle will give us a common basis for settling the differences which cannot be overcome by ideological polemics alone.

No more open polemics would mean more favourable conditions for a new meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and careful, all-round preparations for this meeting.

All the Communist Parties should by all means observe unwaveringly the principles stated in the Declaration and the Statement. These principles make it obligatory for every Communist Party:

First, to observe with solidarity the assessments and conclusions jointly worked out and drawn by the fraternal parties at their meetings and dealing with the general tasks of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

Second, to defend with determination the unity of* the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and not to allow any acts that could undermine this unity. According to the Statement this is an indispensable condition for winning the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the solving successfully the tasks of socialist revolution and for the building of socialism and communism.

Third, to observe unwaveringly the Leninist standards of Party life on the principle of democratic centralism, to preserve as the apple of the eye the unity of the Party, to carry out strictly the principles of Party democracy and collective leadership, attaching, in accordance with the organisational principles of Leninism, great importance to the part played by the leading bodies of the Party in the Party's life, to show unflinching concern for the strengthening of the bonds between these bodies and the Party members as well as the masses of working people, to preclude the establishment of personality cult which fetters the development of creative thought and initiative among Communists, to facilitate in every way the Communists' activity and to promote criticism and selfcriticism in the Party ranks.

Fourth, to be selflessly loyal to the Marxist-Leninist teaching, this foundation for the attainment of the great historical victories of the community of the socialist countries, of the international communist workers' and liberation movement. It is on this basis only that all the tasks confronting the Communist and Workers' Parties can be solved successfully.

To observe genuinely these principles obligatory for every Communist Party means to reject the struggle against the fra-

* the international communist movement on the basis of

ternal parties, adhere to the positions of the Declaration and the Statement, forgo departures from the general policy, avoid factional activities, refuse support to, and resolutely fight against, factionists styling their groups large and small as "revolutionary" parties.

The communist movement has withstood many a storm and many a trial. Out of all these it has emerged stronger than ever. The struggle against Right-wing and Left-wing opportunism, the resolute defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the Declaration and the Statement are all prerequisites for new victories of the communist movement.

History works for communism, and communism has become a force accelerating the development of history towards socialism and peace. All the objective factors promote the advancement of the world socialist system, of the workers' and liberation movement, and of the consolidation of the cause of peace. Yet, to be able to turn objective prerequisites into realities all the detachments of the international communist movement should act in unison and purposefully. Uncoordinated actions, running counter to the general policy of the whole socialist community, can only play into the hands of the imperialist forces. Inversely, coordinated actions involving basic international problems have the greatest possible influence on the course of world events and raise in a tremendous measure the prestige of the socialist world. Neither this nor the future generations of men would forgive the Communists their failure to use the current favourable conditions and their struggle among themselves instead of struggle against their common enemy.

The following remarkable words said by Karl Marx are fully apposite today: "... Let us recall the main principle of the International: solidarity. We shall achieve the great goal for which we are striving provided we firmly consolidate this life-giving principle among all workers in all countries." (K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Works*, Second ed. V. 18, p. 155.)

A particularly great responsibility devolves on the Communist Parties of the socialist countries, which are called upon to create already now the prototype of the human society of the future, based on peace and friendship among nations.

The interests of socialism, of the workers' and national-liberation movement call imperatively for the unity and cohesion of all the Communist Parties, of all the great revolutionary forces of our day: the world socialist system, the workers' movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement. "Our Party," emphasises Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, "will do everything to make the socialist camp still stronger, to make still stronger the world communist front."

The guarantee of the triumph of the cause of social progress and peace is in holding aloft the revolutionary banner of the Declaration and the Statement, being loyal to the general policy mapped out in these documents and rallying all the Communist Parties round the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

PRAVDA, December 6. In full

COMMUNISM — INVINCIBLE FORCE OF MODERN TIMES

The contemporary period is the age of radical change in mankind's destiny, the age of triumph of Marxism-Leninism and glorious victories of Communism. The basic content of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism, initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The all-conquering ideas of Marxism-Leninism have become established on all continents, they have made their way to the remotest corners of the world and are winning the minds of many more millions of people.

