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*PRESS ARTICLES VIEW SOCIALISM'S ROLE
IN WORLD REVOLUTION, NATIONAL LIBERATION*



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DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

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8 May 1974

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| <i>Academician Mitin Examines World Revolutionary Process</i>
<i>[IZVESTIYA 20 Apr 74]</i> | <i>1</i> |
| <i>World Revolutionary Process Gathering Momentum</i>
<i>[S.Aleksandrov, Yegorov in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 21 Apr 74]</i> | <i>7</i> |
| <i>Forces of Socialism, National Liberation in 'Alliance'</i>
<i>[Volskiy in NOVOYE VREMYA No. 14]</i> | <i>12</i> |

ACADEMICIAN MITIN EXAMINES WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 74 Morning Edition pp 4-5 L

[Article by Academician M. Mitin: "A Doctrine Which Is Transforming the World"]

[Text] The modern epoch, whose starting point was the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, has fundamentally changed the nature, content and scales of the world revolutionary process. The general crisis of the capitalist system is deepening in direct connection with the emergence of the new socialist system and the world system of socialism, which is developing successfully and countering imperialism.

Our time is the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale. At its center is the international working class and its main offspring -- the world system of socialism. The trend toward a further change in the correlation of forces in the world arena in favor of socialism -- which has achieved enormous, world-historic successes in the progressive and rapid development of all aspects of the economy and social life -- is operating constantly and increasingly distinctly. The world system of socialism has become the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle and in insuring peace on earth. The conference of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee which has just been held in Warsaw was a new demonstration of the further consolidation of the unity of actions of the socialist community countries.

The fundamental social changes inherent in the present epoch of the transition from antagonistic class formations to socialism are increasingly widely embracing the world and assuming an increasingly global nature. The might of the countries of the socialist community and the entire world socialist system is steadily growing; the workers movement in the capitalist countries is achieving fresh successes and the organization and cohesion of the communist and workers parties are growing; the national liberation movement is increasingly resolutely declaring itself the mighty opponent of imperialism and neocolonialism. The fusion of these revolutionary currents into a unified world revolutionary process gives it an insuperable force.

More than 100 years ago K. Marx and F. Engels discovered the objective dialectic of social development and transformed socialism from a utopia into a science. They showed that the course of social development is man's gradual ascent of increasingly higher levels of social progress. For the first time in science K. Marx and F. Engels raised and developed the issue of the world socialist revolution, which should objectively and by the force of the natural laws of historical development lead to the victory of the proletariat.

In the new historical epoch which dawned at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries -- the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions -- V. I. Lenin developed the theory of Marxism with regard to the new conditions. The ideas of K. Marx and F. Engels on socialist revolution were further creatively developed in V. I. Lenin's works.

V. I. Lenin devoted particular attention to the further development of the question of the dialectic of interactions between objective and subjective factors in revolution. The doctrine of the revolutionary situation, its content and the natural laws of its development belongs to him. He showed that the presence of objective conditions creates possibilities for socialist revolution, while its victory is effected only through the active and purposeful activity of the working people under the leadership of the revolutionary party of the working class.

Scientific communism enriched by V. I. Lenin with new conclusions and discoveries has been embodied in social practice on world-historic scales. Leninism, which has become the ideological-theoretical banner of our time and the banner of the revolutionary renewal of the world, is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, socialist and communist building, the emergence and development of the world socialist system and national liberation revolutions, the bankruptcy of the colonial system and mankind's transition to communism.

In the course of the gradual development of the world revolutionary process Leninism is constantly and creatively developed by the CPSU and the fraternal communist and workers parties in the struggle against bourgeois ideology, against all forms of reformism and revisionism and against Maoism and anticommunism. The second half of the 20th Century and the beginning of its last third is the period of the further intensive enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine in all its integral parts on the basis of generalizing and interpreting the theory and practice of the world revolutionary process and the experience of the building of socialism and communism.

V. I. Lenin comprehensively investigated the dialectic of social development and the relationship between social reality and social awareness in the new epoch. On the basis of research into the nature of imperialism and the contradictions and natural laws inherent in it, Lenin armed the working class with an integral conception of the world revolutionary process and substantiated the strategy and tactics of the proletariat's class struggle corresponding to the changed conditions.

A very deep penetration into the essence of historical processes, the striking force of Lenin's analysis and foresight and his amazing understanding of the whole complexity of the social phenomena of the new epoch, of their multistratification, their diversity and the large number of their forms and various stages and steps led V. I. Lenin to conclude that socialist revolution should not be understood as a simple on-off act.

