

STP SUPPLEMENT

The Struggle of Ideas in
the Contemporary
World

Karl Marx and Our
Time—the Struggle
for Peace and
Social Progress

The International Theoretical
Conference (Berlin, April
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in the Contemporary
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The International Theoretical Conference "Karl Marx and Our Time—the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress" was held in Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic, between April 11 and 16, 1983. The conference was sponsored by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to mark the 165th anniversary of the birth, and the centenary of the death of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism, the great teacher and leader of the international proletariat.

One hundred and forty-five delegations of communist and workers' parties, revolutionary democratic and national democratic parties, national liberation movements, social and social democratic parties from 111 countries on every continent took part in this scientific forum.

We offer our readers a condensed version of the materials of the conference. The Novosti Press Agency Publishing House will publish these materials in a fuller form in a separate booklet in English, French and Spanish.

KARL MARX AND OUR TIME—THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

*From the Speech by
Erich HONECKER,
General Secretary of the Central
Committee of the Socialist
Unity Party of Germany, Chairman
of the State Council of the GDR*

Comrades,
Distinguished guests,

A hundred years ago, when Karl Marx, the great thinker and revolutionary, had closed his eyes for ever, Friedrich Engels, his friend and companion throughout a lifetime of struggle, declared that his name and work would endure through the ages. These prophetic words are proving true in our challenging

and turbulent age as the human conditions undergo a radical transformation on all continents and the human race summons all its energies to banish the spectre of self-annihilation in a nuclear holocaust.

Karl Marx dedicated his life to the task of not only interpreting the world, but actually changing it. And the world has indeed changed beyond recognition since his day. We can see now that this regeneration of all social phenomena has occurred in the spirit of Karl Marx, along revolutionary lines, rather than in the spirit of those who pursued him with hatred throughout his life and then, after his death, sought in vain to extinguish the fire of his teachings.

Marx enabled the working class in all lands to perceive its historical mission as the grave-digger of the old society and the architect of a new society which is free from the exploitation of man by man. By abolishing exploitation, the human race also rids itself of other scourges which have afflicted it for centuries—national oppression and racial discrimination, and devastating wars. As all of us can observe, the working class has evolved into a decisive force behind the wheel of history. After the 19th century with all its struggles, after the triumph and bloody suppression of the Paris Commune, after the revolutionary upheavals which put an end to the First World War early this century, after the Soviet Union had powered the Allied coalition to victory over German fascism, the working class emerged in many countries as the ruling class, establishing socialist society in alliance with the peasantry and the intelligentsia.

It was the Russian proletariat, led by the Bolshevik Party and by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, on whom had

fallen the mantle of Marx and Engels, which blazed this trail with the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The vast impact which the Great October Socialist Revolution has made on the development of mankind is very much apparent. It differed radically from all previous revolutions. All preceding revolutions, it will be recalled, had only led to an old exploitative system being replaced by a new one. The exploitation of man by man remained, but the Red October abolished it for the first time. The victory brought the workers to power in alliance with the peasants. That is the fundamental distinction between, on the one hand, the Great October Socialist Revolution and the revolutions in the other socialist countries and, on the other, all the revolutions which went before. And herein lies the significance of real socialism today in the history of the world.

Basically, the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution was a victory for the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, rightly pointed out recently in his article "The Teaching of Karl Marx and Some Questions of Building Socialism in the USSR" that Marxism in our day would be inconceivable without or outside Leninism. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party which he founded, he writes, assumed the leading role in the first victorious socialist revolution which completely changed the socio-political complexion of our planet. This ushered in a new era, one of worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism, of striking successes and historic achievements by the workers and the mass of the people. Scientific socialism, the theory propounded by Marx and Engels, was

thus made a living reality by millions of working people building a new society.

The victorious Great October Socialist Revolution made it clear that capitalism, which the bourgeoisie claims is natural and permanent, can be replaced by a new socio-economic formation. At the same time, it proved how correct Marx was to point out that capitalism would not disappear from the scene of its own free will. Only the working class and its revolutionary party can overthrow it. This, it will be remembered, was one of the principal lessons which Marx and Engels drew from the defeat of the Paris Commune.

Whichever way one looks at the events of 1917, which marked a turning point in the history of mankind, it is a fact that the emergence of socialism as a living organism shook the capitalist world to its roots and inspired humanity with the hope of a happy future in peace and freedom. As Marx and Engels predicted, the onward march of the socialist world has been accompanied by the advance of the popular movement for liberation which dealt the death-blow to the imperialist colonial system. This has been coupled with fierce conflict in capitalist countries at various stages in their development. Even now, the ruling class in those lands can no longer exercise its power without taking into account the influence of the world socialist system and the working class movement within their own borders, which has already become the principal agent of democratic progress and democratic renewal. These countries will see socialism emerge, in whatever colours, in a way that reflects national realities and class constellations and will witness the transfer of the means of production into public ownership, one

of Marx's most important demands. In Africa, Asia and Latin America, those who still await their liberation are redoubling their struggle for peace, freedom and justice.

Against the background of these changes it becomes apparent what a prodigious feat Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels accomplished by transforming socialism from a utopian vision into a scientific doctrine. By infusing scientific socialism into the working class movement, they enabled the working class of all lands and the oppressed of this world to recognize their own strength and to use it to throw off the shackles of capitalism.

Just as the ideas of Karl Marx influenced the actions of the masses, they also had a lasting effect on the development of scientific and philosophical theory. No modern social science can escape the cogency of Marx's reasoning. Adopting a position on Marx has become a crucial element in intellectual and political debate.

Marx must take everlasting credit for arousing humanity to the realization that the future does not depend on obscure forces outside our control. Nor will it be governed by the wishful thinking of all those "Marx-is-dead" theorists who are clamouring for a crusade against the Marxism of our era and who would prefer to see communism proscribed by a latter-day Inquisition and to give it a quiet burial so as to assure the ruling classes in their respective countries of their profits. What really determines the development of a society is the level and mode of production, the stage of economic development its people have attained. In our day, the existence of the USSR and of the world socialist system even makes it possible for the peoples of economically backward countries

to move towards laying the foundations for socialism while skipping the capitalist path of development.

"As to myself," Marx noted, "no credit is due to me for discovering either the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to demonstrate: (1) that *the existence of classes* is merely linked to *particular historical phases in the development of production*, (2) that class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a classless society."¹

According to Friedrich Engels, the basic thought running through all Marx's work, not least through the "Manifesto of the Communist Party", is that the production of material means of subsistence and thereby each given stage in the economic development of nation constitute the foundation for the political and intellectual history of that epoch. Consequently, ever since the dissolution of the primeval communal ownership of land all history has been a history of class struggles, of struggles between exploited and exploiting, between dominated and dominating classes at various stages of social development. Finally, this struggle reaches a stage where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—can no longer emancipate itself from the class which exploits and oppresses it without at the same time forever freeing the whole of society from exploitation and oppression.

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1975, p. 64.

This basic thought belongs solely and exclusively to Marx, and the working class movement has always borne it in mind, for there can be no progressive development in the present or future if it is not a guide to action for all those who are endeavouring to lead humanity out of the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom. This awareness underlines the alliance policy of the revolutionary working class parties, which varies in expression from one socialist country to another, depending on national realities.

It was one facet of his greatness that Karl Marx never looked upon his doctrine as something definitive and immune to any change. He always regarded practice as the proving ground for his theory. In fact, his own involvement in the revolutionary battles of his day provided a source of new ideas. He generalized from experience to influence the course of history yet again with fresh, heightened, theoretical insight. This is the clue to both the scientific and the creative nature of Marx's teachings, which are capable of answering new questions as they arise. It was Vladimir Ilyich Lenin who then took on the historical role of defending Marxism against all distortions and developing it to take account of imperialism, the highest and final stage of capitalism, and to project a strategy for the new era of transition to socialism.

The doctrine of Karl Marx is omnipotent because it is true. No one can deny its success, in spite of the difficulties which arise, for all kinds of reasons, in the course of building a new society. Compared with any exploitative society, real socialism is a comparatively recent phenomenon. Mankind finds itself here on uncharted territory never before explored in human history. The founders of scientific socialism did not offer any catch-all recipes nor did they ever

have the slightest intention of doing so. What they did was to formulate fundamental truths and fundamental perceptions. The leading parties in the socialist countries are working closely together, studying their experience of building the new society and tackling new problems jointly. In this way the theory outlined by Marx is constantly being enriched and standing its test as a guide to action.

Like Lenin after him, Marx was above all a revolutionary. His ambition was to contribute not just to the downfall of any government which happened to be flouting the interests and rights of the people, but to the overthrow of capitalist society and the institutions of government it had created. In many of his works, notably in his "Critique of the Gotha Programme", he set out the view, first propounded in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party", that the proletariat can do without the bourgeoisie but not vice versa. The bourgeoisie, he pointed out, cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, the relations of production. In this way it produces its own grave-diggers, the proletariat, by the thousands.

The current situation in the capitalist industrial nations furnishes striking evidence that the ruling class, even with the most advanced productive forces at its command, is unable to resolve the problems of the modern world in the interests of the people. We observe this in its attempts to make the people shoulder the burden of the crisis and thus keep profits high, in mass unemployment, in its inability to guarantee vocational training and secure job prospects to all young people leaving school. In the light of these symptoms, especially mass unemployment and the ravages of inflation, leading trade unionists

have come to share the conclusion that the negative effects of the profit-oriented capitalist economy cannot be eliminated without plucking out the roots. I should like to put on record here that we have the highest regard for the strenuous efforts being made by the communist and workers' parties, by the trade unions in the capitalist countries and by the national liberation movements to enforce social improvements for the working people and to defend them.

Both in the socialist countries and in the capitalist countries we are constantly running across fresh proof that Marxism is a vibrant theory which has lost nothing of its appeal. Serious bourgeois philosophers and economists these days cannot ignore Marx when they expound their views about the past, present and future of the human race. Even those politicians who dismiss his ideas as irrelevant on the grounds that he lived and worked under different conditions have to admit that our own age raises a number of questions which cannot be answered satisfactorily without some reference to Marx.

