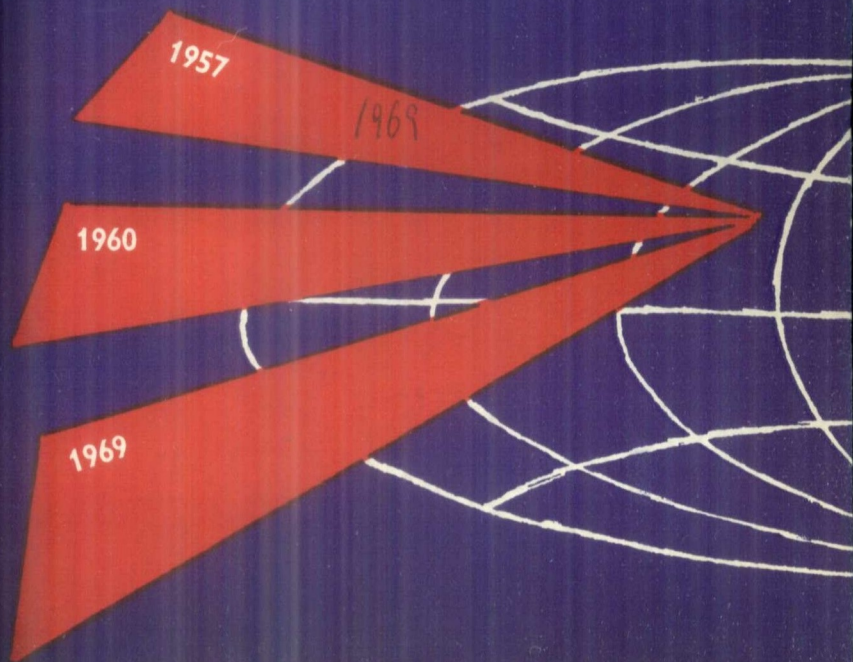




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CPSU TRUE TO ITS INTERNATIONALIST DUTY

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CPSU
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FRESH UPSURGE OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

LEONID BREZHNEV

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The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, held in Moscow from June 5 to 17, 1969, was one of the most important political events of the 1960s. It was a forceful demonstration of the growing role and responsibility of Communists in the modern world. It will go down in history as a major landmark in activating the struggle of all anti-imperialist forces and uniting the Communist and Workers' parties on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Meeting adopted documents of historic importance, reaffirming our movement's devotion to the ultimate communist goals. It made a searching analysis of the international situation, the socio-political changes and the alignment of class forces over the past few years. It collectively worked out a political platform for the present struggle against imperialism and the continued development of the revolutionary movement.

The Meeting's documents combine a scientific Marxist-Leninist approach with practical militancy; the common strategy of the Communist movement with the tactical struggle of the fraternal parties in the specific conditions of their respective countries. Revolutionary theory and practice are thus organically blended, mutually enriching each other. This makes for a more purposeful struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

I

To properly assess this new Communist Meeting, we must look back several years. The fight against heightened imperialist aggressiveness insistently demanded closer unity of

the world Communist movement, of all the anti-imperialist forces. There was also the need for a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the many phenomena produced by the rapidly developing political and economic processes and by the scientific and technological revolution. Besides, after 1960 the leadership of the Communist Party of China launched an open ideological and political struggle against the majority of the Communist Parties. It did not scruple to use every available means to implant its concepts, split the Communist parties, discredit their policy and undermine the unity of the anti-imperialist front. "Left" and Right opportunism became more active in the world working-class movement. Division in the Communist movement and deviations from Marxism-Leninism only gladdened the imperialists, who stepped up their pressure in an attempt to exploit the situation to weaken socialism and the entire working-class and liberation movement.

It became imperative to raise a barrier to centrifugal proclivities in the Communist movement and strengthen the unity of the fraternal Parties. Accordingly, the Marxist-Leninist Parties began a struggle for unity of the Communist movement on every sector of the front. There was a suggestion for a new International Meeting of fraternal parties.

The road to the Meeting was a complex one. The preparations for it passed through a number of stages, requiring extensive and intensive work and the surmounting of considerable difficulties. However, the Marxist-Leninist parties worked towards the Meeting consistently and purposefully. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was active in the preparations at all the stages and in constant and close contact with fraternal parties. And we gratefully acknowledge their high evaluation of the CPSU's political, theoretical and organisational work in the preparation and conduct of the Meeting.

The preliminary meetings, the exchanges of views, the participation of Party central committees in the discussion of the draft documents, and the work of the Preparatory Committee and the Working Group, made it possible to concretely and in a businesslike manner examine our common tasks, bring our positions closer on many outstanding issues, and unite the parties around the main theoretical and practical problems to be discussed at the Meeting.

The principal result of this truly colossal preparatory work was, of course, the holding of the Meeting. However, the preparatory work was in itself politically important. For

collective discussion of pressing theoretical and practical problems of our movement steadily won an increasing support for united action against imperialism on a Marxist-Leninist basis. The Consultative Meeting in Budapest was attended by representatives of 67 parties, while 75 parties were represented at the Moscow Meeting.

The Meeting's success was, unquestionably, predetermined by the profoundly democratic and candid atmosphere that marked its proceedings. Cooperation on an equal footing, wide publicity, which made it possible to keep the world public constantly informed and, lastly, the decision to send the materials of the Meeting to parties not attending it, show that the Leninist code of democratic and principled discussion is deeply rooted in our movement. It is also added proof of our movement's strength and viability.

We can safely say that this form of work, world Communist meetings, has become an important means of collective discussion of pressing tasks and collective elaboration of an integral programme of common action. For us, these meetings are valuable as a Marxist-Leninist school of political experience and revolutionary action; as a forum for a broad exchange of opinions and views and a means for charting a policy that takes fuller account of the interests of the working masses and enables us more actively to fight for these interests.

The Meeting noted that *there has been a further sharpening of the struggle between the forces of socialism and imperialism, between the forces of progress and reaction. In this struggle the progressive forces are on the offensive.* Ours is the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. In what do we see the manifestation of this main trend of modern times?

In the economic sphere socialism continues to grow in strength and scope: the socialist countries' share of world industrial and agricultural output is steadily increasing; socialist social production is becoming more effective with every year; its organisation and managing are being improved, and the achievements of scientific and technological progress are being more fully applied in socialist economic development; living standards are rising.

In the political sphere the socialist world system has won greater international prestige and together with the international working-class and liberation movement is exerting a stronger influence on world political processes. The position

of the forces of progress and democracy ranged against imperialism is growing stronger.

In the sphere of ideology and culture the ideas of socialism, progress and peace are gaining much more ground and are winning over large segments of society. Socialism and Marxism-Leninism continue to triumph in the battle for men's minds and hearts.

The Meeting's attention was focussed on the key problem of our epoch, namely, the struggle against imperialism, which has been and remains the main enemy of peace, of the peoples' freedom, independence and social progress. This problem was considered as part of the vital question of united action by Communist and Workers' parties, by all anti-imperialist forces.

Sharpening of the contradictions inherent in the processes taking place within imperialism is one of its distinguishing features: uneven economic and political development has become more pronounced; the scientific and technological revolution is further aggravating the contradiction between the social nature of production and its capitalist form of appropriation; the activities of the giant international super-monopolies have intensified the clash between the economic interests of the monopolies of different countries and the competitive struggle for world markets and spheres of influence.

However, it was stressed at the Meeting that imperialism must not be underrated. It has not grown stronger, but for the revolutionary movement it remains a serious and dangerous foe. Aggressive strategy, more tension, local wars, attempts to undermine the socialist community from within, and split the Communist and entire revolutionary movement—such is the policy of modern imperialism. Its desperate attempts to hold back social development succeed in some countries. More and more frequently the imperialist forces act in a united front against revolutionary contingents, working out a common strategy and taking joint action. A long, difficult and persevering struggle against imperialism lies ahead.

The Meeting pinpointed the principal directions of the struggle to unite the main streams of the modern revolutionary process—the socialist world system, the working class in the citadels of capitalism, and the national liberation movement—and charted a programme of action for them. Its theoretical and practical conclusions thus go beyond the framework of the

Communist movement—they provide a revolutionary perspective for the forces of the anti-imperialist front.

In the 1960's, despite the certain difficulties and setbacks for some detachments, the three streams of the revolutionary process have been gathering momentum and making a growing contribution to the struggle against imperialism.

Experience provides convincing proof that in this common struggle success is achieved only when all the revolutionary streams coordinate their actions and merge to form a united anti-imperialist front. Conversely, the revolutionary struggle of the peoples encounters difficulties when this unity is impaired and the actions of the main forces of the world revolutionary process lack coordination. The Meeting attached paramount importance to unity, and called for unremitting efforts to strengthen the alliance of the socialist world system and the working-class and national liberation movements.

The socialist world system continues to play the decisive role in the struggle against imperialism, giving the revolutionary contingents and the democratic movement their most effective support. The successes of the world's revolutionary forces depend largely on the achievements of the socialist countries, on the ability of their ruling parties to utilise the potentialities of the new social system, and on the unity of the socialist camp. Hence, efforts to strengthen the socialist world system are, at the same time, efforts to advance the world revolutionary process, and make the anti-imperialist struggle more effective.

The Meeting reaffirmed that in consolidating the unity of the socialist system, the main emphasis should be on a steady implementation of the principles of socialist internationalism, correctly combining the national and international tasks of the socialist states and promoting fraternal mutual assistance and support.

The Meeting's documents disclose the profound meaning of proletarian, socialist internationalism in our epoch, of the relationship between the international and national tasks of each contingent of our movement. It was correctly stated at the Meeting that proletarian internationalism is the key and essential revolutionary component of the class struggle.

Many of the delegations approved the internationalist action taken by the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries in connection with the events in Czechoslovakia, but some expressed disagreement. The delegation of the Communist Party

of Czechoslovakia disclosed the danger inherent in the new subversive methods employed by imperialism and showed the vital need for resolute action against anti-socialist, Right opportunist forces within the country and its Party. That the cause of socialism in Czechoslovakia had to be consistently defended was stressed at the Meeting.

The rise and development of the international socialist system is part and parcel of the world-wide class struggle. The socialist system is the principal obstacle to imperialism. Socialism's enemies persist in their attempts to undermine the foundations of socialist state power, disrupt the socialist remaking of society and restore their own rule. That is why the Meeting emphatically declared defence of socialism an internationalist duty of all Communists.

The danger of the divisive activities of the present leadership of the Communist Party of China for the world Communist movement, and the harm they are doing to the anti-imperialist struggle, were clearly brought out at the Meeting. Many examples were cited of the Mao Tse-tung group's subversive activities against individual fraternal parties and against the Communist movement as a whole. Almost all the delegations, which stated their attitude on the policies of the CPC leadership, emphatically condemned attempts to substitute Maoism for Marxism-Leninism. It can be definitely said that the Meeting trenchantly condemned this ideology and policy.

The policy of the CPSU with regard to China is clear and definite. Our position was stated in the speech of the CPSU delegation at the Meeting, in Soviet Government statements, and in the decisions of the June plenum of the CC, CPSU and at the recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. And our position is firm and resolute as regards the defence of the interests of the Soviet people and the security of our socialist country. At the same time, however, it is calm and restrained. We will not permit anyone to provoke the Soviet Union into unconsidered action. Our principled and constructive policy takes into account the long-term interests both of the Soviet and the Chinese peoples. In unanimously endorsing the CPSU delegation's stand at the Meeting, the CC plenum pointed out: "The CPSU will conduct an irreconcilable struggle against the anti-Leninist ideological propositions of the present leaders of China, against their divisive activities and chauvinist foreign policy. It will do all in its power to defend against all encroachments the interests of the Soviet people, who are build-

ing communism. At the same time, the CPSU is guided by the fact that the Soviet and Chinese peoples have identical basic interests. The CPSU will continue its efforts to preserve and maintain the friendly feelings that exist among the Soviet people for the Chinese people. There is no doubt that among the Chinese people similar feelings exist for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries."

The Meeting documents underlined the vanguard role of the Communist movement in the modern world and expounded its programme of action, strategy and tactics and also the ways and means of further activating the revolutionary struggle.

The Meeting's conclusions are based on a profound generalisation of the experience of all the parties functioning under the most diverse conditions: parties in power and those fighting for power, parties functioning legally or illegally and utilising various means and methods of struggle, veteran parties and those that joined our movement in recent years.

In speeches at the Meeting, delegation heads raised a wide range of fundamental problems and general questions of a theoretical, programmatic nature affecting the Communist movement as a whole. Controversial and contentious questions were not by-passed. On the contrary, they were discussed and, in our opinion, the answers to them were in most cases correct.

The ideas embodied in the Meeting's documents are a treasure-store for the entire Communist movement. In the conclusions drawn by the Meeting each Party can see a particle of its own experience and its own contribution, and for every Party these conclusions can serve as a guide to action under specific national conditions. At the same time, these conclusions are based on the general objective laws of our movement and on general theoretical questions of a programmatic nature, thereby forming a platform for the movement as a whole.

The Meeting reasserted—and formulated in its documents—the main points on which we are united: identity of class interests and the understanding that the joint struggle against imperialism, against its aggressive policy and anti-communist ideology, must be intensified; the desire to achieve unity of world socialism, of the entire Communist movement and enhance the responsibility of each fraternal Party; the struggle for creative development of Marxism-Leninism and its defence against Right and "Left" opportunist distortions; faith in the justice and inevitable triumph of our common cause.

True, the preparations and the Meeting itself did not remove all the difficulties and differences existing in the Communist movement. It will be recalled that not all parties were represented. Some Parties, while supporting united action, agreed only with the section of the Document outlining a programme of joint struggle against imperialism. Other Parties signed the Document with reservations on some of the formulations.

The crucial consideration, however, is that we achieved unity of positions and views among nearly all delegations on a wide range of pressing questions of principle. The Communist and Worker's parties thus demonstrated anew their full sense of responsibility at the present important stage in history, and their resolve faithfully to apply the approach of Marx, Engels and Lenin to problems of the development of our movement from positions of revolutionary theory and irreconcilable struggle against all distortions of that theory. The Meeting confirmed that *what unites Communists is much stronger than what disunites them.*

II

Marxists do not believe in magic and do not expect automatic operation of their decisions. They hold that the accepted programme can be fulfilled if the experience and ideas of the Communist movement, as generalised in the documents of the Meeting, are adopted by all the Parties, win the minds and hearts of the working masses, become their weapon and illumine their path of revolutionary struggle. The main thing today, therefore, is to translate into practice the ideas proclaimed by the Meeting.

The first steps taken by the fraternal Parties convincingly show that, with their customary efficiency and energy, Communists have started to propagate and implement these ideas. The Central Committees of the different Parties have held plenary meetings and there have been functionary and general membership meetings. The documents of the Meeting are being widely popularised through oral and printed propaganda. At the CC CPSU plenum convened immediately after the Meeting, there was a comprehensive discussion of the conclusions our Party should draw from the results of the Meeting and its documents for its future practical and theoretical work. Similar meetings were held by all Party organisations. The Central Committee is now working out concrete

political, economic and ideological measures based on the results of the Meeting.

The job now facing Communists is to bring home the ideas of the Meeting to millions, and work towards further elaboration and practical implementation of its main conclusions and aims.

What should they concentrate on today? Along what lines should they work to carry out the tasks set in the documents of the Meeting?

The first objective, we believe, is a fresh upsurge of the anti-imperialist, revolutionary movement.

The Meeting's Document— "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces"— contains important conclusions relating to the tactics and strategy of the Communist movement, and indicates the new reserves and possibilities of the revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism.

The fraternal parties have received a clear-cut programme of work among the working class, which is the main motive and mobilising force of the revolutionary struggle, and among working peasants and progressive intellectuals. The great revolutionary potentialities of the youth have been fully revealed. The Meeting gave the fraternal parties of Asian, African and Latin American countries a platform for broadening the national liberation movement in the world revolutionary process.

Important, too, is the Meeting's special stress on the indivisibility of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, and the struggle for the ultimate goals of the working class, the struggle against capitalism as a social system, for the triumph of socialism and communism.

These are Marxist, Leninist concepts. They help Communists in the struggle against imperialism, for Marxist-Leninist unity, against Right and "Left" opportunism. The Document also contains many propositions addressed to all the anti-imperialist forces, thereby providing a platform of broad unity between Communists and other anti-imperialist forces.

The second objective is that every Party should make full use of all its potentialities to fight for the interests of its people and, simultaneously, to fight for the common international cause.

Communists have always been in the van of the fighters for the vital interests of the working people, heading the popular

movements for peace, national independence, social progress, democracy and socialism. And now that the Meeting has elucidated the situation in which different contingents of the Communist movement are working and brought to light new possibilities for their struggle, success depends on the fraternal parties' ability to pursue a Marxist-Leninist policy, on the flexibility and manoeuvrability of their tactics, on their ability to broaden their ties with the masses and draw all strata of society into the anti-imperialist struggle.

Naturally, in this work every Party proceeds from its own experience and takes into account the national specifics of the life and struggle of its people. However, in accomplishing concrete tasks in their own countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties are fighting also for their general class interests on a world scale. Joint struggle against imperialism reveals more clearly what policy and what views are in line with the common interests of the Communist movement, and what clashes with these interests and hinders or even harms the common cause.

The nature and substance of communism are such that, without infringing on independence, the Communist movement is able to arrive at a correct solution of problems confronting each national contingent and the movement as a whole. Proletarian internationalism and correctly understood national features and interests are inseparable from a Party's responsibility and rights.

The third objective is to heighten the theoretical activity of the Communist parties and of the Communist movement as a whole.