He sharply criticized the dogmatists and doctrinaires who tried to portray the socialist transformation of the world as some kind of unilinear and primitive leap into a new formation. "Socialist revolution," V. I. Lenin wrote, "is not one act or one battle on a single front but a whole epoch of exacerbated class conflicts and a long series of battles on all fronts, that is, on all questions of economics and politics, battles which can end only with the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. It would be a fundamental mistake to think the struggle for democracy is capable of diverting the proletariat away from socialist revolution or of eclipsing and overshadowing it and so forth."

Lenin's theory of socialist revolution substantiates not only the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country to begin with but also includes questions of the hegemony of the proletariat in the liberation movement, the transformation of bourgeois democratic revolutions into socialist revolutions, the decisive role of the dictatorship of the proletariat in its diverse forms in the consolidation of the achievements of the revolution and the building of socialism, and the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

V. I. Lenin armed the working class with an integral conception of the world revolutionary process. He developed and concretized the idea advanced by Marx and Engels of the working class' alliance with the toiling masses of the peasantry under the leadership of the working class and substantiated the need to combine the proletarian revolution in the economic developed capitalist countries with the liberation movement

in the colonies and dependent countries against imperialism. Lenin's theory of socialist revolution was a scientific generalization and concentrated expression of the revolutionary practice of the proletariat under new historical conditions.

The Marxist doctrine on the state as developed by Lenin found its actual embodiment in the creation and consolidation of the USSR -- the first socialist state of workers and peasants in history -- and was further developed in the socialist state of all the people.

Our country became a great and mighty industrial power as a result of the victory of the October Revolution and the first development and actual implementation of its principles. This took place in an unprecedentedly short time. It is known that Britain needed more than 3 centuries to become an industrial country. France and the United States took more than 2 centuries to cover the same path. The Soviet land, after some 50 years and having experienced grim ordeals and suffered enormous losses in wars imposed on it by imperialism, has now become an economically, politically, culturally and militarily mighty state of developed socialism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution marked a new stage in the development of the international class struggle -- the rapid development of the international socialist revolution which forms a unified stream of heterogeneous processes taking place at different times. The CPSU program says: "The socialist revolutions, the national liberation anti-imperialist revolutions, the people's democratic revolutions, the broad peasant movements, the struggle of the people's masses to overthrow fascist and other tyrannical regimes, the general democratic movements against national oppression all merge into a unified world revolutionary process which undermines and destroys capitalism."

The most important natural law of this process is the leading role in it of the working class, primarily governed by the fact that the replacement of capitalism with a communist formation -- which replacement comprises the content of this process -- is the historical and social task of primarily the working class. It can be solved successfully if a Marxist-Leninist party stands at the head of the working class.

Speaking about the prospects of the victory of socialist revolution throughout the world, Lenin stressed that this revolution "...will comprise long years of battles, several periods of pressure, with intermediate periods of counterrevolutionary convulsions from the bourgeois system."

History provides enough examples of such "convulsions." One such was the temporary victory of fascism in Germany, which was later burned in the fire of World War II unleashed by it. One such was the reactionary coup in Chile, where the military junta has annihilated or jailed tens of thousands of patriots, liquidated the rights and liberties provided for by the bourgeois constitution and the constitution itself, and established a regime of fascist terror. These examples, like the brutalities of the fascist regimes in Spain and Portugal and the raging terror in Greece, confirm the truism that the bourgeois social system has outlived itself and that the exploiter classes increasingly often resort to extreme means of violence and terror to maintain their domination. But the zigzags of history are convincing evidence of the profound crisis of the old society and of its historical doom.

History has confirmed the correctness of Lenin's forecasts. The events of the 20th century have shown that the revolution is not a on-off act of social transformation; the complexity of historical development does not violate the chief conclusions of the Marxist theory of revolution but, on the contrary, confirms that its main, cardinal tenets have successfully withstood the test of time.

The main bulwark of the world revolutionary movement today is the world socialist system. The radical socialist transformations in the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community are fundamental for the revolutionary change of the social world of our planet and are exerting increasing influence on the most important revolutionary processes in the modern world.

Another chief force of the world revolutionary process is the working class of the capitalist countries, which is waging a struggle against the domination of monopoly capital. Its most important demands in the struggle for social progress today are the establishment of democratic control over the economy, the nationalization of key sectors of production and the democratization of social and state life. To what extent this struggle will be successful depends on strengthening the positions of the communist parties, consolidating the unity of the working class and creating a broad alliance of all democratic, anti-imperialist forces.

A most important part of the world revolutionary process is the unprecedented scope of the peoples' national liberation movement and their struggle against colonial and national oppression. This struggle has been an important factor in the substantial changes which have taken place in recent years in the correlation of socialist forces in the world and has led to the emergence of a whole group of independent states in Asia and Africa, most of which are part of the so-called "Third World." The crash of imperialism's colonial system is one of the most notable phenomena of our epoch.