Take the question about the origin of political, economic and cultural crises, which it has become customary in the Western world to describe as crises of civilization. Take the sometimes rather helpless question about the causes of mass unemployment. The answers given by Marx, Engels and Lenin are very precise. The roots of these ills are well embedded in the capitalist system, with its pursuit of maximum profit. Take the subject of peace studies in the Western countries. Marx, Engels and Lenin gave very precise answers as to where wars come from and how they can be prevented.

Right from the outset, Marx considered the social emancipation of peoples and their liberation from the

scourge of war to be twin tasks which the working class would have to accomplish in the course of fulfilling its historical mission. He was a sympathetic and fervent supporter of the peoples fighting against national and colonial oppression and striving for freedom and independence. At the same time, he was vigorously opposed to all wars which stemmed from the acquisitive and expansionist drive of the bourgeoisie.

In a well-known dictum Marx said that socialism is the embodiment of a society "whose International rule will be *peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—*labour!*"² Indeed, there is no class or social group in a socialist society which stands to gain from armament and war or which threatens other nations. The working class does not need war to attain its goals.

Consequently, the revolutionary working class movement always looked upon preserving peace as one of its overriding concerns. It combined the struggle against bourgeois wars with the struggle for social progress. Today, however, the world situation is such that the danger of nuclear war overshadows the life of all nations, threatening an inferno which would amount to the self-annihilation of the human race. To prevent this from happening, to guarantee a secure peace is the first imperative of our time. Only thus will it be possible to achieve further social progress and to resolve other social problems, indeed, to save human civilization.

With their policy of confrontation and arms-building, which they also seek to foist on their NATO

² K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1976, vol. 2, p.p. 193-194.

allies, influential circles in the United States are clearly pursuing imperial designs. Their principal, albeit utterly unrealistic, aim is to gain military and strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community in order to have a free hand in the world arena. Not surprisingly, therefore, hardly a day goes by without the US government invoking the thrice-familiar "threat from the East" which is, of course, a complete myth.

There is no lack of historical examples illustrating imperialism's urge to extend the area under its control and to dominate sources of raw materials, markets and spheres of influence. One need only think of German fascism and its lunatic plans, which culminated in the Second World War with all its suffering and destruction. Nowadays we find that US imperialism is claiming vast portions of the world as its own spheres of interest, be they in Europe, Africa, Asia or Latin America.

This policy tramples on the independence, sovereignty and rights of peoples: witness the creation of the so-called rapid deployment force, which has the declared aim of suppressing progressive developments in various parts of the world. Simultaneously, NATO is extending its range beyond the confines of the alliance to include regions which imperialism is seeking to subordinate to its global interests. The United States is building up its military bases, and it has set up a command centre for space warfare. The most recent plans devised by the United States, which also envisage deploying missiles in space, would fling open the doors to a renewed escalation of the arms race and add to the likelihood of a war on earth.

It is part of the policy of confrontation to fan tensions in various regions of the world and to create

new flashpoints, thereby poisoning the international situation still further and keeping the torch of war glimmering. This is very much apparent in the Middle East, where the United States in particular gives aid and comfort to Israel in its aggression against Lebanon, against the Palestinian people, and against Syria. Mounting dangers are emanating from the aggressive policies of the apartheid regime in South Africa, the continued occupation of Namibia and the efforts of the racist regime to destabilize the progressive states in the region. In the Caribbean, too, the US imperialists are resorting to a policy of threats, pressure and blackmail, which is chiefly designed to force socialist Cuba to its knees but which is also directed against Nicaragua, Grenada and the liberation movements in El Salvador and other countries in the region.

The most aggressive elements of imperialism have not even tried to conceal their speculations with a possible nuclear first strike and the consequent risk of a nuclear world war. It is only logical, given a policy like that, for them to force armament to reach astronomical levels. Let me simply recall here that US arms spending has gone up from \$144 billion in 1980 to \$ 285 billion this year and that the figure is planned to exceed \$ 400 billion in 1987. The only ones who derive economic benefit from this are the handful of giant arms companies, the merchants of death whose profits are soaring in spite of the crisis.

For the peoples of the world, however, every new round in the arms race represents a heavy burden. Not least, it is the developing nations who suffer. They find it much more difficult to carry out their national programmes, to overcome the legacy of centuries of colonial rule. The growing arms exports

of imperialist states, especially the USA, coupled with their high interest policies, tend to increase the indebtedness of many developing countries, which is bad enough as it is. According to recent estimates, this burden of debt exceeds \$ 600 billion. If the arms race is halted and practical measures are taken to bring about disarmament, enormous sums will become available for solving the urgent problems facing mankind.

The dangers to world peace are great today, but in our belief it is not only necessary but also possible to remove them. Those forces in the world which sincerely want peace justly draw encouragement from the fact that the Soviet Union and the socialist community represent the strongest bastion in the battle for this lofty aim. Socialism and peace are indivisible.

It serves the interests of world peace that the awesome military potential brought forth by modern science and technology is not entirely concentrated in the hands of imperialism. Thanks to the defence capacity of the socialist community, this tremendous power to destroy has not yet been put to use. With the most aggressive elements of imperialism stepping up their policy of confrontation and arms-building, we consider it our internationalist duty to maintain our defences at whatever level the situation requires.

At the same time, the USSR, the GDR and the other states of the socialist community are leaving no stone unturned and have launched one initiative after another to achieve tangible and durable progress towards the safeguarding of peace.

We regard the solemn pledge of the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons as a move of world political importance and urge the other nuclear powers to undertake a similar pledge. The

states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization are prepared to take the greatest possible steps towards disarmament in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security. As things stand now, more weapons do not mean more, but less security. So it really is necessary to make peace with fewer and fewer weapons. In order to ward off the threat of a nuclear inferno, it is extremely important to prevent NATO from deploying new US nuclear first-strike weapons in Western Europe. We advocate a genuine "zero option", which means a nuclear-free Europe that can ensure our continent a peaceful future.

We fully endorse the approach adopted by the USSR in the Geneva talks on the limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments, which is aimed at achieving concrete results. To this end, Yuri Andropov submitted a number of proposals which met with a wide, largely positive, response amongst the general public, with voices from many quarters demanding to know when the United States will drop the policy of obstruction it has pursued so far and help to produce some constructive agreements.

Peoples and governments in many countries of Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America are coming out in favour of establishing nuclear free zones in their regions and dampening hotbeds of tension and conflict. We heartily support the relevant initiatives taken on this matter by India, Mexico, Venezuela and Nicaragua as well as Arab and African countries.

We consider the non-aligned movement to be a mighty force which can assert the common interest in securing peace on all continents. Its influence is growing in the struggle for equitable international relations, both political and economic. The 7th Summit Conference which these states held in Delhi confir-

med this most impressively. In our view, the movement is making an important contribution towards thwarting the imperialist strategy of confrontation and defending peace and the rights of the peoples.

Experience all over the world indicates that Communists are reliable allies of the worldwide peace movement. They work actively and with great initiative for the common goals. Since the conditions for the struggle of communist and workers' parties vary from one country to another, it is not surprising that they sometimes formulate different ideas about the forms and methods which should be adopted in the campaign for peace and social progress. But the overriding concern is always safeguarding and stabilizing peace. We consider this to be the priority target for the entire working class movement, irrespective of any views which its parties or organizations might hold on this or that issue of life in their respective countries. All in all, the international working class movement has a considerable peace potential at its disposal. Once again we reaffirm our readiness to offer our hand in a spirit of comradeship to all national revolutionary parties and liberation movements, all socialist and social democratic parties, trade unions and other organizations to bring this potential fully to bear.

Before this forum which has gathered to honour Karl Marx, I would like to suggest that right now all political and social forces who sincerely want peace absolutely must work together irrespective of differing political programmes, ideological positions and religious convictions, across class barriers and everything that may separate us, in order to save the peoples from the catastrophe of a nuclear war. The

differences will not disappear as a result. Rather, the defence of peace as the most precious possession of humankind is a matter of priority, a common interest which unites us, although at the same time the commitment to peace presents much scope for mutually beneficial cooperation in the most wide-ranging fields.

The maintenance of world peace is a matter that concerns everybody, including those who do not aspire to bring about fundamental social change. Certainly, nobody has ever had a monopoly on the desire for peace and the willingness to fight for it. Ever since there have been wars, with all their suffering, sacrifice and destruction, the best representatives of the peoples and various classes and organizations have bravely resisted aggressive threats. But never before has the human race been confronted by such a lethal danger as today, never was it so pressed to fight for peace.

Comrades,
Distinguished guests,

Karl Marx was, as Friedrich Engels aptly remarked, one of those outstanding men who are only born a few to a century. But it has not always befallen even these to set such a stamp on posterity. One hundred years after his death, the historical changes inspired by his great ideas which have taken place in the lives of humankind are the most enduring monument to the great theoretician and revolutionary. The cause of socialism, national liberation and the struggle for a peaceful future for all peoples will triumph.

A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE PAPERS PRESENTED BY CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

MARX'S IDEAS LIVE ON AND TRIUMPH

It is difficult to single out a sphere of human life not embraced by Marx's thought. His genius left its imprint on each explored field of knowledge. And though Marx devoted the greater part of his life to theoretical activity, he least of all was an armchair scholar. Marx was a type of thinker and revolutionary who drew his inspiration from the struggles of the working class whose liberation was his lifetime cause.

His work, the lessons of his practical activity are deeply consonant with our time and are of worldwide historic significance for contemporary revolutionary practice. This theory retains its full value because today too it is a guide to action, a weapon of the class struggle.

This idea was the keynote of the conference.