About four and a half decades ago Lenin wrote: "**The communist movement is growing well all over the world—... it is broad, powerful, deep and invincible.**" The great leader of the Revolution said these words at a time when Europe, besides the communist parties that existed in the republics now comprising the USSR, had but five communist parties, while Asia, Africa, Australia and Oceania had no communist parties at all. Today Communist and Workers' Parties exist in nearly 90 countries. The gravitation of the masses towards communism finds expression in this fact which is a most striking phenomenon of the contemporary epoch.

The communist cause has made stupendous progress. The heroic struggle of the great communist army of the world has drawn in immense masses of people, it has accelerated the march of history and has brought closer the realisation of mankind's brightest ideals. The ideas of scientific communism, having won over the masses, became a vast material force, a potent factor of social progress.

In the last few decades the world revolutionary movement of the working class has won a number of epoch-making victories. The world socialist system is its main achievement, its creation and pride. Communism has become a vital concern of the peoples of the socialist commonwealth, —one to which they devote their creative efforts, and the ideas of communism

are now being embodied in the flesh of the growing socialist world. The very example of triumphant socialism revolutionises the minds of the working people of all countries; it effectively assists and supports them in their fight for peace, democracy, national independence and social progress.

The main content, the basic trend and the principal features of the contemporary history of human society are determined by the world socialist system, the forces combatting imperialism, the forces fighting for the socialist reconstruction of society. Socialism is confidently working to achieve victory in the peaceful economic competition with capitalism. Over the past seven years the share of the socialist countries in world industrial output has increased from 27 to 37 per cent. The world socialist system is developing into a decisive factor of progress of human society.

The standard-bearers of communism — the Marxist-Leninist parties — have proved that they are parties of creative-minded revolutionaries, that they are the best and most reliable champions of the working people's interests, the staunchest and most devoted fighters for the people's happiness, peace, democracy and social progress. By their activity the communist parties have confirmed the vitality of Marxism-Leninism, they have demonstrated their ability not only to propagate the great ideas of scientific communism, but also to implement them in practice.

The supreme aim of the Communists of the world is to remain faithful to the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism and to preserve the sacred purity of the great Marxist-Leninist teaching. This aim is expressed in the programmatic documents of the international communist movement: the Declaration and Statement unanimously endorsed at the Moscow Meetings of the fraternal parties in November 1957 and November 1960.

Six years have passed since the Declaration was published. It is a forceful document of creative Marxism-Leninism of world-wide importance. The Declaration lays down the basic positions upheld by the world communist movement on a number of outstanding issues. It has in large measure helped unite the forces of the Communist and Workers' Parties in their struggle for common aims.

The principles advanced by the Declaration have been further developed in the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of all the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world of 1960. In a few days' time, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other communist parties will mark the third anniversary of the endorsement of this Statement. Having further developed the basic propositions of the Declaration — following from the

changing world situation — the Statement has equipped the multi-millioned army of Communists of all countries with a potent weapon in the struggle for the strengthening of socialism, in the further onslaught of the working class and the national-liberation movement against imperialism.

Time has revealed the scientific soundness and effectiveness of creative Marxism-Leninism. The theoretical deductions and propositions formulated in the Declaration and Statement on the basis of a profound analysis of the new phenomena occurring in the world arena have been irrefutably confirmed by life itself, by the whole course of world developments. These documents are an infallible guide in the struggle for the great aims confronting the Communists, the working class and all progressives of the world.

The concepts of socialism and peace are merging more and more in the minds of the peoples. Numerous examples are convincing the peoples that the Communists are the most loyal and most consistent fighters for peace. Their unswerving will staunchly to uphold the cause of peace is expressed both in the Peace Manifesto and the Appeal to the peoples of the world, adopted by the Moscow Meetings. The ideals of peace are the cherished ideals of communism. The fruitful Leninist policy of peace and peaceful coexistence pursued by the CPSU and the other fraternal parties has been re-affirmed by the peaceful settlement of the Caribbean crisis and the signing of the Moscow Treaty on the partial nuclear-test ban. The policy of peace has won unprecedented acclaim for the communist ideology and enormous prestige for the USSR and the other socialist countries in the settlement of outstanding issues.