The essence of the whole complex of processes taking place in the Third World countries today is in fact the reorganization of the traditional economic and social relations engendered by colonialism. Since there are two fundamentally differing social systems in the world within whose framework industrial development is effected, the countries of the Third World face choosing one of the two diametrically opposed paths.

The natural answer to economic dependence on foreign capital and to the emergence of trends of national disunity and social stratification within Third World countries is both the growth in the social awareness of the part of these countries' peoples of the conviction of the unacceptability to them of the capitalist method of management, and the growth of the influence of socialist, revolutionary-democratic ideas. Naturally, the influence of external worldwide processes is also of enormous significance here -- the deepening general crisis of capitalism and the experience and example of the creative activity of the socialist countries.

Life has completely refuted and rejected the antiscientific, anti-Leninist conception of the Maoists, who have tried to portray the working people's class struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism as the struggle of "poor" countries against "rich" countries.

The growth of the might of the world socialist system as the chief decisive factor of the world revolutionary process is proceeding steadily and continuously. The unity of the countries of the socialist community in economics and politics is growing and strengthening. The ideological unity of the world system of socialism and its link

with the workers movement in the capitalist countries and with the national liberation movement are strengthening.

The beginning of 1974 was marked by major new successes by the countries of the socialist community in implementing the comprehensive program of socialist economic integration.

One-third of the world's industrial production is now accounted for by the CEMA countries and the rates of their economic development in the past quarter-century have been considerably higher than those of the capitalist countries (the production of industrial output in the CEMA countries in that time has increased 8.4 times and agricultural output 2.2 times).

These successes vividly demonstrate the indisputable advantages of socialism and the genuinely internationalist relations between the socialist states. They are particularly striking against the background of the profound economic, financial and social upheavals which the world of capitalism is experiencing today. The growing difficulties in the sphere of currency and financial relations, the raw material and energy crises, the intensification of inflation processes and the monopolies' inflation of the prices of fuel and consumer goods are bringing severe misfortunes to the working people and unprecedented profits to the magnates of capital. In 1973 the profits of 30 of the biggest oil corporations of the capitalist world rose by 71 percent.

In the United States the rise in prices has undermined the population's purchasing power and led to a sharp blowing down of GNP growth rates. The industrial production index in the United States fell in December 1973 for the first time in the past 27 months. Experts forecast that in 1974 the GNP in real terms will increase by only 1.0-1.6 percent.

The slowing of economic growth rates in the capitalist countries is leading to the closure of many enterprises, the dismissal of workers and employees and the growth of the army of unemployed.

All this has led to the exacerbation of all social contradictions and to the high fervor of the class struggle in the capitalist countries. In 1973 some 45 million people went on strike in the capitalist countries. The first months of 1974 indicate the exacerbation of class battles. The working people of Britain, the FRG, Italy, France, the United States, Japan and other countries are intensifying their rebuff of the monopolies' offensive on their standard of living and are developing a powerful movement in defense of their democratic rights and liberties.

A particular feature of the present stage of the working people's struggle is the growth of their organization and cohesion, the expansion of the social base of anti-monopoly actions and the enlistment in them of other strata of the population in addition to the working class -- employees, the technical intelligentsia and small businessmen.

Such are the facts which characterize the growth of the scales, the acuteness and the tension of the class battles which the proletariat is waging in alliance with the broad strata of the working people for their rights and against the monopolies' omnipotence.

Despite the presence of fundamental contradictions between socialism and capitalism, there is not, however, any fatal inevitability of a new world war. On the contrary, the profound positive changes which have recently taken place in international relations convince us of the complete practicability of the task of preserving and consolidating peace. The path toward this is given in the peace program drawn up by the 24th CPSU Congress. The consistent struggle of our party and its Central Committee to implement this program and our united actions with the fraternal countries of the socialist community and with all progressive forces have governed the turnabout from cold war to relaxation of international tension and to the assertion of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states with different social systems.

Characteristic of the present situation in the world is the expansion of joint actions by the strugglers for peace and the security of the peoples, for national independence and for human rights and social progress. The contribution made to this struggle by the World Congress of Peace-Loving Forces, which was held in Moscow in the fall of 1973 and which exerted an unprecedented influence on world public opinion, is of most important significance.

The line of the CPSU and all the fraternal communist and workers parties is to unite all progressive forces and the peoples of all countries in the struggle to consolidate peace and security and develop positive processes in international relations, to give all possible support to the international working class in its struggle and to the peoples' national liberation movement and to strengthen the world socialist system and the bonds of international proletarian solidarity.

"The entire Soviet people and the vast majority of the world's population is on the side of our foreign policy," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said in Alma-Ata, "because it serves noble aims -- the strengthening of peace and security and the insuring of the conditions for the free development of all peoples and the social progress of all countries."