— Marx stood at the sources of the first proletarian class organization—the Communist League. Together with Engels he founded the First International which became a symbol of fraternal solidarity between workers of all countries. For us, Soviet Communists, said Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M. V. Zimyanin in his speech, most precious is the fact that in the General Council of the International Working Men's Association Marx represented two countries: his native country Germany, the homeland of Marxism, and our country, Russia, the future homeland of Leninism, the homeland of the October Revolution.

Recalling Marx, people who knew him well said: for him to bestow on the world only part of the treasures stored up in his head he ought to have lived a hundred years. Now we can say: one hundred years that have passed since Marx's death have most convincingly confirmed the wealth, correctness and justice of the ideas which he passed on to the people.

Marx accomplished a revolution in world outlook. The history of social thought has known thousands of theories and doctrines. The absolute majority of them have fallen into oblivion and so have the names of their authors. But Marxism, which has stood the hardest test, the test of time, has become firmly embedded in the minds of men as the highest spiritual achievement.

For thousands of years working people have been held captive by the ideology of the exploiting classes. The historical significance of the revolution which Marx accomplished in social consciousness lay in the fact that he created a fundamentally new, dialectical-materialist world outlook which showed to the proletariat and all oppressed classes the way out of spiritual and socio-economic bondage.

Marxism is a harmonious and coherent system of views, an integral teaching revealing the most general laws of the development of nature, society and human thought, the laws of the revolutionary transformation of the world. Frederick Engels, Marx's great associate and friend, took the most active part in formulating this teaching. As Lenin wrote, "the proletariat may say that its science was created by two scholars and fighters, whose relationship to each other surpasses the most moving stories of the ancients about human friendship."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 2, p. 26.

The entire course of historical world development objectively prepared the rise of Marxism. And the main factor in this was that, as capitalism grew, a new, ascendant class came to the fore in history—the proletariat. Marx showed that the proletariat is the social force destined by history not only to destroy capitalist oppression and exploitation, but also to create a new society.

Analysing the tasks of the proletariat's class struggle, Marx and Engels synthesized the highest attainments of scientific thought and gave answers to questions posed by history. Creatively, from the positions of materialist dialectics, they reworked the best achievements of philosophy, political economy, utopian socialism, history and natural science, and generalized the accumulated experience of the working class movement. Owing to the titanic activity of Marx and Engels, socialism was turned from an utopia into a strictly scientific theory and the working class was made cognizant of its worldwide historic mission.

Revolutionaries of all countries got their program document in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party". Each line of it conveys great energy and the will to win of the rising working class boldly assuming the historical initiative. In this work Marx and Engels gave a brilliant outline of the fundamental ideas and principles of their theory and key provisions of scientific socialism, of the proletariat's revolutionary policy. This work laid the foundations of Marx's theory of the party around which the proletariat rallies and gains political independence and power.

In the grand series of Marxist classics, Marx's "Capital" towers like Everest. In this work the theory

of Marxism, in Lenin's words, was given its most profound, all-round and detailed confirmation and application. It sets forth Marx's economic doctrine in a consummate form. Unsurpassed in depth and brilliance is the exposition of Marx's two most remarkable discoveries which became the foundation of scientific socialism: the materialist conception of history and the theory of surplus value. The living fabric of this scientific study brings out in all aspects the might of Marx's dialectical method demonstrating the historical doom of capitalism.

Marx did not live to see the birth of the socialist world. It was the Great October Revolution that marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of mankind. Today one-third of the world population, having overthrown the yoke of capital, is building life according to the new, socialist laws which Marx discerned through the darkness of decades. And though capitalism still succeeds in delaying its final demise, it is becoming ever more clear that this system cannot shake away its antagonisms. On the contrary, it reproduces them in ever more sharp forms. And whatever our class opponents may say, history is developing as Marx predicted.

An intrinsic feature of the communist movement imparted to it by Marx and Engels is the creative development of revolutionary theory, its indissoluble bonds with life, its openness to all that is new and progressive.

The speakers at the conference stressed the grandeur of Marx's accomplishment, the irresistible force of his ideas, their transforming revolutionary spirit, the decisive influence of Marxism on social development and the social destinies of mankind.

— The wide range of parties, organizations and their representatives, *Jorge Kalle*, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Bolivia, said in his speech, substantial identity of views on the most important problems of our time, the high appraisal of Karl Marx's cause, of his topical theory and its decisive impact on the modern revolutionary process testify that the teaching and cause of the brilliant thinker from Trier remain a fundamental criterion for explaining and remaking social life.

— Marx's historical service, said *Vasil Bil'ak*, member of the Presidium, Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, lies in the fact that in the multiform, hardly conceivable social reality he discovered objective laws of historical development, of the decline of the social system based on exploitation and the rise of a society based on respect for labour, social justice, genuine freedom of the individual and equality of all peoples and races. Marx did more than soberly cognize the world. To him scientific truth was an instrument for the revolutionary remaking of society. As Lenin fittingly pointed out, "Marxism differs from all other socialist theories in the remarkable way, it combines 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—and also, of course, of individuals, groups, organizations, and parties that are able to discover and achieve contact with one or another class."²

— Marx's revolutionary theory has changed and continues to change the world, said *Khaled Bagdash*,

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 13, p. 36.

General Secretary of the Syrian Communist Party. It is now the most widespread theory in the world. . . Some may disagree with this or that thesis of Marx's, but all have to recognize his genius and profound influence on mankind's development.

This idea ran through the speech of *Mehdi Chehadé*, a representative of the Progressive Socialist Party (Lebanon). One hundred years after the death of Karl Marx, the great man of genius, he said, his ideas and teaching are not just abstract theoretical principles and philosophical reflections. They are now concrete palpable reality, for they have enabled the working class to build on the ruins of feudal and capitalist relations a socialist system embracing a considerable part of the population of the world and win the minds of many millions of people in the capitalist countries who have dedicated themselves to the Marxist ideas and principles. Thus we can say we are living in the age of victorious socialist revolution.

— The centenary of Marx's death is being commemorated the world over, said *Santiago Alvarez*, of the Communist Party of Spain. This fact in itself is very significant, it testifies to the grandeur and realism of Marx's ideas which have become a great material force. These ideas have been translated into practice and have influenced, and continue to influence, the modern history of society. If this were not so, would we again turn to Marx one hundred years after his death? We would not be speaking so much about him if his ideas have not been the decisive factor behind the changes made since 1917, if they were not incorporated in the revolutionary reality of the modern world.

Socio-historical development is ascending as Marx

and Engels predicted. But it follows not a simple straight, vertical line but travels a complicated and contradictory spiral, the speaker continued. When we commemorate the centenary of the death of our immortal teacher and founder of Marxism, when we speak about Marxism not as a dogma but as a guide to action, when we see the great successes achieved owing to the teachings of Marx and Engels which Lenin and other revolutionaries later developed and enriched, the confidence grows in us that these successes are but a part of those to be achieved in the near future.

— After Marx's death Engels pointed out his two distinguishing features—Marx's love of science and his exemplary life as a revolutionary, said *Rodney Arismendi*, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Uruguay. These two features are intrinsic to the understanding of Marx, to the realization of the epoch-making significance of his theory. "Fighting was his element", Engels said later. Lenin, the most outstanding follower of Marx and Engels, in one of his works gave this memorable, clearcut definition: Marx saw the value of his theory in that it was essentially critical and revolutionary. "The irresistible attraction of this theory, which draws to itself the socialists of all countries, lies precisely in the fact that it combines the quality of being strictly and supremely scientific. . . with that of being revolutionary, it does not combine them accidentally and not only because the founder of the doctrine combined in his own person the qualities of a scientist and a revolutionary, but does so intrinsically and inseparably."³

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 1, p. 327.

This dual quality of Marx's theory and method imparts to them constancy and boundless creative dynamism inimical to all narrow schemes and doctrinaire codification. At the same time, such dynamism is fundamentally opposed to petty empiricism, to any fashionable eclecticism, to any opportunist and pragmatic accommodation which would lead away from the socialist revolutionary goal in the spirit of Bernstein's discredited thesis: "The movement is everything, the final aim is nothing."

— On nearly all questions having a bearing on mankind, we discover that we are on the same wavelength as those who reaffirm that they draw inspiration from the ideas of Karl Marx, said *C. M. Stephen*, General Secretary of the Indian National Congress (I).

The conference participants pointed to the exceptional influence Marx's ideas exerted on the development of theoretical thought. There is perhaps not a single social science today that has not experienced the impact of the brilliant scientist, his method and theory. The attitude to the teaching of the founders of scientific socialism is now in the centre of the ideological and political struggle. Marxism's strength lies in its constant creative development.

— In the century since his physical death Karl Marx has grown still more in stature, emphasized *Volodia Teitelboim*, member of the Political Commission, Central Committee, Communist Party of Chile. The so-called speculative philosophers of his time with whom he polemised have long been covered with a thick layer of the dust of oblivion. Those who followed them the past one hundred years have gone out of existence like a fad. Marx, on the

contrary, is always in the forefront. Marxism is not a fashion. It is historical truth, the truth about the development of society. It is not an outdated formula but an effective teaching, a prevision of social process, a fresh and new reply to the real movement, to cardinal problems of social life. It is not a catechism, for it presupposes constant creative search in which the people are invariably the main active agent and revolution the overriding task. Marx continues his work on the planet, his work of transformation on many latitudes. As in the past, he is conducting a daily struggle. His task has not been yet accomplished. His mission is exceptionally complex and important. He never pauses in his work. He will not cease it so long as there is at least one oppressed nation, or one exploited man left.

— Marxism has discovered the laws of social development and its directions, said *Ahmed Salem*, representative of the Sudanese Communist Party. Marxism rejects stagnation which would turn it into a dogma rejecting all new ideas. It is a social science to which peoples and human thought bring newly gained knowledge to the extent to which man's activity in nature contributes ever new knowledge to various fields of natural science. Linking theory and practice, scientific socialism is in a constant process of renovation. Each nation accumulates its own experience in the advance to socialism, relying on its own political, social and cultural traditions.