The international communist and working-class movement, the forces of world socialism effectively promote the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples. Purifying thunderstorms are raging all over the world on a vast scale today. It was they that caused the collapse of the colonial system. In the post-war period the mighty national-liberation movement has brought to life some 50 new states.

To fight imperialism actively, to defend peace effectively, and to further in every way the world liberation movement the socialist countries must promote their national economy, develop socialist society and increase their defensive might, persistently pursue a policy of peace, display the utmost vigilance in respect to the imperialists and constantly expose their aggressive actions, cement fraternal friendship and close cooperation with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and consolidate in every way the fighting solidarity of all the detach-

ments and organisations of the working class of all countries. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other Marxist-Leninist parties, firmly adhering to the principles laid down in the Declaration and Statement, are pursuing precisely this line of effective struggle against imperialism.

Both the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in its documents wholly based on the Decisions of the Twenty Second Congress and the new Programme of building Communism in the USSR, and the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, in Decisions adopted at their respective Congresses and Central Committee Meetings, as well as in statements made by their leadership have revealed with renewed force that in the opinion of Communists their further victories depend on their fidelity to the jointly formulated line on the unity of the socialist countries and the solidarity of the world communist movement.

The 1960 Statement indicates: "A resolute defence of the unity of the world communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the prevention of any actions which may undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of socialist revolution and the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would impair the forces of communism."

In the recent period different interpretations of the Declaration and Statement have been advanced. Differences in the communist movement, as well as between the socialist countries are sort of a balsam for the enemies of communism and opponents of peace. The Central Committee of the CPSU has pointed out time and again that discontinuation of the controversy between the communist parties would help cement unity between the socialist countries and solidarity of the world communist movement. This proposal meets the primary interests of the communist movement, and all the forces of socialism. With time, life will eliminate the fallacies and will confirm the soundness of Marxist-Leninist concepts.

The glorious party of Lenin — the CPSU — and the other Marxist-Leninist parties alike firmly uphold the fundamental positions set forth in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement — the collectively formulated programmatic documents of the international communist and working-class movement. Our Leninist Party as in the past will continue to do everything in its power to overcome the differences and to cement the unity of the socialist countries and the world communist movement on Marxist-Leninist principles. It is the duty of every commun-

ist party to do so. It is a duty which follows from the jointly endorsed documents of the communist movement.

Communism has developed into an invincible force in the present age. Its further success largely depends on the unity and solidarity of the Communists, as well as on the fidelity of the Communist and Workers' Parties to the Marxist-Leninist teaching. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union founded and steered by Lenin holds high the great banner of Leninism. As Comrade N. S. Khrushchov put it, "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always been and will continue to be true to the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism and friendship between the peoples, it will always fight for peace throughout the world, for the triumph of communism, as the great Lenin taught us!"

PRAVDA, November 24th, 1963

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V. KORIONOV

UNDER THE BANNER OF THE MOSCOW MEETINGS

History knows no other political movement which has traversed so difficult and at the same time so glorious a path as that which has fallen to the lot of the international revolutionary movement headed by the Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties. Communists have made tremendous sacrifices in blazing the trail to the happiness of all the peoples. But the blood of the fighters for a better future has not been shed in vain. The communist movement has grown into a force which has proved capable of effecting a most profound, truly history-making turn from the old world of exploitation to the new, communist world.

History has proved that the source of the inexhaustible strength of our movement lies primarily in the great life-giving ideas of Marxism-Leninism. It is natural that in the days of the sixth anniversary of the Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of the Communist Parties of 1957 millions of Communists in all countries of the world turn again and again to the pages of one of the most outstanding documents of Marxism-Leninism, which, with the Statement of the Fraternal Parties of 1960, has for ever become a part of the treasure-store of world revolutionary thought.

The force of the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960 lies in the fact that they are based on the most correct doctrine—the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. The Moscow Meeting raised our great revolutionary teaching to a new level. The force of the Declaration and the Statement lies in the fact that they embody and further develop the Leninist ideas of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, a congress, the historic decisions of which, as the fraternal parties have repeatedly affirmed in their documents, "are of tremendous importance not only to the CPSU and to the building of communism in the USSR; they have opened a new stage in the world communist movement and facilitated its further development along Marxist-Leninist lines."