These are the events and phenomena which indicate that the world revolutionary process is growing steadily under the powerful influence of the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and its material embodiment in the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries.

As the world revolutionary process develops and its various currents expand and intensify and as the scientific and technical revolution develops in the world, so the apologists of capitalism advance ever newer theories of "revolution" to counter the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Both the most diehard conservatives and modern liberal bourgeois ideologists are talking and writing about revolution.

The world "revolution" occurs so often in bourgeois sociology that French sociologist J. (Ellyul) has concluded that no other word has been more devalued and more debased in the West.

Bourgeois ideologists counterpose their own variants of the transformation of the world to the harmonious and scientific theory of socialist revolution. Future society, they say, will be different and unlike the present capitalist system. They add the highly fashionable prefix "post" to their illusory utopias. Back in 1959 West German sociologist R. Dahrendorf wrote of the "post capitalist society" and today there is talk of the "post industrial society."

Characteristic of these concepts is a complete disregard of the class struggle and antagonistic contradictions typical of bourgeois society. They do not touch on bourgeois relations of ownership. The authors do not even raise this fundamental problem. As befits apologists of capitalism, they would like to see the capitalist system unshakable in its basis today and forever.

But all these theories and concepts are so far removed from a scientific understanding of the natural laws of modern social development that they are inevitably smashed by life and often prove to be stillborn.

Before all these theories of the bourgeois ideologists, the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the world revolutionary process, built on the firm foundation of a materialist understanding of history, on a scientific analysis of the phenomena of social life and on the dialectical revelation of the contradictions of the bourgeois system, rises like a mighty cliff, as a genuinely scientific doctrine on the present and future of mankind and as a revolutionary theory which is transforming the world.

Marxism-Leninism serves as the inexhaustible source of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action for all the communist and workers parties. It was and remains the science of conquering and the theoretical basis of the general line of our party -- the party of the great Lenin -- and its political strategy and tactics.

WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS GATHERING MOMENTUM

Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 April 74 pp 2-3 L

[Article by Doctors of Philosophical Sciences S. Aleksandrov and V. Yegorov: "Leninism and the World Revolutionary Process"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in bold-face type]

[Text] The Soviet people, the fraternal peoples of the countries of socialism, the international working class and all progressive mankind are celebrating the 104th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilich Lenin -- founder of the CPSU, creator of the world's first socialist state and leader of genius of the international working class and all working people. V. I. Lenin provided answers to the most urgent questions posed by the course of historical development. He created the whole theory of the socialist revolution and the building of a communist society and armed the international revolutionary movement with scientific strategy and tactics. The light of Lenin's ideas is still a guiding light for all revolutionary forces on earth.

I.

Leninism is the Marxism of the age of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the age of the collapse of colonialism and the victory of national liberation movements and the age of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and of the building of a communist society. This definition reflects life itself. First, it emphasizes the topicality of Marxist teaching in our time. Second, it reflects the further creative development of this teaching in Leninism, thanks to which it preserves its basic principles and, at the same time, accords with the new historical conditions and expresses the fundamental needs of the modern age.

At the division of the 19th and 20th centuries world capitalism entered its last imperialist stage of development. The revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism became the urgent requirement of social progress. V. I. Lenin understood in depth the historical need for this transition and showed the millions-strong masses the ways to implement it. Leninism and its practical embodiment -- the Great October Socialist Revolution -- opened a new direction of historical development and the real prospect of a transition to socialism and communism.

The leader of our party foresaw that with the victory of socialism in one country or several countries the world would be split into two opposing camps and the struggle between them would determine the content of world history until the victory of socialism over capitalism on an international scale. He warned that insofar as socialism would have to oppose the entire capitalist world, the victorious proletariat would win over to its side the oppressed classes of other countries and the enslaved peoples of colonies by supporting their actions against the oppressors. /The unification of all revolutionary forces in the common front of the struggle against imperialism is the chief element in the Leninist concept of the world revolutionary process./

It is now clear to everyone how far and perspicaciously V. I. Lenin looked ahead, into the future. The entire course of events fully confirms the Leninist idea that /the modern age is the age of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale./ "The destruction of capitalism and its vestiges and the introduction of the bases of communist order," V. I. Lenin emphasized, "constitute the content... of the new age in world history" (Complete Collected Works Vol 41 p 425).

Today the world revolutionary process is characterized, above all, by the struggle of the two opposing social systems -- socialism and capitalism. The Leninist conclusion that the victorious working class plays the vanguard role in the worldwide revolution throughout the transitional period from capitalism to socialism has become historical reality.

The revolutionary process has acquired a truly worldwide nature in recent decades. It has embraced all countries, all continents and all peoples -- large and small. Today there is no longer a region on earth where the struggle for the cause of social and national liberation has not been launched in one form or another.