— A creative approach, however, does not mean any lack of principle, underscored *Herbert Mies*, Chairman of the German Communist Party. It does not preclude but rather implies defence of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. This is how we understand the application of Marxist theory today.

The life-giving force of Marxist theory, its ability to give answers to the most burning problems of modern social development were analyzed by *Ruben Dario Sousa*, General Secretary of the Central Committee, People's Party of Panama, *Manuel Mora Valverde*, General Secretary of the Central Committee, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, and by other speakers.

The great international significance of Marx's theory, the universal character of the general laws underlying revolutionary remaking of the world he discovered and the need to formulate the strategy and tactics of struggle for emancipation from social and national oppression with due regard for specific historical conditions and particular features of countries were discussed by Giocondo Dias, General Secretary of the Central Committee, Brazilian Communist Party; *Joaquim P. Silva*, Secretary of the National Council, African Party for the Independence of the Cape Verde Islands (PAICV), and many others.

— At present, said *Gilberto Vieira*, General Secretary of the Central Committee, Colombian Communist Party, there is not a single social theory that has not experienced the influence of Marxism-Leninism in one way or other. This influence is worldwide, for the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory have materialized in the socialist countries with account of their national and historical conditions.

— When an idea grips the minds of the masses, as a result of the daily work of revolutionary organizations, when this idea expresses the most cherished aspirations of a nation, no ideology, no bourgeois misinformation campaigns can be successful, said *Carlos Rodriguez*, member of the United Revolutionary Leadership, Farabundo Marti National Libera-

tion Front. In the course of the daily struggles of the masses revolutionary ideas become their cultural asset, their consciousness, their material force. This is exactly the case with Karl Marx's ideas in the towns and villages of El Salvador.

The representative of the National Liberation Front of Bahrein drew attention to the fact that in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" Marx and Engels had already sharply criticized petty-bourgeois socialism showing that it often serves the interests of the dominant classes. This thesis remains fully valid in our time too. The high prestige of socialist ideas, the appeal of the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries encourage broad social strata, most diverse in their background and political orientation, to espouse the ideas of socialism. But, not infrequently, these ideas become twisted because nationalism prevails over the "socialist" conceptions of these forces propagating not scientific socialism but various other versions of "socialism".

Experience proves that there is only one kind of socialism—working class socialism, scientific socialism having international significance.

The conference was keynoted by the idea of the immortality of Marxist theory, of the fiasco of bourgeois "Marxology".

— Paradoxically, the criticism of Marxism in our days and the frequent statements to the effect that Marxism has had its day are proof that it has not lost its viability, said *Noboru Jagi*, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Japan and head of its International Bureau. In Japan, a country to which Marx referred in his "Capital" as the most typical example of feudal society, the deve-

lopment of the socialist and working class movements is closely connected with Marx's name. . .

Aldo Tortorella, member of the Leadership of the Italian Communist Party, said among other things: In these days, 100 years since Marx's death, we can say confidently that Marx's ideas live on and develop. It is most indicative that the works of Karl Marx are discussed and studied. They motivate powerful movements for national and social liberation. They mobilize for action not only very representative scientific forums but also the broad popular masses. This alone proves how mistaken were those who in the last one hundred years hastened to proclaim Marx's theory as a past stage and dead already. Marx's thought emerged alive after each such "burial" and today many economists and social scientists in the most developed capitalist countries, confronted with the crisis-generated phenomena feel the need to turn to Marx again and again. At the same time, the actions of those who for a number of years, as well as in this centenary year, have drummed up the thesis about "the death of Marx's ideas" prove that these ideas are more alive than ever. These debates and these denials of the vitality of Marx's ideas would never have been held if these ideas were not conspicuous to this day in cultural, theoretical and political quests.

— There are those who say, said *Meir Vilner*, General Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Israel, that Marx's teachings are obsolete. Sometimes they add that one should not be dogmatic and not adhere to theories which may have been right for the 19th century but no longer hold water today. Among them we find some who themselves treat the subject of Marx and Marxism in

a dogmatic way. They confuse principles with details. Being no Marxists, they do not know or do not want to know that Marxism is not a dogma but a creative science undergoing a constant process of development, a guide to action and an aid to understanding the course of both nature and society.

— One day "Marxologists" of all sorts oppose young Marx to Marx the revolutionary and next day—the one and the other to Lenin who translated into reality the main provisions of Marx's theory, said member of the Central Committee Political Bureau, Communist Party of Venezuela, *Eduardo G. Mancera*. They need this above all in order to deny the achievements of real socialism. They have made anti-Sovietism their main weapon to curry favour with the tycoons of the capitalist world who organize and finance such "theoretical" disquisitions.

— Today all refuters of Marx, said Chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin *Horst Schmitt*, are confronted with the fact that no other theory is more true to life than Marxism-Leninism. This is manifested in Western Europe just as in Asia, Africa and Latin America and, first and foremost, in the countries of existing socialism which have been and remain the bulwark of the peoples' struggle for peace and social progress.

THE CREATIVE WORK OF MARX AND LENIN IS ONE INDISSOLUBLE WHOLE

A new stage in the development of the theory and practice of Marxism and the great victories scored in the struggle for communist ideals are associated with the name of Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov-Lenin.

Since the early twentieth century, Marxism has been unthinkable without Leninism, without all that the great Lenin contributed to the treasure-house of the scientific world outlook of the working class, to the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle and socialist construction.

Having successfully defended and upheld Marxism in the struggle against all kinds of revisionists and opportunists, Lenin provided on its basis the answers to the new questions that arose before the labour movement, the working masses and all mankind in the new historical conditions.

The conference participants spoke of Lenin as the great continuer of the cause of Marx and Engels, as a man who made an enormous contribution to the further development of all component parts of their teachings.

— Lenin's name is forever fused to those of Marx and Engels. It is inscribed in fiery letters by socialism that emerged victorious in fourteen countries. It is a source of support and inspiration to the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle being waged on three continents, pointed out *Rodney Arismendi*, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay.

— The first decisive test of Marx's scientific theory was left to Lenin, noted *Cheddi Jagan*, General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guya-

na. Lenin effectively defended and developed Marxism in the new historical stage that appeared at the turn of the 19th century. Marx's theory, tested in practice and significantly enriched by Lenin, developed into Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism is an integral whole. Any attempts to set one against the other are doomed to failure.

— Marxism was immeasurably enriched thanks to the mammoth work of Lenin—the thinker and revolutionary, said *Alvaro Cunhal*, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party. Lenin not only raised the theory of Marxism to new heights but also breathed new life into it and, as leader of the Communist Party, laid the foundations of the first socialist state, which ushered in a new era in mankind's history.

— The name of Vladimir Lenin is inseparable from that of Karl Marx, emphasized *Athos Fava*, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina. Marxism-Leninism is our constant guide to understanding and transforming our national realities.

In Leninism the Marxist teaching rose to a new, higher level thanks to the fact that Lenin—a convinced follower and fellow-thinker of Marx and Engels—profoundly perceived the creative essence of Marxism, incompatible with inert and stagnant thinking. Lenin stressed time and time again that Marxism is not a dogma but a living, creative teaching, drawing its strength from the revolutionary experience of the masses. He not merely stressed this but personally set the loftiest examples of such an approach.

Applying the dialectical method of Marx with unparalleled skill, Lenin made great theoretical disco-

veries with which the Lenin stage in the development of Marxism is inseparably linked.

It was stressed at the conference that no one except Lenin could so clearly discern that limit beyond which any discussion on the changed conditions might turn into a lack of ideological principle and opportunistic diffusion. History shows that the creative development of Marxism-Leninism is only possible on the basis of its fundamental principles. Some particular assessments and propositions, made by analyzing certain historic events, may become obsolete. But the arbitrary and thoughtless discarding of the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism generally results in theoretical waverings and deviations fraught with gross political flaws. The principles of Marxist-Leninist teachings have been tried and tested in international practice, and they serve as a powerful and effective tool of cognition and the revolutionary creativity of millions of people.

The creative nature of Leninism was the topic of the speech by *Nguyen Duc Tam*, Politbureau member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Vietnam, *Hans Kleven*, Chairman of the Communist Party of Norway, and others.

The conference participants noted that Leninism is Marxism in the epoch of imperialism, of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism.

— If Marx, on the basis of the profound study of pre-monopoly capitalism, built the main theoretical edifice of scientific socialism for the working class in general terms, said *Roberto de Almeida*, Politbureau candidate member and secretary of the Central Committee of the MPLA—Party of Labour (Angola), Lenin raised revolutionary theory to a new level conforming to the stage of monopoly capitalism, to the

epoch of proletarian revolutions and the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism. Thus, Leninism is Marxism of the modern age.

— Lenin, the greatest continuer of the cause of Marx, stressed *Gilberto Vieira*, General Secretary of the Colombian Communist Party Central Committee, creatively applied Marx's method to studying the monopoly stage in the development of capitalism. Lenin proved that the uneven development of capitalism at this stage made the victory of socialism possible in countries where class contradictions were particularly acute.

The conference participants pointed out that *Lenin had substantially enriched the theory and practice of revolutionary struggle. The Great October Socialist Revolution emerged victorious under his guidance, and, for the first time in history, a society was built without the exploitation of man by man.* Lenin showed that the stage of imperialism, state-monopoly capitalism, was the eve of socialist revolution. His conclusion on the possible victory of proletarian revolution initially in a few countries, or even in one country, was a major contribution to the creative development of Marxism.

— Just as Marx developed his ideas and responded to the movement of events, emphasized *Gordon McLennan*, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, it is necessary for Marxists today to meet the challenges of our time, and the new problems arising from changes in the world, in capitalism, in the newly independent countries and in the socialist countries. This creative approach to Marxism has been the basis for the study of the specific conditions of many very different countries, in the course

of which Marxist theory has been further developed.