The great Lenin taught Communists that without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement, that a Marxist must be the master of events and not vice versa. "The absence of theory," he wrote, "deprives a revolutionary trend of the right to existence and inevitably condemns it, sooner or later, to political bankruptcy" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 188).

We rely on the comprehensively developed Marxist-Leninist teaching, which has been tested in the practice of revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism. But life is in constant flux, posing new problems, confronting the revolutionary forces with increasingly complex tasks, and requiring theoretical interpretation of the changes taking place in the world. Finding answers to these new problems and providing a scientific

ally grounded perspective for our further advance require constant development of Marxism-Leninism.

That is why we urge the fullest generalisation of the theoretical work of the fraternal parties. And in this respect, we believe, there is no overestimating the value of theoretical conferences and creative discussions. If such discussions are correctly organised, if they are oriented on concrete aims and tasks, and if the most qualified Marxists-Leninists take part in them, they will unquestionably contribute to Marxist theoretical thinking, and we need not be apprehensive about holding them.

Naturally, they should be conducted in a Party spirit, with creative debate allowing everyone to state or uphold his views. The journal *World Marxist Review* could, in our opinion, be more active in sponsoring such Marxist theoretical discussions and conferences.

Marxism-Leninism has been and remains the ideological platform of the Communist parties. We shall be guided by one of the Meeting's documents—the Address on the Centenary of V. I. Lenin. In it, we proclaim anew our fidelity to Leninism and stress its international relevance. The Address is a blow at Right and "Left" revisionism.

Lastly, the Meeting's action platform cannot be implemented without stepping up the struggle against imperialist ideology and opportunism in the working-class movement.

Lenin enjoined us to overcome all resistance from the capitalists—not only military and political, but also ideological, which is the most powerful and far-reaching. Communists of all countries know they must conduct a determined offensive on bourgeois ideology and expose the man-hating substance of imperialism.

The enemy gives us no respite—he does not wait for us to resolve our differences and unite our efforts in the struggle against him. On the contrary, the ruling elements in the imperialist powers seek to use every difference in the Communist movement to further their own ends. They have set themselves the adventurist aim of carrying the war of ideas into the socialist countries and the Communist movement. They are disseminating the spurious theory of "humane socialism"—a cover-slogan for attempts to undermine the foundations of the socialist system from within—the theory of gradual "convergence" of capitalism and socialism, "degeneration" of the Communist Party, and so on. In the capitalist countries anti-

communism has been given the status of state policy. Hence, a maximum active fight against anti-communism is one of the conditions for the successful development of the world revolutionary process.

Marxists-Leninists have always consistently fought deviations from our revolutionary teaching—Right and “Left” opportunism, bourgeois distortions of our Marxist-Leninist theory under the guise of “renewing” it, and hidebound dogmatism. They have never retreated one iota from their scientific principles, nor will they ever do so.

The history of the Communist movement teaches that the struggle against opportunism is especially sharp during revolutionary upsurges. Furthermore, it shows that where and when contingents of the revolutionary movement failed to smash opportunism, they inevitably suffered defeat. These are lessons of history we cannot afford to forget.

For all their distinctions, deviations from Marxism-Leninism, whether Right or “Left”, sap the Communist Parties of their combat ability and undermine the revolutionary positions of the working class and the unity of the anti-imperialist forces. Revisionism is extremely dangerous also because, in some cases, it fuses with bourgeois nationalism.

Of course, the struggle against opportunism is primarily a matter for the Party concerned. But it is also true that it affects the interests of the entire Communist movement, for if the struggle is neglected, it will inevitably reflect on our movement as whole and will undermine its class positions.

In upholding the purity of Marxism-Leninism we aim at genuine unity and at strengthening the international Communist movement. At the same time, we feel that there should be a differentiated approach in the ideological struggle. It is one thing when this struggle is directed against the class enemy, against imperialism, and another when it is a struggle of ideas within the Communist movement, a struggle with those who, though sometimes expressing erroneous views, remain our allies. In the latter case it is not only a struggle against erroneous and harmful views, but above all a struggle to win back to correct positions our comrades in the movement, even if they temporarily labour under delusions. Here comradely, friendly polemics, even restraint, can prove useful. Thus, the question of the forms and methods of ideological struggle now acquires fundamental importance.

A creative approach to problems posed by life is the guaran-

tee of further triumph of Marxism-Leninism over opportunism. We can proudly say *that at no time in human history has a political movement and ideological trend played such a tremendous transformative role as the international Communist and working-class movement.* In the face of incredible difficulties it led the peoples of many countries onto the high-road of socialist development and moulded a new outlook and a code of morals and habits that have been adopted by tens and hundreds of millions of people. Today the entire diversity and wealth of modern society's social progress and political and cultural life is inconceivable without the growing influence of the Communist movement. The future of mankind in this last third of the twentieth century depends largely on the strength and might of our movement, on united action of the Communist and Workers' parties.

III

We take pride in the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties' high appraisal of the activity of our Party, its internationalist position. For Soviet Communists this is a fresh source of revolutionary optimism and energy and a stimulus for creative endeavour.

Throughout its history, the CPSU has founded its policy on the Leninist concept of proletarian internationalism. We have always been guided by the well-known Leninist definition that to be an internationalist is to do “the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in *all countries*” (*Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 292). *The CPSU has always striven to make full use of all inner potentialities to strengthen and promote socialism and communism to the utmost in the Soviet Union and, at the same time, to support and develop the revolutionary struggle throughout the world.* Such is our approach to our internationalist duty to the world Communist and working-class movement.

How do we spell this out in concrete terms?

First of all, we believe that we shall be exerting our main influence on the world revolutionary process by continuing to set an example of economic achievement.

The USSR has entered a qualitatively new stage of its development: the full-scale construction of communist society has been started and is being successfully continued, and

great and complex tasks in the economy and social relations are being accomplished.

Rapid intensification of the economy is a characteristic feature. It has been prepared by the whole development of our productive forces, and by the requirements of the world-wide scientific and technological revolution. The accent is on higher efficiency of social production and productivity, rapid introduction and optimal use of new plant, and maximum involvement in production of available reserves. This, in turn, calls for constant improvement of socialist economic management and planning, and fuller use of the vast advantages inherent in the socialist system.

The economic reform in the USSR is now in its third year. One of its main objectives is to shape an economic mechanism assuring maximum growth of productivity, plus unhindered and accelerated scientific and technical progress extending to every pore of the economy, from top to bottom. The reform is still to be completed, but the results already to hand are highly encouraging. Our economy is becoming more dynamic, more efficient, and with a faster rate of scientific and technological progress. The powerful economic potential built up over the years is producing an ever greater yield in terms of real values for the consumer.

We see all this as the way to enhance our influence on the world revolutionary process, the impact of our example on peoples fighting imperialist oppression.

The advantages of socialism and the effectiveness of its international example are not, naturally, confined to its ability fully to use scientific and technical achievements for the common good and for systematic and uninterrupted improvement of the people's conditions. Our system also creates the best prerequisites for developing the full man, for the flowering of all human endowments, spiritual resources and talents. That is the high and truly humane goal of our society, and, seen against the background of the spreading spiritual and ideological devastation inflicted on man by modern capitalist society, it has a very special appeal.

We have been steadily improving the whole complex of socialist social relations, striving further to consolidate our Soviet state, and achieve the utmost development and amplification of socialist democracy.

There is much history to show that wherever the role and power of the socialist state is weakened, anarchy supervenes

and socialist gains are jeopardised. Our adversaries have tried to make use of the CPSU's policy of strengthening the Soviet state for propaganda purposes, by contrasting it with the policy of further developing and perfecting socialist democracy. However, we have repeatedly declared—and say this again—we regard democracy in terms of class. This means that the main point is: democracy for whom? Socialist democracy is—not nominally but actually—a democracy for millions upon millions of workers and peasants, for the people's intelligentsia, it is a reflection of their vital interests. We take the content and meaning of socialist democracy to be the massive involvement of men and women in government, economic construction and the administration of all public affairs. That is the direction in which we have been steadily improving the legislative foundations of our state and of our democracy. To take an example. We are now working to write into the Constitution the changes that have taken place in Soviet society over the last few decades. The people have been invited to discuss a draft Rules of the Agricultural Artel reflecting the level achieved and the new conditions of collective-farm management. A decision was recently taken to improve the information available to the public on domestic and foreign affairs.

Like the way of all discoverers, our way to communism is hard and tortuous. To keep our bearings, we need a good compass, and for us this has always been and remains Marxism-Leninism, by which the CPSU is guided in working out its plans in building communism. These are mapped out in the decisions of the Party's 20th-23rd Congresses, and in the Programme of the CPSU. Our Party abstracts the experience gained in socialist and communist construction into theoretical propositions, and makes a study of the new phenomena and tendencies in the development of Soviet society. Now that the scale and complexity of the tasks of communist construction objectively require enhancing the Party's leading role, we have also been giving thought to ways of developing the Party itself, strengthening its ideological and organisational unity, and backing up with theory the whole of our Party and ideological work in society.

Of the remarkable traits of the highly conscious Soviet citizen, the one that stands out in the present conditions is his sense of pride in the Communist Party and country, dedication to their prosperity, and a profound understanding of the

international significance of communist construction in the USSR. The Party considers its primary task to be continued education of our people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, in the spirit of friendship, brotherhood and international solidarity with the peoples of the socialist countries, and with all the peoples fighting for social emancipation and national liberation, democracy, peace and socialism.

Assistance to peoples who are victims of aggression and are fighting imperialism, for their national, political and economic liberation, and for social progress is an integral element of internationalist duty to the Communist and working-class movement. The scale and effectiveness of this assistance depends directly on our success in developing Soviet society. In Soviet Russia's early years, her influence on the course of world development was determined chiefly by the power of revolutionary example. With the growth of the Soviet Union's economic and political might, not only did our example become more attractive, but material and military assistance to peoples fighting imperialism increased.

That is not to say, of course, that we engaged in the "export of revolution". We are fully aware that revolutions are not imported, but spring from the internal development of each country and the determined struggle of the masses for their social emancipation. But we are also fully aware of the importance of giving fighting peoples timely and varied assistance and support.

The world is aware of the Soviet Union's great military and material assistance to the people of Vietnam in their just fight against US imperialist aggression. The Soviet Union's economic ties with the young states of Asia and Africa and with the countries of Latin America have been growing stronger. We strive to assist economic development of liberated countries, help them establish a national industry, train their own personnel, etc. This kind of assistance to the young states lessens their dependence on the imperialist monopolies and helps strengthen the common anti-imperialist front.

Our Party believes that peace offers the best conditions for the revolutionary and liberation movement. *That is why we also regard our peaceable foreign policy, our struggle for world peace as a component—and very important—part of our internationalist duty to the world-wide Communist and working-class movement.*

We shall continue to develop our foreign policy activity,

which is of considerable importance for our common revolutionary cause. We shall go on helping to strengthen the might and cohesion of the socialist community, striving to frustrate the aggressive plans of imperialism, fighting to maintain peace and establish the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, and supporting the people's liberation struggle.

The Soviet people are engaged in peaceful labour and have no need of war. Nor does the vast majority of mankind want war. That is why Soviet foreign policy, with the struggle for peace as its cornerstone, meets the vital interests of all peoples and has their growing support. Together with the other Parties, we have now started active preparations for the convocation of an anti-imperialist congress of the peoples of the world, and a congress of the peoples in defence of European security.

Soviet Communists have always been and will remain true to their internationalist duty. We solemnly reaffirmed this at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. By our constructive endeavour in building a communist society, by strengthening the country's defence capability, by our assistance to fighting peoples, by our peace-loving foreign policy, we have been doing and will continue to do everything in our power to advance the cause of peace and social progress, the cause of socialism and communism.

The first Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was held a little over ten years ago. We have now once again worked out a platform for united action. From one Meeting to another, from one strategic stage to another, the Communists' revolutionary and creative activity has gained in scope; we have acquired more experience and greater ability to go to the heart of social processes and exert an influence on them.

At the last Meeting we stated that the present stage in the fight against imperialism offers growing possibilities for fresh advances by the revolutionary and progressive forces. Imperialism is no longer capable of regaining the historical initiative, and reverse the course of social development. Mankind's highroad is determined by the socialist world system, the international working class, and all the other revolutionary forces.

We are aware that the world revolutionary process is not a walkover, with victories all the way. Unfortunately, now and again we have to taste the bitterness of defeat and regress. The impact and the significance of the Meeting lie in its warning against an oversimplified approach to the tasks before the Communist movement at its new stage. The impact and the significance of our Meeting lie in its Marxist-Leninist assessment of vital problems and its realistic approach to solving them. It has confirmed that despite the difficulties, the Communist movement is in the van of the anti-imperialist struggle, that it is the mightiest political force of our day, capable of finding creative solutions for complex political and theoretical problems.

The political atmosphere of the world is filled with the ideas of the Meeting. Our activity, practical and theoretical, is marked by endeavour to realise them. In the spirit of the Meeting's decisions, we are going forward to mark the centenary of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the immortal genius of our revolutionary epoch, staunch fighter against imperialism and reaction, great champion of proletarian internationalism.

In the struggle against imperialism, for the revolutionary renewal of the world, Communists will carry even higher the militant banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

LENINISM AND OUR AGE

MIKHAIL SUSLOV

Some dates in history have a special meaning for all countries and peoples. One of these doubtlessly will be April 22, 1970, the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, thinker, theorist of scientific communism, revolutionary and outstanding leader of the Soviet people and of the international working class and working people everywhere.

The centenary will be celebrated against the background of the triumphant march of Lenin's ideas throughout the world. His name, ideas and work are inseparable from the history of our times, from the main revolutionary events of the 20th century, and from the greatest event of all, the October Revolution of 1917 which opened a new era of the transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. And Lenin, the man, towers over this crucial turning point in world history, for it was Lenin who indicated the path to a new life, to genuine freedom, social justice, peace and universal well-being.

Lenin's life of only 54 years was a short one. But it was a life of pulsating activity, a mind that knew no rest, a life dedicated to selfless struggle for the wellbeing of the people. Lenin's thinking and his action always centred on the working people. He devoted his talent and all his energy to the fight for their happiness, for the progress of humanity. His name, his ideas and his work will live through the centuries.

1. Leninism—Continuation and Development of Marxism in the New Conditions

Lenin's name is closely associated with those of the great leaders of the world proletariat, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. In Lenin, the most educated, firm and consistent Marxist, Marxism found its outstanding exponent and continuer. In Marxism Lenin saw the only true revolutionary theory, the acme of research in history, economics and phil-

osophy. And he tirelessly disseminated the ideas of scientific socialism formulated by Marx and Engels. More than anyone else he appreciated the value of Marxism in giving the working class the knowledge it needed for the victory of its just cause. Without knowledge the workers are defenceless, with knowledge they are a force, Lenin wrote, repeatedly emphasising that Marxism, with its interpretative generalisation of the vast experience of the international revolutionary movement, gave the working class a clear understanding of how to organise its struggle and the aims it should pursue.

With the passing of Marx and Engels, it fell to Lenin to take up the banner of Marxism at a time when many who professed to be Marxists, notably the leaders of the Second International, did everything to distort the great proletarian doctrine, seeking to deprive it of its very core, its revolutionary content, i.e., its scientifically substantiated aim of overthrowing the capitalist system and building a new, socialist society. All kinds of opportunists used pseudo-Marxist phraseology to conceal their retreat from revolutionary struggle, their surrender to the bourgeoisie and their betrayal of the fundamental interests of the working people. Lenin resolutely took up the defence of Marxism, rid it of distortions, rebuffed the attacks of the opportunists and held high the banner of revolutionary Marxism.

Much had changed in the world since the death of Marx and Engels. The revolutionary movement had been enriched by new experience; the natural sciences had made significant progress. All this called for careful scientific analysis, for strictly objective study and theoretical generalisation. And Lenin performed this most difficult but rewarding task of creatively developing Marxism, adapting it to the new conditions.

He disclosed the full import of Marxism as the only true revolutionary theory, one that stems from the sum-total of human knowledge; one whose conclusions harmonise with the development of objective material reality, and whose validity is tested by social and historical practice. In Lenin's writings and practical work we have the continuation, development and concretisation of all the composite parts of Marxism—philosophy, political economy, scientific communism, the strategy and tactics of the working-class revolutionary struggle.

Lenin was no ivory-tower scientist. He developed Marxism

in the course of the proletarian class struggle. For him Marxism was a guide to revolutionary action and he upheld its purity against numerous distortions and falsifications. Lenin and the Communist Party he founded had to wage irreconcilable struggle against countless enemies in the revolutionary movement to set it on the Marxist path and give it Marxist character. The Narodniks, "legal Marxists", "Economists", Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, anarchists, Trotskyists, Right-wing opportunists, national-deviationists and revisionists—such is a far from complete list of the ideological and political opponents of revolutionary Marxism on the world scene against whom Lenin and his Party were destined to conduct a ceaseless and tense struggle in defence of Marxism. International revisionism was especially persistent and dangerous. Pretending to "modernise" Marxism which, it alleged, had become "obsolescent", its real purpose was to adapt Marxism to the capitalist way of life, dilute it by injecting an alien ideology and deprive it of its militant revolutionary spirit. In exposing revisionism, Lenin wrote: "An ever subtler falsification of Marxism, an ever subtler presentation of anti-materialist doctrines under the guise of Marxism—this is the characteristic feature of modern revisionism in political economy, in questions of tactics and in philosophy generally, equally in epistemology and in sociology" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 330).