The Moscow Meetings of 1957 and 1960 are of historic significance because they profoundly analysed the qualitative

changes that had taken place in the world in recent decades and, creatively applying propositions of the Marxist-Leninist science, indicated to the working class ways of utilising most fully and effectively the new possibilities of the present epoch for the speediest attainment of its ultimate goals. The general Marxist-Leninist line of the communist movement, in the further elaboration and concretisation of which the Moscow Meetings played a role of exceptional importance, is the line of a historic onslaught of socialism, of all the revolutionary forces of liberation, on capitalism. This onslaught is being effected through socialism winning a decisive victory over capitalism in the course of the competition and struggle between the two systems, through the launching of an active class, national-liberation and anti-monopoly struggle in conditions of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and the growing preponderance of the revolutionary forces in the international arena.

The six years that have passed since the 1957 Meeting have fully corroborated the correctness of the Declaration's principles. **"The main content of our epoch,"** the Declaration states, **"is the transition from capitalism to socialism which was begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia."** In the six years since, mankind has been advancing still faster to socialism. The first victorious revolution has taken place in the Western Hemisphere—on Cuba. Today there are already 14 socialist states on the political map of the world. Socialism has now become a slogan expressing the most cherished sentiments and aspirations of progressive mankind all over the world.

"With regard to the greater part of mankind," says the Declaration, **"imperialism has lost its one-time domination."** More and more nations are casting off the chains of colonial oppression. Precisely during this anniversary of the Moscow Meetings, one more oppressed country of the "dark continent," moreover one of the biggest, Kenya, is acquiring political freedom. Imperialist colonialism is in its death throes.

The 1957 Meeting noted that **the world communist movement had grown, had withstood many serious trials and had scored a number of outstanding victories.** In the years that followed this inexorable historical process became still more obvious. In this period nearly 10 million new members joined the army of world Communists. Communist Parties have appeared in several more states. Under the influence of the ideas of communism the process of the formation of progressive democratic parties, which though not communist, have proclaimed the building of socialism as their objective, is gaining scope in the countries that are winning freedom.

The 1957 Meeting sketched with a sure hand the main line of international developments in the postwar world. **"We Communists,"** the Peace Manifesto, which this Meeting adopted, proclaims, **"say that now it is possible to prevent war, possible to safeguard peace. We say this with full confidence because the world situation today is different and the balance of forces has changed."** Life has proved the Marxists-Leninists and only the Marxists-Leninists, right on this matter as well. The years that have elapsed were a time when imperialism's aggressive forces, captained by the "wild men" in the USA, were unable to kindle the conflagration of a world war, despite all their efforts. The forces of socialism and peace have demonstrated in practice that they can impose upon the imperialist aggressors, contrary to their will, the peaceful coexistence of states, in the course of which the positions of socialism and democracy grow stronger while the positions of imperialism and reaction steadily grow weaker.

What is the explanation for history's developing precisely as predicted by the Marxists-Leninists? The Declaration supplies an exhaustive answer. **"In our epoch,"** it says, **"world development is determined by the course and results of the competition between two diametrically opposed social systems."** These words give the essence of world development in the new historical epoch, whose prime characteristic feature is the increasingly obvious transformation of the socialist system into the decisive factor of history.

Does this mean though that henceforth world developments will take a straight line only? No, it does not. Imperialism's aggressive nature has not changed, nor can it. This misanthropic system is still strong enough gravely to imperil the cause of peace and the freedom of the peoples. Only the superior might of socialism can curb it.

Naturally, the 1957 Declaration devoted special attention to the decisive problems of the formation and further development of the world socialist system. By 1957 the new world system of states had grown strong and had repulsed the most open assaults of its enemies. Simultaneously, ever more profound processes were taking place in the domestic development of each socialist country. The socialist relations in these countries were obviously gaining the upper hand. New and more complicated tasks were to be tackled next. The relations between the countries of the socialist system were consolidating and improving. In the initial stage international economic relations of a new type were established primarily on a bilateral basis. And when the world

socialist market had formed, more extensive forms of cooperation began to appear among the fraternal countries.