The world revolutionary process is characterized, further, by the broadening of its social base. The international working class acts, as formerly, as the leading force. Its selfless struggle under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties determines the chief direction of all social progress. Along with the working class the millions-strong masses of the labor peasantry of the capitalist and developing countries, the labor intelligentsia, students and nonproletarian strata of the working people are rising increasingly actively to the struggle against the exploiters.

The communist movement is in the vanguard of the world revolutionary process. Life convincingly attests that the great army of communists has grown and is growing numerically and is strengthening organizationally and politically. Whereas in 1924, for example, there were 49 communist and workers parties uniting 1.3 million people, today communist parties are operating in 89 countries, and more than 50 million people are united in their ranks.

The communist movement links together the chief revolutionary forces of modern times and shows the entire anti-imperialist movement the correct path toward victory. Here it is important to point out that /the revolutionary process, despite its diversity is acquiring increasingly great internal integrity with every passing year./

Of course, this process is of a complex nature, and there are many difficulties in its path. Individual failures even occur in the struggle between the forces of revolution and the reactionary forces of imperialism. One also should not forget the unevenness of the development of the revolution in individual countries, which has been caused by the uneven development of capitalism and the differing times of the greatest intensification of its contradictions in one country or another. "The world revolution," V. I. Lenin pointed out, "is not organized so smoothly as to travel the same path everywhere, in all countries -- if it were, we would have been victorious long ago. Every country has to pass through definite political stages" (Vol 37 p 121).

Nevertheless, despite the difficulties, the world revolutionary process is being consolidated and is developing in an ascending line. Its unity manifests itself primarily in the interdependence and cooperation of the three chief revolutionary forces of modern times: the world socialist system, the working class of the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement.

II.

/The world socialist system is a decisive factor of social development./ Thus its role in the modern liberation movement, as V. I. Lenin foresaw, is accounted for by the force of the influence of socioeconomic achievements, by the socialist states' resolute struggle against imperialism and by the international support which the victorious proletariat has rendered and is rendering all other revolutionary detachments.

The contribution of the world socialist system to the common cause of the anti-imperialist forces is determined, above all, by its growing economic might. Suffice it to say that from 1950 through 1973 the volume of the combined national income of the CEMA countries increased 5.7 times, and the volume of industrial output increased 8.4 times. During this same period the national income and industrial output of the developed capitalist countries increased 2.5 and 3.4 times respectively.

Economic successes are promoting the growth of the socialist countries' defense might. And economic and defense might was and still is the chief obstacle in the path of imperialist aggressors.

Our state is making an ever increasing contribution to the cause of the struggle for social progress. Along with the other fraternal socialist countries the Soviet Union, tirelessly developing its economy and strengthening its defense capability and its armed forces, has created a real counterbalance to the aggressive forces of imperialism and is the chief bulwark of peace on earth.

The successful implementation of the historic plans of the 24th CPSU Congress and the fulfillment of the national economic plan of the Ninth 5-Year Plan are a major step along the path of further strengthening our country's economic and defense might.

Backed by their economic and defense might, the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries are pursuing an active and enterprising foreign policy which promotes positive changes in the world arena. The unity of the countries of the socialist

community and their coordinated policy, the CPSU Central Committee December (1973) plenum pointed out, have brought new successes in the peace offensive of world socialism, in the relaxation of international tension and in the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems.

The just ended conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states was one more piece of graphic evidence of the growing influence of socialism on the development of the world revolutionary process. The communique adopted at it states that "the conference participants pointed with satisfaction to the further development of the fraternal states' comprehensive cooperation, which is accelerating the growth of economic potential, strengthening the defense capability of the Warsaw Pact countries and helping to raise the peoples' welfare and develop culture and science."

All these and many other achievements of world socialism are promoting the growth of revolutionary consciousness among working people in capitalist countries. /The working class of capitalist countries has risen to a qualitatively new level in its struggle./ It has accumulated great experience of class battles, its political and moral authority and degree of organization are continuously growing and the onslaught on the state monopoly system is constantly increasing. The number of participants in strike battles and other mass demonstrations in the zone of developed capitalism alone amounted to 45 million people in 1973. The effectiveness of these demonstrations is attested, for example, by the fact that the general strike by British miners in 1974 made a considerable contribution to the government crisis and the resignation of the Conservative cabinet.

Consequently, /the qualitative change in the content of the class struggle of the working people led by the working class is expressed, above all, in the fact that it is directed not only against individual groups of capitalists but against the entire system of state monopoly domination./ The modern stage of the revolutionary movement of the working class in the countries of capital is a period of preparing conditions for a socialist revolution, of struggling for the unity of its ranks and of forming a political army of revolution. The ripening not only of material but also sociopolitical preconditions for the revolutionary replacement of capitalism by socialism is now increasing.