In upholding Marxist philosophy against revisionist attempts to replace it by neo-Kantianism, positivism, pragmatism, Machism and sundry other reactionary theories, Lenin deepened and developed our understanding of all the fundamental questions of dialectical and historical materialism. He developed the Marx-Engels materialist theory of cognition and demonstrated that, in substance, it is a theory of reflection, that our sensations and concepts are but the reflection in our mind of images of the external material world. The Leninist theory of reflection provides scientific substantiation for cognition and bars the road to diverse reactionary theories and philosophies, superstition, ignorance and mysticism. Lenin revealed the immense power of the human mind, its ability to know the objective truth. He showed that the authenticity of our knowledge is verified by the only reliable criterion, namely, practice. The power of the human mind, its achievements and the prospects open to it he described in words full of optimism: "Human reason has discovered many amazing things in nature and

will discover still more, and will thereby increase its power over nature" [Vol. 14, pp. 281-82].

In his classical *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* Lenin gave us a profound philosophical substantiation of the latest discoveries in the natural sciences and showed how they confirmed dialectical materialism. The new discoveries demolished many traditional principles and concepts and led to a crisis in physics, prompting a number of scientists to renounce materialism in favour of idealism. The way out of the crisis, Lenin stressed, was for physics to pass from the old spontaneous, unconscious metaphysical materialism to dialectical materialism, which offered the only correct explanation of the world and the only correct interpretation of the processes taking place in it. Many progressive scientists made that transition to dialectical materialism, with its principle that the forms of movement of matter and their cognition were inexhaustible.

Lenin attached immense importance to the dialectical method, describing materialist dialectics as the very soul of Marxism. He disclosed the implications of dialectics, showing that its very essence was the law of unity and struggle of opposites. It is the key to an understanding of the self-development of matter, a process in which the new replaces the old. And precisely in this, Lenin always emphasised, lies the critical and revolutionary nature of Marx's dialectical materialism. It calls on us to look ahead, work for the future, for the replacement of the old by the new. Marxist philosophical materialism and the dialectical method lead us to the irrefutable conclusion that capitalist society is but of a transitory character, does not accord with the requirements of mankind and is ripe for replacement by a new, more perfect social system.

The objective course of social development coincides with the aspirations of the working people and their revolutionary vanguard, the proletariat, to replace capitalism by the new, communist system. And it is the working people who are destined to carry out the necessary change. The principle of partisanship in ideology and politics, formulated and elaborated by Lenin, shows the need to side with the most progressive social force, the working class, because its revolutionary views and aspirations are the most objective, correct and just.

Guided by the scientific theory of Marx and Engels, Lenin comprehensively explained the distinguishing features of im-

perialism. He showed that in its imperialist stage, capitalism had entered a period in which the economic and political contradictions are carried to extremes, with resultant imperialist wars, rabid reaction, a sharp increase in the exploitation of labour and intensified national oppression.

His analysis led him to the cardinal conclusion that the gaping contradictions and ulcers of imperialism were incurable, that in the imperialist era capitalism is in a state of decline, and that this moribund capitalism impels society directly to pass to socialism. Indeed, the need to destroy imperialism and replace it by socialism follows from the very course of social development. "The epoch of capitalist imperialism," Lenin wrote, "is one of ripe and rotten-ripe capitalism, which is about to collapse, and which is mature enough to make way for socialism" [Vol. 22, p. 109].

Having discovered the new laws of development in the imperialist era, in which capitalist development is "much more violent, spasmodic, catastrophic and conflicting", Lenin came to the conclusion that socialism could triumph first in one or several countries. "... socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will for some time remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois" [Vol. 23, p. 79]. The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia provided full and irrefutable confirmation of this conclusion, which differs fundamentally from the concept then dominant among Marxists that socialism could triumph only simultaneously in the majority of developed countries.

Lenin's theory of socialist victory in one country gave Marxism a new dimension. It showed the working class that socialist revolution was not a thing of the distant future, but a direct possibility. It mobilised the working class to be prepared to take over state power in any capitalist country the moment the necessary objective and subjective conditions for this arose. And such a possibility, as we know, arose first of all, and was successfully utilised, in Russia, the weakest link in the world capitalist system, a country whose working class was best of all prepared to carry out the socialist revolution.

A man of science, Lenin belonged to those thinkers who saw their main task not merely in explaining the world, but, more important, in remaking it. As a real proletarian leader, he made a profound study of the life and struggle of classes, maintained close contact with the working people, carefully

elaborated the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolutionary struggle and led the workers in their revolutionary battles against capitalism. All his writing is imbued with the spirit of Marxism as an eternally vital, creative science that calls for fidelity to principle, but rejects dogma and set formulas, always demanding concrete appreciation of situation realities.

In preparing the victory of the working class, Lenin scientifically substantiated the conditions, ways and means of the fight for socialism.

In bitter clashes with the Right and "Left" opportunists, Lenin safeguarded and advanced the revolutionary content of Marxism. He elaborated comprehensively on the Marxist theory of socialist revolution.

He creatively developed the ideas of Marx and Engels, took into account the experience of the Communist League and the International Workingmen's Association, of which they were the founders. Lenin evolved an integral theory of the revolutionary party of a new type as the vanguard of the working class, the leading organisation of the proletariat, its main weapon without which it could not overthrow capitalist rule and win political power and build socialism. But Lenin did not confine himself to formulating the principles of this party: he organised and trained such a party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

"In its struggle for power, the proletariat has no other weapon but organisation", Lenin emphasised (Vol. 7, p. 415). Only a high degree of organisation will enable the working class to conquer its class enemies. It must have its own political party to unite and organise the workers and direct their struggle. And in founding such a party Lenin comprehensively elaborated its organisational, ideological, tactical and theoretical principles.

With tireless energy, over many years of struggle against the "legal Marxists", Economists, Mensheviks and other advocates of spontaneity and "tailism", who sought to subject the labour movement to bourgeois interests, Lenin worked to found this party of a new type, the Bolshevik Party, in which were embodied all the fundamental Marxist principles on the role of the party as the vanguard and conscious detachment of the working class, equipped with advanced theory, knowledge of the laws of social development and of the class struggle.

The working class party, Lenin teaches us, can successfully perform its mobilising and directing role if it is guided in all its activity by revolutionary Marxist theory, which gives the Communists a scientific programme of struggle for the economic, political and social transformation of society, by revolutionary methods.

The Party can fulfil its role only if it is closely tied with the workers' movement, expresses and consistently upholds the proletariat's fundamental interests. On the other hand, the workers' struggle can be successful only "if it is led by a strong organisation of revolutionaries" (Vol. 5, p. 475). Lenin regarded the merger of scientific socialism with the workers' movement as the main asset of this new-type party, one that radically distinguished it from all earlier working-class political organisations. The close link of theory and practice, of the most advanced ideas and revolutionary action, is an indispensable feature of the Marxist-Leninist party.

Lenin, founder and leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, instilled in the Party hatred of the bourgeois system, trained in it devotion to the cause of the working class, forged in it an iron will to achieve victory, taught it not to fear difficulties, boldly to advance towards its goal, leading, uniting, inspiring and organising the broadest masses of the working people.

Lenin taught us to cherish and safeguard Party unity, strictly to abide by Party discipline, equally binding on leaders and rank-and-file, mercilessly to combat panic-mongers, capitulators and opportunists who infringe on the Party's policy and try to sow disintegration in its ranks. He warned against success leading to conceit or complacency, insisting on vigorous criticism of errors and on their elimination. He attached prime importance to the Party as a whole and to each of its members maintaining close contact with the masses, always cherishing their confidence, always in touch with their vital needs. Communists, Lenin said, are but a drop in an ocean of people—they can lead the masses only if they correctly express their aspirations.

Democratic centralism, in which democracy and centralism are inseparable parts of an integral whole, is the cardinal organisational principle Lenin formulated for this party of a new type.

Democratic centralism is the expression of the Party's ideological, tactical and organisational unity embodied in its Pro-

gramme and Rules, observance of which is obligatory for every member and for every Party organisation. Centralism is expressed in the fact that the Party has a single supreme body, the Party Congress, and in intervals between congresses the Central Committee. It finds expression also in uniform party discipline based on unconditional subordination of minority to majority, of lower to higher organisations. Lenin wrote: "After the competent bodies have decided, all of us, as members of the Party, must *act as one man*" (Vol. 11, p. 323).

The Party's overall policy is made by congress and the Central Committee. But at the same time it encourages and facilitates self-activity and initiative by all members and organisations in operating the policy in keeping with local conditions. Lenin pointed out in this context that centralism, understood in a genuinely democratic sense, provides "... the possibility ... of a full and unhampered development not only of specific local features, but also of local inventiveness, local initiative, of diverse ways, methods and means of progress to the common goal" (Vol. 27, p. 208). Democracy implies also election and accountability of all leading Party committees from top to bottom, collective leadership, active membership participation and broad development of criticism and self-criticism.

Democratic centralism enables the Party to enhance the activity of all its members, unite their energies into a single will directed towards the revolutionary reconstruction of society. And it is no accident that our enemies always level their attacks on democratic centralism, that all-important principle of Lenin's doctrine of the new-type party.

All Lenin's principles are firmly rooted in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They are the basis of its monolithic unity and strength. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union could become what it is today—a strong, united party, intimately connected with the masses, the leading and directing force of Soviet society, the inspirer and organiser of the Soviet people in their effort for the victory of communism—because it was created and trained by Lenin, is unswervingly guided by his teachings, sacredly observes the Lenin principles of organisation and the Lenin norms of party life.

The Communist Party enjoys the unbounded confidence of the Soviet people because they see in its action and in its policy the expression of their vital interests and therefore actively support all its undertakings. As political leader of the

Soviet people, their militant vanguard, the CPSU, now as always, is first and foremost a party of the working class, the most advanced class of our society. Today the CPSU has over 13 million members, of whom nearly 40 per cent are workers and 15.6 per cent collective farmers. The Party also includes foremost representatives of the technical intelligentsia, and men and women in science, culture and the arts.

Lenin's development of the Marxist theory of proletarian dictatorship is of immense importance for the international revolutionary movement. The class struggle, Marx pointed out, necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the state of the transition period from capitalism to socialism "can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*" (Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*). Lenin regarded proletarian dictatorship as the basic question of Marxism and devoted much attention to elaborating its essential aspects, its social nature, the conditions required for its establishment, its principal functions and forms, its role and aims. He resolutely combated all opportunist attacks on proletarian dictatorship and proved that it was indispensable for building socialism, the new society free of exploitation. Mankind, he said, will come to socialism *only through proletarian dictatorship*. To bourgeois democracy, that vehicle of the exploiter minority, Lenin opposed dictatorship of the proletariat as a new, higher type of democracy in a class society, a democracy speaking for the overwhelming majority of the people and involving them in the management of social and state affairs.

Lenin's discovery of the Soviets as new type of state was an example of creative development of the Marxian theory of proletarian dictatorship. Lenin pointed to the historical import of the Soviet Republic as the state form of proletarian dictatorship, immeasurably more democratic than any parliamentary bourgeois republic.

Lenin was led to that conclusion by a study of the initiative of the masses in organising Soviets of Workers' Deputies during the 1905-1907 bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia. In the process of revolutionary struggle, the people categorically rejected the bourgeois parliamentary system which they rightly regarded as a screen for bourgeois dictatorship and an instrument for deceiving and oppressing the toiling masses. The Soviets, therefore, are the creation of the

people themselves, and in them Lenin found the prototype of the socialist state of the working people.

Describing the Soviets as a new, superior type of democracy, he wrote: "They are an authority open to all, they carry out all their functions before the eyes of the masses, are accessible to the masses, spring directly from the masses, and are a direct and immediate instrument of the popular masses, of their will" (Vol. 31, p. 352).

The Great October Revolution in Russia and the emergence on one-sixth of the earth's surface of the Soviet socialist state marked the triumph of Leninism. Lenin was the inspirer, organiser and leader of the October Revolution, the founder and leader of the world's first workers' and peasants' state.

Pointing to the epochal significance of the October Revolution and the Soviet state it had brought into being, he said the Revolution had opened a new chapter in world history, for it "charted the road to socialism for the whole world and showed the bourgeoisie that their triumph was coming to an end" (Vol. 28, p. 44). The establishment of Soviet power in Russia was of importance for the workers of all countries. "Our socialist Republic of Soviets will stand secure, as a torch of international socialism and as an example to all working people" (Vol. 26, p. 472). And referring to the Revolution's international implications, he wrote: "Experience has proved that, on certain very important questions of the proletarian revolution, *all* countries will inevitably have to do what Russia has done" (Vol. 31, p. 31). But he also indicated that other countries would contribute much that was new, specific and constructive to the forms and character of socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship, without, however, departing from cardinal principles. Subsequent proletarian revolutions and socialist construction in a number of countries fully corroborate the essential elements of Lenin's theory.

Guided by Marx's ideas, and generalising the practical experience of the Soviet state, Lenin developed the theory of scientific communism, elaborated and concretised the proposition of two stages of communist society, the building of socialism and its growing-over into communism. His proposition that socialism could be built in one country despite capitalist encirclement was of decisive importance for its triumph in the Soviet Union. A concrete plan of socialist construction was drawn up under Lenin's leadership. He indicated not only the ways and methods of building socialism, but also

the social forces capable of accomplishing this momentous task. Socialism, he declared, is the living, constructive endeavour of the people, the workers and peasants. The working people will themselves build the new life, drawing on their own experience to resolve even the most complex problems of the socialist organisation of society. For Lenin always attached great importance to the creative initiative of the masses, saying that everything great progressive in history is bound to be the result of their heroic struggle and creative effort.

Formulated by Marx and Engels, developed by Lenin, enriched by the practical experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and of the Communist parties in capitalist countries, the theory of scientific communism has found its embodiment in the socialist world system. It is the scientific basis for the gigantic socialist transformations being carried out in these countries. It serves as an inspiration to the international working class and the emancipation movement, to all peoples who see in socialism their own morrow.

Lenin's analysis of the imperialist stage of capitalism, of the experience of the international workers and colonial liberation movements has so enriched, developed and advanced Marxist theory that today one cannot be a real Marxist without being a Leninist and without assimilating all that Lenin contributed to the treasure-store of Marxism. That is why Marxism today is rightly described as Marxism-Leninism, an integral world outlook.

Every question that agitates people's minds today—the trend of imperialist development, the class struggle in capitalist countries, socialist revolution and working-class power, war and peace, the national liberation-movement, peaceful co-existence of the two opposed systems, relations between socialist and capitalist countries, the development of socialism and communism—all these questions were deeply and searchingly analysed by Lenin. His theory helps us to find the correct answers to all social and political problems now confronting mankind. It is a reliable ideological compass for all the revolutionary forces destined to reconstruct the world along communist lines.

The truth and relevance of Lenin's ideas appeal to the heart and mind. Leninism expresses the working people's vital interests; it is an effective theoretical and political weapon in the just struggle to eliminate exploitation, oppression and

subjection, a weapon in building the new world. The present generation is witness to the immense impact of Leninism on the course of world history and the destinies of all peoples and countries. The present generation can see with what unparalleled force, and on what a tremendous scale, Leninism is rallying more millions of active and devoted fighters for communism.

2. The Leninist Policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

The Great October Socialist Revolution confronted the Soviet people with a task of unprecedented complexity—the building of a socialist society, up till then only the subject of theoretical study. Lenin and the Communist Party led the Soviet people to socialism along uncharted paths. Lenin wrote: “The new task before us has never been tackled anywhere else before” (Vol. 32, p. 379). But despite all its complexity, Lenin declared, the problem can be solved, for we had everything needed to build a full socialist society: the Soviet Republic, he said, has “natural wealth, manpower and the splendid impetus which the great revolution has given to the creative powers of the people...” (Vol. 27, p. 161).

Led by the Communist Party with Lenin at its head, the proletarian revolution discarded the evil legacy of bourgeois and landlord rule and cleared the road to socialism. All the attempts of the Russian and world bourgeoisie to re-establish their rule and restore the old order were repulsed by a heroic people liberated by the Revolution. They faced and surmounted formidable difficulties, went through the crucible of the civil war and emerged victorious, having crushed the intervention forces of 14 capitalist states.

The October Socialist Revolution strikingly demonstrated that a genuine revolutionary Marxist party capable of inspiring in the oppressed masses faith in their strength, and of organising and uniting them, can muster the revolutionary energy and tremendous strength latent in the people to demolish all obstacles on the road to freedom, democracy and socialism.

Active participation of the popular masses in socialist construction, Lenin said, was the most essential, indeed the chief, condition of socialist victory. The profound democratic substance of socialism is manifested in the fact that the work-

ing people are themselves building their new life. And Lenin urged the Party to rally the multimillion Soviet people for a grand constructive effort. The lowest ranks, he said, must be brought into the making of history: “Victory will belong only to those who have faith in the people, those who are immersed in the life-giving spring of popular creativity” (Vol. 26, p. 292).

Limitless scope for creative activity of the masses—the real makers of history—is an intrinsic feature of the Soviet social system. Men and women of labour, unnoticed, forgotten under capitalism, often considered redundant, are now building the new life, the edifice of communism, advancing from their midst thousands upon thousands of new heroes, front-rankers in industry and agriculture, new personalities in science, technology, culture and the arts.

Lenin continued his comprehensive development of the theory of proletarian dictatorship after the October Revolution, for socialism cannot be built without proletarian dictatorship, since classes, and consequently class struggle, continue to exist in the transition period. The bourgeoisie is dead set on regaining its lost positions and only the workers’ and peasants’ state can paralyse its attempts, break the resistance of the exploiters and organise the building of the new, socialist life. The supreme principle of proletarian dictatorship, Lenin teaches, is working-class alliance with the toiling peasantry, and he urged the Party, the workers and the peasants to strengthen this alliance under working-class leadership: “The new society, which will be based on the alliance of the workers and peasants, is inevitable... We are helping to work out for this society the forms of alliance between the workers and peasants. We shall get this done and we shall create an alliance of the workers and peasants that is so sound that no power on earth will break it” (Vol. 33, p. 177).