— The development of all of the revolutionary teachings of Marx and his comrade Frederick Engels, and no less the national question aspect as such, pointed out *Michael O'Riordan*, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland, was well and truly carried out by V. I. Lenin in the changed conditions of the age of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

As Lenin predicted the struggle for national liberation has developed into a struggle for social liberation and the national liberation movement is today an integral part of the world revolutionary process.

Many speakers stressed that Lenin's outstanding contribution to revolutionary theory was his elaboration of the teachings on the new type of revolutionary party and the creation of this party.

— Lenin developed the theory of the new type of party on the basis of Marx's fundamental ideas. He defined the type of organization that would bring the working class to power and ensure successful socialist construction, said *A. Tedla*, Executive Committee Member, Commission to Organize the Party of Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE).

— The strength of the communist party is determined not only by its numerical composition, pointed out *Herbert Mies*, Chairman of the German Communist Party. Also of crucial importance is whether or not it constantly bases its work on the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Such a communist party will ultimately develop into a force capable not only of interpreting its social environment but of revolutionizing and, lastly, of altering it.

The speakers noted that Leninism expresses the general laws of world social development. Leninism is not a narrowly national, Russian teaching, but essentially an international one. The teachings of Marx and Lenin are a formidable force transforming the modern world.

Leninism emerged in Russia and is intimately linked with its revolutionary destinies, with the demands and tasks of the Russian proletariat's struggle and the heroic achievements of its Bolshevik Party. However, it is also true that Leninism was, from the beginning, formed and established on the basis of generalized experience of the entire world revolutionary and liberation movement. Today, Leninism is in essence and nature a teaching of truly worldwide significance.

— World historic development is taking place along the path charted by Marx, Engels and Lenin. The final triumph of socialism the world over is not in doubt. No force on earth can halt the march of history in this direction, noted *Rajeswara Rao*, General Secretary of the National Council, Communist Party of India.

— Lenin clearly realized that the theoretical conclusions of the social sciences, even the most attractive slogans, are worthless unless they merge with the revolutionary struggle of the working class and are backed up by ideological and organizational work among the masses, said *M. V. Zimyanin*, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Lenin profoundly understood and comprehensively revealed the growing role of the subjective factor in the struggle for socialism in historically new conditions. Developing the ideas of Marx, he worked out a doctrine on new type of party called upon to combine the mass-scale work-

ers' movement with scientific socialism. And Lenin created just such a party.

The acme of Lenin's teachings is his science of the ways of building socialism. Furthermore, Lenin took the leading role in translating this science into reality.

The leader of the October Revolution worked out the fundamental norms of party and state activities, which we call Leninist norms after their creator. The strict observance of the Leninist norms and style of work, organically combining scientific forecasts and realism, a high degree of organization and initiative, a businesslike approach and a critical attitude to shortcomings is a token of the strengthening the Party's ties with the masses, and of society's moral and political unity.

There is not a single social, political or philosophical doctrine in the world which could rival Marxism-Leninism in its depth and accuracy of analysis, in the strength and scale of its influence on the masses. This is acknowledged by our ideological enemies as well. Is it not surprising, therefore, that all those who are seeking to hinder the socialist transformation of the world are trying to knock this ideological weapon out of the hands of the revolutionary forces?

In so doing, they resort to various means—from attempts to directly discredit Marxism-Leninism to more perfidious and subtle stratagems. This includes the attempts to set "Western" or "European" Marxism against "Russian" or "Eastern" Leninism. There is also the concept of "pluralistic" Marxism. Lastly, there is the trend among the enemies of Marxism, as it scores victories, to pass themselves off as Marxists.

All these efforts are to no avail. The ideological battle around Marxism-Leninism is developing under the banner of the historical correctness of our teaching. But this struggle is neither easy nor simple. We cannot fail to see that the ideas of bourgeois ideologues, reformists and revisionists of all shades exert a certain amount of influence on some sections of the people, including those within the workers' and national liberation movement.

In order to distinguish a true revolutionary from a false one, scientific socialism from all sorts of fake socialism, we should apply the tried and tested Marxist-Leninist class criterion. This presupposes appraising the attitude of individuals, groups or currents not only towards the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles, but also towards its living embodiment—existing socialism.

EXISTING SOCIALISM—THE PRACTICAL EMBODIMENT OF THE IDEAS OF MARXISM-LENINISM

It was clearly and convincingly emphasized at the conference that the process of socialist and communist construction in the Soviet Union and the other socialist states is the most convincing and most obvious proof of the correctness of Marxist-Leninist teaching.

M. V. Zimyanin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said in his speech:

“Now that socialism has become the substance of the life of hundreds of millions of people in many countries, one can fully understand the desire to compare the theoretical picture of socialism drawn by Marx with existing socialism. And we can understand those comrades who wonder which of the forecasts of the founders of the revolutionary teaching have already come true and which of them have not yet been fully translated into reality, and why.”

M. V. Zimyanin went on to say: “Our ideological enemies are capitalizing on certain well-known discrepancies between socialist practice and the socialist ideal. They talk profusely about the ‘detrimental nature’ of existing socialism which should be ‘humanized’, as they put it, or claim that Marx’s theoretical views have allegedly become obsolete.

“What can be said on this score? The very course of historical development has confirmed all, I should like to stress, all the main conclusions of the theory of scientific communism. The abolition of the private ownership of the means of production, the elimination of exploitation, unemployment and crises, the

planned development of production, its subjection to the interests of the people’s welfare, the emergence of a state of proletarian dictatorship which, as practice shows, gradually develops into a state of the whole people, and the ensuring of genuine democracy—all these are component parts of existing socialism and striking evidence of the great vital force and historical correctness of Marxist-Leninist ideas. . .

“Looking back on the path traversed so far, one is fully justified in saying, as Lenin did, that we have been building socialism according to Marx’s teachings and relying on his conclusions on the essence and basic principles of the organization of new society.”

Phoumi Vongvichit, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Lao People’s Revolutionary Party and Vice-Chairman of the LPDR Council of Ministers, spoke about implementing the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in his country.

Vasil Bil’ak, Presidium Member and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, spoke of the achievements of existing socialism. “Profound changes in the working people’s life and social welfare which are guaranteed by socialism, clearly confirm that we are following the correct path charted by Marxism-Leninism,” he said. “And the most important thing is that the people themselves are governing their state, they are its masters and decide all the issues which concern it. The people cannot use the old political superstructure, or the old economic basis to exercise their power. The system of social ownership is matched by the political system of the workers’ power, the state system under which the people exercise their sovereign will. The form of bourgeois pluralism is just as obsolete for the level of socialism achieved by us as the forms

of the political system of feudalism are obsolete for advanced capitalism."

Appraisals of the realization of Marxist-Leninist ideas featured prominently in the speeches by the representatives of the communist parties fighting for the cause of the working class in advanced capitalist states.

Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria *Franz Muhri* said: "In the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and other countries of existing socialism the following fundamental ideas of Marx and Engels have already been realized: the elimination of exploitation of man by man through socializing the basic means of production, the idea of the leading role of the working class in a new state, in a new society, Marx's idea that the wresting of economic and political power from capital and the emancipation of the working class are, at the same time, a prerequisite for the equality of nations' rights, for eradicating discrimination against women, and for comprehensively developing the individual.

"As for the basic problems, the advantages of existing socialism over the capitalist exploiter system have manifested themselves particularly clearly in the present situation, characterized by the deepening and aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism. Under socialism there is social confidence and full employment, in contrast to the uncertainty about the future, the economic crisis and mass unemployment inherent in capitalist states."

George Jackson, National Secretary, New Zealand Socialist Unity Party, declared: "The test of the validity and relevance of any person claiming to be a Marxist, is the attitude they take to real existing socialism in the USSR and the Socialist bloc. This is

the outstanding contribution of the working class to the liberation of all humanity. It is the guarantee of steadily moving toward the universal overcoming of the heritage of the past brought about by the lingering existence of capitalism in decay."

Many representatives of the communist, revolutionary and national-democratic parties of developing countries emphasized the major significance of existing socialism as an example of the implementation of the teachings of K. Marx.

General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, *Cheddi Jagan*, expressed this idea in the following words: "With its tremendous achievements, real socialism is exerting a strong influence and an irresistible appeal on the world's peoples who have not yet taken this path. These developments irrefutably show the impact and dynamism of Marx's ideas and the vitality of Marxism-Leninism."

The world historic significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the major importance of the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet Union—a pioneer of socialist change—was stressed at the conference.

Demchigiyn Molomjamts, Politbureau Member and Secretary of the Central Committee, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, stressed: "As a result of these historical changes, a new world has emerged fighting all that is obsolete and outdated, for progress and for a society free of exploitation, national and racial oppression. The Soviet Union—the first country of socialism—has always been worthily accomplishing the exceptionally difficult historic mission of trail-blazer in this new world. Therefore, the historical experience of the Soviet Union and other coun-

tries in building the new society is of paramount international significance.”

In speaking of existing socialism, most delegations showed a clear awareness of the problems and difficulties confronting socialist states because of the pressure exerted by imperialism and internal reasons of an objective and subjective nature. Representatives of many fraternal parties sharply criticized any attempts to belittle the achievements of existing socialism.

In setting about building socialism in our country, said *M. V. Zimyanin*, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the Party could not rely on past experience. Indeed, this was an exceptionally difficult task, all the more so since the old world not only put up fierce resistance from within. Imperialism sought with all its might to stifle socialism in the grip of diplomatic and economic blockade, and also had recourse to armed intervention. The fascist aggression was the gravest trial for our country. The Soviet people withstood all this, defended the socialist system, its independence and freedom, and saved other nations from enslavement and extermination. Socialism in the USSR has triumphed definitively and completely. True, the path traversed by us was not devoid of errors and shortcomings. And the CPSU openly disclosed them.

Marx and Engels emphasized: “The Communists... are... practically the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others...”¹ This is precisely what our Leninist party has always

¹ K. Marx, F. Engels. *Selected Works* in three volumes, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1976, vol. 1, p. 120.

been striving for. A tried and tested vanguard of the working class and the entire people, solidly rallied together ideologically, politically and organizationally, our party is acting, to quote Lenin, as a collective teacher and leader of the masses, *M. V. Zimyanin* said in conclusion.