The national liberation movement constitutes an inalienable part of the world revolutionary process. The chief thing is that /the struggle for national liberation in many countries has begun to develop in practice into a struggle against exploiter relations, both feudal and capitalist./ Thus, V. I. Lenin's prediction is coming true -- his prediction that "the movement of the majority of the earth's population, originally aimed at national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism.." (Vol 44, p 38).

The growing influence of the developing countries and their increasing activeness is one of the characteristic features of modern international relations. "This process has clearly been strengthening in recent years, something which is undoubtedly promoted by the general relaxation of tension," L. I. Brezhnev said at the dinner in honor of Hafiz al-Asad. "Following Lenin's behests, the Soviet Union has invariably supported and will support the liberation struggles of the peoples."

As a result of international support and under the influence of the impressive successes of world socialism many peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are increasingly

striving after a progressive social form of social system and embarking on a path of noncapitalist development. Rapprochement is taking place between the sociopolitical aims of the national liberation movement and other revolutionary forces of modern times.

Such is the reality of our days. Its analysis attests that the acuteness of the class contradictions in the capitalist system as a whole, the instability of the situation, and the discontent of the masses in many bourgeois states have reached such a level today that a situation which will open the way for fundamental revolutionary transformations may arise at any moment in one link or another of this system.

III.

All modern reality confirms that the present stage of world social development is characterized by growing potential for new progress by revolutionary, progressive forces. At the same time the dangers engendered by imperialism and its antipopular, aggressive policy are increasing.

The revolutionary and liberation movement is developing under conditions of the unceasing ideological war which is being waged against it by the reactionary circles of imperialism and their agents. Bourgeois politicians and ideologists, right and "left" revisionists, and social reformists are striving most of all to distort the Leninist concept of the world revolutionary process and to split the revolutionary ranks. Some of them (Brzezinski, Rostow, Aaron, Bell), speculating on the new phenomena caused by the scientific and technical revolution, allege, contrary to the facts of life, that the Leninist theory of socialist revolution has lost its role and significance and try to prove that the need for the revolutionary replacement of capitalism by socialism has fallen away in our age. Other bourgeois ideologists -- Ulam, Meyer, Maysner -- are endeavoring, as formerly, to prove that Leninism is a purely "Russian" phenomenon characteristic of the beginning of the 20th century and that the experience of the October Revolution is "inapplicable" to the countries of the capitalist world.

Bourgeois ideologists are trying increasingly frequently to explain modern social problems from positions of various kinds of "convergence" concepts which propagandize capitalism's rapprochement with socialism under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution. Allegations of this sort are aimed at splitting and demoralizing the revolutionary forces and undermining the socialist system. In fact, bourgeois ideologists cherish the dream of socialism's absorption by capitalism. But this dream is absurd and untenable.

The bourgeois "convergence" theories are closely joined by various social reformist and revisionist theories, chief of which is the theory of "democratic socialism." Its authors state that the future belongs neither to capitalism nor socialism. Of course, theories of this sort have no room for the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the liquidation of private ownership, and the introduction of public ownership of the means of production.

Modern rightwing revisionists such as Djilas, (Marek), Deraudy, Sik, and others have slipped down into liquidationist positions and positions of compromise with bourgeois politicians and ideologists. They uphold a viewpoint according to which the scientific and technical revolution in itself leads to the turning of capitalism into socialism, without the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

As regards revisionist theoreticians of "left" trend -- the present Peking leaders in particular -- they incline revolutionary forces toward adventurist actions, maintaining that the revolution may be accomplished without regard for objective conditions, on the basis of impulse alone.

On the whole, bourgeois ideologists, opportunists, and revisionists are characterized by an extremely scornful attitude toward the people's masses. The apologists of capitalism and their agents deny the leading role of the working class and communist parties in the revolutionary struggle, thus striving to push the peoples from the main highway of social progress.

These ideological diversions, for all their danger, are doomed to fail. The revolutionary forces and fighters for national and social liberation have a scientific compass tested by time -- Marxist-Leninist teaching.

Grand successes have been achieved beneath the banner of Leninism. This triumphant banner is borne aloft by communists, decisively rejecting all kinds of deviations from a scientific Marxist-Leninist world outlook and reactionary bourgeois ideology.

Loyalty to the great revolutionary teaching and to proletarian internationalism and selfless and devoted service to the interests of the working class and the working masses and to the common cause of socialism -- this is what V. I. Lenin taught us. This is the guarantee of new successes by the communist and workers parties and all revolutionary forces of modern times in the struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism.