Lenin repeatedly stressed the vast importance for the proletarian dictatorship and for socialist construction of a monolithic Communist Party, strong in its unity and unbreakable ties with the people. Far from diminishing, its role increases after the winning of working-class power.

And it is no accident that the bourgeoisie and its agents fear the revolutionary working-class party. Our enemies always centred their attacks on the Communist Party, knowing that if they could weaken it, this would inevitably weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. In fact, the counter-revolu-

tion operated under the slogan "Soviets without Communists". The Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists and others bent on re-establishing capitalism, did everything they could to destroy the Communist Party by organising factions for subversive and splitting activities, and tried to detach from the Party the trade unions, the Young Communist League and other mass organisations.

But all these attacks were repelled. The Communist Party conducted its work in the way Lenin taught it, strengthening its monolithic unity, strictly and conscientiously abiding by Party discipline, purging its ranks of opportunists and all manner of degenerate elements, encouraging membership activity, and always making the interests of the people its prime concern.

Lenin charted out for the Soviet people the road to socialism. Socialism would triumph, he taught them, only by building a powerful industry based on modern, advanced technology. Industrialisation as the economic foundation of the new society was thus the key task. "A large-scale machine industry capable of reorganising agriculture is the only material basis that is possible for socialism" (Vol. 32, p. 459), Lenin said. The capitalist encirclement, the absence of direct external aid necessitated a fast pace of industrialisation and extreme exertion of all the means at the command of the young republic. "We are economising in all things, even in schools" (Vol. 33, p. 426), Lenin said. The concerted labour effort of the Soviet people led by their Communist Party in fulfilling Lenin's Electrification Plan and the early five-year programmes transformed the Soviet Union into a powerful industrial state.

With the same energy the Party set out to carry out another Lenin plan, co-operative farming as the way to set the peasantry on the socialist path. Lenin considered this a crucial task, one that furthered the vital interests of the working class and the toiling peasantry, for "small-scale farming will not bring deliverance from want" (Vol. 30, p. 148). Only by reorganising agriculture, with its multitude of small farms, along socialist lines could the peasants break out of dependence on the kulaks and extirpate the economic roots of capitalism in agriculture. That would solve one of the key problems of the socialist revolution.

The anti-socialists affirm that Marx and Engels were not concerned with the peasant question, which, allegedly, is a purely Russian problem. That is not true, for Engels wrote: "Our task relative to the small peasants consists, in the first place,

in effecting a transition of his private enterprise and private possession to co-operative ones, not forcibly, but by dint of example and the proffer of social assistance for this purpose" (Engels, *The Peasant Question in France and Germany*). Lenin and the Communist Party based their study of the peasant question on the ideas enunciated by Marx and Engels and showed that its solution lay through socialist co-operation in conditions of the working-class dictatorship. Only alliance with the working class could rescue the peasants from the hardship they suffer under capitalism. Only the socialist co-operation of small producers, Lenin emphasised, offers a firm economic basis for socialism in the countryside. Lenin also gave the Party a programme for raising the cultural level of the population. The Party, he said, must work for a situation in which "learning shall really become part of our very being, shall actually and fully become a constituent element of our social life" (Vol. 33, p. 489).

Experience has fully confirmed every aspect of Lenin's policy. The Soviet Union's transformation into a powerful industrial state provided a firm material basis for economic independence and technical re-equipment of the entire economy. It consolidated the victory of socialist relations in industry and greatly heightened the country's defence potential. Realisation of Lenin's co-operative plan brought into being large-scale socialist farming and strengthened the alliance of working class and peasantry. Collectivisation eliminated the last exploiter class—the kulaks. The country went through a cultural revolution: it built a new system of education, brought all the wealth of culture within the reach of the people, trained skilled workers, and advanced in every branch of science and culture. The socialist ideology became a part of the people's life.

Lenin's policy led to the full and final victory of socialism in the USSR. This was a triumph of Marxism-Leninism and a clear demonstration of the historic mission of the working class. It revealed the superiority of socialism over capitalism in every field. It brought the means of production under public ownership, liberated the workers and peasants from exploitation, created the conditions for systematic heightening of well-being and cultural standards, consolidated social and national equality, ensured genuine freedom and democracy, opened up limitless opportunities for every man and woman to apply their talents and abilities. "From each according to his ability,

to each according to his work"—that fundamental rule of socialism, which for many generations was but the dream of a distant and better future, was now a living reality.

Unity of the multinational Soviet people, fraternal friendship and co-operation of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals of all nationalities, is one of the greatest gains of socialism and a source of its strength. This and the economic and cultural progress in all the constituent republics is convincing proof that on the nationality question, too, the Communist Party has followed a sound policy, based on Lenin's teachings, that assured the triumph of proletarian internationalism.

The strength and viability of socialism were subjected to a crucial test when Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union. And in this life and death struggle our people not only upheld the independence and honour of their country, but crushed the Hitler hordes and saved world civilisation from the fascist plague.

The building of socialism, in accordance with Marxism-Leninism, opened to the Soviet people the prospect of gradual transition to communism. Lenin always considered the building of socialism and communism as inseparable aspects of a single task: "In striving for socialism," he said, "we are convinced that it will develop into communism" [Vol. 25, p. 456]. And in framing the concrete programme of building communism the Party was guided by Lenin's precepts. "The future society we are striving for," Lenin wrote, "the society in which all must work, the society in which there will be no class distinctions, will take a long time to build" [Vol. 29, p. 324].

With socialism having triumphed, economic development becomes the focal point in the advance to full communism. Accordingly, the CPSU Programme and the decisions of the 23rd Party Congress defined the main economic task of the Party and the people as the creation of the material and technical base of communism. This makes for higher material and cultural levels, higher standards in socialist relations and their gradual development into communist relations, extension of socialist democracy, and helps to form the ideological and the moral traits of the men and women of communist society.

The Soviet economy has reached a level enabling us successfully to tackle the fundamental problems of communist construction. A distinguishing feature and advantage of our social

system is the high industrial growth rate, higher than in the capitalist countries: the average annual gain in industrial output in 1951-1967 was 10.5 per cent, compared with 4.5 in the USA, 2.8 in Britain and 5.5 in France. The USSR and other socialist countries not only have higher growth rates, but are also steadily increasing the volume of output—in 1968 it was 12 times that of prewar, compared with a four-fold increase in the capitalist countries. This should make it plain that the trend in the economic competition between the two systems is in favour of world socialism. "I am convinced," Lenin said, "that the Soviets will overtake and outstrip the capitalists and that our gain will not be a purely economic one" (Vol. 31, p. 458).

Industrial output in 1968 was 78 times greater than in 1913. Last year, the USSR produced 107 million tons of steel, 309 million tons of oil, 638,000 million Kwh of electric power. The USSR has more electrified railway mileage than the USA, Britain, France, the FRG and Japan taken together. Lenin's watchword: Communism is Soviet power plus electrification of the whole country, is acquiring real and tangible content.

The Party has been unflagging in its efforts to build a highly-developed agricultural structure capable of fully satisfying the country's requirements in food and raw materials. Average annual gross farm output in 1966-1968 was 19 per cent above the 1961-1965 figure. Gross cereal output in 1968 amounted to 10,300 million poods, or 30 per cent above the 1961-1965 average.

The scientific and technological revolution and far-reaching measures to place direction of the country's economic, socio-political and cultural life on a higher scientific level are features of the present phase of communist construction. More effective use of investments, coupled with more efficient use of production capacity, higher productivity, better quality standards, are now essential elements of rapid economic development in which science plays an increasing part.

The high economic level enables us, while maintaining priority growth rates in the key industries, substantially to accelerate expansion in the consumer industries. The reality of the task the Party has set itself is spelled out in such key indicators as national income, industrial output, retail trade, wages and salaries and collective-farmer incomes—all these have in the three years of the current five-year plan shown a

higher increase than envisaged by the 23rd Party Congress directives.

The Party devotes much attention to improving the system of economic planning and incentives. Here, too, our policy is based on what Lenin wrote of the principles of socialist economic management. Socialism's fundamental advantage, he teaches us, is planned development of the economy, its centralised regulation. "All should work according to a single common plan, on common land, in common factories and in accordance with a common system" (Vol. 31, p. 292).

The present economic reform is designed to make the fullest use of the economic laws of socialism and of the experience accumulated by the Party. The prime aim is to extend the democratic pattern of management, at the same time improving centralised long-range planning and providing more scientific grounding for key indicators. Improvement of state planning is expressive of the higher levels attained in socialisation of production and public ownership of the means of production.

There is a greater need and greater opportunities for stimulating worker initiative, increasing workers' share in management and making fuller use of untapped reserves in every enterprise. Lenin's idea of central planning being attended by "extension of enterprise and initiative by each of our establishments in the disposal of financial and material resources" (Vol. 32, p. 434), acquires a new meaning in present-day conditions.

Soviet social development confirms Lenin's idea of employing material and moral stimuli in building communism. The economic reform makes for fuller use of the advantages inherent in socialism and of the unity of the economic interests of workers, enterprises and society as a whole, with due regard to the specific interests of each. In this context, it is important to employ, actively and in a planned manner, commodity-money relations and categories such as profit, price, credit and economic accountability. They acquire a fundamentally different content under socialism than under capitalism: instead of being economic levers of exploitation—which is nonexistent in a socialist society—they become economic levers for increasing production in the interests of the entire people.

And the interests of the people are the supreme concern of the Communist Party. It is guided by Lenin's view that "only socialism can meet their interests" (Vol. 26, p.333).

Under socialism the chief and direct aim of production is full satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of the people and all-round development of the personality, and that aim is being achieved in the Soviet Union.

Real income per wage and salary worker in industry and construction increased more than seven-fold between 1913 and 1968, and the figure for farmers is more than ten-fold. Average wages and salaries rose by 7.5 per cent in 1968 and collective-farmer incomes have increased markedly in the past few years. To this should be added what the population receives out of public consumption funds, which in 1968 totalled 55,000 million rubles. These funds go into free education and medical care, longer paid holidays, pensions, family and other grants, scholarships, health resort accommodation, etc. Housing is constantly being expanded, with an average of 10-11 million people moving into new homes every year.

Once a land of wide-spread illiteracy, the Soviet Union now stands in the forefront of world culture and science. In 1968, it had more than 800,000 scientific workers, or about one-quarter of the world total. The Soviet Union has performed some of the greatest technological feats of the 20th century: it built the world's first nuclear-power plant, the first jet passenger plane and inter-continental ballistic missiles, it was the first to launch an artificial earth satellite, the first to carry out a manned space flight.

This speaks of our considerable achievements in consolidating socialism and building communism. It does not mean, however, that all our problems are solved. Life always poses new ones.

The CPSU knows perfectly well that building communism is a job of tremendous responsibility and complexity, and we, who were raised by Lenin, are not prone to boasting and conceit. The Soviet people still face tasks of immense importance. But what they have accomplished is of world-wide historical significance.

On Soviet soil, illumined by the ideas of the great Lenin, a marvellous renewal of all aspects of life is under way.

The Soviet people will observe the Lenin centenary in an atmosphere of constructive endeavour. They are convinced that the best way to mark the occasion is by still greater achievement on the production front, for Lenin considered free, conscientious and creative labour the principal condition for the victory of communism.

3. Leninism—International Working-Class Doctrine

Marxism, which indicates to the working class and working people of all countries the way to liberation from capitalist oppression, found its further development in Leninism: Lenin raised aloft the banner of internationalism and worked to educate Communists and all working people in the spirit of international solidarity.

A dedicated proletarian revolutionary, Lenin was concerned for the revolutionary struggle of the workers in all countries and followed with close attention and sympathy the liberation movement of colonial and dependent nations. The fight to destroy capitalist slavery in every part of the world was uppermost in his thoughts. He made an invaluable contribution to the programme, organisation, strategy and tactics of the international Communist movement. He had a direct part in strengthening the fraternal Communist parties, sharing with them the rich experience of the Bolshevik Party. He enjoined Communists in all countries to promote international unity and constantly to extend their ties with the masses, so as to become the effective vanguard of all the revolutionary forces.

Adversaries of Leninism try to portray it as a purely "Russian" phenomenon with no international relevance. Some affirm that the path of the October Revolution is suitable only to economically backward countries and that Leninism is but a specific interpretation of Marxism adapted to backward conditions. Others maintain that the Soviet Union's socialist path has only "European" validity and is not, therefore, applicable to Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

There is not a grain of validity in either of these concepts: Leninism is neither an exclusively "Russian" nor a specifically "European" phenomenon. It arose as a continuation of Marxism in the period of capitalism's entry into its last, imperialist, stage, and consequently expresses the objective requirements of *world* social development.

Its international character is determined by the following features of its origin and development.

Firstly, due to a number of historical factors, in the opening years of this century Russia became the focal point of all the underlying imperialist contradictions. The October Revolution became the starting point and axis of the world revolutionary process. The principal laws governing that process were operative in the increasingly powerful waves of the three Russian revolutions, the peak progressive events of the first part of

the century. Their main characteristics—especially of the October Revolution, which shook the world—had far-reaching international implications and exerted a powerful influence on the revolutionary movement in every country.

Second, the international character of Leninism is determined by the multifarious experience of the October Revolution and the subsequent building of socialism in the USSR. Bourgeois ideologists who deny the universality of Leninism ignore the fact that a wide range of diverse socio-economic formations were present in pre-revolutionary Russia. It had large centres of capitalist industry with a fully formed working class, semi-feudal landlordism, colonial and semi-colonial regimes in Central Asia, and all but primitive backwardness in the Far North—in short, economic formations one or more of which exist in practically every country. This, and a multi-national population, made Russia the epitome of the characteristics of many countries on every continent. Consequently, the Bolshevik Party had to solve, at various stages, problems arising in economically developed and backward areas, industrial working-class centres and poverty-ridden villages, in centres of culture and in vast zones of illiteracy and cultural backwardness. This experience, analysed and generalised, is part of Leninism.

Third, Russia's geographical position at the juncture of the developed capitalist West and the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent East, brought its labour movement into close association with that of Western Europe and with the national liberation movement of the East. Leninism thus absorbed and synthesised the experience not only of the Russian, but also of the world labour and anti-colonial national-liberation movements. Lenin spent many years in Switzerland, France, Britain, Germany, Poland and other countries, was closely connected with West-European socialist circles and had an active share in the international movement at the time of the Second International. But he was also in touch with the rising anti-colonial struggle of the Eastern peoples, begun under the influence of the 1905 and 1917 revolutions. His theory of the national and colonial question is an inseparable and important element of Marxism. Leninism analytically summarised the experience, forms and methods of the international revolutionary movement and national liberation struggle.

Fourth, Leninism arose on the firm foundation of Marxism, of which it is the further development. Every important

question concerning the theory and tactics of the international revolutionary movement posed by Marx and Engels is treated in Leninism. Lenin developed and enriched Marxism, taking as his starting point the fundamental propositions enunciated by the founders of scientific socialism.

It was only natural, therefore, that Leninism—Marxism of the new period in history—should become the ideological and theoretical basis of the Communist movement.

Lenin's contribution to that movement is immense. He was the first to urge a higher level of international organisation of the revolutionary forces, emphasising that it was necessitated by the new situation—the growing-over of capitalism into imperialism which put proletarian revolution on the order of the day. When the collapse of the Second International became obvious, Lenin set about consolidating the revolutionary forces in the world movement, steadily and consistently building up an internationalist core which was later to become the Communist International. And Lenin exerted a decisive influence on its ideological and theoretical programme and helped to work out its strategic, tactical and organisational principles.

The Communist Party, Lenin teaches us, is the proletariat's supreme form of class organisation, its chief weapon in the fight for liberation. The Party must therefore have clearly formulated aims, a high degree of discipline, close centralisation and internal democracy, strong ties with the masses, and must be irreconcilable towards reformism and opportunism. And Lenin urged persevering and purposeful effort to transform the Communist parties into militant, revolutionary mass organisations capable of giving effective leadership to the class struggle of the proletariat and of the working people generally.

Lenin regarded the founding of the Communist International as a turning point in the world labour movement, the beginning of the ideological and organisational unity of the workers of all lands under the slogan of proletarian dictatorship, and of the merger of the revolutionary proletarian and national liberation movement. The Communist International strove to make Lenin's teachings part of the international workers' movement and rally all the revolutionary forces to Leninism. It directed the formation of the new, proletarian parties with a view to enabling them, in a short time, to send down deep roots in the labour and democratic movement and become a

national political force in their respective countries. For the young parties the Communist International was a veritable school of Leninism. With its help they gradually overcame the legacy of Social-Democracy and mastered the art of leading the masses from revolutionary positions.

The Communist International performed an historic mission in every sense of the word. It helped to bring into being parties of the new type in dozens of countries in every continent, thereby giving the Communist movement world-wide scope. It trained a galaxy of leaders of fraternal parties fully committed to proletarian internationalism.

As the recognised leader of the Communist International, Lenin waged an unremitting struggle for principled unity of the world working class and the Communist movement. His policy of a united workers' front became the central line of the movement. Under Lenin's leadership, the Communist International formulated the concrete aims of this policy and indicated the methods of their achievement. The essential idea of Lenin's united front policy was united action of the workers in the course of their struggle for their vital interests—including unity with reformist-influenced workers—thereby raising the general level of the movement and gradually, through its own experience, leading it to revolutionary positions.