Milko Balev, Politbureau Member and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, had this to say: “We are very well aware of what we have achieved and of what still has to be achieved. Historical conditions have so developed that socialist revolutions have, up until now, triumphed in moderately and poorly developed countries, but not in highly advanced capitalist states. Our road has proved to be long and difficult. Apart from the objective difficulties, we should also point out certain flaws and errors of a subjective nature. We likewise failed to disclose in good time certain contradictions of a non-antagonistic nature which inevitably emerged in the course of construction, and took belated measures to smooth them out. There were also extreme situations, attempts to outpace the natural course of events and tackle issues without the necessary conditions or prerequisites for this.

“But every objectively-minded person can see the scope and depth of the revolutionary changes that have taken place in the countries of existing socialism. And this is the main thing. This is the great historical truth of existing socialism.”

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politbureau Member and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, said: “The events in Poland

confirm the thesis that the violation of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and an inadequate creative appraisal of specific national features result in errors and difficulties. The internal and external enemies of socialism immediately took advantage of this situation and concentrated their attacks on the state of proletarian dictatorship, the party and the socialist economy. In other words, it was a question of those spheres of socio-political structures which are central to the teachings of K. Marx and which should be regarded as a natural law of the transitional period. The events in Poland also reaffirm the significance of Marx's tenet on the need for analyzing contradictions in social life in order to correctly evaluate the situation and draw practical conclusions. The elimination of the objective conditions for the emergence of antagonistic contradictions does not mean that social contradictions as a whole can be removed. Our experience proves that non-antagonistic contradictions should not be underestimated. The history of socialist construction, which has also had its own bitter experience, confirms that successes can be achieved only if the party—the guiding force of the working class—has scientific foundations, is capable of assessing the spiritual wealth of Marxism-Leninism, and of constantly supplementing it with the experience of other countries and other workers' parties."

Vasil Bil'ak, Presidium Member and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, exposed the lie about the "crisis of socialism": "Our achievements and successes could have been much more impressive and we could have advanced even farther along our chosen path had it not been for the constant need to combat the schemes

of the reactionary forces of imperialism. These schemes, which include blackmail, threats, discrimination and even attempts at counter-revolutionary coups and are designed to weaken socialism, are growing in number. . .

"Today, socialism is the most dynamic force in the world. Its development does have its problems and contradictions, and it does contain mistakes and human errors. To think that this could be otherwise would mean falling under the influence of imperialism and denying the essence of life and objective dialectics. The important thing is to be able to overcome these difficulties and contradictions.

"Nevertheless, we can definitely say that in our approach to tackling the present problems we have invariably taken the vital interests of the working people into account and have never sought to place these problems onto the shoulders of the working people, as is the case in capitalist states. In spite of all our problems and difficulties, we have scored remarkable successes in building socialism, and we can take pride in them. . ."

William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, rebuked not only the open enemies of socialism but also those who criticize socialism "from the position of Marxism": "As we celebrate this Centenary the opponents of Marxism-Leninism try to denigrate the achievements of socialism in the Soviet Union. Some even claim that the attraction of existing socialism has petered out. All of this is purposeful, directed to distract the attention of the people from the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and its inability to cope with the problems facing the people.

“While it is understandable that the apologists of monopoly-capitalism would undertake this smear campaign against existing real socialism, less understandable are the views of those claiming to be Marxists, who throw stones at existing socialism and advance views that veer to a so-called non-Marxist socialism... They want to turn their backs on real socialism. But in doing so they commit a grave error.”

The conference reaffirmed the high prestige of the countries of existing socialism in the world communist and national liberation movement—prestige won through the successes of socialist construction, and resulting from the Marxist-Leninist course being pursued by the ruling communist and workers' parties.

MARXISM-LENINISM—A POWERFUL IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL WEAPON OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS

The historical process of mankind's liberation from exploitation, social and national oppression and wars results from the broadest popular movements in which the leading part is played by the working class, whose world and historic role was first revealed and substantiated by Marx. Many speeches dealt with *the revolutionary, world historic mission of the working class in the present conditions, with its struggle against monopoly capital, the ways of transition to socialism and other problems of the international workers' movement.*

According to Marxist teachings *the proletariat is the very social force that is called upon by history not only to do away with capitalist oppression and exploitation but also to create the new society.*

— Marx correctly concluded that if the class struggle is the axis, then the working class is the dynamo, the moving force, the pivotal power bloc which all movements and struggles of necessity must relate to, said *Gus Hall*, General Secretary, Communist Party USA. This is so because it is the only class molded and steeled in struggle, because it is the direct victim of exploitation and oppression. And, therefore, it is, of necessity, the class which will lead all society in the revolutionary transition to freedom from exploitation and oppression. This is the foundation of the revolutionary, working class essence of Marxism-Leninism. The greatest tribute to Marx is that we are not focusing our attention on past problems, on the Marx of one hundred years ago—but on the science

he gave life to be applied to the problems of today. We are focusing on the direction history is moving, as Marx predicted it. The world revolutionary process, with the working class as the main dynamo, has become the main stream of history. The theory and concept of the class struggle and the working class component is as essential today as it was in Marx's time. Perhaps even more so as capitalism decays, the working class expands and the struggle grows ever sharper and more intense.

In arguing with those who negate the revolutionary role of the modern working class of capitalist states, *Santiago Alvarez*, representative of the Communist Party of Spain, declared that direct and indirect attacks on Marxism deny its vital force and claim that it has become outdated due to the obvious changes that have occurred in the ranks of the working class, in its make-up and structure since the times of Marx and Lenin. These spurious arguments have one aim—to reject, or at least discredit, the new social class, called upon during the revolution to take the place of the bourgeoisie at the helm of power to build socialism.

Understandably, with the present development level of productive forces, science and technology, scientists, specialists and intellectuals are already becoming the determining factor of any basic social transformation, and will become even more so in the future. Nevertheless, the role of the working class as a social force will not diminish in highly or moderately developed capitalist states such as Spain, for example. It is namely the working class that is called upon to keep up the revolutionary process which must lead to socialism. Its role in production, its numerical strength and concentration, its own re-

newal and spreading give us every grounds for believing in such a perspective. The matter is that the alliance between the working class and other advanced social strata, the working class movement together with social movements emerging on account of new phenomena appearing in society, expand the earlier alliance between workers and peasants.

— The new alliance, Alvarez pointed out, should be able to rally the social bloc of progress, which by its interests and perspectives would oppose the social bloc centred around oligarchy, and would open up new horizons for building a progressive, socialist society.

Some conference participants, mostly from among the representatives of social-democratic and socialist parties, expressed doubts as to whether or not the modern working class was ready to take part in revolutionary changes. Thus, *Giuseppe Tamburrano*, a representative of the leadership of the Italian Socialist Party, declared: "The once Marxist West European working class, is less Marxist today. It is reformist. Naturally, it remains to be proved that Marxism and reformism are mutually opposed."

Jorge Shafic Handal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Salvador, noted that if in certain countries, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism no longer carried so much weight in the workers' movement and if this movement had become reformist, this was the responsibility, first and foremost, of the workers' party which, at a given moment, had ceased to fulfil its day-to-day task of spreading the ideas of scientific socialism among the workers and the entire working people, thereby losing, at least temporarily, the ideological battle with the bourgeoisie.

Marx's thesis on the revolutionary role of the proletariat and on the undeniable need for the dictatorship of the proletariat is fully viable and correct. This is confirmed by the practice of revolutionary movements, said *Asuncion Caballero Méndez*, Member of the Political Commission and Secretariat, Central Committee of the Peruvian Communist Party.

The idea that Marx's teachings are currently a powerful weapon of the world working class ran through many speeches at the conference.

George Jackson, National Secretary, New Zealand Socialist Unity Party, said that, for the working people, Marx "and his works are becoming the material force as it grips the minds of masses of people, whether it be in guiding them in the building of a new socialist society, which is becoming a beacon for all people, or among those millions of people made redundant and inhumanly cast aside like consumerism's last season's fashion ... The materialist approach, the nature of change, the linking of theory and practice and the building of mass movement, arm the working class theoretically and build that ever expanding unity of which Marx spoke."

It was widely noted at the conference that the working class movement was gaining in strength. The activities of the communist parties are increasing and their prestige is rising. Their aims and ideals—being those of the working class—ultimately meet the objective requirements of social progress. The international workers' movement is growing ever more dynamic and is increasingly manifesting its militancy in the mainstream of the revolutionary struggle.

MARXISM-LENINISM AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The exposure of the colonialist policy of the capitalist powers, the profound analysis of the problems of the national liberation movement, the questions of organization and support of revolutionary proletarian activities, and of the prospects of the peoples' liberation struggle occupy an important place in the creative legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and in their practical revolutionary activities. *The tremendous historical experience mankind has amassed over the past decades testifies to the correctness of their assessments and conclusions on the national liberation movements. Marxism-Leninism has exerted a profound influence on the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.* The very fact that representatives of the finest advanced forces in the zone of the national liberation struggle participated in the conference is graphic proof of this.

The idea of *the topicality of the Marxist-Leninist legacy, its enormous revolutionizing effect on the national liberation movement* permeated many speeches at the conference.

— By his outstanding theoretical, scientific and revolutionary achievements, said *J. Montané Oropesa*, candidate member of the Politbureau and member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, Marx showed the road where the colonial and dependent peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean could acquire a historically prominent place. He had never been impartial to events in those countries. This is borne out by the significance attached to them in his works as well as in those of his comrade-in-arms Frederick

Engels, which dealt with the problems of Ireland, Afghanistan, Algeria, Iran, Burma and especially India and China.

"The participation of a government delegation from Ghana in this conference is an expression of Ghana's appreciation of the impact of Marxist-Leninist teachings on the liberation struggles on the African continent and other parts of the world," said a member of Ghana's Supreme Defence Council, *Ato Austin*.