All this posed new problems before the Communist and Workers' Parties—the ruling parties of the socialist countries. It was necessary to work out by joint effort a common platform ensuing from the new conditions of the situation that had arisen, and to formulate the laws of further development of the socialist countries. The participants of the 1957 Meeting of the socialist countries solved this problem.

The Declaration defended the international principles of communism from revisionist, dogmatic and nationalistic distortions, and established the proper relationship between the general tenet of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete national historical conditions of this or that country. The Declaration set forth the main laws of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism, on the basis of the extensive experience of socialist construction in the USSR and the first steps in building socialism in the People's Democracies.

The Declaration emphasised that the solidarity and close unity of the socialist countries is the soundest guarantee of national independence and sovereignty of each socialist country. The experience of the development of the fraternal states has proved: when one forgets or ignores the laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, when one departs from the principles of proletarian internationalism, this leads to incorrect conclusions and, therefore, to inevitable mistakes. Not a single one of these principles can be ignored with impunity, just as it is impossible to pull a stone out of a foundation without impairing the strength of the whole building.

The joint elaboration by the Moscow Meetings of the laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, which are common for all countries, has nothing to do with the imposition of any dogmas or prescriptions. No wonder that the Declaration and the Statement emphasised the need for creative application of the general principles of building socialism with due regard for the national and historical features of each country.

Communism is internationalist by its nature. The course of world events in recent years has confirmed that the internationalism of Communists is of primary importance in solving the cardinal issues of world development. The chief of these issues is that of war and peace.

The attitude adopted on this question by the 1957 Moscow Meeting is clear-cut. **"The Communist and Workers' Parties taking part in the Meeting,"** the Declaration says, **"declare that the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of the two systems,**

which has been developed further and brought up to date in the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, is the sound basis of the foreign policy of the socialist countries and the dependable pillar of peace and friendship among the peoples."

It is this policy that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always adhered to. The Leninist Party has never regarded peaceful coexistence as "reconciliation" with imperialism, as a betrayal of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement, or as a deal between two or several great powers to the detriment of other states. Our Party has always taken and takes the view that peaceful coexistence forms the basis of the peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism on a world scale, while at the same time it is a specific form of the class struggle between them. The best criterion of truth is practice. And it convincingly shows that peace, peaceful coexistence of countries consolidate the positions of socialism and facilitate the victorious development of the working-class struggle and the struggle of the oppressed peoples for their national liberation.

Life has brought out that at present there can be no foreign policy of the socialist countries that is more farsighted and more beneficial to socialism than the Leninist course of peaceful coexistence of states. It is a fact that the Soviet Union's consistent policy of peaceful coexistence made it possible to avert a world thermonuclear catastrophe even in the critical days of the Caribbean crisis in 1962. As is known, owing to the wise policy of the Soviet Union peace was preserved and the Cuban revolution became still stronger.

The Leninist idea of peaceful coexistence rallies broad masses of the people to a purposeful movement for peace. A vivid example of this is the struggle for general and complete disarmament which in its aims and content has a clearly expressed anti-imperialist character.

The 1957 Meeting urged the Communists, all peace supporters to advance step by step in the struggle for general disarmament, steadfastly paving the way to complete disarmament. The Peace Manifesto, in particular, called on the peoples to demand prohibition of the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons and, as a first step, an immediate end to the testing of these weapons. The Moscow Treaty banning nuclear tests in three media is precisely such a step.

Emphasising the role of the Communists the 1957 Declaration runs as follows:

"The Communist and Workers' Parties have a particularly important responsibility with regard to the destinies of the

world socialist system and the international communist movement. The Communist and Workers' Parties represented at the Meeting declare that they will tirelessly promote their unity and comradely cooperation with a view to further consolidating the commonwealth of socialist states and in the interests of the international working-class movement, of peace and socialism."

The world communist movement has never been and cannot be merely a sum of the Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries. The common aims of the Communists persistently demand that the revolutionary movement be a solid world force capable of creating and strengthening the militant unity of all the anti-imperialist detachments.

The demand for the undestructible ideological and political unity of the world communist movement is being moved to the fore with still greater insistency at present when we are gaining an ever greater preponderance of the forces of socialism, of the working class and national-liberation movement. However, this unity cannot only be proclaimed in words. It is the sacred duty of Marxists-Leninists to take practical actions in the name of this unity.