Lenin helped the young parties correctly to interpret the united front slogan, warning them against Left sectarian and Right opportunist errors, and teaching them to combine fidelity to principles with flexibility in politics. When the danger of fascism loomed on the horizon, he drew attention to the need to combine the united front policy with struggle against fascism and the menace of war, for peace, democratic rights and freedoms. That policy was amplified by the 4th Communist International Congress, the last one attended by Lenin, in its call for a workers' government and a united anti-imperialist front. The Congress resolutions were squarely based on Lenin's idea of a close alliance of the world's first socialist state, the revolutionary workers of capitalist countries and the national liberation movement.

Lenin's strategy of unity of all the elements of the world revolutionary process was designed for a whole period of history, the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. This was embodied in the Popular Front policy formulated at the 7th Comintern Congress and, later, in the broad national

front policy of the anti-fascist Resistance and in the postwar years.

The march of history provides conclusive proof of the effectiveness and topicality of Lenin's idea of unity of all the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist forces. The more than half century since the October Revolution has furnished incontestable corroboration of Lenin's farseeing idea of organic unity and interconnection of the basic elements of the world revolutionary process.

Inspired and guided by Lenin's ideas, the international Communist movement has in these 50 years made big strides to become the most influential political force of our time. And this in itself is irrefutable evidence of Leninism's viability and invincibility.

The Communist movement could become such an influential political force because it is the dominant trend in social development. The Marxist-Leninist philosophy enables it deeply to understand and appreciate the laws of social development and use them to formulate its scientifically-grounded policy, strategy and tactics. The Communist movement relies on the most advanced social class of our age, the working class, whose continuous growth and increasing social and political role are determined by the growth of large-scale industrial production and technological progress. The scientific and technological revolution is extending the role of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist parties.

The Communist parties in power make up the biggest detachment of the movement. Their work in building socialism and communism, safeguarding the unity of the socialist system and strengthening its international positions, is of truly epochal significance. The struggle between world socialism and imperialism defines the main orientation of world development and influences every major event. Imperialism is employing every conceivable means in a desperate attempt to undermine socialism. This calls for supreme vigilance by the Communist and Workers' Parties, the people in the socialist countries and all the progressive forces. They must always be prepared to protect their socialist gains and administer a devastating rebuff to every imperialist encroachment. The socialist system is the main force of the Communist movement—its tangible achievements are helping to strengthen and extend Communist world positions.

Communist influence knows no geographical boundaries. There are Communist parties in every continent and in most countries. They exist and function in developed capitalist and economically backward countries, they stand on the front line against monopoly capital and in the vanguard of the national liberation movement. And though they do not enjoy the same influence in all countries, they are making themselves felt, to one degree or another, everywhere, in all parts of the world.

The Communists are the unifying factor of the world revolutionary process. They symbolise the objective identity of anti-imperialist aspirations of all the social and political forces involved in this process. That is why they are winning so many allies, and why their influence is considerably greater than their membership—it is being multiplied by the fusion of diverse revolutionary currents to form a single stream of the world anti-imperialist revolution.

Fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism has always been a powerful source of Communist strength and influence. Marxism-Leninism is an integral doctrine, the scientific expression of the ideology of the world working class. This means that Marxism-Leninism develops by synthesising the experience of the revolutionary movement in all countries and is enriched by the effort of all the fraternal parties. This means, also, that each Communist Party can successfully achieve its aims only if it constantly draws on the accumulated revolutionary experience of all the detachments of the Communist movement and creatively applies the general principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism's integral substance follows directly from its class nature. For the working class is internationalist by the very fact of its objective position in society, by virtue of its ultimate interests and aims. Hence, proletarian ideology knows no national boundaries: "We are internationalists", Lenin wrote (Vol. 30, p. 293), and in these words we have a definition of one of the chief traits of the Communist.

Marxism-Leninism as an integral international theory stems from the unity of the Communists' scientific, dialectical and materialist approach to social phenomena and historical reality. Notwithstanding the concrete conditions in which the various Parties have to work, all of them rely on the general and tested principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Some, we know, seek to contrast Marxist-Leninist theory, its international character, to national peculiarities. This is purely

artificial and at odds with the principles of Marxism. Lenin always advocated flexible application of Marxism to specific national conditions, but Marxism can be creatively enriched, he maintained, only through theoretical mastery of concrete historical experience. "We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable," he wrote, "on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists *must* develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life. We think that an *independent* elaboration of Marx's theory is especially essential for Russian socialists; for this theory provides only general *guiding* principles, which, *in particulars*, are applied in England differently than in France, in France differently than in Germany, and in Germany differently than in Russia" (Vol. 4, pp. 211-212). However, Lenin always stressed the need for strict observance of Marxism's general principles.

Creative development of Marxism-Leninism presupposes both an independent approach by each Party to the concrete conditions of its country, and defence of the underlying principles and guiding propositions of Marxism-Leninism.

Experience has shown that the general, international laws of development manifest themselves in many forms, depending on national features and traditions. And Lenin repeatedly warned that the basic principles of communism should be applied in keeping with the specific characteristics of the given nation and the given national state. In other words, it is important to single out the general, international element in the national picture. Any departure from the general laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction can do great harm to the socialist cause. For a "national feature" then becomes a screen for substituting pseudo-socialist and bourgeois concepts for genuine socialist ones. It was against such distortions in theory and practice that Lenin warned the Communist parties.

Reliance on Marxism-Leninism as an international theory is an essential requisite for world Communist unity. Attempts to substitute for this international theory a multitude of its "national versions" are bound to lead to national isolation, separatism, provincialism. They are bound to undermine the Party's position in its own country and, in the end, weaken the world Communist movement. There is ample evidence to show that the ability of each Party successfully to operate in its own country, withstand reactionary attacks and rally

the masses to its side, depends to a large extent on its contacts with the international Communist movement and its readiness and ability to draw on international experience.

The logic of ideological backsliding and political struggle is such that attempts to replace the integral Marxist-Leninist theory by a conglomerate of its "national versions" are frequently but the prelude to discarding Marxism-Leninism in favour of an allegedly "universal" concept. This is seen in the evolution of Maoism. Having begun by preaching a "Chinese Marxism" as a variant of Marxist-Leninist theory valid only for China, the Mao Tse-tung group, animated by its chauvinist ideology and political programme, has now definitely discarded Marxism-Leninism for Maoism.

The Communists consider it their duty to re-establish and consolidate unity of the world movement. As to the Soviet Communist Party, it has from its very inception unswervingly abided by Lenin's injunction to strengthen the international unity of the working-class revolutionary forces. "We are proud," Lenin emphasised, "that we settle the great problems of the workers' struggle for their emancipation by submitting to the international discipline of the revolutionary proletariat, with due account of the experience of the workers in different countries, reckoning with their knowledge and their will, and thus giving effect in deed... to the unity of the workers' class struggle for communism throughout the world" (Vol. 31, p. 269).

Unity of the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is a complex but necessary process. The spread of the revolutionary movement, its wider social base, diverse national economic and socio-political conditions and historical traditions and other differences can lead to a situation in which the positions of the Parties do not coincide, with resultant differences in views on one or another issue. But their solidarity and unity on fundamental and decisive issues does not preclude a multiformity of political and tactical positions, or differences of views and judgement.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev declared at the 5th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party: "The main thing is that the Communist and Workers' Parties, notwithstanding differences on some issues, are searching for ways and means of extending international contacts and strengthening their unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism... We are confident that closer

contact and co-operation can resolve problems in a way that will promote international Communist unity. And this is only natural, for we share a common ideology—Marxism-Leninism, face a common foe—imperialism, and are working towards a common goal—the triumph of communism”.

Today the Communist parties conduct their activities in such widely differing conditions that there can be no question of setting up a single leading centre for the whole movement. There are now new practical forms of co-ordinating the work of Marxist-Leninist parties. These include international conferences, and the two that were held in Moscow in 1957 and 1960 successfully coped with the difficult task of formulating common views and devising new forms of international contacts.

At the present stage, the forthcoming Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties scheduled for June will be a key factor in uniting the world Communist movement. The fraternal parties have already done much in their collective preparation of the Conference and their work, we are firmly convinced, will make for the success of the Conference.

Communists cannot for a moment forget that imperialist strategy is designed to divide the socialist countries and the Communist parties. And to do that, the imperialists are relying heavily on nationalism and chauvinism, on Right-wing and adventurist revisionism. To this insidious strategy the Marxist-Leninist parties oppose proletarian internationalism, resolute struggle against imperialism, exposure of bourgeois ideology, and consistent opposition to Right and “Left” opportunism.

The march of events and revolutionary practice favour unity. The pressing problems of world development imperatively call for solidarity and joint action by the Communists in the common struggle for social and national liberation, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The CPSU deems it its duty, together with the other parties and in keeping with the tested Leninist principles, to do everything in its power to advance Communist unity in the fight for these noble aims. We are now approaching the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lenin, the founder of the Soviet Communist Party and of the world's first socialist state. Our Party will come to the Conference under the banner of Leninism, under the banner of struggle for the unity of Lenin's ideas. We will come to the Conference under the banner of

proletarian internationalism and unity of all the revolutionary and democratic forces in a single anti-imperialist front.



The hundredth anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin will be a grand celebration for the Soviet people and for working people the world over. Progressive men and women in all countries regard ours as the age of the revolutionary refashioning of the world. They cannot but see that mankind is following the course predicted by Lenin. Marxism-Leninism lives and triumphs in the majestic transformations carried out by the Soviet people under the leadership of their Communist Party. It lives and triumphs in the work and achievements of the peoples of the other socialist countries, in the advance of the increasingly influential world Communist movement, in the international proletariat's intensified struggle against world capitalism, in the powerful upsurge of the anti-imperialist movement for national liberation.

The ideas of Leninism appeal to the minds and hearts of more and more millions. And this multimillion army of fighters for peace, democracy and socialism is fully justified in saying, in the words of the poet Mayakovsky: Lenin, immortal and great, is with us; on the march throughout the world are his thoughts, his work and his deeds.

Leninism is a powerful creative force for the remaking of the world.

OUTSTANDING EVENT IN THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

(50th Anniversary of the Communist International)

BORIS PONOMARYOV

The 50th anniversary of the Comintern is an outstanding event in the history of the world revolutionary movement. During the quarter of a century for which it existed, the Comintern made an invaluable contribution to the growth of the movement, to the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas and to their materialisation. It fulfilled the historical mission of fusing Leninism and the international working-class movement, writing a new chapter in the history of proletarian internationalism and forging fraternal bonds of solidarity and loyalty to their revolutionary duty between the Communist parties on all continents.

As the Marxist historian looks back on the Communist International he cannot but recall the point made by Lenin that the working class takes its history and the experience of the fraternal parties seriously, and glances back from time to time to check the perspective of the movement against past events.

This is necessitated by the global scale of the movement, its greater role in world affairs and the increased responsibility of the parties for the present and future of the world. Studying the history of the Communist International we trace the sources of our present strength, pinpoint the laws regulating the growth of our movement and the various aspects of its experience, its positive and negative sides, making use of all the valid elements in our present fight against imperialism, for the workers' cause, for socialism and peace.

The first generation of Leninists who built their parties at the time and with the help of the Comintern, performed a truly heroic feat. The Comintern imparted to them a Marxist-Lenin-

ist ideological firmness, assuring success in their arduous mission. And the desire to comprehend and make the most of this experience is another reason for the interest in the Comintern displayed by Communists today.

This interest is traceable also to the demands of the current ideological struggle against anti-Communism and its falsification of the history of our movement, especially that of the Comintern, in the guise of "psychological warfare".

Assessing the significance of the Communist International, of its work, we would be wrong to view it merely from the standpoint of an observer as though it existed by itself and the various national Communist parties each by itself too. The parties participated in Comintern work, framed and adopted all decisions jointly. They bore responsibility for the work of the Comintern, just as the latter bore responsibility for the work of the parties.

Marxists-Leninists value highly the political and ideological legacy of the Communist International, and their interest in it is marked by genuine Communist partisanship. They never forget that it was the foundation-stone laid by Lenin for the modern Communist movement, for the forces that led the masses to historic victories and imposing achievements of revolutionary reconstruction.

The Comintern was historically the successor of the First International founded by Marx and Engels, and heir, too, to the best Marxist traditions of the Second International. Lenin, founder and leader of the Comintern, carried on Marx's cause, defending the Marxist teaching and elaborating on it.

I

Since the days of Marx and Engels the foremost fighters derived strength from their effective methods of rallying the masses at any given time, from finding the relevant political forms for their movement. The Comintern was an example of how Communists jointly determined suitable forms of activity for the international workers' vanguard in keeping with the contemporary situation.

The Third, Communist International was established on March 4, 1919, at an international congress in Moscow.

Unprecedented events were unfolding in the world at the time, highlighted by the radical turn from capitalism to socialism. The Great October Socialist Revolution had initiated

the disintegration of the old world of exploitation. It was a turbulent time in which man embarked on the new, revolutionary epoch. And the Communist International, in the vortex of world events for more than two decades, was the response of Marxist revolutionaries to the needs of the time.

The character and main features of the International, an essentially new proletarian organisation, evolved against the background of an extremely tense international and national class struggle. The revolutionary surge that began in 1917 made a shambles of the idea of the stability of the capitalist system, until then seemingly deep-rooted on our planet with its world-wide system of colonial exploitation. The tens of millions called to arms by the belligerent powers in the 1914-1918 war suffered the appalling consequences of imperialist rule. Erupting spontaneously, discontent was rife on both sides of the lines. Workers, peasants and soldiers pondered the causes of the senseless slaughter, and looked for a way out of the impasse. Then, the revolution broke out in Russia.

October awakened the faith of the peoples, showing that they, too, could end the war. What is more, it showed that the system responsible for the crimes against humanity was anything but eternal and could be swept away. That was one of the reasons behind the powerful upsurge of the mass movement. The centuries-old order maintained by capitalist and landowner governments, based on the "great continental empires" (Russia, Austria-Hungary, Germany and Ottoman) crumbled. Soon, as Engels had foreseen, royal sceptres were consigned to the dust by the dozen.

The basis for Lenin's plan for a new Communist International did not materialise until after the October Revolution and the emergence on the world scene of a state of proletarian dictatorship. That was the decisive new factor for success in the fight of the international working-class movement against war and imperialism, for the workers' aims.

Communist parties appeared in many countries and the desire for a joint international Communist organisation grew.

The Comintern unfurled the banner of Marxism-Leninism, carrying Lenin's ideas to the masses and devising the ways and means of abolishing capitalist exploitation and oppression on a world scale.

The Comintern also resolved another historically important problem. As envisaged by Lenin and leaders of fraternal parties, it restored the international character of the working-

class movement, salvaging its revolutionary content. The old Second International, stricken by opportunism, had collapsed; its leaders had betrayed the workers by urging them in 1914 to exterminate each other. The fact that nationalism and opportunism had prevailed against internationalism and revolutionism in the Second International helped the capitalists to embroil the workers of different countries in the fratricidal slaughter, followed by a shameful war against the newly-created Soviet state. The Right-wing Social-Democrat leaders joined the imperialist concert, pouring invective on the Soviet Republic and trying to isolate it from the labour movement in the capitalist countries and block the spread of the ideas of scientific socialism. The Comintern delivered a crushing blow to that policy, disastrous for the international working-class movement.

Unfurling the banner of internationalism, it showed the movement the way out of the impasse of nationalism and opportunism. Genuine Marxists worked hard in extremely difficult conditions to revive the proletarian ideological principles and the class nature of the workers' movement. The state agencies of the ruling class harassed them on all sides, and the Right Social-Democrats, too, banded against them. Still small and not yet tempered, the Communist parties would not have survived the onslaught without the Comintern. It helped them unfold a revolutionary perspective for the working class of the capitalist countries.

The Russian revolution and the victories and defeats in the class battles of 1917-1923 in other countries, brought out the magnitude of the role of the *working-class party*. The credit for the democratic aspirations of the peoples of Russia growing into a victorious socialist revolution belongs entirely to the party of the new type. Lenin intended the Communist International to extend ideological, political and organisational aid to revolutionary parties, equipping the working-class movement with a tested and effective weapon against imperialism. The Comintern fulfilled this task, imparting to all parties Lenin's ideas on the party as the highest form of the workers' class organisation, on the relationship between the party, the working class and the masses generally, and the content and form of internationalism in the new environment.

Adoption by the Comintern's Second Congress of the 21 Conditions for admission helped in shaping the parties of the

new type. Among these conditions were: recognition of proletarian dictatorship as the main principle of revolutionary struggle and Marxist theory; consistent ideological and organisational separation from reformists and centrists; combination of legal and illegal methods of struggle; systematic work in the countryside, in the trade unions and in parliament, and democratic centralism as the basic organisational principle. The 21 Conditions were based on Lenin's teaching about the party of the new type and played a big part in steeling Leninist cadres and in combating opportunism and ultra-Leftism. Among the most important conditions was loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. The Conditions were a shield for the ideological and political identity of the burgeoning Communist movement, consolidating it on a truly revolutionary basis.

Party questions were always a matter of prime concern for the Comintern. Lenin, too, attached cardinal importance to them. All Comintern congresses and Executive Committee or Presidium meetings discussed them in one connection or another, either to correct or concretise the general line in party building, or help the leadership of a party unravel the inner-party or tactical problems and find the best solution collectively, with an eye on the experience of other parties.

The theses of the 5th Congress (1924) indicated that building genuinely Leninist parties was *the central task of the Communist International*. Taking the 21 Conditions a step further, the theses tabulated trends which the sections of the Comintern should follow in developing into well-tempered parties of the new type: readiness at all times to work among the masses no matter what the obstacles; ability to manoeuvre, ruling out stereotype in methods and means of struggle; loyalty to revolutionary Marxism and ability to defend it; consistent observance of democratic centralism; systematic, persevering, long-term work in the trade unions, increasing their potential in the fight for the workers' daily needs and winning them for the revolution; revolutionary work among the peasants, alliance with whom is essential before the question of winning power can be seriously considered; a correct Leninist approach to the question of nationalities as one of the most important conditions for preparing a victorious revolution.