FORCES OF SOCIALISM, NATIONAL LIBERATION IN 'ALLIANCE'

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[D. Volskiy article: "A Tested Path and Underwater Mines"]

[Text] The representatives of 67 countries who gathered at the end of March for an AAPSO Council session in Baghdad were faced with discussing diverse questions. The successes of the peoples which have liberated themselves from colonialism and the positive changes in the international situation have created favorable conditions for the further development of their joint struggle for a worthy place on earth. Even though the solidarity movement has to repulse attacks from various sides and overcome the internal contradictions being artificially inflamed, this movement is honorably standing the tests. In calling for increased support for the liberation struggle in various regions of the world, advocating the creation of a collective security system in Asia and emphasizing the great significance of reliance on the socialist community, the AAPSO Council session undoubtedly expressed the aspirations of millions upon millions of people.

It is natural that the Near East question was at the center of the session's attention. And not only because it was being held in an Arab country. All champions of the cause of peace and national independence are vitally interested in the just settlement of the Near East conflict -- many participants in the Baghdad meeting spoke of this. Its declaration emphasizes the need to "broaden the international campaign of solidarity with the Arab peoples" and "secure the full withdrawal of all Israeli troops from the

occupied Arab territories, the restoration of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine and the achievement of a stable and just peace in the Near East."

A special resolution was adopted on this question in Baghdad. Representatives of the progressive public in Afro-Asian countries decisively advocated "strengthening the Arab peoples' solidarity with the forces of national liberation throughout the world, with the socialist countries and particularly with the Soviet Union." They warned against attempts to "freeze" the Security Council's decisions, split the Arabs' ranks and isolate them from the USSR. Thus, it was reaffirmed that only by relying on the progressive forces of modern times will these peoples be able to uphold their rights, and that in the present complex and crucial period for the Near East Soviet-Arab co-operation is called upon to play a particularly significant role.

This evaluation is based not only on historical experience, which is eloquent enough in itself, but also on an objective analysis of today's realities. Last October the Arab peoples clearly saw for themselves how effective the weapons at their disposal are. Now that the matter of settling the conflict has entered the practical phase, they are also seeing for themselves the growing significance of Soviet political and diplomatic assistance, as shown once again in all clarity, for example, by the visit of A. A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, to Egypt and Syria.

"The sides confirmed," read the communique on A. A. Gromyko's visit to Egypt, "their readiness for a practical examination of all aspects of a Near East settlement within the framework of the Geneva conference, whose convocation they deem an important success for the peace-loving forces.... Both sides are of a unanimous opinion as to the importance of the Soviet Union's political participation at all stages of a Near East settlement, including in all the working organs which will be set up at the Geneva conference." The Soviet-Syrian communique also speaks of "the importance of the Soviet Union's participation in efforts aimed at establishing a peace based on justice in the Near East."

The USSR's assistance to the Arabs and its efforts to normalize the situation in the Near East are inseparable. It would seem that this is an axiom repeatedly proved in practice. Nevertheless, anti-Soviets of various stripes continue to speculate on imaginary contradictions in Soviet policy. Without a moment's hesitation they sacrifice the facts to their "strategic design," which consists, on the one hand, of instilling doubts in the Arab peoples as to the value and reliability of Soviet support and, on the other, of sowing mistrust in the West of the USSR's Near East policy.

This dual aim is pursued both by imperialist and Maoist propaganda. While intimidating the Arabs with the notorious "fight for hegemony of the two superpowers" in the Near East, Peking is also constantly addressing Western circles, hypocritically warning them against Soviet "expansion." Western masters of such things also concoct their forgeries according to the same recipes. Thus London's Prof Lewis, speaking recently before one of the U.S. Senate subcommittees, alleged that the USSR is striving to turn the Arabs into its "subjects." At the same time Lewis tried to convince the U.S. senators that the Soviet Union is allegedly "laying political minefields on the path to peace which it will be able to detonate at any moment."

There really are "minefields" in the Near East. Only it is certainly not the USSR that is laying them. They are plans to perpetuate the Israeli occupation of the territories seized in 1967; they are attempts by opponents of a just peace to regard the disengagement of troops not as the first step toward a cardinal settlement but as a substitute for it; and it is the pressure, including the direct military pressure, being exerted on the Arab peoples with the aim of forcing them to renounce the struggle for their inalienable rights.

What is now happening concerning Syria is symptomatic. Shelling has now been continuing for 3 weeks in the Golan Heights region. Even UN observers have fallen victim to the Israeli shelling. But even though the Israeli militarists are being repulsed, Tel Aviv is letting it be understood that it does not intend to abandon its military provocations against Syria in the future. Moreover, Israeli generals and leaders of the extremist Likud bloc are urging the use of the Golan Heights as a bridgehead for an invasion deep into Syria. Israeli aircraft occasionally violate the airspace of neighboring Lebanon and strafe villages.