The Communists proceed from the fact that what unites them is the main thing in their relations. This is much more important than what, for one or another reason, may disunite them. That is why the Communist Party of the Soviet Union comes out most resolutely against open polemics within our movement. The Party considers it intolerable for such impermissible methods to be used in relations among the fraternal parties as, for example, the public intentional distortions of the positions of other parties, abusive words, concoctions and slander as well as group and factional splitting activities within the ranks of the fraternal parties. All this cannot but gladden our enemies.

Comrade N. S. Khrushchov declares: "We always believed and believe that it would be most reasonable for the socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties to put an end to the polemics between Communist Parties for the sake of strengthening the unity of all socialist countries and the world communist movement. . . Our Leninist Party will do its utmost to overcome the differences, to strengthen the unity of the socialist countries and the world communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

In the course of the hardest battles the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has proved its unshakable fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, a fact which is known to the working class and other working people the world over.

The entire theoretical and practical activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union since the 1957 Moscow Meeting have endorsed once again the leading role of our Party with regard to the destinies of the world revolutionary liberation movement. During all these years the Leninist Party has carried aloft the banner of the Declaration and the Statement, actively defending its purity. The Party created by the immortal Lenin will act so in the future as well.

IZVESTIA, November 23, 1963

N. SAMARIN

STEERING THE COURSE CHARTED BY LENIN

The contemporary period is noted for the meteoric development of all revolutionary processes. The victorious march of the world socialist system, the growth of the working class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries and the collapse of the colonial empires are unmistakable indications of the inevitable downfall of imperialism, which are inalienably linked with the struggle of the Communist and Workers' Parties for the social reconstruction of the world.

The growth of the revolutionary forces, as well as their success in combatting imperialism are conditioned both by the operation of the objective historical laws of social development and by the proper employment of Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics by the communist vanguard of the international working class.

The general line of the world communist movement, which adequately meets the new phenomena and processes occurring in the sphere of international relations, has been appropriately formulated in the historic documents of the two Moscow Meetings of 1957 and 1960, attended by the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The new ideas and propositions advanced in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement are an illustration of how Marxism-Leninism is applied and further developed when the international situation and the correlation of class forces are ever more resolutely changing in favour of socialism.

The time following the Moscow meetings has tested in the crucible of revolutionary practice the soundness of the Marxist-Leninist course steered by the international communist movement and has proved its vigorous vitality.

The 1960 Statement indicates in part: Our time whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism, initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist

revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale.

"It is the principal characteristic of our time that world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society."

The success gained by the U.S.S.R. in communist construction, the sweeping scale of socialist changes in the People's Democracies and the growing productive forces of the world socialist system are a revolutionary earnest of the ultimate triumph of socialist ideals the world over.

The very example of the socialist system revolutionises the minds of working people in the capitalist world and facilitates their struggle. The socialist countries render tremendous moral, material and military support to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their liberation struggle against imperialist colonial oppression. The birth and consolidation of the socialist system have made it possible to solve the present outstanding issues in a new way, in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism.

Life has fully corroborated the propositions of the Declaration and Statement to the effect that the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries have no international task more urgent than surpassing in the shortest possible time the world capitalist system in absolute industrial and agricultural output, and then surpassing the highly developed capitalist countries in per capita output and living standards.

The world socialist system has exerted a colossal revolutionising effect on every important political event in the recent period, as well as on every serious mass action against imperialism. This point is well illustrated by the victorious development of the national-liberation revolutions.

The collapse of the colonial slave system as a result of the blows dealt by the national-liberation movement is next in historic importance to the establishment of the world socialist system.

Marxism-Leninism has always regarded the national-liberation movement as a reserve of the socialist revolution. This thesis is confirmed by the current struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. No sooner is political independence wrested from the imperialists than the newly-liberated peoples are faced with the difficult task of winning economic independence. They are confronted with the alternative: either

to drag themselves along the old capitalist road or boldly to advance towards economic prosperity by the socialist path. The course of events has convinced the masses in the newly-liberated countries that the non-capitalist path of development is the surest way to eliminating the age-old backwardness and securing better living conditions. They realise that only this path offers a positive pledge of delivery from exploitation, misery and hunger. Socialism is turning into an idea dominating the national-liberation movement which is a vital force in the revolutionary process in the world today.