Somewhat later, in 1925, the 5th extended meeting of the Executive Committee described "skill in applying the general principles of Leninism to a *specific* situation in this or that

country" as one of the essential conditions for the growth of the parties. The main "link" in the chain, its decision said, cannot be the same from country to country in view of the variety of socio-political situations in the world.

The Comintern, as we see, did not orient its member-parties on mechanically copying the Bolshevik experience. Laying the fundamental principles for the work of Communist parties as internationalist organisations, it was dedicated to helping each to become through its practical activity and by its own experience *a national political force* capable of independent action in the concrete conditions of the particular country, making it an effective vanguard of the working-class movement.

That revolutionary proletarian parties were formed in most countries is a credit to the Comintern, which accomplished this jointly with the foremost leaders of the national contingents of the revolutionary proletariat.

The Comintern could well be described as a projection of Lenin's genius. It was his idea to establish it as a counterweight to the Second International, "vanquished by opportunism". And he put in truly titanic work methodically to prepare the nucleus of internationalists, who then laid the foundations of the Communist International. Lenin summed up Russian and international revolutionary experience, framed the ideological and theoretical platform, formulated the basic principles of strategy and tactics for the world Communist movement and elaborated its organisational principles. He worked hand in hand with the top leaders of the fraternal parties.

He was universally recognised leader of the Communist International. He delivered reports and spoke at all the four Comintern congresses that took place in his lifetime, and sat on many of the commissions drafting important resolutions, worked out jointly by representatives of fraternal parties. They are a repository of time-tested Marxist-Leninist ideas, valid to this day.

He followed closely developments in the fraternal parties and responded to their problems, helping them work out their programmatic and tactical principles. His advice contributed greatly to the politico-ideological growth of many parties, epitomising the depth of Lenin's strategic thinking and his flair for elucidating the complexities and peculiarities of the national and international situation.

At that time the parties were in the formative stage. Many

of their functionaries had not yet fully cast off the ties with the Social-Democratic movement. It was a time, too, when the crisis of capitalism was extremely acute. And the great proletarian strategist elucidated the basic principles of socialist revolution to the various Communist vanguards with admirable patience.

Lenin insisted on Communists preparing themselves ideologically and organisationally for the coming revolutionary battles. He enjoined them to be flexible in the daily class struggle and to prime the workers' vanguard for the decisive fight against imperialism. With the masses, at the head of the masses—that was the *leitmotif* of everything he said concerning the tasks of the Communist vanguards.

When the Bologna congress of the Italian Socialist Party applied for admission to the Communist International, Lenin warned in a special message against possible provocations by the Entente powers and the Italian bourgeoisie. He laid emphasis on thoroughness in preparing the revolution. "Be just as successful in winning the entire industrial and *the entire rural* proletariat plus the small peasants," he wrote, "and then, if the proper moment is chosen internationally, victory for the dictatorship of the proletariat in Italy will be enduring" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, pp. 91-92). During a revolutionary crisis in Italy, Palmiro Togliatti recalls, Lenin pinpointed the strategic and tactical approach "best fitted to the situation in our country" unerringly and in a few words (Togliatti, *Selected Articles and Speeches*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1965, p. 374, in Russian).

Writing to Sylvia Pankhurst, an early British Communist, in August 1919, Lenin pointed to the fundamental aspects of party building in the specific conditions of Britain. He drew attention to the dangers of self-isolation and sectarianism, stressing that "unbreakable ties with the mass of the workers, the ability to agitate unceasingly among them to participate in every strike, to respond to every demand of the masses—this is the chief thing for a Communist Party" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 563). At the same time, Lenin wrote, only a consistently revolutionary and openly Marxist programme could, and would, bring all the best worker revolutionaries into the Communist Party.

It was from this angle, in the context of winning the masses, that Lenin approached the then vital issue of whether or not Communists should stand for election to bourgeois parliaments,

whether or not they should work in the trade unions. Some were opposed to this either due to political inexperience or sectarian aberrations, and Lenin patiently explained the error and harm of their attitude.

In an article, "To Italian, French and German Communists", published in October 1919, he described as entirely wrong the objections of some German Communists to participating in bourgeois parliaments and working in trade unions, decribing their error as growing pains. "These obvious mistakes," he stressed, "must be combated openly; the differences must not be exaggerated" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 57). So long as the common lasting revolutionary basis endures, he said, these differences are not dangerous. Bolshevism, too, he added, had experienced differences of this kind time and again, but in the hour of decision "it drew to itself all that was best in the trends of socialist thought akin to it and rallied round itself the *entire* vanguard of the proletariat and *the overwhelming majority* of the working people" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, pp. 55-56).

Lenin went out of his way to help the fraternal parties master different forms of work with the masses, and welcomed the "Open Letter" of the United Communist Party of Germany (January 1921), describing it as a timely move to establish a united workers' front, "a model political step", "a model because it is the first act of a practical method of winning over the majority of the working class" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 470), while taking issue with the "Leftist" elements in the German Party and some of the Comintern leaders (Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek) for accusing the writers of the "Open Letter" of reformism. But he also severely rebuked one of the writers, Paul Levi, whose expulsion from the Party for refusing to participate in an armed action of the German workers, however much provoked and unprepared, he wholly approved. Such an attitude, he said, was incompatible with the calling of a Communist.

At a session of the Comintern's Executive Committee on June 17, 1921, Lenin reproved Leftists who had berated *l'Humanité* for urging "calm and discipline" in leading the masses against capitalism. Criticism of any party, Lenin explained, should concern only incorrect, opportunist actions. No attacks should ever be mounted indiscriminately, thereby causing a split and no alternative "Leftist" nonsense should be suggested as a counterweight to opportunism. "Marxism," Lenin said,

"boils down to determining what policy should be conducted in this or that situation" (*Central Party Archive*, Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow, fund 2, list 1, file 19320).

Yet Lenin was irreconcilable in his criticism of those who rejected revolution on the pretext that the conditions which made the October Revolution possible had been specific. J. Franek, who met Lenin as a member of a delegation of Czechoslovak trade unionists (1922), recalled: "I spoke about the ideas spread among the workers by the reformist Social-Democrat leaders and indignantly qualified as 'extravagant political ultra-consciousness' their contention that the October Revolution was conceivable only in 'benighted Russia' whereas in our country, 'in the cultured West', revolution would be a 'useless experiment'. But Lenin took me to task. Is it not our duty, he asked, to cultivate the consciousness of the workers, to show them concrete examples of where their leaders betrayed them, to explain to them that they cannot depend on such leaders in changing the social system?" (*Velika cesta*, Praha, 1960, s. 32).

Lenin helped the parties to apply united front tactics and find the best solutions in complicated issues. On January 12, 1922, he advised the Executive Committee to adopt "a thoroughly motivated resolution demanding from the Communist Party of Britain that all Communists should agitate and vote in elections for Labour candidates, excluding those extremely few cases where it is certain that voting for a Communist will not help the capitalist candidate win" (*Central Party Archive*, Institute of Marxism-Leninism, fund 2, list 1, file 22623).

Those are but a few examples of Lenin's multiform help in building parties of the new type.

Lenin's prestige as leader of the Communist International rested on the identity of his words and deeds. In the eyes of Communists, of all revolutionaries, of millions the world over, Lenin and the October Revolution, and the Soviet worker-peasant republic, were one.

II

The new epoch brought new problems, and the right solutions had to come from the advanced class, from the international working-class movement. And the Communist International, which stored up the best experience of that move-

ment, its thinking and its creative energy, fulfilled its task well. Now, looking back over the past five decades, there is good reason to say that the Comintern provided the right answers to all the fundamental problems that confronted the world between the two world wars. This is true with regard to the fight for socialism and national liberation, and the fight against fascism and imperialist war. The answers provided by the Comintern to these problems furthered social progress, a cardinal shift favouring the anti-imperialist forces, the new society, socialism, a new kind of relationship between the peoples.

The fundamental problem of the 20th century is that of the *transition of society to socialism*. The post-October era is one of social revolutions, bringing deliverance from all forms of exploitation and oppression. And the Comintern rendered the movement an invaluable service by providing a profound analysis of the historical significance of the October Revolution, of the socialism that came into being in Russia and paved the way to socialism in the rest of the world.

The Communist International generalised the experience of the first dictatorship of the proletariat and its guiding force, the Leninist party. The Soviet state changed the content of contemporary history. Since its appearance, the theses of the 6th Comintern Congress stressed, "the main contradiction dividing the world into two camps has been growing, with the capitalist world, on the one hand, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with which are grouped the international proletariat and the oppressed colonial peoples, on the other" (*Comintern in Documents*, pp. 793-794, in Russian).

The Comintern saw the Soviet Union as the centre of the world revolutionary movement, its main base; it defined as its own principal international task to safeguard the first workers' state. When the imperialist powers organised provocations against the Soviet Republic, the Comintern countered by rallying the workers and the people in the capitalist countries in support of the USSR. This inhibited the aggressive sallies of the imperialists. For this reason, Soviet Communists will always cherish the international solidarity of the Comintern and all its sections in the common cause of defending the first socialist state.

The Communist International held that building socialism in the USSR was not merely the general task of the Soviet people, but a decisive factor in the common world-wide rev-

olutionary struggle. That its why it supported the Soviet Communist Party in combating Trotskyism, which tried to belittle the international revolutionary impact of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union and even denied the possibility of socialism winning in that country. The Seventh extended meeting of the Comintern's Executive Committee (1926) denounced the Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc, rejected the charges of "national exclusiveness" which the Trotskyites had levelled against Lenin's party, and declared that the latter had "in all its past and present work proved by deed as well as word that it is an internationalist party, offering splendid examples of internationalism". The Executive Committee noted that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) is conducting the policy of building socialism quite correctly, being convinced that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has in the country 'everything necessary in sufficient quantity' for building a fully socialist society" (*Comintern in Documents*, p. 680, in Russian).

Refuting the anti-Leninist Trotskyite views was vital to strengthening the fraternal parties and for a correct revolutionary line in the world Communist movement. The young Communist parties could hardly have coped with the danger of Trotskyism without the Communist International.

In the fight against the Right deviation and the attendant trend towards capitalist restoration, the Comintern likewise ranged itself alongside the Soviet Communist Party. Every departure from the working-class line in matters of government and every reconciliation with ideologically alien views constituted a grave danger to socialism in the Soviet Union and to the gains of Soviet power: the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party could have lost the leading position, and the tempo needed at the time for the Soviet Union to fulfil its international revolutionary mission could have slackened. And the Communist International, through joint effort eliminated that dangerous deviation from the Leninist course in the world Communist movement.

The victory of socialism in the USSR was a powerful factor stimulating the process of proletarian revolution in the rest of the world. A new world balance of class forces set in, apropos of which the Seventh Congress of the Comintern said in a resolution:

"The victory of socialism, which has turned the USSR into a force bringing into motion large sections of people, classes,

nations and states, has produced a new significant change in the world balance of class forces in favour of socialism, against capitalism; this is the beginning of a new phase in the growth of the proletarian world revolution". That prediction materialised after the war when the balance of forces changed conclusively, stimulating the growth of the world revolutionary movement.

The Comintern linked the experience of the first victorious dictatorship of the proletariat with the world revolutionary movement. That redounds to its credit. For it showed that the solidarity of the first proletarian dictatorship, the revolutionary workers' movement in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement constituted a force capable of breaking and vanquishing the system of imperialist domination.

As early as 1915 Lenin had expressed the view that "the revolution may and probably will consist of many years of fighting, of several periods of onslaught with intervals of counter-revolutionary convulsions of the bourgeois system" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 339). The Comintern translated this idea into the practical language of party strategy and tactics in the post-October conditions.

When the revolutionary wave of 1917-1923 subsided, the young Communist movement, equipped with Leninism, did not fall prey to despair. The Comintern enabled it to retain its sense of perspective, showing it the essence and methods of preparing for a resumption of class battles.

The theses of the 14th Soviet Communist Party Conference on issues that arose in connection with the work of the 5th extended meeting of the Comintern's Executive Committee pointed out that although the course of the world revolution was much slower than earlier expected, the victory of socialism in the USSR was an established fact and the possibilities of the movement in other countries were quite realistic.

In the early years of the Comintern Lenin had advanced the idea that in the West the revolution would be more difficult to begin than it had been in Russia, but that there it would be easier to carry forward. This idea lent impetus to conclusions concerning the transition to socialism in the developed capitalist countries which the Comintern helped disseminate in the labour movement of Europe and North America. Nor did it simply pass on "prescriptions" for preparing the revolution based on the Russian experience; it elucidated the

essential features of Leninism precisely as a generalisation of the experience of the international working-class movement and showed how to use this experience in the developed capitalist countries where conditions were entirely unlike Russia's.

The discussion that raged in the twenties over what was a "revolutionary situation" concerned a matter that transcended pure theory. It had a bearing on political practice. The working-class movement had learned from experience that material preconditions were not enough, that the determination, courage and will of the vanguard were not enough, to carry out a social revolution. Essential subjective and objective factors were needed, creating a situation of national crisis. The Comintern warned the parties against waiting passively for the revolution to break out, on the one hand, and against "pushing" it artificially, on the other. It impressed on the parties the science and art of defeating the class enemy.

From the Comintern the Communists learned the importance of long-term, painstaking work, rallying the forces for the political army of the socialist revolution at a time when no revolutionary situation existed, and the importance of an offensive and at once of varied action when the revolutionary situation appeared. By its persevering activity, the Comintern helped to weed out the doctrinaire approach and showed how theory should be translated into practice, verifying it and correcting it in the heat of the class struggle. It showed, too, that current economic and political tasks should be linked directly with the ultimate socialist aims of the working class.

The Communist movement and the International provided a correct solution for the urgent problems of the *colonial peoples* facing the world in the new epoch. Awakened by the October Revolution, the peoples in the colonial countries went into action on an unprecedented scale. It was, therefore, essential to *chart the way this national-liberation struggle should follow* and to define its place in the world revolutionary process.

The opportunist leaders of the Second International depreciated the significance of the national liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries. Kautsky arrogantly remarked that it had nothing in common with the socialist struggles of the workers.

Lenin exposed the class roots of this attitude, showing that the contempt in which the reformists held the national libera-

tion movement, that important factor of the revolution, was a concomitant of their retreat to bourgeois positions. That was why, Lenin stressed, Social-Democratic leaders "overlooked" the basically novel role of that movement in the new epoch. "In the impending decisive battles in the world revolution," he predicted, "the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will, perhaps, play a much more revolutionary part than we expect" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 482).

Acting on Lenin's idea, the Communist International kept the national liberation movement within its vision at all times. Its problems were invariably discussed at Comintern congresses, and were often posed at meetings of the Executive Committee. The resolution of the Fifth Comintern Congress pointed out that the national liberation movement was "one of the principal components of the great liberation movement that can alone accomplish the revolution on a world scale, as well as in Europe" (*Comintern in Documents*, p. 411, in Russian).

The Comintern dealt with the national-colonial problem in the context of the worker-peasant alliance on an international scale. And it did everything to channel into a single anti-imperialist stream the revolutionary workers' struggle in the developed capitalist countries and the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples.

The weakness of the national liberation revolution, the Comintern noted, lay in the "inconsistency between the objective revolutionary situation and the weakness of the subjective factor", that is, the absence of Communist parties in that part of the world (*Comintern in Documents*, p. 856, in Russian). The International did its utmost, therefore, to help organise a Communist movement in the colonial and dependent countries.

For example, the Comintern staunchly supported the revolutionary movement in China. Its representatives, who came to Shanghai in 1920, were instrumental in establishing the first Communist circles and then in compounding the separate groups into a political party. With their help the *Hsinchin-gnien*, a democratic revolutionary journal appearing since 1915, became a Communist publication in 1920. The Comintern helped train revolutionary cadres for the Chinese Communist Party. The works of Marx and Lenin were first published in Chinese with Comintern aid, facilitating the spread of Marx-

ism-Leninism in China. That the Marxist-Leninist teaching fused with the revolutionary movement of the Chinese workers at that time is due in no small measure to these efforts.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern and its commissions studied the situation in China methodically, probing all the twists and turns of the Chinese revolution and rendering it every possible aid. It was with direct Comintern help and that of its various sections that a mass movement was initiated in 1925, particularly in the USSR, France, Germany, the United States, Britain, Austria, Japan, Czechoslovakia, Korea, Italy, Egypt and Turkey, under the slogan "Hands off China!" No international political force, apart from the Communist International, extended any support to the Chinese revolution.

India is another example of how the Comintern helped the Communist movement in the Eastern countries. It was with Comintern aid that Indian Marxists charted the course of the national liberation and worker-peasant movement. The Comintern assisted in the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas in India. Lenin and the Comintern oriented the Indian Communists on co-operating with the national revolutionary forces, on promoting a united anti-imperialist front.

Marxist-Leninist parties appeared at the time in many other Asian and African countries, later playing a prominent part in the national liberation revolution and in liberating their countries from the colonial yoke.