"Marx's teachings on the national and colonial question," pointed out *K. P. Silva*, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, "also find vivid reflection in today's national liberation movement, which has become a powerful component of the world revolutionary process of our time. Marx gave basic directions to this movement when, on the one hand, he pointed out to the peoples of the metropolitan countries that 'any nation that oppresses another forges its own chains' and, on the other hand, showed the democratic forces in the colonial and dependent countries that winning national independence should be the first aim of their struggles."

"The ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin," said *the representative of the Communist Party of Lesotho*, "have gained positions even in the remotest areas of the world."

Ali Khavary, Politbureau member and secretary of the Central Committee, People's Party of Iran (Tudeh), spoke about how the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin help grasp the essence of the developments in his country.

"And today the patriots and revolutionary democrats of our country, led by SWAPO, are showing considerable interest in Marxist science," said *David*

Meroro, Chairman of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), Namibia. "They are searching for theoretical and practical guidance regarding the problem of national liberation revolutions in our epoch, of their socio-economic, political and ideological features, and their chief motive forces."

In his time, Marx spoke of the possibility of national movements becoming powerful allies of the revolutionary proletariat. Lenin later profoundly developed and conceptualized this brilliant idea.

"One of the principal conclusions in Lenin's teaching," emphasized *M. V. Zimyanin*, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "is that on the national liberation struggle of the peoples of colonies and semi-colonies as a mighty current within the world revolutionary movement."

In our epoch, the alliance between world socialism, the working class of developed capitalist states and the national liberation movement, their concerted actions against imperialism have become a living practice, a powerful revolutionizing force of today. The conference participants dwelt on this at length.

— Nowadays, the national liberation movement has become a mighty, worldwide force playing a major role in the struggle against neo-colonialism and racism, for the preservation of peace throughout the world, said *S. an-Nadjab*, Politbureau member, Palestinian Communist Party Central Committee. It has become one of the main elements in the world revolutionary process. This movement has expanded and deepened its content within the framework of the revolutionary changes effected in accordance with the teachings of Marx and Engels and has altered the image of the world.

The speakers emphasized the great importance of this alliance for the triumph of the national liberation revolutions, for the further development and intensification of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

— The fact that the young states and national liberation movements are fighting and winning in the present conditions, when the colonial system of imperialism has almost completely been eliminated, has only become possible due to the support and comprehensive assistance of the socialist community countries—worthy successors of the glorious militant traditions of the international proletariat—organized and ideologically equipped by Karl Marx, pointed out *Bonata Dieng*, head of the International Department of the Central Committee, Democratic Party of Guinea.

General Secretary of the African National Congress of South Africa, *Alfred Nzo*, emphasized: "To this day, that alliance between the forces of socialist revolution and national emancipation about which Marx wrote in his works, remains a powerful motive force in the struggle against imperialist domination. During the present century, and especially after the Second World War, it dealt a death blow to the system of colonialism."

Pointing out that the Angolan revolution owes its successes to the solidarity and invaluable support of the socialist countries, above all of the Soviet Union, *Roberto de Almeida*, candidate member of the Politbureau and secretary of the MPLA—Party of Labour Central Committee, stressed that "this internationalist policy will continue to be a major condition of our successes." The importance of the support and assistance of the peoples of the fraternal

socialist countries of Vietnam, Laos, the Soviet Union and others was the topic of a speech made by *Che Sim*, Politbureau member of the Central Committee, People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and Chairman of the United Front of National Construction and Defence of Kampuchea.

— The principles of equality and friendship among nations, said *Abdel Aziz al-Otte*, member of the Politbureau, Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party, formulated by Lenin following the victory of the October Revolution, underlie the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and, specifically, its policy concerning the Arab peoples. This approach directly influenced the Arab national liberation movement, which saw the state of workers and peasants as the main supporter of its struggle. The speaker recalled that in December 1920, the National Committee of Arab Unity issued an appeal stressing the exceptional importance of the alliance between the Arab national liberation movement and the Bolsheviks. The concluding words of the appeal were: "Long live Lenin, long live his comrades-in-arms, long live Soviet power!"

In the Arab world, we can clearly see how the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are consistently implementing the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. A. A. al-Otte went on to say. This is manifested in their comprehensive support to the Arab peoples, assailed by imperialism and Zionism, in their all-round aid to the Arabs defending their national independence and developing their economy. This can also be seen in the support and assistance lent to the Palestinian people fighting for the right to return to their land and to live there in peace, as do other nations of the world. . .

J. Cruikshank Garcia, General Secretary of the National Leadership, Popular Socialist Party of Mexico, emphasized that imperialism is the common enemy of all developing and socialist countries. That is why we rebuke attempts by dissenters and separatists to set the non-aligned movement against the socialist community countries, especially the Soviet Union.

For their part, representatives of the socialist countries pointed the firm and principled course of their parties and governments for developing cooperation with newly independent states and consolidating world socialism's alliance with the national liberation movement.

In speaking of the basic trends in the interaction of world socialism, the workers' movement in developed capitalist states and the national liberation movement, conference participants laid particular emphasis on joint efforts in the struggle for promoting peace and the security of nations, for rebuffing the policy of imperialist aggression.

— Being here in connection with the centenary of the death of Karl Marx—the pioneer of mankind's emancipation, said *Kamel Bouchema*, member of the Central Committee, Algerian National Liberation Front, we hail the heroism of the peoples fighting imperialism and colonialism.

The efforts of the socialist countries aimed at preserving peace and curbing imperialism's aggressive designs were highly assessed by representatives of newly free states. This was noted by *Mohammed Harmel*, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Tunisian Communist Party, *Suleiman an-Nadjab*, member of the Politbureau, Palestinian Communist Party Central Committee, *Roberto de Almeida*, can-

didate member of the Politbureau, MPLA—Party of Labour Central Committee, and others.

The conference participants noted that the following brilliant prediction of Marx was coming true in our epoch: once political power had been acquired, the peoples of newly liberated states, supported by the countries of victorious socialism, would be able to choose their path of social and economic development, fully or partially bypassing the capitalist stage. Subsequently, this idea was comprehensively elaborated in Lenin's concept of non-capitalist development, and in our time it has been confirmed by great historical experience. The non-capitalist path, socialist orientation are a reality in our days. There is a steady rise in the number of countries which have opted for socialist development.

Many speakers emphasized *the vital and fruitful nature of Marxist-Leninist concepts on the non-capitalist development of newly free countries.*

— History has proved, said *Nguyen Duc Tam*, member of the Politbureau of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, that in the prevailing international conditions, the developing countries which have gained their independence under the correct leadership of genuinely Marxist-Leninist parties and under the banner of national independence and socialism, are passing through different transitional stages and may bring their countries onto the path of socialist development, bypassing capitalism.

"In order to overcome such burning problems as economic backwardness, poverty and illiteracy they have inherited," said *Cheddi Jagan*, General Secretary, People's Progressive Party of Guyana, "developing countries are increasingly consulting Marxism for guidance and answers. Many, in spite of difficulties

and imperialism's obstructionist policies, are set on the path of Socialist Orientation. They are learning from the rich multi-faceted experiences of existing socialism and benefitting substantially from the selfless, many-sided assistance from the Socialist World."

We are confident, said *J. Montané Oropesa*, candidate member of the Politbureau and member of the Secretariat, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, that the developing countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean have tremendous revolutionary potential. In the conditions of the advance of socialism and the upsurge of the working class struggle, these countries will become, in the next few years, the arena of many new battles for national liberation and progress. These battles will inevitably be fused into a current whose strategy can only and exclusively be anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and socialist orientation. This is the logic of history. . .

FOR PEACE, AGAINST THE ARMS RACE AND WAR

Millions of men associate their desire to live in peace, to assure a peaceful future for humankind with the name of Karl Marx. At the conference, a great deal of attention was given to comprehensive discussion of the problems of war and peace, the class content of these problems in our time, the exposure of the imperialist policy of preparing for a new world war, the need for the world revolutionary movement to rebuff imperialism's plans. The conference stressed the importance of the further intensification of the broad democratic movement for peace on our planet.

It was convincingly demonstrated that *Marx's teaching is the key to understanding complex social, political and economic processes. It allows one to find one's bearings in the explosive international situation, in the struggle for peace and the prevention of a nuclear world war.*

The overwhelming majority of the conference participants pointed out that *in our days, too, world peace, the peoples' security and social progress are threatened by imperialism.*

Arnoldo Martínez Verdugo, a member of the Political Commission, Central Committee of the United Socialist Party of Mexico, scathingly criticized "the reckless policy of US imperialism directed at unleashing a war that would lead to the destruction of all of mankind's achievements".

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party USA, made a detailed and well argumentated statement on this point. He said: "Working class partisanship and just simple truth rejects all concepts of the so-called 'two superpowers'. . . To in any

way give the impression that the war danger, the threat of a nuclear holocaust, emanates equally from the 'two superpowers' is to deal in total falsehoods, to feed the big lie.

"To view the Soviet Union as in any way to blame for the war danger and the nuclear arms race is objectively to cover up for the crimes and brutality of US imperialism.

"The world must understand that at this moment the Reagan Administration has absolutely no intention of negotiating a disarmament treaty with the Soviet Union.

"A policy of nuclear weapons build-up for nuclear superiority, the budgeting of trillions of dollars for nuclear weapons that now extend even to nuclear-arming outer space—is the very opposite of negotiating to reduce nuclear arms and maintaining the nuclear balance of forces.

"The Reagan Administration is out to create the image of negotiating as a cover for the total and all-out development of weapons of nuclear superiority.

"Thus, to in any way, directly or even indirectly, by nuance, insinuation or by omission, support the 'two superpowers' big lie is playing recklessly and criminally with the survival of our precious world and all of mankind. It is playing the war-game of US monopoly capital.

"For anyone to say they relate to and treat all nations equally, without any reference to the imperialist nature of the major capitalist countries, is to objectively play right into their hands."