The new life is taking root on the vast expanses of Asia, Africa and Latin America in bitter battle against the colonialists. The imperialists were always aware of the value of the colonies. So they are fighting furiously to retain control in one form or another over these rich areas. The atrocious actions of the U.S. imperialists against heroic Cuba, the bloody tragedy experienced by the people of South Viet-Nam, the cruel fate of the Congo and many other facts expose the imperialists, the American imperialists above all, as the enemies of freedom and independence of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

But the frantic efforts of the colonialists are in vain. They are in vain not only because new waves of peoples—already free or about to be free—are rising to fight these efforts. They are in vain, because colonialism is doomed, and it is doomed above all because today the national-liberation movement is no longer isolated in its struggle against the age-old oppressors.

The Statement adopted at the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties points out: "All the socialist countries and the international working class and communist movement see it as their duty to render the fullest moral and material assistance to the peoples fighting to free themselves from imperialist and colonial tyranny."

During the three years that have elapsed since the adoption of the Statement the Soviet Union has time and again proved its loyalty to its lofty international duty.

The might of the world socialist system is a powerful deterrent which has fettered the colonialists hand and foot. It is obvious that the world socialist system, the growing ties between the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement are a positive guarantee of the fact that the remnants of colonialism will be abolished and that the national-liberation movement will be crowned with victory. The socialist system ensures independent national development for the liberated countries.

The victorious march of the world socialist system at the same time evokes a deep-resounding echo in the mass revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries. Every day mass

action of the working people against the oppressive power of the imperialist monopolists is being reported by the news agencies.

Today the world capitalist system bears the indelible mark of fatal decay.

The decay of imperialism is not of a restricted or limited nature. It has affected all aspects of life in the capitalist countries. What is important is that the process is of an irreversible character.

The mounting activity of the reactionaries in the capitalist countries, and the sharpening contradictions between the monopolies and the rest of the nation impel the forces of resistance to rally to combat effectively state-monopoly imperialism. The vast expanses of our planet are witnessing the outbreak of a stupendous conflict between the forces of labour and capital, democracy and reaction, freedom and colonialism.

These historic clashes open up to the world communist movement, the international working class and all progressives the opportunity to settle the fundamental issues in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism. This is shown both by the far-reaching qualitative shifts occurring in the balance of the world forces in favour of socialism, and by the current gains of the revolutionary movement in its struggle against imperialism. The achievements of international socialism are distinctly manifest in the success of the Leninist policy of peaceful co-existence.

The Appeal to the peoples of the world adopted at the 1960 Meeting says in part: "Acting upon the teachings of the great Lenin, all the socialist countries have made the principle of **peaceful coexistence** of countries with different social systems the cornerstone of their foreign policy."

It was largely due to the persistent efforts of the Communists—true Marxists-Leninists, who have acted in the spirit of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement—the programmatic documents of the international communist movement—that in 1963 the peoples have enjoyed the blessings of peace, that in 1963 international security has been further strengthened through our foreign policy.

It was not by argumentative persuasion or verbal condemnation of imperialism that the present relaxation of international tensions has been achieved. The economic and defensive might of the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries, and their consistent, active peace policy in the international sphere act as a reliable deterrent for the wild men from the imperialist

camp, who would stem the vigorous growth of socialism even by a nuclear war.

Socialism and peace are inseparable. The successful policy of peaceful coexistence is the outcome of the achievements in communist and socialist construction and the growth of the progressive forces. The strengthening of peace, in its turn, helps create an international situation favourable for the victory of socialism in the historic competition between the two systems. The general Marxist-Leninist course of the world communist movement expressed in the clear-cut, explicit formulations of the decisions adopted at the Moscow Meetings of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties indicates the road to establishing socialism on a world scale, it provides a sound ideological basis for the struggle for unity of the world communist movement. Fidelity to this general line, fidelity to creative Marxism-Leninism, confutation of revisionism, sectarianism and dogmatism are an assurance of new victories to be won by the world revolutionary movement.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, November 27, 1963