Some commentators allege that the Israeli provocations are a kind of prelude to talks on the disengagement of Syrian and Israeli troops. They say it is not worth paying special attention to them -- a few weeks will pass, and diplomatic efforts will yield their fruit. But surely it is obvious that Tel Aviv's attempts to gamble on force of arms can only complicate the political situation. Moreover, armed provocations are the embodiment of annexationist intentions. G. Meir has declared: "No guarantees can compare with the great significance which staying on the Golan Heights has for us." The danger of this policy of the Israeli expansionists is compounded by the fact that they are striving to use inter-Arab differences for the purpose of pressuring Damascus.

I believe, however, that the threat of an extensive detonation from any "booby trap" being placed by the Israeli militarists beneath the cause of a just settlement of the conflict must be obvious to everyone. All the more so because the security of the Arab countries is threatened not by Israel alone. It is sufficient to recall, for example, the constant appeals by Atlantic strategists for the strengthening of NATO's "southern flank" or the attempts by aggressive circles of imperialism to activate the CENTO bloc, which they have always regarded as a tool of the struggle against the Arab liberation movement. Now Peking is also displaying special benevolence toward CENTO; Chi Peng-fei, PRC foreign minister, frankly made this understood as long ago as last year.

As we can see, the facts clearly show what lies behind the insinuations about the USSR's Near East policy. NEWSWEEK magazine, for example, can argue as much as it likes about the "strategic advantages" which the Soviet Union is allegedly seeking in the Near East, and the newspaper JEN-MIN JIH-PAO can argue about the "strategems of the two predominant powers" in this region. But here is one more example: From the island of Diego Garcia, where it is planned to construct a new U.S. base, strategic bombers can fly in some 2 or 3 hours to the vital centers of the Arab south. The same NEWSWEEK has reported, incidentally, that on the question of military construction on Diego Garcia the Pentagon has secured the "tacit consent" of the Chinese leadership. Now these really are "strategems" so that one could advise those who talk about them to be more circumspect.

It is significant that the anti-Soviet intrigues are being dealt a rebuff by responsible Arab politicians. "We can in no way support the allegation," Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad has declared, for example, "that the Soviet Union and the United States have gotten together in order to cooperate against the interests of the world's peoples.... The Soviet Union has been and still is on the side of the peoples struggling for their freedom, independence and progress."

The overwhelming majority of the Arab public supports the USSR's Near East policy and its efforts for a just settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This was reflected, in particular, in the positive reaction of the Arab press to the talks in Moscow between L. I. Brezhnev and A. A. Gromyko and H. Kissinger, U.S. secretary of state, and particularly to the fact that the sides expressed readiness to promote the cause of "solving the key questions of a Near East settlement."

The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that a just settlement of this protracted conflict would yield considerably more than temporary [konyunktorny] advantages to any particular countries -- it would bring long-term gains to all the peoples and to everyone to whom peace is dear. The struggle to liquidate the crisis in the Near East is one of the important constituent parts of the peace program advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress and of the common efforts to ease international tension. L. I. Brezhnev said in conversation with French journalists 10 March:

"In our opinion every state should be interested in the establishment of a just peace in the Near East for all the states of this region.... We have not for one moment left the Near East outside the sphere of our attention and have never ceased and will never cease to defend the Arab states' just demands...."

Favorable possibilities are now being opened for meeting these demands, and, consequently also for accelerating economic development and for industrializing the Arab countries, in which cooperation with the socialist states has always played a significant role. Thus in recent years the USSR has become one of the chief consumers of Egyptian industrial output; furniture, fabric, footwear, textile goods and so forth. There are no signs that the West is prepared to open its markets for industrial output from the Arab countries, just as it is not prepared seriously to review the nature of its "aid" to them.

As regards Soviet economic assistance to these countries, more than half the funds provided by the Soviet Union go, as a rule, to the development of national industry. And they are directed to the key sectors, strengthening the economic independence of the Arab states. There is scarcely any need to mention the significance of Aswan for the Egyptian economy or of the oilfields in north Rumaylah for the Iraqi economy. Among the many economic projects being constructed in the Arab countries with the USSR's assistance there are also, as is known, new giants -- the Euphrates dam, which will enable both electricity generation and the area of irrigated land to be doubled in Syria, and the electrification of the Egyptian countryside.

In the hour of military trials and in the period of the active quest for ways toward peace, in the difficult business of economic development and in the complex peripeteias of the political struggle, the USSR invariably stands on the side of the Arab peoples. This is one of the concrete embodiments of the historical alliance of the forces of socialism and national liberation, whose strength was demonstrated so convincingly at the Baghdad session of the AAPSO Council.

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