The untenability of the thesis that both the USA and the USSR are equally responsible for the exacerbated world situation is particularly obvious in the light of statements made by many conference parti-

cipants to the effect that *the USSR and the other socialist community countries are the main force opposing imperialism's policy of aggression, and that they are the bastions of peace, crushing the schemes of the modern-day warmongers.*

"The Great October Socialist Revolution", said Dr. Chiaka Anozie, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Socialist Working People's Party of Nigeria, "accomplished by the proletariat of Russia headed by its Marxist party led by Lenin converted the theory of Marxism into reality and turned Marxism into a world force. This revolution became the turning point in the history of mankind in all spheres of life. The first decree of the nascent Soviet state was a decree on peace. The idea of peace and friendship amongst nations is rooted in the ideology of the working class."

Today, the Soviet Union is the force which is restraining imperialism's aggressive ambitions, Ch. Anozie went on to say. "For the first time in the history of mankind aggressive imperialist powers can no longer act with their usual abandon, conducting piratical wars and stifling the aspirations of small nations."

As many speakers remarked, imperialism is not only responsible for the build up of tensions and explosive situations in Western Europe. The USA and its main allies are actively involved in war preparations the world over.

"The conflict that flared up in Central America," said V. Tirado Lopez, a member of the Sandinist National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, "must be resolved by Central Americans themselves—and without a war. This is our stand, the stand of sober-minded parties, groups, trends and governments. However,

the interference of US imperialism exacerbates the situation. Central America has become a hotbed of international tension."

The speeches made at the conference have shown that *the peace initiatives of the USSR and the socialist community generally meet with understanding and support in the international communist, workers' and national liberation movements and among progressive public forces.* A number of foreign policy initiatives put forward by the socialist countries is regarded as a real alternative to the policy of stoking up tensions which is being pursued by the United States and some of its allies with the aim of attaining military superiority and disrupting international stability. These initiatives show the responsible attitude of the socialist countries to preserving peace, their readiness to act in the name of averting nuclear war.

There was an extensive exchange of views on *specific aspects of the main lines of the peace struggle today.*

"Communists and all peace-loving forces in the FRG," said *Herbert Mies*, Chairman of the German Communist Party, are faced with the foremost task of stepping up the struggle against the deployment of US medium-range nuclear missiles on the territory of the West German state. "The GCP", he added, "has always worked and will continue to work to ensure that the threat of war never again emanate from German soil."

The questions of a nuclear arms freeze, of creating nuclear-free zones in Europe and of ensuring the peoples' security on the continent were discussed by representatives of the communist parties of Finland, Malta, the Progressive Working People's Party of Cyprus (AKEL), the Social-Democratic Party of

Finland and the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Sweden. *Horst Schmitt*, Chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, urged that the struggle of the working people of Western Europe for peace and security, against the deployment of the new US medium-range missiles on the continent, be stepped up.

Many speakers emphasized that Reagan's "interim proposal" could not be a reasonable basis for negotiations as its chief purpose was to have US medium-range nuclear missiles deployed in Western Europe.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, *Harilaos Florakis*, spoke of the mounting resistance by the Greek people to all attempts at turning Greece into a springboard for attacks on socialist states.

Santiago Alvarez, representative of the Communist Party of Spain, told of his Party's struggle against his country's involvement in NATO. "We are mobilizing the people by organizing demonstrations, meetings, rallies and gathering petitions so that they be given the opportunity of voicing their opposition to our country's membership in this aggressive bloc and so that our country not be drawn into any bloc", he stressed. "Motivated by these considerations, we call on our comrades from the ruling Spanish Socialist Workers' Party to keep their pre-election commitments and hold a referendum on this matter."

Noboru Wakabayashi, member of the CC Presidium of the Communist Party of Japan, dwelt on the Japanese Communists' actions against the US-Japan military alliance, demanding that it be abrogated. The CPJ wants to see Japan a non-aligned, neutral country and it will oppose any attempts at forming a military alliance once this one is annulled. *Noboru Jagi*,

a delegate of the Socialist Party of Japan favoured the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Asia and the Pacific Ocean. "We are against nuclear weapons", he said, "and we shall encourage the disarmament movement in every way."

Gisèle Rabesahala, General Secretary, the Independence Congress Party of Madagascar, told of the experience of his Party which, throughout its 25-year history, has been firelessly trying to recruit the people into the struggle for world peace, detente and disarmament. "Our Party", he continued, "clearly realizes that the aggressive policies of imperialism, especially in the USA, constitute a serious threat to the countries fighting for their independence and national sovereignty which cost them incalculable sacrifice in the name of saving mankind."

The clarion call for a more vigorous struggle for peace and against the threat of war was sounded from Berlin. This idea was clearly expressed by *Anthony Harriott*, member of the Politbureau of the Workers' Party of Jamaica, who said, "We should not be lulled into complacency. It is good to hope for progress in the Geneva talks, but better to work more actively for it. The unity and active mobilization of all peace-loving people is required to keep the fingers of the imperialists off the war buttons."

The conference participants unanimously stressed that *unity was required in the struggle against all manifestations of imperialism if the main task was to be solved, i. e., if peace was to be preserved.*

It was stressed that this cohesion and unity were particularly important at a time when Reagan's "crusade" against communism had become the concentrated expression of the ideology and policy of the more aggressive and reactionary circles of American

imperialism who had set their sights on a social revenge.

In connection with this *Gus Hall*, CPUSA General Secretary, said the following: "With no earthly, reasonable arguments to defend his insane doomsday policies and devoid of any intelligent or even logical-sounding charges against Marxism-Leninism and real socialism, Reagan has taken the road of last resort. It is the road of all political ideological scoundrels and charlatans... Reagan has declared an all-out, hell and brimstone holy war against Marxism-Leninism and existing socialism.

"Reagan has embarked on an anti-communist crusade with the fanaticism of an inquisition. Reagan is attempting to cover up his all-out policies of imperialist aggression, nuclear superiority and nuclear confrontation. He is criminally gambling with the lives of the whole human family..."

Is it possible to frustrate imperialism's onslaught, Reagan's "crusade", with its programme of "democracy and public diplomacy"? The general consensus at the conference was that this was indeed possible. At the same time, it was emphasized that the imperialist plans would not collapse by themselves. If they are to be successfully rebuffed, ever broader social strata must be united and involved in the struggle.

It was expressly stated at the conference that "this struggle calls for huge ideological efforts to counter-balance the monopoly of big capital on the media, and to counterbalance "cultural imperialism", and the entire ideological apparatus of the capitalist countries which poisons the consciousness of millions, subjugating their will to the interests of imperialism and the socio-political forces supporting it." (*S. Alvarez*, Communist Party of Spain).

"A major provision in Marx's teaching is the idea of the internationalism and unity of all the exploited masses," recalled *Samora Machel*, Chairman of the FRELIMO Party and President of the People's Republic of Mozambique. "This idea is being specifically embodied in the growing realization of the need for the closer unity of all the component parts of the present-day revolutionary movement. In our time, internationalism has acquired particular significance and grown so much in scope in view of the struggle for peace and against the danger of a nuclear catastrophe. . . It is Marxists who are leading the worldwide struggle to defend peace and life on earth."

Many conference participants from the developing countries—Communists and non-Communists alike—*stressed the importance of implementing the principles of proletarian internationalism when rendering support to their peoples fighting against imperialism, for social progress, and also their importance for their parties.* This was stated by *Gisèle Rabesahala*, General Secretary of the Independence Congress Party of Madagascar (AKFM); *Alfred Nzo*, General Secretary of the African National Congress of South Africa; *Pierre Nze*, member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee, Congolese Party of Labour and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of the Congo, and others.

Mahmoud Baryalai, alternate member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, said: "The selfless and fraternal aid of our great friend, the Soviet Union, and . . . the other countries of the socialist community is a vital source of our growing strength. Thanks to this aid we can expose the lies

of those who think in terms far removed from reality, those who have slid into the morass of modern opportunism and adopted an extra-class stance in the communist and workers' parties, those who wish to discredit and bury proletarian internationalism.

Summing up, the General Secretary of the Independence and Labour Party of Senegal, *Amath Dansoko*, said: "All along the line of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples—from Indochina to Central America, from Afghanistan to South Africa and the Middle East—hundreds of millions of people see the power of existing socialism in practice, but not in the sense of the export of revolution or of outside interference in this struggle, but through international proletarian solidarity, the core and embodiment of the class positions of Marxism-Leninism."

Defining the main features characterizing the richer and wider content of proletarian internationalism, *M. V. Zimyanin*, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, pointed out the following: "Today, proletarian socialist internationalism in its Marxist-Leninist interpretation means vigorous activity aimed at forging the unity of the socialist community, assuring the cohesion of all socialist countries, and defending the historic achievements of socialism—while taking into consideration the specific features of each country and showing respect for one another's sovereignty and interests.

"Today, proletarian internationalism in its Marxist-Leninist interpretation means that everything is done to help rally the fraternal communist, workers' and revolutionary-democratic parties fighting for common goals.

“Proletarian internationalism presupposes uncompromising struggle against any attempts to split the revolutionary forces and communist parties, however these attempts may be categorized—nationalistic or opportunist.

“Proletarian internationalism as Marxists-Leninists see it, implies the readiness to do everything in one’s power to be able to resolve the problems facing the whole of mankind, especially that key problem—prevention of a nuclear holocaust.

“Proletarian internationalism meets the interests of social progress, the interests of all peoples, the whole of mankind. It is the sacred duty of genuine Communists, of all those who are loyal to the great behests of our teachers in deeds, and not in words, to be guided by this principle.”

In view of the growing danger from imperialism, it is now particularly necessary to consolidate the solidarity of all Communists and all champions for social progress and the world’s transformation, to heighten the activities and united action of the broadest social strata advocating man’s principal right—the right to life. This was stressed by nearly all conference participants, which means recognition of the new strength and of the topicality of the ideas of internationalism in our epoch.

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