The Communist International declared war on colonialism. Throughout its history it consistently defended the rights of the colonial peoples, exposing the colonialists, helping those who had risen against colonial oppression. Speaking at the Second Congress of Communist Organisations of the East in 1919, Lenin said: "The civil war of the working people against the imperialists and exploiters in all the advanced countries is beginning to be combined with national wars against international imperialism. That is confirmed by the course of the revolution, and will be more and more confirmed as time goes on. It will be the same in the East." Then, addressing the masses in the colonial and dependent countries, he added: "In the revolutionary struggle, in the revolutionary movement you will be called upon to play a big part and to merge with our struggle against international imperialism" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, pp. 159 and 160). The "twenties" and "thirties" were highlighted by the liberation struggle of the oppressed colonial and dependent peoples. The Comintern gave every possible

aid to the people of Morocco in 1923-26, to the militant actions of Syrian patriots in 1925-27, to the revolutionary movements in the Latin American countries, and to the risings in the provinces of India and Burma. In November 1926, when a rising erupted against the Dutch colonialists in Indonesia, the Comintern organised a solidarity movement and denounced the butchers of the Indonesian people. In 1927-1935 the Comintern supported and helped the Anti-Imperialist League, a united front organisation of various anti-imperialist forces.

Acting on Lenin's counsel, the International assessed the prospects of the national liberation movement in the context of its alliance with the socialist state and the world proletariat. In the new era a realistic possibility of a non-capitalist way appeared for the oppressed countries. "With the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries," Lenin told the Second Congress of the Comintern, "backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 244). Acting on this idea, the Communist parties laid the foundation for the alliance of the national liberation movement with victorious socialism and the workers of the world which, after the Second World War, brought an end to the colonial system, paving the way to the solution of one of the main problems of our time: the national and social emancipation of imperialist-dominated peoples.

The Comintern devoted itself to advancing the movement in the Latin American countries, centring its efforts on the ideological education of Party cadres. And it was under the auspices of the Comintern that the Communist parties of Latin America gathered for their first regional conference.

The problem of war and peace has persisted throughout the 20th century.

The scale and the appalling consequences of the first imperialist world war showed that anti-war action was an essential factor of social progress, of developing the revolutionary movement. And from the very beginning the Communist International showed a keen awareness of this problem.

It is to the credit of the Communist movement, of the International, that it associated the conditions and the possibilities of combating the danger of imperialist war in the new era with the existence of the Soviet Union as a decisive factor for peace.

Hence the Communist parties firmly opposed fatalistic views on the matter of war and peace. The decisions of the Sixth Congress noted that the "opportunities for combating war had increased", that they were now "much more favourable than in 1914" (*Comintern in Documents*, p. 809). And the documents of the Seventh Congress contained the judgement that in the new situation, given certain conditions, war could be not only delayed but entirely averted.

The Comintern conducted world-wide propaganda and extensive political work, organising the masses for the fight against a new imperialist world war and inferred, rightly, that the successful building of socialism in the Soviet Union had a decisive bearing on strengthening that chief base of the policy of peace. "The only country wholly and consistently pursuing a policy of peace is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," the decisions of the Fifth Congress said.

The Comintern worked for the broadest possible front of the democratic anti-war forces championing peace. As early as 1922, its Fourth Congress called on all Social-Democrats, on the trade unions of all countries, to act in concert against capitalism's offensive and the danger of another war.

At the same time, the Comintern stressed that the policy of peace pursued by the Soviet state was closely linked with its revolutionary role in international affairs. When the Trotskyites tried to malign the peace policy of the USSR, which they slanderously described as a departure from the tasks of the world revolution, the Comintern rejected their specious charge and demonstrated the revolutionary importance of Soviet foreign policy. "The peace policy of the workers' state," the decisions of the Sixth Congress noted, "yields no evidence whatsoever that Soviet power has become reconciled to capitalism... What the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has consistently pursued since the October Revolution is a different—and, moreover, in the present circumstances more favourable—form of struggle against capitalism."

In the "thirties", at a highly responsible time in history when the immediate danger of a second world war appeared due to the rise of fascism in Germany, the Comintern advocated an effective programme for eliminating the war danger. The world Communist movement alone was able to grasp the magnitude of the danger, unerringly to pinpoint its source and suggest a concrete plan of action based on the idea of a common anti-war front.

The Comintern sounded the alarm; it called on the working people everywhere to act in unison against the threat of war implicit in German fascism. What is more, in worked out a comprehensive programme of anti-war activity. The leading bodies and the sections of the Comintern and all Communists spared no effort in rallying the masses against the warmakers—the German and Italian fascists, and the Japanese militarists; they spared no effort in denouncing the criminal Munich policy, and they campaigned for joint anti-war action by organisations and trends of different political shades.

The Communist movement and the International did everything in their power to avert a Second World War. They thereby demonstrated their clear understanding of the world situation and their readiness faithfully and vigorously to uphold the peoples' interests. And when war eventually broke out, the Communist parties made the biggest and the decisive contribution to the defeat of those who had unleashed it. The brunt of the burden in this costliest of all wars fell to the Soviet people, to the land of the October Revolution—3,500,000 Soviet Communists gave their lives on the battlefronts. In Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, China, Korea and other countries Communists were the motive force of the Resistance; they acted as organisers of the guerrilla movements. The Communist parties, acting as the national vanguard, set an example of blending the fight for the workers' socialist interests with the national interests of their countries. In the conditions of World War II they set an example of internationalism in action. Their prestige and their membership grew immensely during these trying years, a sure indication of their dedication and of their activity. Some of the parties increased their ranks manifold in the brief span of two or three years to reach total membership of between 100,000 and more than 500,000. Some of the parties were able to lead the working class and people on to the pathway of socialist reconstruction.

Now in a state of general crisis, capitalism confronted mankind with the prospect of losing its earlier humanistic and democratic gains. And the deeper the crisis became, the clearer were the peoples faced with the menace of fascism. The Comintern was the first to draw attention to this, the first to disclose the substance of fascism and propose practical methods of combating it. The great service it rendered in the

mortal battle against nazism and fascism is firmly engraved in the peoples' memory.

In 1922, when Mussolini came to power in Italy, the question of combating fascism was on the agenda of the Fourth Comintern Congress. In his report to that Congress, Lenin urged the Communists to draw the necessary lessons from the Italian events, emphasising that anti-fascist struggle was now coming to the fore. And from the very outset, the Comintern linked that struggle with the important part democratic freedoms played in the development of the revolutionary workers' movement, and with the need to strengthen, on this basis, mass class alliances.

The Fourth Congress declared that fight against fascism was not only a national task of the Italian workers. In a call addressed to them in January 1923, its Executive Committee declared: "In resisting Italian fascism, you are fighting for your freedom..." and at the same time you are fighting to prevent the "reign of terror and murder in Italy from spreading to other countries". In August 1923, in a letter addressed to the Socialist International and to the Amsterdam Trade Union International, the Comintern and the Red International of Labour Unions clearly warned of the fascist danger in Germany.

Analysing the processes at work in the world and generalising the experience gained in the fight against the increasingly active fascist forces, the Comintern formulated—with due account of the new developments—a scientifically grounded definition of fascist rule as the naked terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, chauvinist and imperialist elements of finance capital. The advent to power of fascism was not merely the substitution of one bourgeois government by another, but the substitution of bourgeois democracy by an open terrorist dictatorship. This revealed all the underlying contradiction between fascism and bourgeois democracy and indicated the objective basis for a broad inter-class anti-fascist front.

Neither the petty-bourgeois democratic parties, nor the Socialist International theorists, nor the Right-wing Social-Democrat leaders could give a correct appraisal of the substance of fascism and failed, utterly, to appreciate the danger it contained for the working people. They were so blinded by opportunism, anti-Sovietism and hatred of communism that

they rejected out of hand every Comintern approach—and there were many—for joint action against fascism.

But the Communist International worked perseveringly and persistently for a broad democratic alliance with which to counter fascism. In March 1933 in a call to the workers of all countries, it outlined a programme of joint anti-fascist struggle with the Social-Democrats, a programme of united action. The Communists initiated the European Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress, held in Paris in 1933 at which some three million European workers were represented.

The Seventh Comintern Congress, which was to become a landmark in the history of the world Communist movement, ushered in a new stage in the fight against fascism. It elaborated a comprehensive programme, based on a united workers' and popular front, for bringing together all the democratic forces. "The grave menace of fascism", it declared, "makes a united fighting front of the working class the main and immediate aim of the international workers' movement at the present stage". It can confidently be said that had this programme been accepted and consistently implemented by all to whom it was addressed, fascism could have been crushed long before it plunged mankind into the Second World War.

The Communist International and its national affiliates were the first to take up the fight against fascism. Everywhere Communists were in the van in repelling fascist attacks—sparing neither effort nor life, they fought fascism in the streets, in the factories and in parliament. And one of the Comintern's finest representatives, Georgi Dimitrov, delivered a telling blow to fascism at the Leipzig trial. When the first big battle against fascism flared up in Spain, the Comintern headed an unparalleled international action, the International Brigades movement of volunteers who fought shoulder to shoulder with the Spanish Republicans. The Comintern was directly in charge of forming and equipping the Brigades and appointed its best forces to give them political and military leadership. Some 35,000 volunteers from 54 countries fought in Spain.

By the outbreak of World War II, the staunch Marxist-Leninist internationalists trained by the Comintern, were active in dozens of Communist parties united in fraternal friendship. They were courageous patriots, valiant fighters against fascism, for the freedom and future of their nations. Communist war-time policy and activity were crucial factors in the defeat

of the fascist forces, achieved primarily thanks to the war effort of the socialist Soviet Union. A new chapter was opened in world history, a chapter of sweeping revolutionary change, prepared in no small measure by the Communist International.

III

The Comintern was able to provide answers to the new problems posed by world development because it was itself an international organisation of a new type. Its very inception was, in a way, the answer to an imperative need of the international revolutionary movement, the leading force of our age.

The Comintern was a genuine centre of collective Marxist-Leninist thought in which there was constantly generalised the common experience of the international working class and, on the basis of scientific analysis, political conclusions were drawn and immediately taken up by the proletarian vanguard for application in its day-to-day class struggle.

The revolutionary work of the fraternal parties, their creative approach to the theory and practice of the class struggle, formed the very foundation of Comintern activity. New forms of struggle, new slogans, new tactical ideas, come to the fore. Faithful to the Leninist tradition, the Comintern carefully studied and supported the fraternal parties in their constructive approach to the problems of the day, generalised the achievements of each party and made them the property of all. Thus, reflected in the historic decisions of the Seventh Congress is the experience of the French Party, one of the first to elaborate and realise the popular front tactic, the Spanish Communists' initiative in building a political coalition of all anti-fascist forces, the Italian Party's policy of united action with the Socialists, the persistent efforts of the German Communists for a united anti-fascist front with the Social-Democrats, and the Polish Communist Party's experience in rallying all anti-fascist forces.

The Comintern cultivated in the parties the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, itself setting an example of its practical application. Its Congresses, plenums and numerous commissions met in an atmosphere of broad and free discussion, in which everyone could uphold his views, his own understanding of the issues involved. Each party had the right and the opportunity to share in framing Comintern policy, and in defining its organisational principles. The documents show that

the fraternal parties availed themselves of this. The devotion and self-sacrifice displayed by the Communists in carrying out collectively-adopted decisions are widely known and appreciated. There was not a trace of the blind fanaticism which our enemies delight in ascribing to us. There was, in every sense of the word, discipline based on consciously realised necessity, on full understanding of agreed decisions and of commitments to fraternal parties.

In the twenty-five years of its existence, the Comintern trained a whole generation of internationalist-minded Party leaders, a generation steeled in the struggle for the purity and creative development of Marxism-Leninism. Its leading bodies, genuinely internationalist in their composition, were representative of the best in the Communist movement of the time. The Comintern developed a galaxy of such sterling leaders as Georgi Dimitrov, Klement Gottwald, Ajoy Ghosh, Jose Diaz, Dolores Ibaruri, Marcel Cachin, Victorio Codovilla, Vasil Kolarov, Johann Koplentig, Bela Kun, Otto Kuusinen, Julian Lenski, Wilhelm Pieck, Harry Pollitt, Luis Carlos Prestes, Sen Katayama, Ernst Thaelmann, Maurice Thorez, Palmiro Togliatti, Tim Buck, Walter Ulbricht, William Z. Foster, Ho Chi Minh, Klara Zetkin and others.

Large numbers of Communists from the fraternal parties studied Marxism-Leninism in Comintern schools—the International Lenin School, the Communist University of the Toilers of the East, the Sun Yat-sen University. These schools provided a sound ideological, theoretical and political training and were centres for the exchange of revolutionary experience.

The CPSU Comintern delegation—Stalin, Zhdanov, Manuilsky, Knorin, Piatnitsky, Gusev and others—played a big part in the fight against the Trotskyites and Right opportunists, for a correct Comintern policy.

The Communist International rendered an immense service by preventing vulgarisation and distortion of Marxism by opportunists of the Right and the "Left".

The history of the Comintern and its Marxist-Leninist parties is the history of irreconcilable struggle against opportunism. "A necessary condition for preparing the proletariat for its victory," Lenin wrote, "is long, persistent and relentless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social-chauvinism and similar bourgeois influences and trends, which are inevitable, since the proletariat operates in a capitalist environment" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 275). Without ideological

and political victory over reformism and opportunism, Lenin taught, we shall never solve the primary historic task confronting the young Communist parties, the task of bringing the working-class vanguard to revolutionary positions. But to achieve victory the vanguard must have the support of the masses. Hence, Lenin's irreconcilable rejection of sectarianism. Without overcoming sectarianism and Leftism, Lenin pointed out, we cannot solve our second historic task, leading the masses to new positions from which to launch the fight for the victory of the revolution.

The Comintern waged a resolute fight against Trotskyism and contributed to its ideological defeat. Trotskyism injected into the Communist movement features totally alien to it—negation of Party discipline, "freedom of factions", refusal to reckon with majority opinion, "revolutionary" adventurism, with its preaching of export of revolution, and imposition of standard tactics regardless of concrete conditions. Trotskyism used revolutionary phraseology to conceal its true nature, i.e., capitulation in face of the difficulties encountered in building socialism in the USSR and in the class struggle in capitalist countries.

True to Lenin's behests, the Comintern predicated all its work on the understanding that the advance of the revolution required a bold approach to the new problems, ability to foresee the outcome of its actions and to correct errors in good time. It developed Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics in line with the changing situation.

For the young Communist parties the Comintern was a practical school of Leninism and political leadership of the masses. It taught them how to combine fidelity to principle with flexibility, thus helping the independent development of most parties in subsequent years.

Communists, Lenin constantly emphasised, must soberly, fully and objectively weigh all the facts pertaining to the world economy and world politics and the class forces operating on the national and international scene. He warned, in the most categorical manner, against subjectivism and voluntarism.

And he fought with equal vigour every manifestation of passivity, insisting that Communist policy be based on a combination of "complete scientific sobriety in the analysis of the objective state of affairs and the objective course of evolution with the most emphatic recognition of the importance of the

revolutionary energy, revolutionary creative genius, and revolutionary initiative of the masses..." [*Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 36].

The Comintern gave the parties practical help in mastering all forms of struggle, legal and illegal, peaceful and non-peaceful, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary. It taught them always to be prepared for abrupt change from one form to another, carefully considering opportunities for taking the offensive, but also the need for retreat. Comintern tactics were invariably based on unbreakable contact with the workers, on work among the masses. And the parties learned to master the art of leading the masses to revolutionary positions on the basis of their own experience.

The Communist International consistently upheld the economic and social interests of the working class and the working people generally and supported all actions to that end by the fraternal parties. During the 1929-33 world economic crisis, which had such a crushing impact on the masses in the capitalist countries, the Communists initiated and organised mass strike movements and other actions in defence of the people's vital rights. In 1929-32, there were about 19,000 strikes involving 8,500,000 workers in 15 leading capitalist countries, and in all these the Communists were in the van of the struggle.

The Comintern followed the rule laid down by Lenin never to eschew compromises dictated by a definite conjuncture of circumstances, but, despite compromises, to pursue and develop its revolutionary policy. Lenin taught us that a more powerful enemy could be defeated only by supreme exertion and by careful, cautious and skilful utilisation of contradictions within the enemy camp and of every, even the slightest, opportunity of winning over allies among the masses.

The Comintern set the movement an unfading example of loyalty to proletarian internationalism and of ability to apply it in concrete circumstances. In framing its decisions, it was guided by Lenin's rule that the fundamental Marxist principles should be applied in a way "that will *correctly modify* these principles in certain *particulars*, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state distinctions" [*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 92]. The Comintern was intolerant of all manifestations of national egoism and resolutely combated attempts to counterpose national revolutionary tasks to the international cause of the revolutionary movement.

Understandably, there were errors in Comintern activity.

Thus experience was to show that its "social-fascism" slogan, i.e., that Social-Democracy presented the greatest danger and for this reason was singled out as the principal target—was wrong and, in effect, amounted to a theoretical justification of sectarianism. The call for a united front only from "below" likewise proved unjustified. There were cases, too, of the Comintern leadership incorrectly appraising the situation in one or another country or party and making wrong recommendations. In some cases its formulations on the colonial question were unclear or erroneous, notably on the attitude towards the national bourgeoisie in colonial and dependent countries. The Sixth Congress theses declared that "the national bourgeoisie plays no significant part as a force ranged against imperialism", and suggested that "Communist parties reject any bloc with the national-reformist opposition" (*Sixth CI Congress Report*. Part 6, pp. 141-142).

Unfortunately, the adverse consequences of the Stalin personality cult, accompanied as it was by a departure from Leninist norms, had their effect also on the Comintern, chiefly with regard to its cadres. It will be recalled that the CPSU resolutely condemned all manifestations of the personality cult at its 20th and subsequent congresses, and took measures to eliminate its consequences.

In speaking of the Comintern's errors and miscalculations we should bear in mind—not in order to "justify" them, which is not necessary, but in the interest of objectivity—the concrete conditions in which it had to operate, the complexity and vicissitudes of the political struggle. For instance, in reference to the formulation concerning the Social-Democrats, the fact should not be overlooked that most of the Social-Democrat and Socialist International leaders were avowedly anti-Communist and anti-Soviet. From the very outset they waged a frenzied campaign against the Communist movement and against the Soviet Union. They gave every support to Mensheviks and the so-called Socialist-Revolutionaries who, having degenerated into tools of imperialism, resorted to the most unscrupulous methods in their fight against the Soviet Union.

In power, the Social-Democrats were often no less zealous than bourgeois governments in persecuting Communists.

The Comintern oriented the parties on a critical attitude towards their work and itself set a model of self-criticism, showing how to rectify shortcomings and errors. A striking

example of this was the Seventh Congress. It displayed a creative approach to Marxism-Leninism, boldly discarded obsolete slogans and methods, and condemned sectarianism in policy and tactics.

During the years of the Comintern, the international Communist movement travelled a long and glorious path to become a potent world force.

The Comintern played an effective role as a definite historically determined form of organisational relations between the parties. But with the quantitative and qualitative growth of the movement, and with the increasing complexity of the situation in the various countries and internationally, the need for an international directing centre had outlived itself. The Seventh Congress instructed the Executive Committee to "base its work on the concrete conditions and features of each country and, as a rule, avoid direct interference in the parties' internal organisational affairs". The objective conditions of World War II necessitated still wider independence for the parties. Taking all this into consideration, in the spring of 1943 representatives of the parties agreed to dissolve the Communist International.

In its last resolution, the E.C. Presidium paid tribute to the Comintern's historic contribution to the world revolutionary movement and substantiated the decision to dissolve it in these words: "The wide difference in the development paths of individual countries, the differing, even contradictory, character of their social formations, differences in level and tempo of social and political development and, lastly, differing degrees of class consciousness and organisation of the workers determine the diversity of tasks confronting the working class."

The decision to dissolve the International was an act of political courage and foresight on the part of the Communist parties. It testified to their clear understanding of the new developments, their devotion to the supreme interests of the international working-class movement, and their ability to adapt concrete forms and methods to these interests.

Now, half a century after the founding of the Communist International and a quarter of a century after its dissolution, in the light of the new events in history, we can see more vividly the magnitude of its contribution to the political history of our times. Summing up its positive results, we can say the following:

1. The Comintern advanced a political programme for the revolutionary refashioning of the world in the principles of socialism and communism. The first to analyse the general crisis of capitalism, it clearly formulated the fundamental tasks of the world working-class and Communist movement after the October Revolution.

2. The Comintern helped forge the weapon needed to implement this programme—the revolutionary parties of a new type, parties of revolutionary thought and action capable of leading the masses to victory over capitalism. It developed outstanding leaders, organisers and theorists, many of whom were to become national figures and statesmen in the socialist countries.

3. The Comintern delivered a powerful blow to the ideology and policy of social-reformism. It indicated the way to liberate the working class from opportunist influence and made a significant contribution towards that end. It resurrected, consolidated and carried forward the movement's internationalist and revolutionary traditions.

4. The Comintern helped to make Leninism the patrimony of the international labour movement. By analysing and summarising new experience, it creatively developed Marxism-Leninism, upholding its principles against Right and "Left" revisionism. It did much to popularise the Marxist-Leninist ideas in all parts of the world.

5. The Comintern defined the general line of the Communist movement in a crucial period of world history. It elaborated the movement's strategy and tactics, closely related the fight for the workers' ultimate aims to their immediate interests, thereby furthering Lenin's idea of leading the masses towards revolutionary struggle.

6. The Comintern posed, in all their magnitude, the problems of the national liberation movement, initiated the struggle against colonialism, theoretically substantiated the inevitability of the disintegration of the colonial system, and rendered inestimable help in founding Marxist-Leninist parties in colonial and dependent countries and helped to train their cadres.

7. The Comintern expressed the fundamental interests of the masses and defended them with Leninist consistency and determination. It was concerned with the problems of the worker in the capitalist factory, the worries of the peasant, and of the men and women in colonial bondage. Unsurpassed in its understanding of the problems agitating the

peoples and upon the solution of which their future depended, it helped them to find the correct orientation and weapons in the struggle for their vital interests.

8. The Comintern mustered the international forces in defence of the workers' revolutionary gains. The solidarity movement it inspired and organised—with the Soviet Union, the Chinese revolution, Republican Spain, the national liberation struggle—highlighted the immense significance of proletarian internationalism.

9. The Comintern was the first to raise the banner of anti-fascism, and by organising the International Brigades in Spain gave practical support to the early battles against fascism. It laid the moral and political foundations for the broad Resistance movement in World War II.

10. The Comintern initiated the united anti-war front. It urged the working class, all working people and democrats, to bar the way to war and did everything in its power to prevent its outbreak. And when the imperialists unleashed the Second World War, the Communists proved to be the real patriots: the bourgeoisie had its Laval's and Quislings, the Communists marshalled thousands and tens of thousands of fighters for national freedom, against Hitler tyranny. The Communist parties linked their fate to that of their peoples and led them in the fight to throw off fascist oppression.

The Comintern laid the basis for the uninterrupted growth of the Communist movement, to become the most influential political force of our age.

Relying on the support of the world's first socialist state and on the profound internationalism of the Soviet people, ingrained by Lenin's party, the Communist International rendered immense and valuable help to many fraternal parties. The life and freedom of hundreds of Communist activists and leading officials, and of thousands of rank-and-file Party members were saved thanks to the efforts of the Communist International. After the defeat of revolutionary actions, when front-rank fighters and leaders faced imprisonment or even death, help came immediately from the International Labour Defence and other solidarity organisations and, when necessary, they found refuge in the USSR. That was the case after the fall of the Hungarian Soviet government in 1919, during the fascist terror in Italy, Bulgaria, Poland, Yugoslavia, Germany and other countries, after the defeat of the Austrian proletariat in February 1934, of the Spanish Republic in 1939

and, lastly, in World War II, when leaders of fraternal parties, rescued through the instrumentality of the Communist International, became organisers of the Resistance in their respective countries.

No wonder world reaction had such a rabid hatred for the Communist International, Moscow, and the Soviet Union. It is not accidental that fascist plans of aggrandisement were clothed in "anti-Comintern pacts" and agreements for joint action against Communism. But the Communist International, drawing on the dedicated internationalism of the CPSU and the Soviet people, who were always prepared to come to the aid of working-class fighters and support their friends in every part of the world, acted as an inspiring and consolidating force.

IV

The conditions of revolutionary struggle have changed materially in the quarter-century since the dissolution of the Comintern.

The trend, the rate and the scale of the deep-going changes during this period are largely due to the ever increasing role of the international Communist movement, its growing influence on world development and its successes in the fight for socialism, national independence and security. And the movement itself, having undergone substantial change, has reached a higher level.

The imperialist propaganda figment that Moscow determines the policy of the Communist parties, which, therefore, do not express the interests of their peoples, has been fully exposed in these past years. From the earliest days of the Comintern anti-Communist propagandists have alleged that the Communist parties, because they subscribe to proletarian internationalism, have no national roots, cannot champion the national interests and, consequently, will never win over the masses. But now, for a quarter of a century with no Comintern, the Communist movement has continued to march from success to success. The Communist parties, by ably combining defence of their working class with defence of the common interests of the international workers' and liberation movement, are gaining more and more influence.

From the 61 parties at the time the Comintern was dissolved, the number has grown to 88. And membership has increased

considerably: to 40 million and more—13 times more than in 1939—in the socialist countries; from 500,000 to 2,500,000—a five-fold increase—in capitalist Europe; from 20,000 to 650,000—a more than 32-fold gain—in non-socialist continental Asia and Japan; from 180,000 to 343,000, or nearly double, in the Americas, and from 5,000 to 60,000, or 12 times more, in Africa.

Nor is it only a matter of numbers. Communist influence, Lenin pointed out, is much greater than membership. It is determined by the fact that the Communists are fighters for revolutionary change—that is why their ideas are gaining acceptance throughout the world.

Membership growth should be seen in context with the far-reaching changes in the composition of the movement. In the Comintern days, only one party, the CPSU, was a ruling party and Communist influence was confined mostly to Europe. Today the Communists are in power in countries accounting for a third of the world's population. Communist parties are active not only in the highly developed capitalist countries, but also in the areas of the national liberation movement. The movement's international contacts and experience are far more extensive than those of any other political trend. This enables it to pose and to solve the problem of merging into a single stream all anti-imperialist forces and revolutionary trends.

The rapid growth of the movement has greatly extended the range of problems facing the parties: from perfecting the socialist system and passing over to communism to the struggle against the survivals of feudalism, the mainstay of neocolonialism; from utilisation of parliament and other bourgeois-democratic institutions in the fight against state-monopoly capitalism to elaborating the methods of armed struggle, one form of which in some countries is guerrilla warfare.

Naturally, this diversity of conditions and tasks calls for diversity of tactics. And this, too, is a criterion of the movement's strength and flexibility, of its ability to solve the new problems arising out of social development and the old problems of the class struggle in the new conditions.

The grave responsibility for the destiny of socialism, peace and humanity devolving on the Communist movement impels it to concentrate more on the common international tasks—

avert world war, repel imperialism and its aggressive policy, assure international peace and security. And this necessitates co-ordinated action by the parties, their close unity in face of the common foe.

Since the parties operate under different conditions, different approaches and differing viewpoints on particular issues are understandable. Some of the differences are transient, others are more persistent. But that should not impede joint struggle against the common enemy, for the common aims of the movement.

Comrade Brezhnev, addressing the recent congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, said: "The main thing is that the Communist and Workers' Parties, notwithstanding differences on some issues, are searching for ways and means of extending international contacts and strengthening their unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. For our part, we have always found a comradely exchange of views to be useful, and we are always ready frankly to discuss issues with the fraternal parties. We are confident that closer contact and co-operation can resolve problems in a way that will promote international Communist unity. And this is only natural, for we share a common ideology, Marxism-Leninism, we have a common enemy, imperialism, and we are working towards a common goal, the triumph of communism".

Proletarian internationalism is the prime determining factor of our movement's strength and the supreme expression of the political consciousness of the working class. The latter cannot perform its historic mission of abolishing, on a world scale, the last system of exploitation and of building the new, socialist society without progressively implementing all the requirements of proletarian internationalism, in which are blended the noble aim of the labour movement and the means of attaining it.

That is why in their strategy and tactics the imperialists attach so much importance to undermining proletarian internationalism and replacing it by diverse forms of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism. The experience of recent decades has borne this out with the utmost clarity. In relation to the socialist community, the working class and its Communist vanguard in the citadels of imperialism, or the national liberation revolution—everywhere imperialism relies chiefly on disunity, on inflaming nationalist passions, on counterposing one nation and country to another, especially to the Soviet

Union. These designs must be countered by joint action, and not only by the socialist countries, but by all the contingents of the world labour movement and above all by the Marxist-Leninist parties.

In the present world situation, consolidating and extending proletarian internationalism is a key condition of social progress and unity of all the revolutionary forces for a continued offensive against imperialism.

The specific content of proletarian internationalism, in particular the forms of international contacts between the parties, change from one stage of history to another. At present when there cannot be an organisational and directing centre for the entire world movement, it is most important to safeguard and strengthen proletarian internationalism in order to avoid serious injury to the movement and the cause of the socialist revolution. Closer proletarian internationalism is the most reliable guarantee against fragmentation of the movement into mutually-opposed national entities. This could have grievous consequences, particularly for the Communist parties in power.

Internationalism implies joint action by the parties to further working class interests, oppose imperialism and its aggressive policies, and advance the cause of peace, security and socialism.

Internationalism implies unity of the socialist community, with each socialist country discharging its internationalist duty to the full by promoting the construction of socialism and communism and pursuing a home and international policy that strengthens the socialist world system, the over-riding factor of the modern revolutionary movement.

Success on every front of the revolutionary and liberation struggle depends to a large extent on the cohesion of the socialist community, its ability jointly to protect the socialist gains and present a united front to world imperialism. It will be recalled that this principle of joint responsibility for the destiny of socialism and preparedness jointly to defend its gains, was proclaimed by the Communists and Workers' parties of the socialist community also in their Bratislava Statement.

The international contribution of individual detachments of the revolutionary movement and the degree of their international responsibility are determined by the concrete conditions of the world-wide class struggle. True to the principles

of fraternal solidarity, the CPSU has throughout its history supported and assisted all Communists and anti-imperialists in their fight for social and national emancipation. And the CPSU is fully aware that each success of a fraternal party in the battle against our common foe, imperialism, brings that much nearer the triumph of socialist ideas throughout the world. Accordingly, guided by the decisions of its 20th and subsequent congresses, the Party Programme and the documents of the 1957 and 1960 International Conferences, the CPSU has exerted every ounce of energy in the fight against imperialism in unity with all the Marxist-Leninist parties.

True to the Leninist principles of internationalism, the Soviet Union is giving all-round support to the revolutionary movement in every part of the world.

Aid to heroic Vietnam, revolutionary Cuba, the United Arab Republic, Syria and other countries ranged against imperialism, to guerrillas fighting against the Portuguese colonialists, and to many other revolutionary forces, is a striking example of fraternal support.

It can be taken as a law of history that the stronger the Land of Soviets becomes, the greater is the measure of its support and aid to the various detachments of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement.

Internationalism signifies support of the national liberation movement and assistance to the newly-independent countries in consolidating their economic and political independence. It signifies solidarity and mutual support by the socialist community, the international proletariat and the national liberation movement. Internationalism signifies recognition of the world-wide relevance of Marxism-Leninism.

Internationalism means defending and consolidating world Communist unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, resolute struggle against revisionism and sectarianism and all manner of other Right and "Left" factionalists and splitters, against nationalism and its infiltration of the Communist and workers' movement.

Internationalism presupposes an active and joint struggle by the Communists to prevent another world war, eliminate the imperialist war danger, relax world tensions, assure peace and security and peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

Internationalism is a potent weapon against all manifestations of racial and nationalist prejudices. By raising the level of class consciousness of the workers and of all the oppressed, internationalism frees them from imperialist-inculcated illusions about "unity" of interests of bourgeoisie and proletariat, oppressors and oppressed, "class peace", etc. Whereas proletarian internationalism cultivates mutual respect, friendship and mutual aid, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism fosters national egoism, a scornful and disparaging attitude to other nations and peoples, thereby fomenting national enmity. Imperialist ideology aims at division, enmity and disintegration; internationalism aims at strengthening the bonds of unity, friendship and co-operation. In their theory and practice the Communist parties combine defence of the genuine national interests of their people (which has nothing in common with the jingoism of the ruling classes) with proletarian internationalism.

The sound internationalist policy of the Communist parties, above all those in power, is of immense importance for the Communist and workers' movement, indeed, for the future of mankind. This follows from the experience of the CPSU and of the socialist world community. Relations between capitalist states—and this follows from the very nature of capitalism—are based on rivalry, interest conflicts, imperialist expansion and domination of the stronger powers. In contrast, socialism requires, and creates the conditions for, relations of a new type based on full equality, fraternal co-operation, mutual assistance and respect for sovereignty. A correct internationalist policy by the Communist parties of the socialist countries is a cardinal and reliable means of developing these socialist international relations which, by their very essence, rule out interest conflicts. Any departure from internationalism endangers socialist unity, militates against education of the masses, leaves the field open to nationalist sentiments and trends. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism is the earnest that socialist ideas will triumph, and socialist relations will be strengthened.

It will not be an exaggeration to say that the future of human society depends largely on the internationalist understanding and outlook of the masses.

All this testifies to the immense importance of uniting the international Communist movement on the principles of Marx-

ism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and devising the best forms of united action by the Communist parties.

Today, 25 years after dissolution of the Comintern, the Communist movement is confronted with problems whose nature and scale call for a new approach, for new forms and methods of co-ordinating the fight against the class enemy.

Joint international effort over the past 10-15 years for collective solution of outstanding problems has enabled the parties to elaborate practical methods of co-ordinating their fight for social and national emancipation in the interests of the working people, peace and socialism—meetings of Party representatives and international conferences.

International conferences of equal and independent parties are a natural form of working out agreed positions on pressing issues. Obviously the object of each such conference should accord with the specific tasks of the moment, the urgent requirements of the struggle and the interests of the entire movement.

The 1957 and 1960 Moscow Conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties played an important part in formulating common policy and elaborating new forms of international contacts, and demonstrated a high degree of unity in resolving the fundamental problems of our time. The basic ideas set out in the Conference documents have stood the test of time and revolutionary practice. And guided by these ideas, the Communists have made significant progress towards their goal of peace, national liberation and socialism.

The value of such international meetings is fully evident today, when preparations for a new international conference are nearing completion. The forthcoming meeting will examine the most essential problem of all, the fight against imperialism, the part the Communists should play, and how to secure united action by the parties and all the anti-imperialist forces. The present complex and dangerous world situation impels the Communists to close their ranks, heighten their vigilance, rally the working class and working people generally in a broad front to foil imperialism's aggressive designs.

The CPSU regards the preparation for and the holding of the conference as the focal point of all our efforts to unite the world Communist movement. In common with other fraternal parties, we are convinced that the conference will furnish ample opportunities to draw up a programme of united

action and will go a long way towards realising the vast potentialities for an offensive against imperialism and reaction.*

In the 50 years since the Communist International was founded the world Communist movement has accumulated a wealth of experience. The lesson to be drawn from it is that the Communists have always and everywhere been victorious only when they acted in concert, only when they worked for the closest unity of their ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

* This article was written before the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, which convened in Moscow in June 1969, contributing considerably to the consolidation of the ranks of the world Communist movement, of all the anti-imperialist forces. An appraisal of principle by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of the results of the Meeting and its importance for the world Communist movement is contained in the article by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, in this collection.

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